

The Society for Historians of American  
Foreign Relations

**NEWSLETTER**

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Page

- 1 In Memoriam: Dr. Gerald J. Bernath
- 4 Return to the Brink: Intelligence Perspectives on the Cuban  
Missile Crisis by *Mary S. McAuliffe*
- 19 Shanghai Consular Records About Jewish Refugees by *Jonathan  
Goldstein*
- 24 Letter and Report of the Advisory Committee on Historical  
Documentation by *Warren F. Kimball*
- 36 Availability of *FRUS* volumes
- 39 SHAFR Council Minutes
- 41 Announcements
- 43 Personals
- 46 Calendar
- 47 Publications
- 49 Abstracts
- 52 Awards, Prizes, and Funds
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# *The Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations*

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*Founded in 1967*

*Chartered in 1972*

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**MEMBERSHIP:** Annual dues are \$30.00 for regular members, \$10.00 for all others. A life membership in SHAFR is \$300.00. In the case of membership by husband and wife, dues for one of them shall be one-half of the regular price. Dues are payable at the office of the Executive Secretary-Treasurer. For those wishing only to receive the SHAFR *Newsletter* the cost is \$15.00. Overseas members wishing to receive the *Newsletter* by air mail should remit an additional \$10 per year to the *Newsletter's* editorial offices. Institutions wishing to receive *Diplomatic History* should contact Scholarly Resources.

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

**PRIZES:** The Society administers several awards. Four of them honor the late Stuart L. Bernath and two others honor the late Myrna L. Bernath; these are financed through the generosity of Dr. Gerald J. Bernath. Awards also honor Laura and Norman Graebner, the late W. Stull Holt, the late Warren Kuehl, Robert Ferrell, and Arthur Link. Details of each of these awards are to be found under the appropriate headings in June and December *Newsletters*.

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

## IN MEMORIAM

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Dr. Gerald J. Bernath, 87, loyal friend and devoted supporter of SHAFR, died peacefully on May 1, 1993, at his home in Laguna Hills, California. Dr. Bernath was a graduate of Wayne State University and specialized in radiology. For many years, he gave great service to the Los Angeles community as a radiologist, and to humanity as a philanthropist and friend.

He and his wife, Myrna Freden Bernath, who died on May 9, 1989, truly loved SHAFR, which became the beneficiary of their commitment, both financially and emotionally after the death of their beloved son, Stewart Loren Bernath, a promising young scholar and teacher who had just completed his first book, squall *Across the Atlantic*, and whose deepest desire was to be come a renowned diplomatic historian. Dr. Jerry, as I like to call him, insisted on giving Myrna full credit for the inspiration to establish the Bernath Book Prize in 1976, in loving remembrance of Stewart. From that moment on, both Jerry and Myrna literally adopted SHAFR as an organization and especially the young scholars who became the recipients of the numerous Bernath prizes for lectureships, articles and dissertations, scholarships, travel expenses etc. that followed after the establishment of the original prize.

For over fifty years, Jerry was the most loving, devoted and cherished husband of Myrna Freden Bernath. After her death, he believed that she deserved a memorial for her devotion to and cooperation with SHAFR. Thus was established the Myrna F. Bernath Book and Fellowship Prizes for women.

Shortly thereafter, several of Dr. Jerry's friends tried to persuade him to establish something in his own name. Although in his genuine unselfishness, he at first demurred, Charlotte McCleery, his assistant, confidant, and now executor of his estate, assured him that she would "enjoy spending is money to set up a fund bearing his name!" With a "warm chuckle" he gave her permission to contact me and begin that process. The result was the establishment of the Gerald J. Bernath Fund, the monies to be used to support the *SHAFR Newsletter*, to provide awards for overseas research to younger scholars and to update the *SHAFR Guide*.

Many of SHAFR's officers and historians kept in touch with Dr. Bernath and became his personal friends. Many sent him copies of their books which he deeply appreciated. He was always "thrilled" to receive letters of thanks from various prize winners, and extremely proud of their accomplishments.

Dr. Bernath's final gift of \$25,000 to SHAFR was presented at the SHAFR luncheon on April 17, 1993, at the annual meeting of the Organization of American Historians in Anaheim, California. The gift was presented to update and computerize the *SHAFR Guide*. It was Jerry's great hope that he would be able to attend the SHAFR luncheon, where he was to be presented with a beautiful, engraved plaque expressing SHAFR'S deep appreciation for "his vision and generosity in encouraging and supporting the study and understanding of the history of American Foreign Relations." Tragically, by April 17, Dr. Bernath was gravely ill and hospitalized and thus unable to receive the plaque in person. However, he was deeply moved by the sentiments expressed by the plaque, which was shown to him by his friends while he was in his hospital bed. It was a gesture which meant a very great deal to him, for on many occasions he spoke of SHAFR as his favorite "charity." Those of us who came to

know him well will always remember him as a deeply caring, sensitive, warm and generous human being, whose greatest joy lay in helping others. Dr. Bernath will live forever in the memory of SHAFR as beloved benefactor and friend.

Betty Miller Unterberger

RETURN TO THE BRINK:  
INTELLIGENCE PERSPECTIVES  
ON THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS\*

by

Mary S. McAuliffe

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

Students of intelligence and diplomatic history generally regard the Cuban missile crisis as one of the best examples of American intelligence serving the role for which it was created — technological finesse, analytical expertise, and clandestine derring-do linked to identify an incalculable threat in time to stave off national or even international disaster.<sup>1</sup> Like many another tale of unblemished heroism, however, this one turns out to be only partially true.

The Central Intelligence Agency's October 1992 public conference<sup>2</sup> commemorating the thirtieth anniversary of the

\*Although the following article has been cleared for publication with the Central Intelligence Agency's Publication Review Board, the views expressed in it are my own.

<sup>1</sup>See for example Anne Karalekas's history of the CIA, prepared for the final report of the Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities [the Church Committee], book. IV, 94th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1976, S. Rept. 94-755, 65-66 and 81. This brief but authoritative history is currently available in William M. Leary, ed., *The Central Intelligence Agency: History and Documents* (Birmingham, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1984), where Dr. Karalekas's account of CIA and the Cuban missile crisis appears on 77-78 and 93.

<sup>2</sup>CIA's first Intelligence History symposium, "Intelligence and the Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962," sponsored by the Center for the Study of Intelligence, was held on October 19, 1962.

missile crisis in fact demonstrated that the United States came perilously close to not discovering the missiles in time. Evidence collected from panelists' accounts as well as from a book of newly declassified documents<sup>3</sup> that CIA released for this occasion starkly reveal the complex web of attitudes and events that almost blinded the United States in 1962 to what was happening only ninety miles from its shores.

