

# The Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations

## NEWSLETTER

Volume 20

No. 4

December 1989

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ISSN 0740-6169

## SOCIETY FOR HISTORIANS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS

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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 March or April.

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

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

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## IN MEMORIAM

Myrna F. Bernath, a devoted supporter of SHAFR, died on May 9, 1989. She truly loved SHAFR, which became the beneficiary of her commitment, both financially and emotionally, after the death of her beloved son, Stuart, a promising young scholar and teacher who had just completed his first book, *Squall Across the Atlantic*, and whose deepest desire was to become a renowned diplomatic historian. It was Myrna who was inspired to establish the Bernath Book Prize in loving remembrance of Stuart. She and Dr. Jerry Bernath literally adopted SHAFR as an organization, and especially the young scholars who became the recipients of the several Bernath prizes that were established. She listened with the deepest interest to their accomplishments and glowed with pride as they advanced professionally and in the SHAFR organization. She loved to hear accounts of their lectures and reviews of their books, and was especially impressed with SHAFR professors who encouraged and supported young scholars. In effect, SHAFR became her family. It was my pleasure and privilege to have known her from the beginning of her association with SHAFR. I knew her as a loving, compassionate, courageous, deeply sensitive and selfless person, whose charm made those who knew her feel warmly accepted and at home. Myrna's character and personality are lovingly conveyed in the beautiful eulogy written below by her beloved husband, Dr. Gerald J. Bernath.

*Betty Miller  
Unterberger*



## MYRNA F. BERNATH

Myrna F. Bernath, a very dedicated supporter of SHAFR, died of cancer at her home in Laguna Hills on May 9, 1989. She courageously fought the disease for three years, even submitting to many debilitating and very painful experimental treatments. Myrna was not at all like the average American individual. She was something unusual, special, and wondrous.

The story of her devotion to SHAFR began when our beloved son, Stuart, died of cancer in 1970. Because he was a great researcher, scholar, and particularly because when we learned that he told a former professor/colleague that he was determined to become a renowned diplomatic historian, Myrna and I decided that he should be remembered in the way which would also reflect his scholarship, kindness, and humaneness. It was Myrna's suggestion that we establish a book prize for young historians in cooperation with a nationally recognized history society. As time went on Myrna and I, with thoughtful input from Professor Warren Kuehl, gave birth to other SHAFR prizes and other needs. The point is that Myrna was an essential component of all of our agreements with SHAFR. If I died first, it was decided that Myrna would meaningfully continue supporting SHAFR to the best of her ability. Her devotion to SHAFR is now clearly manifested by the fact that she has left a sizable amount of money to the organization. It was her desire that SHAFR and I work out agreements as to how these funds are to be used. Myrna asked me to give her thanks to the many officials who have constantly helped us in our decisions. At this point it should be said that both of us regarded Professor Warren Kuehl as MR. SHAFR but that is another story.

Myrna glowed when she saw so many of the Bernath prizewinners go on to become important SHAFR officials. She beamed when any SHAFR educator was quoted. She loved the organization and the professors for their interest in encouraging and helping the young historians.

What was written above reveals only a small facet of Myrna's devotions. She was blessed with a magnetic charm which attracted just about anyone who met her. People immediately "took to her" and warm friendships ensued. Love, warmth, compassion, and understanding just naturally flowed from her. Everyone seemed to sense some sort of magnetism. Repeatedly I heard, "Where in the world did you find this wonderful, precious lady? I have never met anyone quite like her." She affected the lives of many and distinctly influenced the career selection of many young adults who didn't know their own talents and possibilities.

Something seemed to radiate from her in other ways. Examples are endless but let's give you a peek. A new nurse came on shift. Three weeks previously the nurse's young daughter committed suicide because of a marital quarrel. The nurse was in deep grief. Within a few minutes she left Myrna's room and approached me with the usual, "Where did you get this remarkable person? She just changed my approach to life and I feel so much better." Myrna's other nurse kept saying, "She's a wonder. I never attended anyone like her."

University chancellors and other top officials occasionally have special functions to which a large number of supporters are invited. Even though very many prestigious, wealthy, and influential people attended, including beautiful women in gorgeous gowns, much to our surprise, one chancellor on two occasions invited Myrna to sit next to him.

For many years Myrna's aged mother lived in a retirement home in the east. Once or twice each year she would visit her

mother for two to three weeks. On Myrna's first visit she asked the owner to put another bed in the room because she wanted to be close to her mother. The astonished owner said, "No other daughter, son, or other relative has ever asked to reside that way with an aged parent." She did this for many years until her mother died.

Already in a terminal condition, Myrna wrote something to a sick friend that apparently was very positive. The friend wrote, "How can you be so concerned about me when you yourself are so sick?" Myrna passed on shortly thereafter.

It would take a book to reveal who and what Myrna really was. Space limitations restrict me from revealing so much more of her wonderful character.

In brief, Myrna Bernath was a warm, kind, considerate, charitable, intelligent, concerned, delightful, and magnetic human being. She was God's gift to the world.

Although we are all destined to leave Mother Earth, I am angry that she had to endure three years of unspeakable suffering. Nevertheless I am most thankful that I could share her life, charm, and be best friends for fifty-five years. For fifty-two of those years she was in good health but constantly worried about me. Myrna merits our love and our everlasting remembrance. She was different, she contributed to making this a better world.

*Jerry Bernath*

**OLD CHINA TRADE DOCUMENTS IN  
SEVERAL EAST COAST AMERICAN  
LIBRARIES:**

**THEIR USEFULNESS TO HISTORIANS OF CHINA,  
THE UNITED STATES, AND SINO-AMERICAN  
RELATIONS\***

*by*  
*Jonathan Goldstein*  
*(West Georgia College)*

**INTRODUCTION**

The Fall 1988 Mid-Atlantic Regional Conference of the Association for Asian Studies included a bibliographical panel on "The Celestial Empire and the New American Republic, 1744-1844: Old China Trade Documents in the Mid-Atlantic States Region." I served as discussant for this panel, which was organized and chaired by Frank Joseph Shulman of the University of Maryland. The panelists and papers were: Jacques M. Downs (University of New England), "The Caleb Cushing Papers and other China Trade Material at the Library of Congress"; Murray A. Rubinstein (Baruch College, City University of New York), "Olyphant's Island: China Trade Materials in Manhattan Library Collections—The New York Historical Society, the New York Public Library, and the Union Theological Library"; and Nancy E. Davis (The Octagon Museum), "Cargo Manifest Records from American China Trade Vessels Bound for the Port of Philadelphia, 1784-1844, at the National Archives and Records Service (Washington, D.C.)."

Each of these papers was written by an experienced researcher who had not only surveyed but also utilized the

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China trade archive he or she described. In several cases the results of their research have also been published. Because the authors were extraordinarily, perhaps uniquely, qualified to explicate the scope and accessibility of these archives, I did not attempt to augment those aspects of their papers. For scope and accessibility, the interested reader is referred to the February 1989 *Association for Asian Studies Committee on East Asian Libraries Bulletin* in which each of the three papers is published in its entirety. The purpose of this article is to briefly summarize the three papers and to highlight the usefulness of this genre of documents to historians of late imperial China, early national United States, and Sino-American relations.

### THE DIVERSE USEFULNESS OF THESE DOCUMENTS

All the collections of documents surveyed deal to a greater or lesser extent with Sino-American trade. The collections may be useful to historians studying trade from varied regional, national, and theoretical perspectives. Some of the documents Professor Rubinstein scrutinized at the New York Historical Society and New York Public Library would be of primary interest to economic historians of China and of the United States, while other materials at the New York Public Library and at Union Theological Seminary are of principal interest to an historian of Christian missionaries and their contacts with the merchant community. Dr. Davis portrayed collections of public records with economic, diplomatic, and art historical relevance. Professor Downs examined the Caleb Cushing papers, of primary interest to diplomatic, legal, and business historians. He also surveyed the John Richardson Latimer papers that straddle two fields. They deal with commercial questions such as how Benjamin Chew Wilcocks pioneered and developed branches of the United States opium

trade to China from both Turkey and India. The Latimer papers also contain detailed pen-and-ink drawings of Chinese-made ladies' hair combs imported into early America.<sup>2</sup> Such artwork can be a resource for the historian of art, taste, and material culture in early America as well as for the purely economic historian.

I will discuss the collections in terms of their usefulness to economic, diplomatic, art, and missionary historians respectively. I have chosen to begin with economic history because this panel focused on documents pertaining to commerce, and also because, as Professor Downs pointed out over a decade ago in a paper before the American Historical Association, Sino-American trade was the primary nexus out of which Sino-American diplomacy, missionary activity, and even some trends in American taste ultimately evolved.<sup>3</sup>

### THE DOCUMENTS' USEFULNESS TO ECONOMIC, COMMERCIAL, AND MARITIME HISTORIANS

A key question pertaining to trade is the extent to which China's nineteenth-century economy was significantly affected by Chinese involvement in the world economy. Hao Yen-p'ing, in two major books, as well as Robert P. Gardella and Lillian M. Li, have argued that foreign trade played a significant economic role, especially in the coastal regions of China.<sup>4</sup> William Rowe, on the other hand, has argued that China's economic growth up to 1889, specifically in the case of inland Hankow, proceeded "along a course dictated by the internal logic of China's own socioeconomic development." Nearly all the commercial changes mentioned by Rowe can be explained "independent of the arrival of the West."<sup>5</sup> Who is right?

This problem quickly becomes one of defining the component parts of the Chinese economy and then

demonstrating how each geographical part did or did not interact with world markets. What can documents written by Americans for other Americans tell about China's economy? Professors Downs and Rubinstein have mentioned some of the largest entrepreneurs on the China coast: Russell, Heard, Olyphant, Dunn, Latimer, Ammidon, Wilcocks, Low, Hoppin, Cushing, and Carrington. It is possible the archives and especially the account books of these commercial giants may assist in defining "real" commercial impact. One type of economic growth could have been taking place in Hankow and the other Wuhan cities simultaneously with a different form of economic growth in Canton and its outside anchorages.

Further clarification of the role of foreign trade in China's nineteenth-century economic development would come from a clearer understanding of the role of the opium trade. Most scholarly examination of the opium trade, including path-breaking work by Professor Downs, has focused on international commerce and diplomacy.<sup>6</sup> But what role did opium play within the Chinese economy? Jonathan Spence, in a 1975 article, asked about local economic arrangements to distribute prepared opium. What roles were played by special interest groups, such as Canton merchants, Triads, bankers, and Parsee firms? We have some general knowledge about these groups but much more precise information would be helpful. How did the opium trade fit in with Chinese taxation patterns? Apparently, opium served as a substitute for money on the local level and was taxed by the latter part of the Ch'ing dynasty. What role did the opium trade play in the triumph of trading interests over morality, the financing of China's "self-strengthening" program, the collapse of older agricultural ideals, the linkage of 'evil' with 'the foreigner,' and the final shattering of the image of the Emperor as paternal protector? Although Spence raised all of these questions in 1975, opium in 1989 remains one of the most understudied and unresolved

issues in nineteenth-century Sino-American relations. Again, it is possible that the commercial documents surveyed by Professors Downs and Rubinstein, especially the Latimer and Russell papers, can help us better understand the opium trade and thereby the role of China's foreign trade in its general economic development.

The commercial documents Downs and Rubinstein discussed also may have relevance for the study of American history. Rubinstein described papers that may provide a "Dilthyist" view of the China trade, that is to say, a participant's own perspective.<sup>8</sup> Such documents enable us to know not only what procedures of trade were followed by United States merchants but also what life was like for the average trader, captain, and seaman. Such social history considerations are similar to those of Marcus Rediker and Jesse Lemisch, who examined the attitudes and behavior of American merchant seamen.<sup>9</sup> There is clearly much biographical work to be done. Professor Downs was helpful in delineating which China trade biographies can and should be written based on the documentary sources available, calling special attention to the need for biographies of Benjamin Chew Wilcocks and Samuel Russell.<sup>10</sup>

### THE DOCUMENTS' USEFULNESS TO DIPLOMATIC HISTORIANS

In addition to being useful to commercial historians, the Caleb Cushing Papers inspected by Professor Downs are a major resource on early Sino-American diplomatic contact. Until recent years the study of Sino-American diplomacy up through 1844 was largely the domain of the antiquarian and nautical history buff. Major writers on the topic included Sydney and Marjorie Greenbie, who published their romanticized *God of Ophir* in 1925.<sup>11</sup> Tyler Dennett's *Americans in East Asia*, an excellent business history written

shortly after World War I, sought to demonstrate the necessity of American cooperation with "the other powers," especially Europeans, in shaping a stable, peaceful East Asian order. Dennett's history excluded Asian perspectives and non-official contacts.<sup>12</sup> In 1983 Michael Hunt's *Making of a Special Relationship: The United States and China to 1919* elaborated on themes initially raised by Dennett but offered alternative interpretations. According to Hunt, diplomatic negotiation was a mere thread in a vast weave that he labeled "a Sino-American special relationship." This matrix was crafted by "a large and diverse cast of Chinese and Americans, from obscure transpacific travellers to eminent public figures." By the early twentieth century, those protagonists had "bound two countries widely separated by culture and geography into a relationship notable for its breadth, complexity, and instability."<sup>13</sup>

The Cushing Papers are examples of documents that may help explain this multifaceted relationship. Apparently, Cushing saw himself as more than a diplomat, a linguist, a lawyer or even a commercial advocate. Admittedly, he was a strong friend of the China trade. His kinsman John P. Cushing was head of Perkins and Company. But while Caleb aimed to secure "equal commercial footing" for Americans in the China market alongside the British, he also thought in terms of outstripping rather than equalling his transatlantic rivals. Cushing championed an American ascendancy in East Asian affairs. He saw himself as a catalyst, and based on what Professor Downs has told us about his attitudes on race, perhaps a white supremacist as well. The Commissioner viewed himself as being sent from a rising new center of world civilization to a once vital but now stagnant Asia. His papers contain his poignant comment that "we have become the teachers of our teachers."<sup>14</sup> A closer scrutiny of his

papers may reveal more about the complexity of Cushing's perception of his mission.

## THE DOCUMENTS' USEFULNESS TO ART HISTORIANS AND TO HISTORIANS OF MATERIAL CULTURE

Let us now move from a consideration of diplomatic to art history as it relates to the China trade. Dr. Davis described a specific genre of China trade documents: cargo manifests and customs records of American vessels bound from China to the port of Philadelphia between 1784 and 1844. Her Ph.D. dissertation is proof positive of what can be done with such records. Dr. Davis elaborated on art historian Carl Crossman's estimate that "an early nineteenth century Boston or Salem dwelling might have had one-tenth to one-fifth of its effects from China."<sup>15</sup> Restricting her research to the Philadelphia area and using customs records and cognate documents, Dr. Davis tabulated the importation of thirty-three China trade objects destined for the open market. She differentiated those general sale objects from custom-ordered furniture, textiles, porcelain, metalwork, and painting, thereby disassociating middle-class purchases from the purchases of a more affluent upper class or a less affluent lower class. She calculated the costs to the middle class of imported items, concluding that the "designs and detailing of Chinese objects provided elegance and refinement previously unaffordable to the American middle and upper-middle class."<sup>16</sup>

Dr. Davis' paper and dissertation posed questions as broad as what were price fluctuations on imported goods and as specific as what were the methods of packing and containerization in the China trade. She suggested additional questions that might profitably be researched: What types of China trade products were favored by the American lower classes, as opposed to products favored by the middle and

upper classes? Which consignees favored which types of objects? How did Philadelphia's China imports over a ten-year period compare with those of New York, Boston, or Charleston? To what extent were "open market" China trade objects reexported to the United States from Europe and the West Indies? How does the volume of reexports compare with the volume of objects imported directly into Philadelphia from China? To what extent were China trade products part of the coastal trade? Was there a correlation between a ship's tonnage and its choice of cargo? How did the length of time for a Canton-to-Philadelphia voyage vary over a period of years and for what reasons? She also described cognate collections of documents, particularly State Department Consular Records and the Canton periodical press, that may additionally assist the researcher in resolving China trade questions.

## MISSIONARY RECORDS AND THE OLD CHINA TRADE

Finally we move from the art and material culture of the China trade to the relationship of American Protestant missionaries with the trade. Professor Rubinstein argued in his paper, as he has done elsewhere, that missionary records can broaden our understanding of far more than the history of religion.<sup>17</sup> Such documents can be "a lens through which one can see new things in China and in the complex relationship between China and the West."<sup>18</sup> Individual and collective biographies, memoirs, and eyewitness accounts "permit us to see American and European merchants in Canton through different eyes."<sup>19</sup> Professor Rubinstein asked how missionaries regarded the merchants with whom they often traveled to China and for whom they served as pastors and spiritual counselors. How did these two types of protagonists interact in Sino-American relations? Did they, for example,

work hand-in-hand towards furthering a common brand of imperialism or did they have different imperialisms as their objectives?<sup>20</sup> The questions Rubinstein posed are significant because any additional appraisal of China trade merchants from non-mercantile sources will broaden our perspective on traders over and beyond what can be derived from purely commercial and diplomatic documents. Rubinstein has not answered his questions, so we can look forward to the answers in future publications by this prolific scholar.

### CONCLUSION

Hopefully, the three comprehensive papers from this panel, like those from Frank Joseph Shulman's earlier bibliographical panels, will find their way to larger scholarly audiences.<sup>21</sup> In addition to publication of these articles in specialized journals, I hope that the leadership of the Mid-Atlantic Region of the Association for Asian Studies will see fit to emulate what the Southeast Region did in 1985: to publish extensive volumes of bibliographical essays delivered at its annual meetings.<sup>22</sup> The optimal end result of such publication would be to stimulate historians of China and the United States to examine the heretofore underutilized archives of the Old China Trade.

*Dr. Jonathan Goldstein is a Research Associate of the John K. Fairbank Center for East Asian Research of Harvard University and Associate Professor of East Asian history at West Georgia College, Carrollton, Georgia. He is grateful to Paul A. Cohen, Frederic D. Grant, Jr., and Jacques Downs for helpful suggestions about the three papers; to the staff of the Harvard-Yenching Institute Library for bibliographical aid; and to Darlene Jones of the Vice President's Office of West Georgia College for secretarial help.*



## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup>Jacques Downs, "American Merchants and the China Opium Trade, 1800-1840," *Business History Review* 42 (Winter 1968), pp. 418-42; Jacques Downs, "Fair Game: Exploitive Role-Myths and the American Opium Trade," *Pacific Historical Review* 41, no. 2 (May 1972), pp. 133-49; Murray A. Rubinstein, "The Northeastern Connection: American Board Missionaries and the Formation of American Opinion Toward China: 1830-1860," *Chung yang yen chiu yuan chin tai shih yen chiu so chi k'an* ("Bulletin of the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica") 9 (July 1980), pp. 433-53; Murray A. Rubinstein, "The American Protestant Missionary Movement in China: 1827-1839," *Mei-kuo yen chiu* ("American Studies") (Taiwan) 9, no. 4 (December 1979), pp. 45-77; Nancy Ellen Davis, "The American China Trade, 1784-1844: Products for the Middle Class," Ph.D. diss., American Civilization, George Washington University, 1987 (available in printed form from University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI, Order Number DET-87-08348).

For an overall guide to Old China Trade archives, see Kwang-Ching Liu, *Americans and Chinese. A Historical Essay and a Bibliography* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963).

- <sup>2</sup>Letter, Elisha Tibbits to John Richardson Latimer, June 10, 1825, Latimer Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
- <sup>3</sup>See Jacques M. Downs, "The Commercial Origins of American Attitudes Toward China, 1784-1844," American Historical Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco, December 1978; Jacques M. Downs, "The Commercial Origins of American China Policy, 1784-1844," *Mei-kuo yen chiu* ("American Studies") (Taiwan) 10, no.3 (September 1980), pp. 15-30.
- <sup>4</sup>Yen-p'ing Hao, *The Commercial Revolution in Nineteenth Century China: the Rise of Sino-Western Mercantile Capitalism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); Yen-p'ing Hao, *The Comprador in Nineteenth Century China: Bridge Between East and West* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970); Lillian M. Li, *China's Silk Trade: Traditional Industry in the Modern World, 1842-1937* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981); Robert P. Gardella, "The Boom Years of the Fukien Tea Trade, 1842-1888," in *America's China Trade in Historical Perspective: The Chinese and American Performance*, ed. Ernest R. May and John K. Fairbank (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1986), pp.

- 33-75; and Robert P. Gardella, "Reform and the Tea Industry and Trade in Late Imperial China: The Fukien Case," in *Reform in Nineteenth Century China*, ed. Paul A. Cohen and John E. Schrecker (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976), pp. 71-79.
- <sup>5</sup>William T. Rowe, *Hankow: Commerce and Society in a Chinese City, 1796-1889* (Stanford University Press, 1984), p. 340. See also William T. Rowe, "Urban Control in Late Imperial China; the *Pao-chia* System in Hankow," in *Perspectives on a Changing China: Essays in Honor of C. Martin Wilbur on the Occasion of His Retirement*, ed. Joshua A. Fogel and William T. Rowe (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1979), pp. 89-112.
- <sup>6</sup>See, for example, Downs, "American Merchants"; Hosea Ballou Morse, *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire* (London: Longmans, Green, 1910); John King Fairbank, *Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast: the Opening of the Treaty Ports, 1842-1854* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953); Chen Ching-Jen, "Opium and Anglo-Chinese Relations," *Chinese Social and Political Science Review* 19 (October 1935), pp. 386-437; Yu En-te, *Chung-kuo chin-yen fa-ling pien-ch'ien shih* [A History of the Prohibition of Opium in China] (Shanghai: Chung-hua Shu-chu, 1934); Hsin-pao Chang *Commissioner Lin and the Opium War* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964); Charles C. Stelle, "American Opium Trade to China, Prior to 1820," *Pacific Historical Review* 9 (December 1940), pp. 425-44 and Charles C. Stelle, "American Trade in Opium to China, 1821-39," *Pacific Historical Review* 10 (March 1941), pp. 57-74; David Owen, *British Opium Policy in China and India* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934); and Michael Greenberg, *British Trade and the Opening of China, 1800-1843* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1951).
- <sup>7</sup>Jonathan Spence, "Opium Smoking in Chi'ing China," in *Conflict and Control in Late Imperial China*, ed. Frederick Wakeman, Jr. and Carolyn Grant (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), pp. 143-44, 167.
- <sup>8</sup>Murray A. Rubinstein, "Olyphant's Island: China Trade Materials in Manhattan Library Collections—The New York Historical Society, the Union Theological Seminary, and the Research Division/New York Public Library," Mid-Atlantic Region of the Association for Asian Studies Annual Meeting, Indiana, Pennsylvania, October 22, 1988; published above, pp. 9, 14.
- <sup>9</sup>Marcus Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seaman, Pirates, and the Anglo-American Maritime World 1700-*

1750 (Cambridge, England and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Jesse Lemisch, "Jack Tar in the Streets: Merchant Seamen in the Politics of Revolutionary America," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser. 25, no. 3 (July 1968), pp. 371-407.

- <sup>10</sup>While no Samuel Russell biography has yet been written, the Connecticut River Museum in Essex, Connecticut, mounted a special exhibit about this key figure in Sino-American commerce. The exhibition "Connecticut Yankee in the Celestial Empire: Samuel Russell and the China Trade" opened October 28, 1988 and remained on view through March 1989.
- <sup>11</sup>Sydney and Marjorie Greenbie, *Gold of Ophir; or, The Lure That Made America* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1925).
- <sup>12</sup>Tyler Dennett, *Americans in Eastern Asia: A Critical Study of United States' Policy in the Far East in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1922; Barnes & Noble, 1963). See also Foster Rhea Dulles, *The Old China Trade* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1930) and Foster Rhea Dulles, *Eastward Ho* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1931).
- <sup>13</sup>Michael H. Hunt, *The Making of a Special Relationship: The United States and China to 1914* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), pp. ix-x.
- <sup>14</sup>Caleb Cushing to John Tyler, December 27, 1842, Cushing Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., cited in Hunt, *Making*, pp. 18, 322.
- <sup>15</sup>[Carl L. Crossman], *An Exhibition and Sale of Paintings and Objects of the China Trade, October 20-November 21, 1969* (brochure), Childs Gallery, Boston, cited in Jonathan Goldstein, *Philadelphia and the China Trade, 1682-1846: Commercial, Cultural, and Attitudinal Effects* (University Park, Penn. and London: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1978), pp. 2, 84; Nancy Ellen Davis, "The American China Trade, 1784-1844: Products for the Middle Class" (Ph.D. diss., George Washington University, 1987), p. 1.
- <sup>16</sup>Davis, "American," pp. 94, 221, 259-60.
- <sup>17</sup>Murray A. Rubinstein, "Christianity in China: One Scholar's Perspective of the State of the Research in China Mission and China Christian History, 1964-1986," *Chin tai Chung-kuo shih yen chiu t'ung hsun* ("Newsletter for Modern Chinese History") no. 4 (September 1987), pp. 111-143; Murray A. Rubinstein, "The War They Wanted: American Missionaries and Sino-Western Confrontation, 1834-44," Southeast Conference of the Association for Asian Studies, Raleigh, N.C., January 18, 1986.

<sup>18</sup>Rubinstein, "Christianity," pp. 142-3.

<sup>19</sup>Rubinstein, "Olyphant's," pp. 8, 11.

<sup>20</sup>Rubinstein, "Olyphant's," p. 11.

<sup>21</sup>See, for example, Jonathan Goldstein, "Resources on East Society of Pennsylvania," *Association for Asian Studies, Inc. Committee on East Asian Libraries Bulletin*, no. 60 (October 1979), pp. 16-23; Jonathan Goldstein, "Resources on Early Sino-American Relations in Philadelphia's Stephen Girard Collection and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania," *Ch'ing-shih wen-t'i* 4, no. 3 (June 1980), pp. 114-129.

<sup>22</sup>Kenneth W. Berger, ed., *Asian Resources in the Southeastern United States: Archival and Manuscript Resources on China and Japan in North Carolina* [Durham, N.C.: Southeast Conference of the Association for Asian Studies, 1985]; Kenneth W. Berger, ed. *Asian Resources in the Southeastern United States: Archival and Manuscript Resources on East Asia in Georgia* [Durham, N.C.: Southeast Conference of the Association for Asian Studies, 1985].

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## THE 1989 BRADLEY UNIVERSITY BERLIN SEMINAR

by

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The purpose of this report is to summarize and evaluate the 1989 Bradley University Berlin Seminar. The annual seminar is the brainchild of Lester H. Brune, professor of history at Bradley, who first organized a five-day meeting for diplomatic historians in West Berlin in 1981. Since then, the meetings have grown to nineteen days, have included time in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) and have involved not only historians but also political scientists, journalists, linguists, and other college faculty. Of the forty-one participants in the 1989 seminar all were residents of the United States except one Canadian, but the birthplaces of group members included Britain, both Germanies, Hungary, Latvia, and Korea. SHAFR members included Jerald Combs (San Francisco State), Vereena Botzenhart-Viehe (Youngstown State), Brune, and myself. In this report I will discuss the itinerary and program of the 1989 seminar, share some personal impressions, and evaluate the annual meeting's value to historians in general and diplomatic specialists in particular.