During the weeks before the missiles were discovered, John A. McCone, who was then Director of Central Intelligence, clearly saw the danger and in August 1962 attempted to warn a number of high-level officials.<sup>4</sup> No one, however, took his warnings seriously: there were at that time no missiles in

<sup>3</sup>Central Intelligence Agency, History Staff, *CIA Documents on the Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962*, Mary S. McAuliffe, ed. (Washington, DC: Central Intelligence Agency, October, 1992). Documents cited in this article will be from this volume.

Another important collection of documents on the missile crisis was published in 1992 by the National Security Archives (see Lawrence Chang and Peter Kornbluh, eds., *The Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962* [New York: The New Press, 1992]). Other recent publications on the missile crisis include: James G. Blight and David A. Welch, *On the Brink: Americans and Soviets Reexamine the Cuban Missile Crisis* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1989); Raymond L. Garthoff, *Reflections on the Cuban Missile Crisis* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1987); and Dino A. Brugioni, *Eyeball to Eyeball: The Inside Story of the Cuban Missile Crisis* (New York: Random House, 1991).

<sup>4</sup>John A. McCone, Memorandum, "Soviet MRBMs in Cuba," October 31, 1962; McCone, Memorandum for the File, "Discussion in Secretary Rusk's Office at 12 o'clock, 21 August 1962," August 21, 1962; McCone, "Memorandum of the Meeting with the President at 6:00 p.m., on August 22, 1962," August 22, 1962; McCone, "Memorandum of Meeting with the President," August 23, 1962, all in *CIA Documents on the Cuban Missile Crisis*, 13, 21-23, 25-29.

Cuba, and no intelligence had been received that the Soviets were about to deliver any. McCone had reached his conclusion after watching intelligence reports indicating a large and unexplained build-up of Soviet equipment and personnel on the island.<sup>5</sup> Making the correct assumption that this was military equipment, McCone did what every good intelligence analyst is supposed to do — he tried to imagine himself in the other fellow's shoes. In this case, the other fellow was Khrushchev, and McCone asked himself what the Soviet premier might be up to.

If (proposed McCone)<sup>6</sup> Khrushchev knew that the Soviets did not in fact possess the superiority they claimed in strategic missiles, and if Khrushchev knew that the United States was aware of the falsity of these claims, then what could he do about the situation? Khrushchev had few intercontinental ballistic missiles with which he could directly threaten the United States from the Soviet Union. But he did possess large numbers of medium and intermediate range ballistic missiles (MRBMs and IRBMs). These, of course, could not reach the United States from Soviet soil. If Khrushchev could find a piece of real estate sufficiently close to the United States and sufficiently far from the Soviet Union that missiles from there could never be redirected at Moscow, might he not, asked McCone, be tempted to redress the strategic balance by installing medium range ballistic missiles there?

<sup>5</sup>[McCone], "Memorandum on Cuba," August 20, 1962, in *CIA Documents on the Cuban Missile Crisis*, 19-20.

<sup>6</sup>According to Walter Elder, McCone's Executive Assistant, who shared this account at CIA's October 19, 1992 Cuban Missile Crisis conference (see above).



Cuba, McCone guessed correctly, was that piece of real estate. And the payoff for Khrushchev, McCone realized, would come once he had those missiles in Cuba and demanded negotiation on his terms, whether on Berlin or on any other subject he chose.

McCone's was a compelling and, as it proved, accurate scenario. But he was not able to persuade others of his foresight. Since 1960, when Fidel Castro declared his support for the Soviet Union, CIA had been flooded with intelligence reports of missile and missile-associated activity in Cuba, all of which had so far proven false,<sup>7</sup> although these provided grist for ongoing Republican charges that the Kennedy administration was "soft on Cuba." To McCone's top analysts, there was neither precedent for Soviet placement of offensive missiles outside the Soviet Union nor concrete evidence that the Soviets were so doing.<sup>8</sup> To high administration officials, who had come to regard talk of missiles in Cuba as Republican bluster during an election year, McCone's warnings appeared to echo the partisan rumors then circulating in Washington.<sup>9</sup> Although a Kennedy appointee, McCone was after all a Republican, and a very conservative one at that.

<sup>7</sup>[Richard Lehman], Memorandum for Director of Central Intelligence, "CIA Handling of the Soviet Buildup in Cuba," November 14, 1962, in *CIA Documents on the Cuban Missile Crisis*, 99.

<sup>8</sup>Special National Intelligence Estimate 85-3-62, "The Military Buildup in Cuba," September 19, 1962, in *CIA Documents on the Cuban Missile Crisis*, 93.

<sup>9</sup>For an example of a top administration official's lack of concern on the subject, see McCone, "Memorandum of Discussion with Mr. McGeorge Bundy, Friday, October 5, 1962, 5:15 p.m.," in *CIA Documents on the Cuban Missile Crisis*, 115.

Unfortunately, as the declassified documents and the panelists revealed, several factors working together made it especially difficult during the weeks before the discovery of the offensive missiles to provide concrete evidence of what the Soviets were doing in Cuba. Since mid-August, CIA current intelligence had not circulated any reports of missile base construction in Cuba without photographic confirmation from aerial reconnaissance, as a procedural measure meant to ensure the accuracy of its information.<sup>10</sup> U-2 reconnaissance aircraft had been regularly flying over Cuba, but unknown to current intelligence analysts, aerial coverage of the western portion of the island ceased following the late-August discovery of surface-to-air missiles (SAMs) there and the shutdown of a U-2 over China. Worried about the possibility of a U-2 shutdown over Cuba, with international repercussions like those when a Soviet SAM shot down Gary Powers' U-2 over the Soviet Union in 1960, Secretary of State Dean Rusk on September 10 successfully pressed to curtail U-2 flights over the western portion of the island where the SAMs had been found — and where, as it turned out, the MRBMs were about to go in.<sup>11</sup> Adding to the analysts' difficulties, by early September President John F. Kennedy had instructed the intelligence community to strictly limit the internal

<sup>10</sup>[Lehman,] "CIA Handling of the Soviet Buildup in Cuba," in *CIA Documents on the Cuban Missile Crisis*, 100.

<sup>11</sup>Lyman B. Kirkpatrick, Memorandum for the Director, "White House Meeting on 10 September 1962 on Cuban Overflights," March 1, 1963; Memorandum, "U-2 Overflights of Cuba, 29 August through 14 October 1962," February 27, 1963, both in *CIA Documents on the Cuban Missile Crisis*, 61-62, 128-29, 131-33.

dissemination of information on missiles in Cuba.<sup>12</sup> In October, access to all such information was tightly limited under the special control system, PSALM.<sup>13</sup> This step, added to the blackout created by the overflight curtailment, meant that until the discovery of the MRBM sites in mid-October, much of the intelligence community was operating at least partially in the dark.