The first segment of the seminar, June 9-14, involved formal conferences with GDR officials and visits to places of historic and cultural significance in the southern GDR. Meetings included a briefing on the political system of the GDR; a scholarly presentation on Heinrich Melchior Muhlenberg, the clergyman from Halle who founded the Lutheran Church in America in the eighteenth century; a discussion of regional history with local historians at Weimar; a meeting with a historian from the University of Jena on the

perception of history and heritage in the GDR; a conference with a military historian at Koenigstein Fortress; and a visit to a pharmaceutical plant, Sachsiches Serumwerk Dresden, and talk on industrial policy there. Sightseeing ventures included museums and the Semper Opera House in Dresden; Koenigstein Fortress at Kr. Pirna; Wartburg Castle at Eisenach; the National Library, Goethe and Schiller Museums, and National Gallery at Weimar; Buchenwald concentration camp and memorial; and Stadtkirche and Lutherhaus at Wittenberg. Time permitted our attendance at a concert by the Dresden Boys Choir at Christ Church, an organ recital at the Dresden Cathedral, and a modern rendition of Moliere's "Tartuffe" at the National Theater in Weimar.

Phase two, from June 14 to 19 in Berlin, resembled the first. Formal meetings and briefings covered topics as diverse as the GDR's role in the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON), the GDR's national budget and economy, church-state relations, youth policy, German history of the "Feudal Era" (c. 500 to 1789), United States-Soviet relations since 1945, and peace research in the GDR. Our hosts also provided informative tours of an agriculture collective in Berlin, Cecilienhof and Sans Souci Palaces at Potsdam, and the Museum of German History in Berlin. The group was also treated to a piano aria at Neues Palace in Potsdam and a fabulous performance of two Richard Strauss symphonies at the Schauspielhaus in Berlin.

The ten days in the GDR included sufficient time for discussion between American professors and GDR spokesmen on several issues of interest to historians. Space does not permit discussion of every issue, so I will elaborate on four matters of general interest to diplomatic historians. First, it appears that GDR historians are liberalizing their framework and perceptions of history, but remain confined by relatively narrow ideological constraints. Prof. Dr. Dieter

Fricke of the Shiller University at Jena reported that historians have abandoned their early Cold War-era practice of branding historical figures as "progressive" or "reactionary" and now appreciate the complexity of each character. For example, historians of Frederick II (the GDR avoids "the Great" because it glorifies his militarism), who traditionally denounced their subject as a reactionary, now credit him with elements of progressivism. Luther, once condemned as a forerunner of Hitler, is now recognized for advancing some democratic interests. Despite this shift in perception and emerging pluralism in academic circles, Dr. Fricke admitted that historians must still earn state approval by advancing the official objectives of anti-fascism and democratic socialism. Despite the perspective of the state, moreover, most GDR historians continue to study the "great men" rather than the common people.

Second, GDR spokesmen categorically rejected any prospect of unifying the two Germanies. (As we would learn later in the seminar, the FRG continues to pursue unification of the German peoples by trying to eliminate the political divisions that separate them.) Even if the Cold War were ended and NATO and the Warsaw Pact abolished, GDR spokesmen insisted, such different political, social, and economic systems have emerged in the two countries that unification under any guise would be impossible. Rather than waste efforts on such an unrealistic objective, they argued, the two Germanies should work on cooperatively dealing with mutual concerns such as disarmament and environmental protection.

Third, GDR officials distanced themselves from the Soviet *perestroika* agenda. The GDR reformed its economy fifteen years ago, they explained, and thereafter became the most prosperous socialist state in the world. The GDR economy works, and hence no need exists to impose changes now. In

fact, GDR officials boasted, with a hint of "I-told-you-so" in their voices, current Soviet economic reforms are modeled on the ideas that the GDR conceived in the mid-1970s. The Soviets are now trying to catch up with the GDR. While Berlin considers that effort commendable, and remains grateful for forty years of Soviet friendship, it will not follow the Soviet lead in the late 1980s.

Fourth, GDR spokesmen expressed much concern with the concept of *glasnost* and current developments in Hungary, Poland, and the Soviet Union. Officials fended off difficult questions about political power sharing in the GDR by mentioning some reforms in local electoral procedures that the western media ignored, and then changing the subject. The same officials sharply criticized the current democratic reforms in Poland, Hungary, and the Soviet Union as veils to disguise economic malaise in those countries.

GDR spokesmen made conflicting statements about what the GDR might do about developments in those neighboring states. Their official policy is non-involvement in the internal affairs of their socialist neighbors. The idea of military intervention under the Brezhnev Doctrine (as in Czechoslovakia in 1968) is no longer feasible, because recent history has shown that military force cannot kill political ideas. GDR officials added several conditions, however, to such renunciations. One high-ranking SED member, Manfred Engere, stated that he was "gravely concerned" with the unrest in Hungary. Another spokesman explained that the GDR would not intervene in Hungary if the people there truly want the radical reforms being discussed in Budapest, but that those reforms are pushed not by the masses but only by a few extremists. On a similar note, GDR spokesmen applauded the Chinese government's recent crushing of student protests on Tiananmen Square. The demonstrations there had gotten out of hand; greedy young troublemakers were exploiting them for



personal economic gain by using the shallow rhetoric of political democracy. Disastrous disorder would have resulted had the government remained inactive.

Opportunity existed in the GDR for dialogue on several other issues of interest to historians. Discussions covered matters such as the GDR's economic achievements and its views toward integration in Western Europe, the internal political functioning of the one-party state, the justification for the existence of the Berlin Wall, and the legacy of the Cold War.

While informative, the presentations by GDR spokesmen were tainted to varying degrees by adherence to a *Zeitgeist* seemingly handed down by leaders of the Socialist Unity Party (SED). For example, several of them repeated to us—in a line apparently drawn from some party manual—that the GDR trails the Federal Republic in economic productivity because "we are a little country with only two natural resources," soft coal and potassium. Such "party line" statements at times seemed ridiculous. Based on the Museum of German History and the statements of GDR officials, for example, one would conclude that the Berlin riots of June 17, 1953 never occurred. Even the presentation on Muhlenberg called the Thirty Years War a struggle between Britain and France for "world domination," and scholars studying the late medieval clergyman-rebel Thomas Muntzer view him "scientifically" as a Marxist visionary, although he lived three centuries before Marx, and as a "founding father" of the GDR. Other manifestations of the party line were more serious. A local historian at Dresden, for example, called the February 1945 firebombing of that town an act of "Anglo-American terrorism" that served no military purpose but was ordered to impress the Soviet "liberators" with the might of the West. No argument from the Americans would challenge the young

woman's conviction that her view and her view alone contained the absolute truth.

Despite a surprising sense of openness in the GDR, the country retained an air of secrecy and closedness. On the one hand, most Americans felt entirely free to split away from the group and visit local sites, to ask questions, and to take photographs. On the other hand, our hosts seemed to show us only what they wanted us to see, and many of the places we visited, notably the collective farm, seemed to have been specially prepared for our viewing. Moreover, answers to the tougher questions posed by our group were less than satisfying. As I wrote above, for example, GDR officials repeatedly ducked questions about prospects for political power sharing in their country. While they are not saying much about *glasnost* and *perestroika*, in other words, GDR officials seem to understand fully another Russian word, *pokazuka*, which means a charade designed to impress foreigners.

I also noticed a wide gap between the official explanation of various matters and the reality of life in the GDR. On the matter of child care, for example, official spokesmen and publications stress that state-run facilities provide free child care. But one young mother I conversed with confided that children at such facilities are poorly supervised and often ill, and that she and her husband moonlight in order to afford private care in their home. On another occasion, a small party of Americans was assisted in purchasing tickets by an English-speaking man and his daughter, approximately age fifteen, who seemed enthralled by the fact that we were Americans. After several minutes of casual conversation, the girl asked how we liked the GDR. When we replied, politely, that we were favorably impressed, the girl simply wrinkled her nose in a universally understood expression of distaste that fifteen-year-olds the world over are noted for. A professional

couple in their fifties, finally, told a member of our group that they were anxious to reach retirement age because the state would then approve their long-standing request for a permanent exit visa. The GDR, they joked sardonically, is the only country in the world whose citizens look forward to growing old. Numerous observations of life in the GDR, such as the long queues outside fruit and vegetable markets, reinforced this general impression. On the other hand, a conversation with a sentry posted outside SED headquarters one evening revealed that behind the initial cold stare at camera-toting westerners was a friendly young man who was slightly homesick and thoroughly bored by his mandatory service in the army.

A microcosm of life in the GDR as a whole, accommodations were sufficient but stark, much to the distress of the pampered among us. The tour did not lack bureaucratic muddling, some of it comical. Upon arriving in Dresden, for example, our hotel managers told us that they were ten rooms short, even though we had paid for our rooms three months before. While our hosts negotiated with them, we sat in the lobby half-seriously discussing prospects for staging a protest in the town square and erecting a replica of the Statue of Liberty. After two hours passed, they finally found us enough beds. But the delay forced us to cancel that evening's meeting—on the subject of the housing situation in the GDR.

The third segment of the seminar, June 19-25, based at the Europäische Akademie in West Berlin, resembled a scholarly conference in the United States. Formal papers were given by West German scholars on FRG relations with the GDR, the Soviet Union, and the United States; by an Hungarian official on developments in his country; and by a Soviet spokesman on European integration and Gorbachev's notion of a "Common European House." A journalist from the BBC

informed us about daily life in the two Berlins, and representatives of each of the major parties discussed politics in the isolated city. A concurrent meeting at the Akademie of faculty from several East European universities provided opportunities for informal discussion with them as well. The Akademie also arranged a video documentary on major developments in Berlin since 1945; a superb bus tour of the city with a garrulous and witty guide; and a walking tour of Kreuzberg, the city's district noted for its ethnic diversity, radical politics, and unique architecture. Unlike the GDR phase, the Akademie planned nothing for the free time, much to the relief of all. Individuals were able to travel about town and see sights at will, according to their personal interests, desires, and vigor. Compared to the dormitories in the GDR, accommodations at the Akademie seemed palatial.

The last segment of the seminar took us to Bonn, June 25-28. Most of the time in the FRG's capital was devoted to informative briefings by top-level officials of the Foreign Office. Topics included problems in US-FRG relations, the FRG's role in NATO and NATO's presence within the country, the question of German-German relations, and possibilities of German unification. The discussion seemed especially pertinent in the wake of the American-German settlement at the May 1989 NATO summit. The group also visited the three foundations (*Stiftungen*) associated with the Social Democratic Party, the Liberal Party, and the Christian Democratic Party. We learned not only of the work of each one, but also of the unique status of these giant research and publication "think tanks" that are funded with public money but linked to political parties. Discussion elucidated the challenge for each foundation to balance its quest for credibility with the agenda of its sponsoring party. Time permitted walks along the banks of the Rhine and visits to the

Beethoven House in Bonn, and tours of the Dom and Roman-Germanic Museum in Cologne.

As one might expect, the three-week seminar was not without flaws. Most participants seemed to become exhausted, mentally if not physically, by the regimented schedule of the two phases in the GDR. Because the Bradley organizers have opened the seminar to college faculty in several fields, in addition, discussion in several meetings strayed from those issues of most pressing concern to historians. Moreover, the GDR segment touched upon such diverse topics that no single participant could fully appreciate every session.

These minor problems notwithstanding, the Bradley University Berlin Seminar offers a unique opportunity to tour two countries positioned along the Iron Curtain and to discuss important issues with officials of both states. It would be difficult, on one's own initiative, to organize comparable tours, especially in the GDR. Given the generous subsidies provided by the FRG, the Akademie, and the GDR, the Bradley seminar is definitely the most economical way to experience the two countries.

I would endorse the Bradley seminar for anyone interested in the history, politics, and culture of the two Germanies; recommend the seminar for historians of American diplomacy with interest in postwar problems of Europe and the Cold War; and strongly recommend it for historians of modern Europe or of any era of Germany.

ASSOCIATION FOR DIPLOMATIC STUDIES  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS ORAL HISTORY  
COLLECTION

*AN ORAL HISTORY COLLECTION FOR DIPLOMATIC  
HISTORIANS*

From time to time there are articles in *Diplomatic History* expressing concern that historians place too much emphasis on the official records and not enough on other sources. The development of an archive of the experiences of former American diplomats and others in the foreign affairs process is an obvious additional source. The feasibility and value of developing an oral history collection using interviews with retired Foreign Service officers (FSOs) and others was raised during the 1984 SHAFR Conference at George Washington University. The trial balloon was in the form of a panel discussion chaired by Dr. Samuel Gammon, executive director of the American Historical Association and himself a retired FSO and a former ambassador. The oral history proposal was met with warmth by SHAFR members and an oral history program based on the experiences and perceptions of former career and non-career diplomats has gradually evolved from the seed that was planted almost five years ago. This is a status report and a brief history of the program thus far.

Dr. Peter Hill, diplomatic historian at George Washington University, sponsored the creation of the Foreign Service History Center which was run by two former FSOs and SHAFR members, Charles Stuart Kennedy and Victor Wolf, Jr. The groundwork was laid in the next three years at George Washington University with the Center located in the Gelman Library. The interviews were to include both career officers and those politically appointed by various administrations, with

a concentration on men and women who had been relatively senior, ambassadors or assistant secretaries, by the time of retirement. While the interviews would be unclassified, there would be no screening by the State Department and those interviewed would be given the opportunity to say what was on their minds; there would be no policy slants. Attempts to put limitations on the availability of transcripts would be discouraged; they could be edited by those interviewed, and in the initial stages the areas covered would be relatively general rather than focused on one place or issue.

A questionnaire was sent to some 4,000 former foreign affairs specialists asking where they served, when, and what they did as well as giving them the opportunity to note special events that they dealt with including natural disasters, coups, wars, and presidential visits (in increasing order of importance to FSOs). Over 1,000 retirees responded and the data were entered into a computer. This information covers some 140 countries from the 1930s to the present with the concentration in the post-World War II years. These data can be used for developing oral history interviews concerned with various countries or issues at particular times. Using networking techniques a researcher can often develop personal sources that would normally be overlooked. The BBC used this data base for part of its program "The Road to War."