Only McCone viewed the presence of SAMs in Cuba with alarm. Except for the possibility of a U-2 shutdown, Secretary Rusk and other high administration officials were undisturbed by their presence. The SAMs were, after all, defensive missiles, and these officials believed that the Soviets only wished to defend Cuba from any possibility of U.S. attack. In addition, according to R. Jack Smith, who was then in charge of CIA's Office of Current Intelligence, the Soviets at that time had an abundance of SAMs and were inclined to put them wherever they could, whether needed or not. According to Smith, it looked as if the SAMs were going in to "soothe the Cubans." In any case, as he told the conferees, the presence of Soviet SAMs in Cuba "wasn't diagnostic."<sup>14</sup> McCone strongly disagreed. From his honeymoon quarters in

<sup>12</sup>William A. Tidwell, Memorandum for the Record, "Instructions Concerning the Handling of Certain Information Concerning Cuba," September 1, 1962, in *CIA Documents on the Cuban Missile Crisis*, 33.

<sup>13</sup>McCone, "Memorandum on Donovan Project," October 11, 1962, in *CIA Documents on the Cuban Missile Crisis*, 123-24. For an example of a document under PSALM, see Arthur C. Lundahl, Memorandum for Director of Central Intelligence and Director, Defense Intelligence Agency, "Additional Information--Mission 3101," October 16, 1962, in *CIA Documents on the Cuban Missile Crisis*, 155-56.

<sup>14</sup>From Smith's comments as a panelist at CIA's October 19, 1992 Cuban Missile Crisis conference.

France, where he had gone for most of the month of September, he peppered the CIA with cables<sup>15</sup> warning that the Soviets had placed SAMs in Cuba not to defend the Cubans from U.S. attack but to prevent U-2 overflights from discovering the offensive missiles that he was convinced the Soviets were about to put in there.

McCone's "honeymoon cables," however prescient, said nothing that he had not said before and offered no concrete evidence that what he predicted was indeed true. Although President Kennedy in early September warned the Soviets against placing offensive missiles in Cuba, high administration officials continued to assume that the Soviets would never do such a thing.<sup>16</sup> CIA's Board of National Estimates strengthened these assumptions with its September 19 estimate, which stated that the placement of Soviet medium and intermediate range ballistic missiles in Cuba "would be incompatible with Soviet practice to date and with Soviet policy as we presently estimate it."<sup>17</sup>

Ingrained attitudes and assumptions, mirror-imaging (expecting the other fellow to behave as you would under similar circumstances), and the over-restriction or absence of information that might have changed such assumptions led to conflicts between analysts and collectors, headquarters and the

<sup>15</sup>McCone to [Lt. Gen. Marshall S.] Carter, Cables, September 7, 10, 13, 16, and 20, 1962, in *CIA Documents on the Cuban Missile Crisis*, 51-52, 59-60, 67-68, 77-79, 95-96.

<sup>16</sup>McCone, "Memorandum of Discussion with Mr. McGeorge Bundy, Friday, October 5, 1962, 5:15 p.m.," in *CIA Documents on the Cuban Missile Crisis*, 115.

<sup>17</sup>Special National Intelligence Estimate 85-3-62, "The Military Buildup in Cuba," in *CIA Documents on the Cuban Missile Crisis*, p.93.

field. Warren E. Frank, who was then an operations officer in Miami, recalled that in his view, "Washington had locked itself into a position with the national estimates that the Soviets wouldn't put missiles in Cuba, and this we felt tended to prejudice them against our reports."<sup>18</sup> In one such example, released in CIA's volume of documents, a report transmitted out of Cuba between September 15 and 18 told of a large area in Pinar del Rio province, heavily guarded by Soviets, where "very secret and important work is in progress, believed to be concerned with missiles." CIA Headquarters was not impressed: "It is doubtful," observed the recipients, "that ground forces could effectively control as one complete area a zone as large as the one cited above."<sup>19</sup> This area in fact turned out to be where the MRBMs were first discovered.

McCone's insistence made that discovery possible. Returning from France in late September, he found that there had been no reconnaissance flights over the western part of the island since late August. Alarmed over this fact, he insisted that these overflights be resumed.<sup>20</sup> The response to his insistence appears, in retrospect, to have been painfully slow: the oversight group in charge of such requests took five days

<sup>18</sup>From Frank's comments as a panelist at CIA's October 19, 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis conference.

<sup>19</sup>CIA Information Report, September 18, 1962, in *CIA Documents on the Cuban Missile Crisis*, 103-104.

<sup>20</sup>McCone, "Memorandum of MONGOOSE Meeting Held on Thursday, October 4, 1962"; McCone, "Memorandum of Discussion with Mr. McGeorge Bundy, Friday, October 5, 1962, 5:15 p.m."; Memorandum, "U-2 Overflights of Cuba, 29 August through 14 October 1962," February 27, 1963, all in *CIA Documents on the Cuban Missile Crisis*, 112, 115, 136-37.

to consider all alternative means of conducting aerial reconnaissance, while bad weather and in-fighting between CIA and the Air Force over operational control of the U-2 delayed the critical flight still further. On October 14, however, a lone U-2 under U.S. Air Force command took the photographs that recorded the stunning discovery of Soviet MRBMs in Cuba.<sup>21</sup> McCone's hunch had turned into reality.

Once the missiles were discovered, CIA and the entire intelligence community responded quickly and admirably, providing up-to-the-minute intelligence to the President and his innermost council of advisers, the National Security Council Executive Committee (Ex Comm). Much of this intelligence derived from aerial photography, which increased dramatically after the missiles' discovery. Other intelligence, especially identification of the missiles and evaluation of their operational readiness, derived from material codenamed IRONBARK, which Col. Oleg Penkovsky of Soviet Army intelligence (GRU) had passed to the West. "I don't know of any single instance where intelligence was more immediately valuable than at this time," former Director of Central Intelligence Richard Helms told the conferees, speaking of the Penkovsky material. Sidney Graybeal, a top analyst, added that based on Penkovsky's detailed information, "We knew we had time."<sup>22</sup> It was this gift of time for considered judgment that ultimately made a peaceful solution to the crisis possible.

<sup>21</sup>Memorandum, "U-2 Overflights of Cuba, 29 August through 14 October 1962," February 27, 1963, in *CIA Documents on the Cuban Missile Crisis*, pp.136-37.

<sup>22</sup>Both Helms and Graybeal made these comments as panelists at CIA's October 19, 1992 Cuban Missile Crisis conference.