While the groundwork for the oral history collection was laid at George Washington University during the three years the Foreign Service History Center was there (1985-88) it became apparent that there was not the financial support to keep the center viable. Attempts to raise money from foundations or individuals did not produce any revenue except for a grant from the Una Chapman Fox Foundation to fund the questionnaire project. The two retired FSOs worked as volunteers to keep the center going. Unfortunately Victor Wolf was killed in a traffic accident and Stuart Kennedy was

left with the program. Shortly after the center was formed at George Washington, another organization, the Association for Diplomatic Studies, was created. The purpose of the Association was to give support to the Foreign Service Institute which trains FSOs by encouraging the study of diplomacy, to start a Foreign Service museum, and to begin an oral history program. While the Association has an office at the Institute, it is not funded by the State Department and operates quite separately, much on the order of the U.S. Naval Institute or the Smithsonian Associates.

After some discussions with the various institutions involved there was an amicable shift of the oral history program from George Washington University to Georgetown University in July of 1988. The new organization is called the Foreign Affairs Oral History Program. The title was chosen to be more inclusive, so that the collection would be seen as one not just focused on the Foreign Service, or on diplomacy, but on the broader aspects of the American efforts abroad, including consular operations, AID, USIA and some non-governmental work, including that of American foreign correspondents, missionaries, and businessmen. Much of this has yet to be done, but these elements should eventually be covered for researchers to gain a full picture of the United States' role in the world. Stuart Kennedy continues as director of the program. Grants have been received from the United States Institute for Peace, the Dillon Foundation, the Cox Foundation and individual contributions.

The Oral History Program is located in the Lauinger Library of Georgetown University. The completed transcripts are deposited in the Special Collection Division of the library where they are open to all researchers. Copies of the transcripts are also given the library of the Foreign Service Institute for the use of officers in training or on their way to posts. While the Oral History Program is located in



Georgetown University it is not actually part of that institution, but of the Association for Diplomatic Studies. This change brings the growing collection to a place with a traditional interest and concentration on the practice of diplomacy. Keeping the collection in Washington, D.C. means that SHAFR researchers will be able to add a visit to the Lauinger Library along with the normal calls on the National Archives and the Library of Congress.

The first completed transcripts were given to the Special Collections Division in January of 1989. Since that time over 140 have been deposited. Over 80 more interviews have been done are in the process of being transcribed, edited and put into final form. More interviews are being arranged. Two other oral history programs have been integrated into the collection. The USIA Alumni Association has developed a project in which retired members of USIA have been interviewed by several former Foreign Service Information officers. These interviews, now totalling over fifty, are given to USIA and to the Lauinger Library (and are included in the 140 figure). Another program started soon after the original Foreign Service History Center is the Foreign Service Family project. Because of its nature the work of the United States Foreign Service abroad is essentially a team effort, with the spouses of those in the Foreign Service playing a significant role in dealing with foreign peoples and in supporting the efforts of their husbands or wives who are in the Service. The Family Project is directed by Jewell Fenzi and, through volunteers from the ranks of retired Foreign Service spouses, has interviewed over fifty wives or widows of Foreign Service officers concerning their lives and experiences. As the more unisex Foreign Service develops, husbands of FSOs will be added to the list of those to be interviewed. These interviews give a different perspective on the life, experiences and work of Foreign Service people abroad. Often it has been the wives who have had more contact with the people of a country than the FSO himself, who can be immersed in the day to day

operation of an embassy and restricted to contacts with a foreign ministry. This project will also be of interest to those dealing in women's studies. The collection is also being given to the Lauinger Library; about twenty-five have been deposited so far, and the interviews are continuing.

There are two other projects which will eventually be added to the collection. The Department of Agriculture has had attaches in most embassies for generations. They promote the sales of American agricultural products, often our most important export, and report on the agricultural situation in their country of assignment. Because these men and women travel more than most of the embassy officers they have a unique perspective on a country. As part of its training program the Agricultural Department is arranging for some of its newly appointed agricultural attaches to interview retired ones. Copies of these interviews will be given the Lauinger Library too.

Another project which will eventually end up with the Oral History Program is that of Ann Morin who is conducting in-depth interviews with former and present women ambassadors. These taped interviews will be used in a book Ms. Morin is writing, and when it is finished the tapes and transcripts will be given the library.

AID is the odd man out so far, but we hope to develop some sort of oral history project which will cover this important aspect of American influence abroad. The CIA has its own program but this is so classified that it will probably be well into the next century before anything from that effort sees the light of day. There are, however, some pungent remarks from several ex-ambassadors about CIA operations in our oral history collection.

The interviews being done now generally cover the officers' careers, with an emphasis on the latter part of their service when they had more responsible positions. However, while most of the Oral History Program's interviews are with former ambassadors, the interviews may center in some cases more on the early years if they were in the right spot at the

right time to be of interest to the historian. We are also interviewing political appointees who became ambassadors as their experiences with the diplomatic process are often important and give a different perspective to the conduct of foreign policy. Choosing targets for interviews has been pretty much an *ad hoc* procedure as we wanted to get this collection established and to be broad-based, both geographically and in time, before we concentrated on certain issues or countries.

We do, however, have several more specific projects. One, dealing with the experiences of consular officers, is being edited into a consular reader for students of foreign affairs and new consular officers. Another concerns the experiences of the Foreign Service in China after 1945, being done with the help of Dr. Nancy Tucker of Georgetown. A third consists of interviews with those who administered the Marshall Plan. We also are seeking funding for projects dealing with our relations with Central America, the Middle East and the American civilian side of the Vietnam war. Another potential project is a series of interviews with officials in the Department of State and the Department of Defense who have been concerned with the sale of arms abroad.

Most of the interviewing is done by volunteers, mainly retired FSOs.<sup>1</sup> While there are some inherent dangers to this type of program—too much "old-boyism"—it seems to be working well. We emphasize to the volunteers that our audience will not be other retired FSOs but probably members of SHAFR or others from the academic community. Consequently they should avoid Foreign Service chit chat and

<sup>1</sup>Two SHAFR members are actively involved in the interviewing. Dr. Henry Mattox in North Carolina, a retired FSO, and Dr. Henry Butterfield Ryan, a retired Foreign Service Information Officer, in Washington D.C. Several of our interviewers are former ambassadors themselves and add a certain professional dimension to the interviews. Dr. Norman Graebner had been a strong supporter and advisor of this program since its initiation as have been Dr. Samuel Gammon and Dr. Donald Ritchie.

discuss how the person interviewed saw the situation at the time and why, what were the pressures, how did he or she deal with them, what were the roles of the other American agencies, how did they deal with the host government, and how did things come out? There is a surprising element of frankness in some of these interviews. Most of the men and women have moved on to other things and can view their careers with some perspective and objectivity. The interviewers are not novices to the art of trying to extract information from informants—that is much of what active duty FSOs do—and as two professionals talking together they have a certain amount of mutual credibility and trust that might not be present when someone from the academic world confronts a retired FSO. Some of the interviews are too superficial or skip events that should be covered, but in general a researcher will find this collection a treasure chest of information and anecdotes regarding a whole range of issues, countries and events of interest to diplomatic historians. For someone who wants to know how the actual process of foreign relations is carried out, these interviews give a realistic picture.

The oral histories done so far give some particularly interesting insights on some of the major figures in American foreign relations such as Dulles, Rusk, Kissinger, Nixon and others. Those ex-FSOs who have had to deal with the frustrations of our policy with the Middle East have been given a chance to sound off, and those who have opened diplomatic relations with the newly independent countries of Africa have given some vivid portraits of the leaders of those countries. The problems of dealing with Latin American countries have been well covered. Other areas have not been neglected. For those interested in the Foreign Service as an institution there is a wealth of information on where the FSOs came from, how they got into the service, how assignments

were made, and what the career problems and opportunities were as they saw them. Naturally the interviews vary; some are more valuable than others. Oral history is somewhat akin to trolling in a lake; you are not sure what you will catch. Our overall catch, however, has proved quite worthwhile so far. Obviously oral history will not be the only source for a diplomatic historian, but it does give an added personal dimension.

The Oral History Program has three major tasks now. The first is to continue to increase its collection, refining the questions and developing a large corps of volunteer interviewers. The second is to raise money to support the program, particular country or issue-oriented projects. The third is to bring the existence of this collection to the attention of scholars and other researchers. The Special Collections Division of the Lauinger Library is open regular weekday hours from 9 AM to 5 PM and the transcripts will be made available there for reading. Copies of up to five pages per transcript can be made without special permission of the Oral History Program director. A finders guide has been created with which researchers can identify interviews which cover particular places and times and the staff of the Special Collections will bring these out for reading. At some point we would like to have this collection duplicated in other regions to make it easier for scholars to use.

There may be some opportunity for joint ventures between SHAFR members and the Oral History Program in cases where people who have been involved in foreign affairs are interviewed and taped by SHAFR members for their own research. The problem is always one of funding the transcription process (which costs approximately \$70 per tape hour) but many interviews are too important to be culled by just one researcher and then let languish rather than put in a research facility such as the Lauinger Library where they

would be open to all. We would appreciate any thoughts on what might be done. For further information one can write:

Charles Stuart Kennedy, Director  
Foreign Affairs Oral History Program  
Lauinger Library  
Georgetown University  
Washington, DC 20057  
(202) 687-4104

## **INTERVIEWS CONDUCTED BY THE ORAL HISTORY PROGRAM**

(Approximately half have been transcribed and edited)

Denise ABBEY, Keith ADMASON, Robert C. AMERSON, John M. ANSPACHER, Willis ARMSTRONG (2 interviews), Diego C. ASENSIO, William ATTWOOD, Charles F. BALDWIN, Ralph E. BECKER, Stephen Paterson BELCHER, John O. BELL, Everett BELLOWS, John T. BENNETT, William Tapley BENNETT, Maurice BERNBAUM, Gordon BEYER, Robert BLAKE, Archer K. BLOOD, Richard BLOOMFIELD, Tibor S. BORGIDA, Robert R. BOWIE, William G. BRADFORD, Marshall BREMENT, Robert C. BREWSTER, William D. BREWER, Theodore R. BRITTON Jr., David BROWN, L. Dean BROWN, William BURDETT, John R. BURKE, Findley BURNS Jr., Walter C. CARRINGTON, Henry CATTO, Frederick L. CHAPIN, Joseph CHEEVERS, Robert A. CLEVELAND, Thomas J. CORCORN, Robert CORRIGAN, William A. CRAWFORD, William F. CRAWFORD, John H. Crimmins, Edwin CRONK, John J. CROWLEY, Richard G. CUSHING, Walter L. CUTLER, Leo G. CYR, William N. DALE, Shelby C. DAVIS, True DAVIS, Olcott H.

DEMMING, Jose Perez (Pepe) DEL RIO, Willard DEVLIN, Dwight DICKINSON, Dorothy DILLON, Douglas DILLON, Joseph F. DONELAN, Eileen R. DONOVAN, Everett DRUMRIGHT, Robert W. DUEMLING, Angier Biddle DUKE, Henry DUNLAP, Lawrence S. EAGLEBURGER, William J. DYESS, William B. EDMONDSON, Herman EILTS, James B. ENGLE, Thomas ESTES, John J. EWING, Richard M. FAIRBANKS III, George FELDMAN, Alan FISHER, D. A. FITZGERALD, Robert FOULON, Richard K. FOX Jr., Robert F. FRANKLIN, Alexander FRENKLEY, David B. FUNDERBURK, Richard FUNKHOUSER, Samuel R. GAMMON, Raymond L. GARTHOFF, Gerry GERT, Robert F. GOHEEN, Lincoln GORDON, Robert C. F. GORDON, Henry GOSHO, John G. GRADY, Marshall GREEN, Joseph R. GREENWALD, Claude GROCE, Edmund A. GULLION, Allen C. HANSEN, Raymond A. HARE, Parker T. HART, Arthur A. HARTMAN, Constance HARVEY, Douglas HENDERSON, Robert T. HENNEMEYER, James HODGSON, John HOGAN, Jerome K. HOLLOWAY, James E. HOOFNAGLE, Harold E. HORAN, Frederick HUNT, John N. HUTCHISON, John Wesley JONES, William B. JONES, Henry J. KELLERMAN, Charles S. KENNEDY, Eugene KERN & Edward GOLDBERGER, Andrew KILLGORE, Alexander KLIEFORTH, Frances KNIGHT, Eugene KOPP, Henry L. T. KOREN, Max KRAUS, Gregory KRYZA, Jack B. KUBISCH, John A. LACEY, Carol LAISE, Maurice E. LEE, Wolf LEHMANN, Robert Don LEVINE, Arthur W. LEWIS, Samuel W. LEWIS, Stuart P. LILLICO, Robert A. LINCOLN, Edward S. LITTLE, Henry LOOMIS, John L. LOUGHRAN, Stephen LOW, Jack W. LYDMAN, Cecil B. LYON, Douglas MacARTHUR II, Kenneth MacCORMAC, Frank E. MAESTRONE, Dayton S. MAK, Lester MALLORY, Philip MANHARD, C. Conrad MANLEY,

David E. MARK, Richard C. MATHERON, Edgar T. MARTIN, Edwin M. MARTIN, Edwin W. MARTIN, Edward E. MASTERS, Richard McCARTHY, Robert McCLOSKY, Richard McCOY, Jack K. McFALL, Gale McGEE, Robinson McILVAINE, John F. MELBY, G. Richard MONSEN, C. Robert MOORE, Armin MEYER, William D. MILLER, William D. MORGAN, Ambler MOSS, Edward W. MULCAHY, Charles NAAS, Daniel O. NEWBERRY, Herman W. NICKEL, Robert L. NICHOLS, Patrick NIEBURG, John R. O'BRIEN, Chester H. OPAL, David L. OSBORN, Earl PACKER, Richard B. PARKER, William PARKS, Sue PATTERSON, Edward L. PECK, Claiborne PELL, Lawrence A. PEZZULO, Henry PRECHT, Maxwell M. RABB, Elizabeth RASPOLIC, Thomas RECKNAGEL, Jacques REINSTEIN, Stuart W. ROCKWELL, Gunther K. ROSINUS, Hewson RYAN, Herbert SALZMAN, Edmund SCHECHTER, G. Lewis SCHMIDT, Walter C. SCHWINN, Ernest V. SIRACUSA, David S. SMITH, Robert P. SMITH, Robert S. SMITH, Marion SMOAK, Cliff SOUTHARD, Melbourne SPECTOR, William P. STEDMAN, Andrew STEIGMAN, Ben S. STEPHANSKY, Robert A. STEVENSON, Donald S. STONE, Galen STONE, Willis J. SUTTER, Emory C. SWANK, Harrison M. SYMMES, William Howard TAFT III, John M. THOMAS, Arthur T. TIENKEN, Malcolm TOON, Horace G. TORBERT, Philip H. TREZISE, William C. TRUEHEART, Hans TUCH, John W. TUTHILL, William R. TYLER, Francis UNDERHILL, Leonard UNGER, John E. UPST

ON, Abelardo VALDEZ, Sheldon VANCE, George S. VEST, Michael WEYL, Marshall WILEY, Fraser WILKINS, Jean Mary WILKOWSKY, Earl WILSON, James W. WINE, Curtin WINSOR Jr., Victor WOLF Jr., Robert F.



WOODWARD, Stanley WOODWARD, Jerauld WRIGHT,  
Parker WYMAN, Daniel ZACHARY, Barry ZORTHIAN.

October 10, 1989

## ANNOUNCEMENTS

### *SHAFR ACTIVITIES AT AHA*

The following will take place at the Hilton Hotel: Council  
Meeting: Dec. 27, 8 PM, Executive Boardroom  
Reception: Dec. 28, 5-7 PM, Continental Parlor 3  
Luncheon: Dec. 29, 12-2 PM, Continental Parlor 3

### *DEADLINE EXTENSION - SUMMER MEETING*

Mark Gilderhus, Program Chair for the SHAFR meeting to be held at the University of Maryland, August 2-4, 1989, has extended the deadline for submission of proposals for panels and papers. **The new deadline is 15 January 1990.**

### *CALL FOR PAPERS*

To commemorate the Eisenhower Centennial, the University of Kansas will hold an interdisciplinary conference, "Ike's America," on October 4-6, 1990. Proposals are welcome for individual papers or complete sessions on any aspect of the Eisenhower presidency (including, of course, the administration's foreign policy) or American life in the 1950s. Please send a one-page abstract for each paper and a c.v. for each participant by February 15, 1990, to: Chester J. Pach, Jr., Hall Center for the Humanities, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas 66045-2967.

NAVAL HISTORICAL CENTER  
FELLOWSHIP, GRANT, AND INTERNSHIP OPPORTUNITIES,  
1990-1991

The Naval Historical Center has established the Secretary of the Navy's Research Chair in Naval History. This is a **senior fellowship** that supports one year in residence at the Center to assist in the research or writing of a major monograph concerning the history of the U.S. Navy. Applications are welcomed from specialists in national security affairs, foreign relations, or the history of science and technology, who have an interest in naval history, as well as from diplomatic, military and naval historians.

The award amounts to approximately \$55,000 per year plus allowances, as regulated by the Intergovernmental Personnel Act. This law provides for the exchange of personnel between the federal government and institutions of higher education. Applicants must be citizens of the United States. The application deadline is February 28, 1990.

In addition, the Center will make two **postgraduate research** grants, named in honor of Vice Admiral Edwin B. Hooper, of up to \$2,500 each, to individuals undertaking research and writing in the field of U.S. naval history. Applicants should have either the Ph.D. or equivalent credentials, and they must be U.S. citizens. The deadline for submitting applications is February 28, 1990.

The Center will award the Rear Admiral John D. Hayes fellowship of \$7,500 to a **predoctoral** candidate who is undertaking research and writing on a dissertation in the field of U.S. naval history. Applicants must be U.S. citizens enrolled in an accredited graduate school who will have completed all requirements for the Ph.D. except the dissertation by June 1, 1990. The deadline for application is February 28, 1990.

The Center welcomes internship applications from undergraduate history majors who wish to spend up to four weeks engaged in applied history projects in the Washington

Navy Yard. Limited funds are available to support living expenses. Historical research, archival and curatorial assignments are available.

Applicants for the senior fellowship, the postgraduate grants, the predoctoral fellowship and internships should direct their inquiries to:

Director  
Naval Historical Center  
Bldg. 57, Washington Navy Yard  
Washington, D.C. 20374

### NEW VOLUME OF EUROPEAN AMERICANA PUBLISHED

Volume 6 of *European Americana: A Chronological Guide to Works Printed in Europe Relating to the Americas, 1493-1750*, has just been released. Published by the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University and by Readex Books, *European Americana* is a multivolume chronological guide to the printed record of all that Europeans wrote about America, from Columbus' first address to the court of King Ferdinand through the mid-eighteenth century.

Each main entry in *European Americana* lists the individual book in short-title form; briefly describes the nature of the American content of the work (if not reflected in the title); cites bibliographies; and gives the location of the work in major repositories. The chronological order of the entries is a particular virtue of the book, for it immediately places each book in historical context.

Alphabetical access is provided by a series of indexes. The index to author, title, and subject can stand alone as a self-sufficient reference tool; each entry includes a short citation of the work to which it refers, not simply a page reference to the main entry.

The series will be completed with Volume 3 (1651-1675) and Volume 4 (1676-1700). These are scheduled for

publication in 1992, on the 500th anniversary of Columbus' discovery of America. The series has been produced with the support of the National Endowment for the Humanities, with the added support of the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation.

Volume 6 of *European Americana* is priced at \$295 and is available from Readex Books, 58 Pine Street, New Canaan, Connecticut 06840-5408. Volumes 1, 2, and 5 remain in print.

### *NEW ARCHIVES BUILDING UNDER CONSTRUCTION*

During October ground was broken for a new \$205 million building to house collections of the National Archives and Record Administration. The six-story building which will hold some 500,000 cubic feet of records is to be located on the University of Maryland campus in College Park.

### *CALL FOR PAPERS*

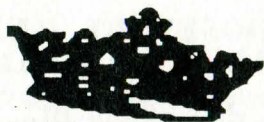
The History Department of the University of Arkansas will sponsor the annual meeting of the Mid-America Conference on History on September 21-22, 1990. Proposals for papers or sessions in all fields of history, including historical methodology, are welcome. Please send abstracts for proposed presentations by April 20, 1990 to:

Evan B. Bukey, Director, MACH  
Department of History  
Ozark Hall, Suite 12  
University of Arkansas  
Fayetteville, AR 72701

### *ENDOWMENT CONTRIBUTORS*

Nolan Fowler, Lawrence Kaplan, Alexander Kendrick, and Forrest Pogue have made contributions to the SHAFR endowment.

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Books

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**AMERICAN-RUSSIAN ECONOMIC RELATIONS, 1770s-1990s** James K. Libbey

Libbey has succeeded in summarizing the basic economic activities in the long commercial relationship between the United States and Russia.

"It strikes me that we don't have anything like it."

*Lloyd Gardner, Rutgers University.*

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*Raymond L Garthoff, Brookings Institution.*

(Spring 1989) \$21.95 cloth [ISBN 0-941690-35-0], \$12.95 paper [ISBN 0-941690-36-9], \$8.95 text **SHAFR Discount \$7.00**

**AMERICA SEES RED: Anti-Communism in America, 1890s to 1980s. A Guide to Issues & References** Peter H. Buckingham.

"I was greatly impressed by the thoroughness of the author's survey of issues, especially in the post-World War II period."

—Professor Robert Griffith, University of Massachusetts at Amherst  
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**EMPIRE ON THE PACIFIC: A Study in American Continental Expansion** Norman A. Graebner. Graebner

contends that Texas, California, and Oregon were acquired so that eastern merchants could gain control of the harbors at San Diego, San Francisco, and Puget Sound—and thereby increase their lucrative trade with the Far East.

LCCN 82-22680. Reprint ed. with updated bibliography. 278 pages. (1983) \$16.95 cloth [ISBN 0-87436-033-1], \$8.75 text **SHAFR Discount \$7.00**

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**Offer expires March 15, 1990**

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**THEODORE ROOSEVELT AND THE INTERNATIONAL RIVALRIES.** Raymond R. Esthus. The story of Roosevelt's role as a pragmatic diplomat, employing secret diplomacy to placate rivalries without involving his country in commitments abroad. This account deals both with TR's involvement in European and East Asian controversies. Bibliography, index.

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**THE MISSILE CRISIS OF OCTOBER 1962: A Review of Issues and References.** Lester Brune.

"Brune skillfully...scrutinizes the origins of the major issues and analyses the reaction and response of Washington and Moscow, relating them to domestic politics and international affairs....Highly recommended as a brief, analytical review of the crisis situation." —*Choice* (April 1986)

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## PERSONALS

Stephen Ambrose (New Orleans) participated in the April 6-8 Hofstra University conference on Gerald Ford.

Richard H. Bradford (West Virginia Tech) was awarded 1st prize in the annual West Virginia Writers Awards competition. Bradford won the Drama division with a play concerning Jane Addams' conflict with Chicago political boss John Powers in the 1890s.

Peter Buckingham has joined the history department of Linfield College, McMinnville, Oregon.

Calvin L. Christman (Cedar Valley College) has been awarded a Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute grant.

Elizabeth A. Cobbs (University of California, San Diego) has been awarded a Beveridge Grant for "'Good Works at a Profit': Private Diplomacy and U.S.-Brazil Relations, 1945-1960."

Wayne S. Cole, professor at the University of Maryland, has been named by that institution as a Distinguished Scholar-Teacher for 1989-1990.

Alex Danchev (lecturer at University of Keele, England) has a fellowship at the Wilson Center for research on Lord Oliver Franks, the British Ambassador in Washington, 1948-52. Danchev is currently a NATO Research Fellow.

Marc Gallicchio has taken a position at Villanova University.

Carol Gluck is a recipient of the 41st annual Great Teacher Award of Columbia University. Dr. Gluck is George Sansom Professor of History.

Walter LaFeber (Cornell) has been awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship for study of "Foreign Affairs and the American Constitution since the 1780s."

Sara L. Sale (Oklahoma State University) has been awarded a Truman Library Institute grant.

Ronald Steel (Southern Cal) and Ted Galen Carpenter (Cato Institute) participated in the Cato Institute sponsored Conference on "NATO at 40: Confronting a Changing World," April 3-4.

Betty M. Unterberger (Texas A&M) led a research team to India in 1988 to observe the projects of the Swadhyaya movement in India. In the latter part of the year (October/November) she was invited to lecture on Soviet-American relations at Peking University.

The Kennedy Library Foundation has announced the following research grants: Stephen Streeter (University of Connecticut) for work on U.S.-Guatemalan relations; Thomas Zeiler (University of Massachusetts) for work in Kennedy foreign trade policy; and Thomas Zoumaras (Washington and Jefferson College) for work on a biography of Douglas Dillon.

AHA Committee appointments include the following SHAFR members: Michael Hunt (North Carolina), Bruce Cumings (Chicago), Diane Clemens (Berkeley), Anna Nelson (Tulane), Sally Marks (Rhode Island), Carol Gluck (Columbia), Akira Iriye (Chicago), Blanche Wiesen Cook (John Jay), and Ronald H. Spector (Naval Historical Center).

## PUBLICATIONS

Edward R. Beauchamp and Akira Iriye (Univ. of Chicago), eds., *Foreign Employees in 19th Century Japan*. Westview Press, 1988. ISBN 0-8133-7555-X, \$28.00

Jules R. Benjamin (Pittsburgh), *The United States and the Origins of the Cuban Revolution: An Empire of Liberty in an Age of National Liberation*. Princeton Univ. Press, 1990. ISBN 0-6910-7836-X, \$29.50

Warren I. Cohen (Michigan State Univ.), *America's Response to China: A History of Sino-American Relations*, 3rd ed. Columbia Univ. Press, 1989. Paper: ISBN 0-07-554671-X, \$9.95



- Wayne S. Cole (Univ. of Maryland), *Norway and the United States, 1905-1955: Two Democracies in Peace and War*. Iowa State U. Press, 1989. ISBN 0-8138-0321-7, \$24.95
- Michael L. Conniff and Frank McCann (New Hampshire), eds., *Modern Brazil: Elites and Masses in Historical Perspective*. Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1989. ISBN 0-8032-3131-8, \$33.95
- Gordon A. Craig and Alexander L. George (Stanford Univ.), *Force and Statecraft: Diplomatic Problems of Our Time*, 2nd ed. Oxford Univ. Press, 1989. Paper: ISBN 0-19-505730-9, \$12.95
- Robert Dallek (Univ. of California-Los Angeles), *The American Style of Foreign Policy: Cultural Politics and Foreign Affairs*. Oxford Univ. Press, 1990. Paper: ISBN 0-19-506205-1, \$8.95
- Reinhard R. Doerries (Univ. of Hamburg), *Imperial Challenge: Ambassador Count Bernstorff and German-American Relations, 1908-1917*. Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1989. ISBN 0-8078-1820-8, \$45.00
- John Lewis Gaddis (Ohio Univ.), *Russia, the Soviet Union, and the United States: An Interpretive History*. McGraw-Hill, 1989. ISBN 0-07-557258-3, \$12.50
- Jon Halliday and Bruce Cumings (Chicago), *Korea: The Unknown War*. Pantheon, 1988. ISBN 0-394-55366-7, \$19.45
- Robert M. Hathaway (Herndon, VA), *Great Britain and the United States: Special Relations Since World War II*. G.K. Hall/Twayne, 1989. Paper: ISBN 0-8057-9206-6, \$12.95; cloth: ISBN 0-8057-7909-4, \$25.95
- Waldo Heinrichs (Temple Univ.), *Threshold of War: Franklin D. Roosevelt and American Entry into World War II*. Oxford Univ. Press, 1988. Now in paper: ISBN 0-19-506168-3, \$8.95
- Richard H. Immerman (Univ. of Hawaii), ed., *John Foster Dulles and the Diplomacy of the Cold War: A Reappraisal*. Princeton U. Press, 1989. ISBN 0-6910-4765-0, \$29.50
- Jeffrey Kimball (Miami Univ.), *To Reason Why: The Debate About the Causes of U.S. Involvement in the Vietnam War*. McGraw-Hill, 1989. ISBN 0-07-557132-3, \$13.75
- Richard S. Kirkendall (Univ. of Washington), *The Harry S. Truman Encyclopedia*. G.K. Hall/Twayne, 1989. ISBN 0-8161-8915-3, \$60.00
- Bruce Kuklick (Univ. of Pennsylvania), *The Good Ruler: From Herbert Hoover to Richard Nixon*. Rutgers Univ. Press, 1989. Now in paper: ISBN 0-8135-1352-9, \$12.00
- Walter LaFeber (Cornell Univ.), *The Panama Canal*, updated ed. Oxford Univ. Press, 1989. ISBN 0-19-505930-1, \$27.95
- Lester D. Langley (Univ. of Georgia), *The United States and the Caribbean in the Twentieth Century*, 4th ed. Univ. of Georgia Press,