The intelligence community was successful in finding the missiles; it was less successful in locating the nuclear warheads designed to go with them, even though throughout the crisis it made a top priority of identifying nuclear storage facilities and tracking their rush to completion.<sup>23</sup> On October 29, 1962, one day after the immediate confrontation was over, an internal memorandum stated that "no nuclear weapons or missile nosecones have been identified in Cuba." Pointing out, however, that nuclear storage bunkers existed at each of the MRBM and IRBM sites, the memorandum added, "If nuclear weapons are in Cuba they are probably in an unlocated facility between the entry port of Mariel and the sites."<sup>24</sup>

CIA did not advise that the nuclear warheads were not there, Sidney Graybeal told the conferees. "What we advised was that we had no *evidence* that the nuclear warheads were there."<sup>25</sup> According to Samuel Halpern, a former intelligence officer then specializing in Cuban operations, CIA had used every means at its disposal, including the new technology of neutron counters, to try to find the warheads, "which we knew were coming, but we didn't know how and when."<sup>26</sup> According to Dino Brugioni, who viewed the crisis

<sup>23</sup>See, for example, Supplement 1 to Joint Evaluation of Soviet Missile Threat in Cuba, October 20, 1962, in *CIA Documents on the Cuban Missile Crisis*, 231.

<sup>24</sup>Memorandum, "Soviet Offensive Weapons in Cuba," October 29, 1962," in *CIA Documents on the Cuban Missile Crisis*, 351.

<sup>25</sup>From Graybeal's comments as a panelist at CIA's October 19, 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis conference.

<sup>26</sup>From Halpern's comments as a panelist at CIA's October 19, 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis conference.

from within the National Photographic Interpretation Center, photointerpreters later concluded that the warheads had been stored inside vans parked near the missiles. Questions about the warheads have assumed new importance following recent Russian disclosures that they allegedly did arrive in Cuba—including warheads for the tactical missiles (FROGs) whose presence was identified by low-altitude missions on October 25, 1962, but for which nuclear weapons were not spotted. “We knew [the tactical missiles] had nuclear capability,” Brugioni told the conferees, “but we didn’t see any warheads to go with them.”<sup>27</sup> Not only were tactical nuclear warheads reportedly present on the island, but — according to retired Soviet General Anatoly I. Gribkov — these warheads could have been used without approval from Moscow in the event of a U.S. invasion of Cuba.<sup>28</sup> This stunning information has added a new and even more frightening dimension to the missile crisis, starkly delineating how close the world came to nuclear war.

Another aspect of the missile crisis about which little accurate information had been available before CIA’s conference and release of documents is Operation MONGOOSE, the

<sup>27</sup>From Brugioni’s comments as a panelist at CIA’s October 19, 1992 Cuban Missile Crisis conference.

<sup>28</sup>Don Oberdorfer, “Cuban Missile Crisis More Volatile Than Thought,” *Washington Post*, January 14, 1992. Gribkov’s remarks were made at a January 1992 conference on the missile crisis held in Havana under the direction of James G. Blight of Brown University’s Center for Foreign Policy Development. This conference was the most recent in a series of five held since 1987 at which American, Soviet, and most recently Cuban officials who played a prominent role during the missile crisis participated. See James G. Blight and David A. Welch, *On The Brink: Americans and Soviets Reexamine the Cuban Missile Crisis* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1989), for the first-hand account of the earliest of these conferences.



clandestine effort throughout 1962 to destabilize the Castro regime. MONGOOSE was an interagency operation directed by Brig. Gen. Edward Lansdale, then Assistant for Special Operations to the Secretary of Defense. It reported to a special oversight body of the National Security Council headed by Attorney General Robert Kennedy, who was its driving force. MONGOOSE operations in turn were carried out by CIA's Task Force W, headed by William Harvey. Documents released by CIA, together with documents recently released by other Agencies, reveal that by mid-summer of 1962, MONGOOSE was moving away from its preliminary intelligence collection phase and was casting about for ways to step up its impact, which so far had been negligible.<sup>29</sup> From the outset, Lansdale had pushed for the goal of an indigenous Cuban uprising, assisted by a U.S. military invasion. Burned by the disastrous 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion, the Kennedy administration was reluctant to consider this kind of action. Robert Kennedy clearly preferred sabotage to a Cuban invasion and took MONGOOSE and Task Force W to task for not coming up with more imaginative and effective ideas for making trouble in Cuba.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>29</sup>Special Group Augmented, "Guidelines for Operation Mongoose," March 14, 1962; Brig. Gen. Edward Lansdale, "Review of Operation Mongoose," July 25, 1962; Lansdale, "Action Proposals, Mongoose," October 11, 1962, all in Chang and Kornbluh, eds., *The Cuban Missile Crisis*, see especially 38, 40-41, 45, 47, and 52. See also McCone, "Memorandum of MONGOOSE Meeting Held on Thursday, October 4, 1962," in *CIA Documents on the Cuban Missile Crisis*, 111-113.

<sup>30</sup>McCone, "Memorandum of MONGOOSE Meeting Held on Thursday, October 4, 1962; Richard Helms, Memorandum for the Record, "MONGOOSE Meeting with the Attorney General," October 16, 1962," both in *CIA Documents on the Cuban Missile Crisis*," 111-13, 153-54.

With the full knowledge and encouragement of the White House, MONGOOSE continued its largely ineffective sabotage efforts into the early days of the missile crisis,<sup>31</sup> after which the White House appears to have forgotten about it. Midway during the crisis, the project became mired in inter-agency politics as Harvey tried to go around Lansdale and work with the Joint Chiefs of Staff.<sup>32</sup> Following Khrushchev's agreement to withdraw the missiles, President Kennedy ordered MONGOOSE operations to be halted. Nevertheless, as Raymond Garthoff has noted,<sup>33</sup> Cuba's November capture of operatives from a MONGOOSE sabotage mission launched early in the missile crisis created diplomatic reverberations that could have endangered the post-crisis negotiations. Fortunately, this did not happen.

It is perhaps striking, given the level of hostility between the United States and Cuba in the autumn of 1962, that negotiations continued for the release of the prisoners captured the year before at the Bay of Pigs. As CIA's book of documents shows, New York lawyer James B. Donovan and the Cuban Families Committee pressed on with talks virtually until the discovery of offensive missiles in Cuba.<sup>34</sup> A brief

<sup>31</sup>Helms, "MONGOOSE Meeting with the Attorney General," in *CIA Documents on the Cuban Missile Crisis*, 153-54.

<sup>32</sup>MSC [Marshall S. Carter], Memorandum for the Director, "MONGOOSE Operations and General Lansdale's Problems," October 25, 1962; McCone, "Memorandum of MONGOOSE Meeting in the JCS Operations Room, October 26, 1962, at 2:30 p.m.," October 29, 1962, both in *CIA Documents on the Cuban Missile Crisis*, 311-12, 319-21.

<sup>33</sup>Garthoff, *Reflections on the Cuban Missile Crisis*, 78, and the *Washington Post*, October 25, 1987.