1989. Cloth: ISBN 0-8203-1153-7, \$30.00; paper: ISBN 0-8203-1154-5, \$14.95
- Henry E. Mattox (Chapel Hill), *The Twilight of Amateur Diplomacy: The American Foreign Service and Its Senior Officers in the 1890s*. Kent State Univ. Press, 1989. ISBN 0-87338-375-3, \$21.00
- Thomas J. McCormick (Univ. of Wisconsin), *America's Half-Century: United States Foreign Policy in the Cold War*. Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1989. Hardcover: ISBN 0-8018-3876-2, \$38.50; paper: ISBN 0-8018-3877-0, \$11.95
- Thomas G. Paterson (Univ. of Connecticut), *Meeting the Communist Threat: Truman to Reagan*. Oxford Univ. Press, 1988. Now in paper: ISBN 0-19-504532-7, \$9.95
- Andrew J. Rotter (Colgate Univ.), *The Path to Vietnam: Origins of the American Commitment to Southeast Asia*. Cornell Univ. Press, 1987. Now in paper: ISBN 0-8014-9620-9, \$9.95
- Michael Schaller (Univ. of Arizona), *The United States and China in the Twentieth Century*, 2nd ed. Oxford Univ. Press, 1989. Paper: ISBN 0-19-505866-6, \$9.95; cloth: ISBN 0-19-505865-8, \$29.95
- Frederick and Edward Schapsmeier (Univ. of Wisconsin-Oshkosh and Illinois State Univ.), *Gerald R. Ford's Date with Destiny: A Political Biography*. American University Study Series, No. 9. Peter Lang, 1989. ISBN 0-8204-0961-8, \$60.00
- Robert D. Schulzinger (Univ. of Colorado-Boulder), *American Diplomacy in the Twentieth Century*, 2nd ed. Oxford Univ. Press, 1989. Paper: ISBN 0-19-505844-5, \$14.95; cloth: ISBN 0-19-505843-7, \$32.50
- Grace Sevy (San Francisco), *The American Experience in Vietnam: A Reader*. Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1989. ISBN 0-8061-2211-0, \$24.95
- Mark A. Stoler (Univ. of Vermont), *George C. Marshall: Soldier-Statesman of the American Century*. G.K. Hall/Twayne, 1989. Paper: ISBN 0-8057-7785-7, \$10.95; cloth: ISBN 0-8057-7768-7, \$24.95
- Betty Miller Unterberger (Texas A&M Univ.), *The United States, Revolutionary Russia, and the Rise of Czechoslovakia*. Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1989. ISBN 0-8078-1853-4, \$47.50
- Marilyn Young (New York Univ.) and Jon Livingston, *The Vietnam War*. Pantheon, 1990. Paper: ISBN 0-6797-2560-1, \$10.95

## CALENDAR

1990

- January 1            Membership fees in all categories are due, payable at the national office of SHAFR.
- January 15          Deadline for the 1989 Bernath article award.
- January 15          Deadline for submissions for 1990 Summer SHAFR panels and proposals.
- January 20          Deadline for the 1989 Bernath book award.
- February 1          Deadline, materials for the March *Newsletter*.
- February 1          Submissions for Warren Kuehl Award are due.
- March 1             Nominations for the Bernath lecture prize are due.
- March 22-25        The 83rd meeting of the Organization of American Historians will take place in Washington, DC with headquarters at the Washington Hilton.
- April 1             Applications for the H. Stull Holt dissertation fellowship are due.
- May 1                Deadline, materials for the June *Newsletter*.
- August 1-4         The 16th SHAFR Summer Conference at the University of Maryland. The program chair is Mark T. Gilderhus, Colorado State University, Fort Collins, CO 80523.
- August 1            Deadline, materials for the September *Newsletter*.
- November 1-15     Annual election for SHAFR officers.

- November 1 Applications for Bernath dissertation fund awards are due.
- December 27-30 The 105th annual meeting of the AHA will be held in New York. The program chair is Ronald Walters, The John Hopkins University.

In 1990 the AHA will meet in New York. The program chair is Ronald Walters, The Johns Hopkins University.

The 1991 OAH will meet in Louisville, April 11-14. The program chairman is Armstead L. Robinson, Carter G. Woodson Institute for Afro-American and African Studies, 1312 Jefferson Park Ave., University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA 22903. Deadline for proposals is February 1, 1990.

(The AHA will meet in Chicago in 1991. The OAH will meet in Chicago in 1992 and in Anaheim in 1993.)

## AWARDS AND PRIZES

### *THE STUART L. BERNATH MEMORIAL PRIZES*

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 which is a history of international relations, which is meant to include biographies of statesmen and diplomats. General surveys, autobiographies, editions of essays and documents, and works which are representative of social science disciplines other than history are *not* eligible. The prize is to be awarded to a first monograph by a young scholar.

*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 books should be sent directly to: Douglas Little, Dept. of History, Clark University, Worcester, MA 01610.

Books may be sent at any time during 1989, but should not arrive later than January 20, 1990.

The award of \$2,000.00 will be announced at the March 1990 luncheon of the Society of Historians of American Foreign Relations held in conjunction with the Organization of American Historians in Washington.

Previous Winners:

1972	Joan Hoff Wilson (Sacramento)
	Kenneth E. Shewmaker (Dartmouth)
1973	John L. Gaddis (Ohio U)
1974	Michael H. Hunt (Yale)
1975	Frank D. McCann, Jr. (New Hampshire)
	Stephen E. Pelz (Massachusetts-Amherst)
1976	Martin J. Sherwin (Princeton)
1977	Roger V. Dingman (Southern California)
1978	James R. Leutze (North Carolina-Chapel Hill)
1979	Phillip J. Baram (Program Manager, Boston)
1980	Michael Schaller (Arizona)
1981	Bruce R. Kuniholm (Duke)
	Hugh DeSantis (Department of State)
1982	David Reynolds (Cambridge)
1983	Richard Immerman (Hawaii)
1984	Michael H. Hunt (North Carolina-Chapel Hill)
1985	David Wyman (Massachusetts-Amherst)
1986	Thomas J. Noer (Carthage College)
1987	Fraser J. Harbutt (Emory)
	James Edward Miller (Department of State)
1988	Michael Hogan (Ohio State)
1989	Stephen G. Rabe (Texas-Dallas)

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, 1990. Nominations should be sent to: Emily Rosenberg, Department of History, MacAlester College, St. Paul, MN 55105.

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

Previous Winners

- 1977 Joan Hoff Wilson (Fellow, Radcliffe Institute)
- 1978 David S. Patterson (Colgate)
- 1979 Marilyn B. Young (Michigan)
- 1980 John L. Gaddis (Ohio U)
- 1981 Burton Spivak (Bates College)
- 1982 Charles DeBenedetti (Toledo)
- 1983 Melvyn P. Leffler (Vanderbilt)
- 1984 Michael J. Hogan (Miami)
- 1985 Michael Schaller (Arizona)
- 1986 William Stueck (Georgia)
- 1987 Nancy Bernkopf Tucker (Colgate)
- 1988 William O. Walker III (Ohio Wesleyan)
- 1989 Stephen G. Rabe (Texas at Dallas)
- 1990 Richard Immerman (Hawaii)

*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 United States foreign relations that is published during 1989. The author must not be over 40 years of age, or within 10 years after receiving the Ph.D., at the time of publication. Previous winners of the Stuart L. Bernath Book Award are excluded.

*Procedures:* All articles appearing in *Diplomatic History* shall be automatically considered without nomination. Other articles may be

nominated by the author or by any member of SHAFR or by the editor of any journal publishing articles in American diplomatic history. Three (3) copies of the article shall be submitted by *15 January 1990* to the chairperson of the committee, who for 1990 is: William O. Walker III, Department of History, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, OH 43015.

The award of \$300.00 will be presented at the SHAFR luncheon at the annual meeting of the OAH in March, 1990, in Washington.

Previous winners:

- 1977 John C.A. Stagg (U of Auckland, N.Z.)
- 1978 Michael H. Hunt (Yale)
- 1979 Brian L. Villa (Ottawa)
- 1980 James I. Matray (New Mexico State)  
David A. Rosenberg (Chicago)
- 1981 Douglas Little (Clark)
- 1982 Fred Pollock (Cedar Knolls, NJ)
- 1983 Chester Pach (Texas Tech)
- 1985 Melvyn Leffler (Vanderbilt)
- 1986 Duane Tananbaum (Ohio State)
- 1987 David McLean (R.M.I.H.E., Australia)
- 1988 Dennis Merrill (Missouri-Kansas City)
- 1989 Robert J. McMahon (Florida)

#### *THE STUART L. BERNATH DISSERTATION FUND*

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

Requirements include:

1. The dissertation must deal with some aspect of American foreign relations.
2. Awards are given to help defray costs involved in:
  - (a) consulting original manuscripts that have just become available or obtaining photocopies from such sources,
  - (b) typing, printing, and/or reproducing copies of the dissertation,
  - (c) abstracting the dissertation.

3. Most of the research and writing of the dissertation must be completed at the time application is made. Awards are *not* intended to pay for time to write.
4. Applications must include:
  - (a) A one page curriculum vitae of the applicant, a table of contents for the dissertation, and a substantial synopsis *or* a completed chapter of the dissertation,
  - (b) a paragraph regarding the original sources that have been consulted,
  - (c) a statement regarding the projected date of completion,
  - (d) an explanation of why the money is needed and how, specifically, it will be used, and
  - (e) a letter from the applicant's supervising professor commenting upon the appropriateness of the applicant's request. (This should be sent separately.)
5. One or more awards may be given. Generally awards will not exceed \$500.
6. The successful applicant must file a brief report on how the funds were spent not later than eight months following the presentation of the award (i.e., normally by the following September). In addition, when the dissertation is finished, the awardee should submit to the committee a copy of the abstract sent to University Microfilms (University of Michigan).

Applications should be sent to Dr. Stephen G. Rabe, Humanities Division, Box 830688, University of Texas, Dallas, Richardson, Texas 75083-0688. The deadline is November 1, 1989.

Previous winners:

- 1985 Jon Nielson (UC-Santa Barbara)
- 1986 Valdinia C. Winn (Kansas) & Walter L. Hixon (Colorado)
- 1987 Janet M. Manson (Washington State), Thomas M. Gaskin (Washington), W. Michael Weis (Ohio State) & Michael Wala (Hamburg)
- 1988 Elizabeth Cobbs (Stanford) & Madhu Bhalla (Queen's, Ontario)
- 1989 Thomas Zeiler (Massachusetts-Amherst) & Russel Van Wyk (North Carolina-Chapel Hill)



*THE W. STULL HOLT DISSERTATION FELLOWSHIP*

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

The award will be \$1,500.00.

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 costs of travel, preferably foreign travel, necessary to the pursuit of research on a significant dissertation project. Qualified applicants will have satisfactorily completed comprehensive doctoral examinations before April 1989, leaving only the dissertation as the sole, remaining requirement for the doctoral degree.

Applicants should include a prospectus of the dissertation, indicating work already completed as well as contemplated research. The prospectus 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. An academic transcript showing all graduate work taken to date should accompany the application and prospectus of the dissertation. In addition, three letters from graduate teachers familiar with the work of the applicant, including one letter from the director of the dissertation, are required.

At the end of the fellowship year the recipient of the fellowship will be required to report to the Committee relating how the fellowship was used.

Applications and supporting papers should be sent before April 1, 1990 to: Frank Costigliola, Dept. of History, Univ. of Rhode Island, Kingston, RI 02881.

Announcement of the recipient of the Holt Memorial Fellowship will be made at the Society's annual summer meeting.

Announcement of the recipient of the Holt Memorial Fellowship will be made at the Society's annual summer meeting.

Prior winners:

1986 Kurt Schultz (Ohio State University)

1987 David W. McFadden (University of California, Berkeley)

1988 Mary Ann Heiss (Ohio State University)

*THE NORMAN AND LAURA GRAEBNER AWARD*

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

Conditions of the Award:

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

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

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

- (a) provides a brief biography of the candidate, including educational background, academic or other positions held and awards and honors received;
- (b) lists the candidate's major scholarly works and discusses the nature of his or her contribution to the study of diplomatic history and international affairs;
- (c) describes the candidate's teaching career, listing 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.

Chairman of the committee: Lloyd Ambrosius, Dept. of History, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, NE 68588.