<sup>34</sup>McCone, "Memorandum on Donovan Project," October 11, 1962, in *CIA Documents on the Cuban Missile Crisis*, 123.

reference at the 10:00 a.m. October 26, 1962, Ex Comm meeting at the height of the crisis even hints that contacts with Castro's Cuba on the prisoners may have remained open throughout the missile crisis.<sup>35</sup> For the record, immediately following the crisis Donovan and the Cuban Families Committee picked up where they had left off, and by Christmas eve of that year all the Cuban Bay of Pigs prisoners had been released.

Despite such examples of measured behavior in the face of possible nuclear confrontation, this was neither a managed nor a manageable crisis. Too many critical elements were not under anyone's control. According to recent accounts, the U-2 reconnaissance plane shot down over Cuba at the height of the crisis was downed on orders of a local Soviet general, without Khrushchev's knowledge or authorization.<sup>36</sup> As we have seen, other recent revelations evoke the frightening possibility that, in the event of a U.S. invasion of Cuba, nuclear-armed tactical missiles were available to the local Soviet commander without Moscow's further approval. And, adding to the instability of the situation, MONGOOSE continued to operate against Cuba throughout the crisis.

With all of these elements threatening to spin out of control, it was essential that the participants be in top mental and physical shape, in order to think clearly and rationally. Nevertheless, as several CIA conference panelists pointed out, by the time the crisis ended, those involved were at the

<sup>35</sup>McCone, Memorandum for the File, "Meeting of the NSC Executive Committee, October 26, 1962, 10:00 a.m.," in *CIA Documents on the Cuban Missile Crisis*, 317.

<sup>36</sup>The Soviet general was General Igor D. Statsenko. See Blight and Welch, *On the Brink*, 310-11.

breaking point, drained by unremitting stress and lack of sleep. According to Dr. Albert D. Wheelon, a senior administrator and missile expert, he and the other participants "were at the end of our rope when it finally resolved."<sup>37</sup> Chester Cooper, a top analyst, added that if the crisis had lasted beyond its thirteen days, "the whole thing would have begun to unravel."<sup>38</sup>

Tireless teamwork, dazzling technology, and extraordinary dedication on the part of many individuals in the intelligence community made the successful conclusion of the missile crisis possible. Nevertheless, the latest evidence, of which CIA's conference and volume of documents constitute a significant part, makes it clear that the Cuban missile crisis was both more complex and far more dangerous than anyone at the time could fully appreciate. Any of a plethora of factors during this superpower confrontation could have tilted its final outcome away from peace and towards the profound horrors of nuclear war. During that agonizing period in October 1962, the world stood frighteningly close to total destruction. To their everlasting credit, both Kennedy and Khrushchev stepped back from the brink.

<sup>37</sup>From Wheelon's comments as a panelist at CIA's October 19, 1992 Cuban Missile Crisis conference.

<sup>38</sup>From Cooper's comments as a panelist at CIA's October 19, 1992 Cuban Missile Crisis conference.

## SHANGHAI CONSULAR RECORDS ABOUT JEWISH REFUGEES: VISITS TO POLISH, RUSSIAN AND UNITED STATES CONSULATES--1992

by

Jonathan Goldstein

WEST GEORGIA COLLEGE\*

On November 6, 1992, through the good offices of United States Congressman Newt Gingrich, I was able to meet in Shanghai with representatives from the Polish, Russian, and United States Consulates-General. My objective was to ascertain what records about twentieth century Jewish refugees may still exist and also be accessible to historical researchers. I was accompanied on all three visits by Marcia Ristaino, Asian Acquisitions Librarian of the Library of Congress, and Paul Stone, a Lewis and Clark College student writing his senior thesis on Chinese Jewry. Chiara Betta, a doctoral candidate in Sino-Judaica at London's School of Oriental and African Studies, joined the visits to the Russian and American consulates. Lawrence E. Sheftel, a participant in Harvard University's August 1992 conference on Jewish diasporas in China, joined the group in the Polish and American consular visits.

\*Jonathan Goldstein is a research associate of Harvard University's John K. Fairbank Center and, in August 1992, organized the Center's conference, "Jewish Diasporas in China: Comparative and Historical Perspectives." For assistance with this article, he wishes to thank: Boris Bresler of the *Igud Yotsei Sin*; Avraham Altman of the Truman Institute of Hebrew University in Jerusalem; Joseph R. Fiszman, emeritus of the University of Oregon; and Melba E. Daniels of West Georgia College. Copyright, Jonathan Goldstein, 1993. Used here with the author's permission.

The visit to the Polish consulate was far-and-away the most productive of the three meetings. Consul General Jozef Soltysiewicz showed us a book of approximately 200 pages listing Polish citizens who passed through either Shanghai or Nanjing between January 9, 1934, and October 29, 1941. He was uncertain whether this 'sign in' book was kept at the Polish Embassy in Nanjing or in Shanghai. The printed portion of the book was a standard log used in Polish diplomatic missions around the world. The information inscribed in the volume is similar to United States census data. Either the registrant himself or, more probably, a consular official, recorded the following: registration date; full name of registrant; his or her profession; religion [ie. "Mojzeszowa" for a Jew]; birthdate; birthplace; marital status; address in Poland [non-existent for virtually all Jews]; address in the consular region; documents submitted to register [usually a passport; there was no reason why a stateless Pole would sign this register]; name and date of birth of wife and children; passport expiration date; and "other notes," ie. "husband is emigrant from Russia."

The log book is Polish. The Consul General noted that this book has been of interest to at least one prior researcher on Jewish refugees in Shanghai, Mrs. Phyllis Horal of London. The Consul General is in the process of inquiring whether the Polish Foreign Ministry will permit photoduplication. If permission is granted, I will try to make a professional microfilm copy that can serve as a master for additional xerox, microfilm or microfiche replication. Unfortunately, United States Shanghai Consul Ray McGunigle ascertained that there is no microfilming equipment available in Shanghai from consular or academic institutions. I am in the process of determining whether such equipment can be borrowed or rented from one of the foreign businesses in Shanghai.

Russian Vice-Consul Igor V. Outkin and Alexander Y. Shamanevsky insisted that there are no relevant documents on Russian Jews in their consulate, even though a Russian consulate had been housed in the same building at 20 Hwang Pu Road since 1915. Mr. Outkin, who previously served as Soviet Vice-Consul in Shanghai, explained the paucity of records as due to a situation in which both previously and today “we do not separate Jews by nationality.” Hence, even if records did exist, it would be difficult to distinguish Jews from non-Jews. He added that the Soviet Shanghai consulate was closed in 1962, 1964, and again for an unspecified period during the Cultural Revolution, at which times “all documents were sent to the Central Archives” in Moscow. He asserted that “movements of people are not confidential at all” and suggested that we apply to the Moscow Central Archives via the Russian Foreign Ministry. He suggested checking the Shanghai Library for the Russian-language books *Russians in Shanghai*, by Captain Vladimir D. Jiganoff (Shanghai, ca. 1930), and Natalya Ilyana’s *Roads Return* (2 vols. Moscow, ca. 1952), about Harbin. He promised to cable the Russian Foreign Ministry on our behalf requesting additional information on Russian Jews in China.

At this point I asked the Russian Consuls General if, as part of their general request, they might mention files of the monthly *Epoch*, (EPOXA in Russian). This paper was published in the 1940s by the Soviet Citizens Association of Shanghai under the editorship of a Jew named Zagen. The activities of this Association are of historical interest because it, along with the Soviet Consulate General in Shanghai, was responsible in certain instances for granting the all-important clearances necessary for Soviet Jews to leave China. We know something about the activities of this group from a June 23, 1954, letter in the Jewish Agency archives from W. J.

Citrin in Hong Kong to N. Bar-Giora in Jerusalem. Clearance from the Soviet Citizens Association, according to Mr. Citrin, is connected with "voluntary contributions" which are set beyond the means of the migrants... This particular clearance is more difficult to obtain in the north of China, and particularly in Harbin. It often happens that after the exit permit is granted, it is cancelled one or two days before the intended departure of the migrant. No reason is given for such action, and the person, having liquidated his business and personal affairs, is left to sit and meditate until his final fate is decided some months later ... The financial position of the Jews remaining in China is becoming more and more acute.

The files of *Epoch* and Soviet Shanghai Consular documents, may shed light on the financial squeezing of Soviet Jews as they attempted to leave China — an all too common occurrence as Jews tried to leave the U.S.S.R. in the 1970s and 1980s. Hopefully, in the spirit of détente, the post-Gorbachev Russian Foreign Ministry will be forthcoming in releasing documents that clarify the activities of its discredited predecessor regime.

Our final November 6 appointment was with Tess Johnston, the effervescent and indefatigable secretary of the United States Consulate in Shanghai. During a ten year residence in Shanghai Tess has accumulated three thick folders of material on Shanghai Jewry. She readily shares this information with researchers visiting the United States Consulate. Among the unusual items in her collection are: annual reports of the Council of the Jewish Community of Shanghai up to June 30, 1959, including material on Tianjin and Harbin; and miscellaneous articles from such publications as the United States based *China Connection* and the Hong Kong based *The South China Morning Post* and *Shofar*. Ms. Johnston's activity as Judaic history resource person is completely



voluntary and over-and-beyond her extensive consular responsibilities. Nevertheless she assists scholars on a time-available basis. She can be contacted c/o American Consulate General, PSC 461 Box 200, FPO AP 96521-0002.

In summation, I am looking forward to a positive response from the Poles on the reproducibility of their log book and other Shanghai or Nanjing consular documents with Judaic content. I am hopeful that the Russians, in the spirit of *glasnost* and *détente*, will divulge *Epoch* and other Shanghai records which they almost certainly have in their Moscow Central Archives. And I thank the American Consular personnel in Shanghai for facilitating appointments with their Polish and Russian counterparts and for their unstinting support of historical research.

5 January 1993

Lawrence Eagleburger, Secretary of State  
Department of State  
Washington DC 20520

Dear Secretary Eagleburger:

Enclosed you will find the report of your Advisory Committee on Historical Diplomatic Documentation for calendar year 1992, submitted in accordance with the requirements of Public Law 102-138 of 28 Oct. 1991 (22 USC 4351). The report summarizes Historical Advisory Committee's work and provides you with our assessment of the current status of both the *Foreign Relations of the United States* series and the State Department's program for making its historical record available to the public. Particular attention is paid to progress made toward implementing all the provisions of PL 102-138.

The report is mixed. The Committee has worked hard to establish credibility while making persons inside and outside the Department aware of its responsibilities. In the main, we have succeeded in doing so. We have also seen some meaningful progress toward getting the *Foreign Relations* series onto the 30-year publication schedule fixed by law. The declassification review process shows some signs of becoming responsive to the strict time schedules set forth in PL 102-138. On the other hand, the Department is in imminent danger of being in violation of the legal mandate to open to the public by 01 November 1993 all 30-year old State Department records.

We on the Committee, particularly I as chair, thank our Executive Secretary, Dr. William Slany — the Department's

Historian — for his firm support. We would also be remiss not to thank his superiors in the Public Affairs Department — specifically Margaret Tutwiler, Grace Moe, and A. George Kennedy — who made and stood by commitments to help the Historical Advisory Committee carry out its responsibilities.

Sincerely yours,

Warren F. Kimball  
Professor of History and  
Chair, Advisory Committee on  
Historical Diplomatic Documentation

(encl.)

**REPORT OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON  
HISTORICAL DIPLOMATIC DOCUMENTATION  
(HAC) FOR CALENDAR YEAR 1992**

The new Historical Advisory Committee (HAC) was appointed early in 1992, in accordance with the provisions of Title IV of Public Law 102-138 of Oct. 28, 1991 [22 USC 4351] — the “Foreign Relations Series” statute. The legally required security clearances for all members of the HAC were obtained expeditiously. The HAC met four times in 1992 and had as its executive secretary the State Department Historian, as required by law.

The most crucial aspect of the work of the HAC during 1992 has been meeting the serious responsibilities levied on it by the “Foreign Relations Series” legislation. Our efforts have fallen into three broad categories, discussed below: (1) ensuring that the *Foreign Relations of the United States*

(*FRUS*) series constitutes, in the words of the statute, “a thorough, accurate, and reliable...comprehensive documentation of the major foreign policy decisions and actions of the United States Government”; (2) ensuring that *FRUS* is published no later than 30 years after the events; and (3) monitoring the declassification and transfer to the National Archives of all State Department historical records 30-years old or older.