Prior winners:

1986 Dorothy Borg (Columbia)

1988 Alexander DeConde (University of California at Santa Barbara)

*WARREN F. KUEHL AWARD*

The Society will award the Warren F. Kuehl Prize to the author or authors of an outstanding book dealing with the history of internationalism and/or the history of peace movements. The subject

may include biographies of prominent internationalists or peace leaders. Also eligible are works on American foreign relations that examine United States diplomacy from a world perspective and which are in accord with Kuehl's 1985 presidential address to SHAFR. That address voiced an "appeal for scholarly breadth, for a wider perspective on how foreign relations of the United States fits into the global picture."

The award will be made every other year at the SHAFR summer conference. The next award will be for books published in 1987 and 1988. Deadline for submissions is February 1, 1989. One copy of each submission should be sent directly to each member of the selection committee.

David Patterson  
9011 Montgomery Ave.  
Chevy Chase, MD 20815

Robert Accinelli  
Dept. of History  
University of Toronto  
Toronto M5S 1A  
Canada

Harold Josephson  
Department of History  
U. of N. Carolina/Charlotte  
Charlotte, NC 2822

Prior winners:

1987 Harold Josephson (University of North Carolina at Charlotte)  
1989 Melvin Small (Wayne State University)

### *ARTHUR LINK PRIZE FOR DOCUMENTARY EDITING*

*PURPOSE.* The prize will recognize and encourage analytical scholarly editing of documents, in appropriate published form, relevant to the history of American foreign relations, policy, and diplomacy. By "analytical" we mean the inclusion (in headnotes, footnotes, essays, etc.) of both appropriate historical background needed to establish the context of the documents, and interpretive historical commentaries based on scholarly research.

*CRITERIA.* To be selected for the award, the collection, which must have been published in some form, must, taken in its entirety, meet all or most of the following criteria:

- a) makes more available an historically important collection of documents relevant to the history of American foreign affairs;
- b) makes a significant contribution to an understanding of American foreign relations;

c) significantly expands, updates, or changes our knowledge of American foreign relations;

d) provides historical context for the documents based upon research in both the sources and relevant secondary materials;

e) conforms in editorial methodology to standards of modern day documentary editions (e.g. *Foreign Relations of the United States* series);

f) offers an interpretive historical analysis, not by selectivity of documentation, but in an appropriate but separate commentary;

g) the format would normally have documents and analysis together, but that would not exclude separate presentation so long as they were essentially one project.

**ELIGIBILITY.** The competition is open to the editor/author(s) of any collection of documents published after 1984 that is devoted primarily to sources relating to the history of American foreign relations, policy, and/or diplomacy; and that incorporates sufficient historical analysis and interpretation of those documents to constitute a contribution to knowledge and scholarship.

**PROCEDURES.** The prize winner shall be selected by a three member committee appointed by the President of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations. Nominations may be made by any person or publisher. Recommendations for nominations may be requested from the Association for Documentary Editing and any other similar professional organization.

**FREQUENCY.** The prize shall be awarded whenever the committee determines there is a qualified entry, but no more frequently than once every three years.

**PRIZE.** To be determined by the amount of monies available in excess of capital, but \$500 plus travel expenses to the professional meeting where it is presented is the current goal.

## U.S.-SOUTH ASIAN RELATIONS: A SELECTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY

by  
*Robert J. McMahon*  
(*University of Florida*)

[Ed. Note. Suppose you wanted to include a lecture or a discussion on "U.S.-South Asian Relations"; where would you begin? Or you just wanted to broaden your understanding of the U.S.'s global role? Those are the questions I asked Dr. McMahon last December. Here's his good reply. It offers us an excellent place to start reading.]

Few areas of importance to the United States have been as neglected by historians of American diplomacy as South Asia. During the 1950s and 1960s, the United States supplanted Great Britain as the region's principal power. It became the leading supplier of military and economic aid to Pakistan and the chief source of developmental assistance for India. In the eyes of official Washington, South Asia was transformed from a peripheral interest to yet another critical Cold War battleground, a position it has occupied ever since. Yet most of the textbooks in U.S. diplomatic history ignore the region; few members of our guild, including specialists in American-Asian relations, write about U.S. policy toward India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, or the other South Asian nations; most likely fewer still try to integrate South Asia into undergraduate or graduate courses in American foreign relations.

Fortunately, there are signs of late that our historic neglect of South Asia is beginning to ebb. The literature on

American-South Asian relations is growing and, although that scholarship continues to be dominated by political scientists and journalists, some historians have begun to exploit the extant archival sources. Two forthcoming books should prove indispensable: a survey of Indo-American relations by H. W. Brands, Jr., for Twayne Press, and Dennis Merrill's examination of the American response to India's economic development between 1947 and 1963. Older works still worth consulting include William J. Barnds' overview of the great powers and South Asia and Gary R. Hess' study of the American role in the decolonization of British India. For South Asian perspectives, see especially M.S. Venkataranami's analysis of the first decade in U.S.-Pakistani relations (illuminating despite its polemical tone) and Sarvepalli Gopal's authoritative three-volume biography of Jawaharlal Nehru. An invaluable historiographical review of the emerging literature is provided by Gary Hess in his essay, "Global Expansion and Regional Balances." What follows is a selective list of some of the more important books, articles, and dissertations that focus on the 1941-1971 period in U.S.-South Asian affairs, with an emphasis on some of the more recent, archivally based studies.

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## INTRODUCTION TO THE HARVARD LUCE PROJECT

[Ed. note. Professor David Zweig, Co-Director, Wuxi Field Project, Fairbank Center, Harvard University, Assistant Professor, Fletcher School, Tufts University, sent us the following. We received it 30 April 1989, just as the "democracy movement" in China was gaining momentum again. As a result of the "June 4th Incident," my informants tell me that the project has been put on "hold." Whatever the ultimate fate of the Wuxi Field Project, it's important news, and I'm reprinting Dr. Zweig's introduction to it.]

Under the "United States-China Cooperative Research Program," the Henry R. Luce Foundation is funding a collaborative research project between the Fairbank Center for East Asian Research, Harvard University, and the Development Institute, Research Centre on Rural Development, State Council, China. The grant was awarded to Roderick MacFarquhar, Director of the Fairbank Center, and David Zweig, Fletcher School, Tufts University, an affiliate of the Fairbank Center. The Project will focus on political, economic and social changes in Wuxi County, Jingsu Province since the 1930s, as well as current development successes, problems and prospects in Wuxi.

The project will support two summer field trips (1989 and 1990). Participants will also meet at Harvard during January 1990 to present their findings from the summer research, and in summer 1991 we will present our joint papers. We plan to have a joint manuscript by 1992, with publication in both English and Chinese.

Participating in this project is the Development Institute's Social Development Group, directed by Mr. Bai Nansheng, who is the project's Chinese Co-Director. Participants include:

**Bai Nansheng**, Head, Social Development Department, Project Co-Director.

**Li Wenying**, Social Development Department.

**Shao Yijun**, Social Development Department.

**Wang Hansheng**, Sociology Department, Peking University.

**Wang Zhenyao**, Social Development Department.

**Wu Baijun**, Economics Institute, CASS.

**Wu Quhui**, Social Development Department.

**Xie Yi**, Social Development Department, project manager for Chinese side.

**Zhao Yang**, Social Development Department.

*American participants are:*

**Jerry Dennerline**, History, Amherst College.

**Kathleen Hartford**, Political Science, University of Massachusetts, Boston.

**Jean Oi**, Government Department, Harvard University.

**Louis Putterman**, Economics, Brown University.

**Terry Sicular**, Economics, Harvard University.

**Dirck Stryker**, Agricultural Economist, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University.

**James L. Watson**, Anthropology Department, Harvard University.

**David Zweig**, Political Science, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, and Project Co-Director.

Based on discussions in Nanjing in January 1989, we created six groups, each addressing one major topic. The topics and their affiliates are:<sup>1</sup>

1. **Agricultural Economics**: Dirck Stryker, Terry Sicular, and Shao Yijun, with Louis Putterman and Kathleen Hartford. This group will create a linear programming model

<sup>1</sup>The main participants are listed first and should be contacted if people have questions or issues they wish to discuss.

looking at the costs of production, incentives for the farmers, and how farmers' behavior would change if the costs of their inputs or value of their outputs changed. This group plans to apply methodologies used in Africa and will involve a rather intensive survey among a number of farmers.

**2. Organization and Industry:** Wu Quhui, Wang Hansheng, Jean Oi, Louis Putterman, and Zhao Yang, with David Zweig. This topic involves three themes: (1) the internal organization of the plant; (2) plant to plant, and plant to government relations; and (3) the relationship among plants and the external conditions. This project will involve a survey of workers, managers, and government bureaucrats as well as interviews.

**3. Non-Urban Industrialization:** Bai Nansheng and Louis Putterman, with Zhao Yang and David Zweig. This group will focus on the use of land by enterprises and households, stressing the rules, incentives and costs of using land. They will also focus on the development of one town. They will look at the costs of services in the town, transport costs, people's attitudes about living in the town, etc.

**4. Political Development:** Wang Zhenyao, Li Wenying, and David Zweig, with Jean Oi. The political development group will focus on the strength of the collective sector, the relationship between economic status and political attitudes, and the local government's role in policy implementation and economic development.

**5. Family and Social History:** James Watson, Kathleen Hartford, Wu Baijun, and Jerry Dennerline. This group will look at family development strategies, women's networks, generational ties, the role of ritual and religion in family continuity, etc.

**6. Social Differentiation and the Formation of Elites:** Jerry Dennerline, Li Wenying and Wu Baijun, with Wang Hansheng and Wang Zhenyao. The local elites group

will look at the continuity and changes among the local elite since the late Qing dynasty, searching for the economic, social and cultural factors that have kept those ties strong.

Locations for research will include Dongting Township, which is due east of Wuxi; Meicun Township, which is about 15 km southeast of the City; and Hutang Township in the eastern corner of the county.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ARTICLES, ESSAYS, AND BOOKS

*Compiled by  
Marc Gallicchio*

[Ed. note. The following bibliography lists articles, essays, and books that have either been published or are in progress. If they are works in progress, the reader may find the following abbreviations helpful: WIP = Work in Progress; ADC = Anticipated Date of Completion; ADP = Anticipated Date of Publication.]

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- Michael Schaller (University of Arizona), *Douglas MacArthur: The Far Eastern General* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989). Concentrates on MacArthur's "activities in the Pacific and East Asia from 1935-1951."
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John M. Coski (Richmond, Virginia), "'The Dangers of Premature Independence': The Concept of Trusteeship in American Foreign Policy Before World War II." Paper prepared for Fifteenth Annual Conference of SHAFR, June 14-17, 1989, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia.

Cary Fraser (University of Geneva), "Containment and Colonialism: Reconceptualizing U.S. Policy Towards Decolonization, 1945-1964." Paper prepared for Fifteenth Annual Conference of SHAFR, June 14-17, 1989, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia.

Marc Gallicchio (Villanova University), "The New China Hands: American Army Officers and the Chinese Communist Revolution." Paper prepared for American Historical Association, Annual Conference, 1989.

Daniel P. Greene (University of Texas), "'A Kind of Gentlemen's Agreement': The Paris Trilateral Talks on Indochina, May, 1955." Paper prepared for Fifteenth Annual Conference of SHAFR, June 14-17, 1989, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia.

- D. Beatrice G. Heuser (Foundation for Science and Politics, West Germany), "Threat Perception and Policy-Making: The Effects of the Korean War on the Cold War." Paper prepared for Fifteenth Annual Conference of SHAFR, June 14-17, 1989, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia.
- T. Christopher Jespersen (Rutgers University), "Henry Luce and the American Myth of Jiang Jieshi." Paper prepared for Fifteenth Annual Conference of SHAFR, June 14-17, 1989, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia.
- Edward C. Keefer (Office of the Historian, U.S. Department of State), "Truman and Democracy in Korea: The United States and the Political Crisis of 1952." Paper prepared for Fifteenth Annual Conference of SHAFR, June 14-17, 1989, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia.
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- L. Eve Armentrout Ma (Mills College, Oakland, Calif. & California State University, Hayward), "Army Engineers in Japan, 1945-1984: Conflict with Japan." Paper delivered to Pacific Coast Conference of the Association for Asian Studies, June 1986.
- Gregory Jamers Pemberton (Australian War Memorial), "The Rules of the Game: Western Political Strategies and the Vietnamese Revolution." Paper prepared for Fifteenth Annual Conference of SHAFR, June 14-17, 1989, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia.
- John P. Rossi (University of South Carolina, Aiken), "'Trade Follows the Dollar': American Interests and East Asian Markets, 1914-1931." Paper prepared for Fifteenth Annual Conference of SHAFR, June 14-17, 1989, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia.
- Egya N. Sangmuah (University of Toronto), "The United States and the French Empire in North Africa, 1946-1956: Globalizing the Philippine Model." Paper prepared for Fifteenth Annual Conference of SHAFR, June 14-17, 1989, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia.

Jack Shulimson (Marine Corps Historical Center), "Daniel Pratt Mannix and the Marine China Connection, 1881-1885." Paper prepared for Fifteenth Annual Conference of SHAFR, June 14-17, 1989, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia.

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## RECENT CHINESE WRITINGS ON 1945-1955 SINO-US RELATIONS

by

*Zhai Qiang (Ohio University)*

The decade after the conclusion of World War II is a crucial time in the development of Sino-American relations. Western writings on this period of history are profuse and thorough. Especially in the last ten years, a spate of books about the subject have appeared in the United States.<sup>1</sup> Chinese historians recently have also shown much interest in the topic. This paper attempts to survey this recent Chinese literature and examine its nature and characteristics with the hope of promoting a better dialogue between scholars in China and the West on the understanding of the early Cold-War Chinese-American relations.