### (1) QUALITY OF THE *FRUS* SERIES.

Ensuring the quality of the *FRUS* series, is an on-going process. However, a committee of nine persons cannot hope to review, page by page, the work put out by the full-time staff of the Historical Office (HO). What the HAC can and does do is to ensure the integrity of the process by which the HO compiles and publishes the *FRUS* volumes. It does this by (a) reviewing compilations on request of the HO, (b) by making its own selections of compilations to review, (c) by evaluating the editorial assumptions and guidelines set by the HO for *FRUS*, and (d) by examining samples of records not selected by the HO for inclusion in *FRUS* so as to ensure that those volumes accurately represent the foreign policymaking process.

a) **Review of *FRUS* compilations:** The HAC, with the full cooperation and guidance of the Historian and the HO staff, has reviewed 5 pre-publication compilations of *FRUS* volumes in the past year (see listing in appendix I) and is satisfied that the HO selections and editing meet the canons of good scholarship as well as the requirements of the “Foreign Relations Series” law. The HAC made specific recommendations regarding certain volumes brought to its attention by HO. In one case, when HAC recommendations

to declassify certain documents were not accepted, we recommended publication of the volume with a statement in the Preface that explained the circumstances. In order to clarify the role of the HAC to the users of *FRUS* we have developed a series of different statements for the Prefaces which explain the role played by the HAC in the production of that volume. In addition, substantive prefatory remarks written by the HO editors now contain a candid and informative assessment of the research and declassification process as it affected that individual volume. The HAC did not review documents not selected by the HO for inclusion in *FRUS* but will exercise that responsibility early in 1993.

b) **HAC access to classified documents:** The review process has included requesting and gaining access to State Department and Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) documents that the HO wished to include but which were denied declassification. In the process, the HAC has recommended re-review of a number of documents. The State Department and certain outside agencies, including the CIA, were responsive to those requests and, in some cases, additional documents were declassified for publication in *FRUS* (see appendix II). We anticipate making similar requests for access and re-review to other agencies in the future, and look forward to the negotiation of agreements between the HO and other agencies — the National Security Agency and the Departments of Defense, Treasury, Energy and Justice — which have not met the legal requirement for agreed procedures for HO and HAC access to classified material requested for the *FRUS* series.

c) **Johnson presidency volumes:** The HAC has also studied the HO plan for compiling the *FRUS* volumes dealing with the years of Lyndon Johnson's presidency. Those plans

call for a reduction in the number of pages covering the events for each year, but aim at balancing that by providing more guidance concerning the location and nature of archival materials on specific issues. (See appendix III for specific comparisons with previous coverage.) Committee members expressed some concern about the new editing policies, but, at present, the HAC recommends following that plan, although we will closely monitor production of the initial compilations to ensure that they meet the criteria set forth in the "Foreign Relations Series" statute. In addition to our concern about the effect of these new editorial procedures, we are uncertain about the adequacy of resources currently projected for compiling and editing those Johnson presidency volumes. Again, we will have to monitor progress to learn if that uncertainty is warranted.

**d) Remediating previous omissions in *FRUS*:** The HAC has also recommended that documents withheld from certain volumes of *FRUS* already published be re-reviewed for possible declassification and public access, so that the public record of United States foreign policy for those years will also meet the criteria of the current law. We recommended expediting re-review for documents related to U.S. policy regarding Guatemala and Iran, 1952-54, since the withholding of that material from the printed volumes created such public concern three years ago. The CIA has informed us that it is now collecting and re-reviewing supplementary documentation for both Iran and Guatemala (1952-54). Once the HO has examined that package of documentation, the Committee will recommend how best to make that material available to the public.

**e) New CIA declassification policies:** The completeness of the *FRUS* volumes currently being compiled is likely to be

greatly enhanced by new CIA policies regarding declassification review and release of its 30 year-old historical documentation. Those new policies are contained in a recent change to CIA regulations (see appendix IV) which calls for "a presumption in favor of disclosure" in such matters. Discussions between CIA officials and members of the HAC, including HAC requests for re-review of documents in two *FRUS* volumes, indicate that this program is being implemented and that it may result in the inclusion of a significantly larger number of CIA documents in future volumes.

f) **Electronic records and the *FRUS* series:** Looming over all these pressing problems is our sense of foreboding about the long-term nature of the *FRUS* series as we move into the age of electronic documents and document storage — issues that fall under the responsibility of bureaus other than Public Affairs. The HAC has had discussions with appropriate State Department records managers, and been promised more detailed reports in 1993, but we are not yet comfortable we have sufficient information about this growing problem. The HAC will continue to investigate this matter and hopes to make concrete recommendations in the near future. At the very least, you can anticipate the HAC recommending that the Department undertake an early study of the implications of the new technology for the *FRUS* series as well as for the preservation in the National Archives of the Department's historical record.

## (2) PUBLICATION OF *FRUS* WITHIN 30 YEARS.

a) **Implementation schedule:** The Historian's Office has developed a schedule, with milestones, for meeting the legislative mandate to publish *FRUS* volumes within 30 years

after the events. The Department provided leadership and assured resource support for meeting that 30-year deadline by 1996, and the HAC concludes that the Department's commitment to meet the provisions of the law is clear and unequivocal. In the first year under the accelerated schedule, HO and the Department met its optimistic goals and published 12 volumes and fiche supplements. In this regard, we wish to note the positive efforts of the Bureau of Public Affairs, particularly the Historian, Dr. William Slany, and his staff.

**b) Impact of that schedule:** The HAC has concerns about the compromises that are part of the plan (see above, para. I, c), but decided not to make any recommendations until it has the opportunity to assess the effect of those new editorial policies on the *FRUS* compilations.

**c) Monitoring the schedule:** The HAC, working with the HO, has developed a production schedule (generally known as the "Perkins chart" after it's most vigorous proponent) that allows the HAC to monitor the progress of each volume of *FRUS* as it proceeds through compilation and declassification review. Arrangements have been made for the most important parts of this chart to be made readily available to the public.

**d) Implementation of HAC recommendations:** Two requests and recommendations, regarding the *FRUS* schedule and its impact, made by the HAC during 1992 were implemented expeditiously by the Department, CIA, and the National Security Council (NSC). One was providing additional funds to the Johnson Presidential Library to help minimize the impact of HO compilation work at that library on public research; the other was CIA/NSC agreement to eliminate pre-screening requirements that had delayed compilation of *FRUS* volumes by the HO.



e) **Delays in Declassification Reviews by Other Agencies or Governments:** In order to eliminate unnecessary and costly bureaucratic duplication and delays, the HAC recommends the transfer of declassification coordination authority and resources from HDR to HO.

### (3) **DECLASSIFICATION AND TRANSFER TO THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF 30-YEAR OLD STATE DEPARTMENT RECORDS.**

a) **Statutory Requirements:** The "Foreign Relations Series" statute requires that all 30-year old classified State Department records be transferred to the National Archives and reviewed for declassification. This process shall be completed by 01 November 1992, or delayed until 01 November 1993 providing a description is given to the Senate Foreign Relations and House Foreign Affairs Committees of "how the Department of State intends to meet the requirements" of the statute.

b) **Current status:** The responsibility within the State Department for declassification review and transfer of records to the National Archives lies with the Bureau of Administration, particularly the Historical Documents Review (HDR) division (A/IMIS/FPC/HDR), not the Historical Office in the Bureau of Public Affairs. The Secretary delegated accountability for these matters to the Under Secretary for Management. The HAC has been informed by HDR and National Archives representatives that they estimate that the implementation of the statutory requirement cannot be achieved until the year 2010! That prompted the HAC to send a letter on 25 November 1992 to the Secretary of State which said, in part:

...we are dismayed at the thought of the State Department being 17 years behind the legally

mandated declassification review requirement. Equally alarming is the implication that this situation will deteriorate rather than improve, especially after the Department's May 1992 report to Congress promised a good faith effort to comply. We are not convinced that this lengthy delay is wholly or even largely a matter of resources. We have recommended, formally and informally, that existing declassification review procedures — from personnel to the mechanics of the actual review process — be fully reexamined, particularly in the light of the new international situation that exists with the end of the Cold War. Instead, we find the assumptions underlying the declassification review process to be unchanged. It is, apparently, business as usual.