Before the end of the 1970s, significant scholarly study on the post-WWII Sino-American relations remained largely unknown in China. From 1949 to the onset of the Cultural Revolution, Chinese writings focused mostly on the pre-1949 Sino-American interactions with the emphasis on exposing the imperialist nature of American policy toward China. During the ten-year Cultural Revolution, like many other academic

fields, study of Sino-American relations almost came to a halt in China.<sup>2</sup>

Since the late 1970s, the return to "normalcy" in China, the normalization of diplomatic relations between China and the United States, and the availability of the relevant American documents and some Chinese materials have greatly facilitated Chinese research on post-war Sino-American relations. In the last few years, a number of solidly-researched books and articles on the topic have been written by Chinese scholars. Due to the limitation of Chinese documents, the American side of the story has understandably received a better treatment.

In comparison to the traditional writings in China, which tend to be passionate and economically deterministic, the new literature is more sophisticated and multi-dimensional. Cool reasoning has replaced single-minded revolutionary exposure. The authors have paid attention not only to economics and geopolitics but also to domestic politics and cultural differences in looking at the formation of American China policy. The result is a more balanced and objective understanding of the complexity and dynamics of post-war Sino-American relations.

In the new scholarship, the American leadership is no longer viewed as monolithic and consistent. The domestic political controversy over the making of the China policy has received enough attention from Chinese analysts. They understand that the China issue was highly sensitive in post-war American party politics. The right-wing Republican group and the China Lobby exerted a lot of pressure on the Truman administration for more assistance to the Chiang Kai-shek regime. Balancing its global strategic priorities, the administration was reluctant to provide large-scale aid to the declining Kuomintang government especially since 1947. Zi Zhongyun and Zhai Qiang both try to examine Truman's approach to China in the context of this domestic political

struggle. They demonstrate the similarities and differences between the administration on the one hand and the congressional China bloc and the China Lobby on the other in their attitudes toward China.<sup>3</sup>

The role of cultural differences in shaping policy is another area that has attracted the interest of Chinese scholars. China and the United States are two nations with different cultural heritages and values. When the two countries came into contact with each other, their different value systems often determined specific policy options. Yuan Ming attributes the American failure in understanding the essence of the Chinese revolution to this value difference. She contends that no matter what vocabulary Dean Acheson or George Kennan used to explain the situation in China, all those terms were of Western origin and had particular implications in the framework of Western political culture. These American policy makers themselves were the product of the Western political history. With deep-rooted Western conceptions, they failed to give an accurate description of the picture in China for the American public and themselves as well. This was one of the factors that had locked them in many policy dilemmas regarding China.<sup>4</sup>

American ethnocentrism and deep-seated myths about China are another intellectual cause for the American inability to grasp the nature of the Chinese revolution correctly. In his article on the American China policy from 1945 to 1955, Wang Jisi writes: "The pretensions to the role of China's champion magnified America's arrogance and the sense of self-righteousness. Those responsible for American relations with China lacked sensitivity to the legitimate interests of the Chinese.... Ethnocentrism produced misrepresentation of the nature of the Chinese revolution."<sup>5</sup>

One manifestation of this underrating of China, as Wang Jianwei points out, was the American tendency to make its



China policy primarily in the context of the American-Soviet confrontation. In his survey of American policy toward China around 1949, Wang illustrates the American failure to treat China as an independent force in international relations.<sup>6</sup> Shi Yinhong echoes Wang's argument with his study of the American decisions during the Korean War. The reason for the Truman administration's misjudgment of the possibility of Chinese entry into the conflict, according to Shi, lay in American preoccupation with studying Soviet intentions and policies without paying attention to the Chinese interests. Out of the conviction that the Chinese Communists were close followers of Moscow after the signing of the Sino-Soviet alliance pact in early 1950, the policy makers in Washington believed that so long as the Russians desired no global war, Peking would not intervene in the Korean conflict. The essence of this belief, Shi notes, was the underestimation of the crucial importance of North Korea's existence to China's security.<sup>7</sup>

As to interpretations of various issues during the period, the recent Chinese writings differ from the Western scholars on several accounts. First, most Chinese writers discount the so-called "lost opportunity" thesis popular among some Western historians. They believe that an opportunity for rapprochement between the United States and the Chinese Communists hardly existed in 1949. Zi Zhongyun's view is representative. She asserts that in the middle of the 1940s the CCP twice placed hope on the United States. The first was during the stationing of the American observation group (the Dixie mission) in Yen-an, and the second during the Marshall mission in China. After the disappointment with the results of the two incidents, the CCP no longer had any illusions about Washington. Immediately after the founding of the PRC, what concerned the Peking leaders most was the abolition of imperialist rights and elimination of Western influence from

China. They showed no eagerness to seek American recognition. They could not compromise with the United States since the latter had not abandoned Chiang Kai-shek and had designs on Taiwan. Aside from the bilateral constraints, the international environment also played a role in the estrangement of the two countries. In the context of the world divided into two hostile camps, ideology figured importantly in both countries' foreign policies. Under the circumstances, Zi points out, it was unrealistic of the United States to expect a Sino-Soviet split as the prerequisite for American recognition of the PRC. Given the various objective and subjective conditions, Zi concludes, there was very little possibility for a Sino-American reconciliation in 1949.<sup>8</sup>

Secondly, unlike some Western observers who like to stress factionalism within the CCP, recent Chinese writers emphasize the unity of the party leadership in the late 1940s. For example, in his article on the evolution of the CCP's policy toward the United States from 1945 to 1949, He Di reasons that in the late 1940s, after the rectification campaign, particularly after the Seventh Party Conference in 1945, the CCP realized a high degree of unity, and Mao Zedong established the highest authority. Within the party there was no so-called pro-U.S. and pro-Soviet faction struggle. Drawing on the Chinese documents and interviewing the participants, He reaches the conclusion that Mao was in charge of the CCP's foreign affairs from the making of policies to the handling of specific problems. Fully aware that the junior party cadres lacked experience in foreign affairs and were inclined to deal with the Americans impulsively, the CCP designed a strict system requiring immediate reports on all foreign policy incidents and repeatedly emphasized the necessity of its observation. There was only one voice in the CCP's foreign policy, and public dissent on the part of the top

party leaders as some Western scholars speculated was impossible.<sup>9</sup>

Washington's policy toward Tibet during the late 1940s is an area much neglected by the American publications on US-East Asian relations. Shi Yinhong and Jiang Yun pioneer the study with their pathbreaking survey of the Truman administration's policy toward Tibet around the establishment of the PRC. They document the American indirect attempt to prevent the takeover of Tibet by the People's Liberation Army and the admission of Tibet into the United Nations in 1949 and 1950. It is their belief that the effort to maintain an independent Tibet constituted a part of American containment policy toward China during the period.<sup>10</sup>

Regarding the American policy toward Taiwan, a consensus seems to have emerged among Chinese scholars. They have come to the conclusion that to separate the island from the mainland had been a general tendency in the American position during the period, and the outbreak of the Korean war did not represent a real turning point in the American attitude. In an influential article in China, Zi Zhongyun traces the American strategy toward Taiwan from 1949 to the start of the Korean War. Wang Jisi carries the story from 1950 to 1955. Wang lists three reasons for the American attempt to deny the island to Peking. First of all, during the Cold War years Taiwan was supposed to form a strategic part of the vast arc of islands which shaped the essential perimeter of America's defense in the Pacific. Second, failure to keep Taiwan from Peking's control would undermine America's political prestige and its desire to formulate in Asia an anti-communist association of both political and military nature. Third, the regime in Taipei was regarded as a rallying point for the large number of overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia, and its collapse would greatly strengthen the PRC.<sup>11</sup>

The American strategy to divide the Sino-Soviet alliance in the early Cold War years has caught the attention of American scholars in the last couple of years. The subject has also received treatment in recent Chinese accounts. Using a comparative approach, Zhai Qiang sets out to contrast the different tactics adopted by the Truman and Eisenhower administrations in their common effort to stimulate differences between Peking and Moscow. While Truman and Acheson tried to break Sino-Soviet solidarity through accommodation with the CCP, Zhai explains, Eisenhower and Dulles attempted to do the same by a high-pressure posture which included political isolation, economic sanction, military encirclement, and nuclear harassment.<sup>12</sup>

One important feature of the recent Chinese publications is the willingness of some authors to evaluate past Chinese diplomacy critically. For instance, in his above cited article, He Di mentions the weaknesses and inadequacies of the party's understanding of the outside world. In the circumstances, He says, it was impossible for the Chinese Communist leaders to obtain a thorough and deep grasp of the political system, the foreign policy making process and the fluctuation of domestic opinions in the United States.<sup>13</sup>

In his Ph.D. dissertation, Shi Yinghong addresses himself to both the tactical and policy mistakes committed by the CCP during 1948 and 1949. One example of such a tactical error, according to Shi, is the Ward case. Based on his investigation of the documents deposited at the Shenyang (formerly called Mukden) Municipal Archives, Shi makes the point that, whatever the motivations to detain the American consular personnel in Shenyang in the first place, the method itself was not a reasonable one to achieve all possible goals, for it limited the CCP's diplomatic flexibility later. In fact the case became a burden in the CCP's foreign relations in the next year. The handling of the incident, Shi observes, did not coordinate well

with other important diplomatic moves by the CCP at the time. For example, while Stuart was allowed to visit Peking, the American Consul General in Shenyang was declared as engaging in espionage activities. The confiscation of the American garrison properties in China, Shi continues, is another case of diplomatic inappropriateness. The Communist leaders lost an informal channel of communication with Washington by requisitioning the US properties and urging the Americans to leave China.

Shi explicates four reasons for those tactical mistakes by the CCP. First, because the party was wary of the possible anti-Communist tendencies on the part of the bourgeois class (upper and middle class) in China with the encouragement of the United States, it therefore was determined to keep American influence out of China. But, in retrospect, the CCP overestimated the anti-Communist inclination and political power of the bourgeois class and overstressed the American influence within that group of people. Second, the Communist leaders overrated the American willingness to continue the support of the KMT. They were not fully aware of the Truman administration's effort to get rid of the burden of the Chiang regime gradually, though this unawareness was hard to avoid given the secrecy of the American policy making process.

Third, the CCP did not have a full comprehension of the complex background of American policy decisions. Although the party correctly perceived that the American opposition to the PRC stemmed from its basic hostility to communism and to China's anti-imperialist revolution, it failed to realize that some of Washington's actions were in a way responses to certain maneuvers of the party itself. Fourth, the CCP did not handle very well the problem of how to deal with the existing international law and practice by a new government which had just won power through revolution and was resolved to

eliminate foreign oppression. It was inappropriate to detain Ward and his staff and cut their communications with the US government without declaration and time limit. In the case of the American garrison premises, the reason for the seizure provided by the Peking military authority was inadequate and the action was too rash.

While the faults in the CCP's policy toward America were tactical in nature, Shi insists, the mistakes in treating some neutral Asian countries at the time reflected policy. Since the Tito incident in 1948, the CCP changed its own scientific evaluation of the world situation and accepted rigidly the Soviet "two-camp" theory. The party lost sight of the existence of neutral forces in international relations and treated some Asian nations as the "running dogs" of imperialism. This was especially the case with the attitude toward India in 1949.<sup>14</sup>

Fruitful as it is, the recent Chinese scholarship still leaves much to be desired. To develop Chinese research on Sino-American relations, we need to make the following efforts in the future:

First of all, we need to build up our research source basis. More opening of the Chinese diplomatic archives is a necessary prerequisite for reconstructing more fully the Chinese side of the story. We need to make more use of oral history sources and encourage those people involved in past events to reflect on their experiences when they are still alive.

Second, we need to reconceptualize our thinking of history further. Though we have made some progress in breaking away from the confinement of economic determinism, we still need to incorporate more frameworks into our research. Bureaucratic approach is one example. We need to look at how different governmental departments interact in the policy making process. Cultural perspective is another possibility. As Akira Iriye has repeatedly said, we need to define

international relations not just in terms of politics and government but also in terms of culture and perception. The Chinese images of the United States in the Cold War era is an area worth studying.

Third, we need to pay more attention to the role of personality in history. So far our writings about the Chinese leaders have lacked biographical sketches and character descriptions. Things like past experience, education, and temperament certainly have a bearing on the style of a leader in his decision making.

Finally, we need to take more notice of the role a third party plays in Sino-American relations. For instance, India's part as a mediator and communicator between Peking and Washington deserves more scrutiny. The US concern with postwar Japan in determining Washington's policy toward China needs to be considered.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup>For a survey of recent Western writings on the early Cold War American-East Asian relations, see Robert McMahan, "The Cold War in Asia: Toward a New Synthesis?" *Diplomatic History* (Summer, 1988), pp. 307-327.
- <sup>2</sup>For a brief review of the pre-1976 Chinese historiography on Sino-American relations, see Luo Jungqu and Jiang Xiangze, "Research in Sino-American Relations in the People's Republic of China", Warren Cohen, ed., *New Frontiers in American-East Asian Relations* (New York, 1983), pp. 1-16.
- <sup>3</sup>Zi Zhongyun, *Mei Guo Dui Hua Zheng Ce De Yuan Qi He Fa Zhan, 1945-1950 (The Origin and Evolution of American Policy Toward China, 1945-1950)*, (Cong Qing, 1987), pp. 323-357; Zhai Qiang, "Yuan Wai Yuan Hua Gi Tuan He Du Lu Men Dui Hua Zheng Ce, 1947-1949" ("The China Lobby and Truman's Policy Toward China, 1947-1949") *Shi Jie Li Shi (World History)* (No. 5, 1986), pp. 37-45
- <sup>4</sup>Yuan Ming, "Xin Zhong Kuo Cheng Li Qian Hou De Mei Guo Dui Hua Zheng Ce Guan" ("The US Policy Conception of China Around

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# THE SHAFR NEWSLETTER

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

**EDITOR:** William J. Brinker, Department of History. **EDITORIAL ASSISTANT:** Brent W. York.

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

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

**ADDRESS CHANGES:** Address changes should be sent to:  
the Executive Secretary-Treasurer: Executive Secretary-Treasurer:  
Allan Spetter, Wright State University, Dayton, OH 45435.

**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.

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