The HAC then made the following recommendations:

1. that the Department reaffirm its commitment to open its 30-year old records to the public as required by law;
2. that the Department and the National Archives convene a high level meeting early in 1993, to which HAC members would be invited, to determine cooperative measures to achieve the 30-year opening requirement;
3. that the Department, by 15 March 1993, send Congress a comprehensive report, to which the Historical Advisory Committee will give all assistance, if asked, outlining specific actions and milestone dates by which the Department can achieve this mandated goal of opening State records.

c) *Discussion:* Even with the good intentions and efforts of a number of State Department officials, including the Bureau of Public Affairs and the HO, the Historical Advisory Committee has not been given the opportunity to advise the Secretary of State in a timely fashion regarding declassification procedures and goals, despite our repeated requests. Reports regarding this matter are drafted outside the Bureau of Public Affairs, usually in the Bureau of Administration. The report on Department plans to open its 30-year old records to the public, required by section 404 (e) of the "Foreign Relations Series" statute, went to Congress without seeking the advice of the HAC, despite the recommendation in our annual report for 1991. Nor have we yet been formally asked for advice about the report by Department records managers and declassifiers required by section 407 (c)(1) of that law — the report explaining why the Department requested a one-year delay (to October 1993) in meeting the 30-year mark for opening records to the American public. To date, there is still no formal State Department schedule for meeting that goal. The one time our advice was sought in these matters — specifically the negotiation of a new memorandum of agreement between the Department and the National archives — it took intervention by a senior official in the Bureau of Public Affairs who refused to sign off on the memo until such consultations took place. The HAC then responded within forty-eight hours.

The HAC believes that a "we" versus "they" attitude persists in certain areas of the Department over the issue of declassification of the historical record. A crucial part of the image we must have in order to serve as an example of democracy is that of the United States as an open society of laws where the government is responsible to the people for its actions. The HAC understands the legitimate need for secrecy in our current foreign relations — to protect individuals, to

protect privacy, and to protect on-going diplomatic efforts. But historical documents that are at least thirty-years old pose little or no threat to any of those categories. Extraordinarily sensitive documents relating to the Cuban Missile Crisis were released in 1992 by the CIA with no ill effects. In 1972, the British and American governments opened the bulk of their Second World War archives — without page-by-page declassification review and, therefore, at great cost savings to the taxpayer — again without harm to the national interest. To quote our letter of 25 November 1992:

The HAC is not convinced that a lengthy delay is wholly or even largely a matter of resources. We have recommended, formally and informally, that existing declassification review procedures — from personnel to the mechanics of the actual review process — be fully reexamined, particularly in the light of the new international situation that exists with the end of the Cold War. Instead, we find the assumptions underlying the declassification review process to be unchanged. It is, apparently, business as usual.

d) **Remedies:** The HAC is pleased that the Department has provided additional resources to the National Archives to help meet current statutory requirements, but we strongly believe that a change in procedures, which may require a change in the culture that dominates the declassification review process, is the *sine qua non* for meeting the current legislative mandate. Such procedural changes should start with an immediate and serious consideration of bulk declassification as well as the implementation of the recommendations made in our letter of 25 November (excerpted above).

For the Committee:

Warren F. Kimball, Chair  
(Rutgers University)

Committee Members:

Betty Glad (Univ. of South Carolina)  
George Herring (Univ. of Kentucky)  
Anna K. Nelson (American Univ.)  
Bradford Perkins (Univ. of Michigan)  
Jane Picker (Cleveland State Univ.)  
Emily Rosenberg (Macalester College)  
Arnold Taylor (Howard Univ.)  
Anne Van Camp (Hoover Institution)

William Slany, the Historian, the Office of the Historian, Department of State, recently supplied a list of *FRUS* volumes currently available. Some editing was necessary to accommodate the information to the size of the *Newsletter*.

**AVAILABILITY OF FOREIGN RELATIONS VOLUMES (AS OF 10/7/92)**

| Volume           | Year Publ'd                               | Price | GPO Stock No. |                 |
|------------------|---|-------|---------------|-----------------|
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| <b>1952-1954</b> |   |       |               |                 |
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| Vol. I           | Vietnam                                       | 1986 | 18.00 | 044-000-02107-2 |

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| Vol. XI          | Lebanon and Jordan. Microfiche Supplement     | 1992 | 11.00 | 044-000-02342-3 |
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| Vol. XIII        | Arab-Israeli Dispute; UAR; North Africa       | 1992 | 35.00 | 044-000-02313-0 |
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| Vol. XVIII       | China and Korea                               | 1993 |       | 044-000-02358-0 |
| <b>1961-1963</b> |   |      |       |                 |
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## MINUTES OF THE SHAFR COUNCIL MEETING

April 17, 1993

El Capitan B, Anaheim Hilton

*Mel Leffler, presiding*

The meeting opened at 7:30 a.m. Council members present were Lloyd Ambrosius, Mel Leffler, Emily Rosenberg, Michael Schaller and Allan Spetter. Others present were Peter Hahn, William Hull and William Walker.

1. The Bernath Article Award committee reported to Council that the award would go to Daniel P. O'C. Greene for his article, "John Foster Dulles and the End of the Franco-American Entente in Indochina," which appeared in the Fall, 1992 issue of *Diplomatic History*.
2. The Bernath Book Prize Committee reported to Council that the prize would go to Elizabeth Cobbs for her book, *The Rich Neighbor Policy: Rockefeller and Kaiser in Brazil*.
3. The Bernath Lecture Committee reported to Council that Diane Kunz of Yale had been chosen to present the Lecture in 1994.
4. The Robert Ferrell Award Committee reported to Council that the award would go to Mel Leffler, current vice president of SHAFR, for his book, *A Preponderance of Power: National Security, the Truman Administration, and the Cold War*.
5. Mel Leffler reported to Council that all was on schedule for the upcoming summer conference at the University of Virginia.
6. Council voted to continue Michael Hogan as editor of *Diplomatic History* for another five-year term. Council stipulated that he should provide 18 months notice if he should decide to step down.
7. Emily Rosenberg reported for the State Department Advisory Committee. She alerted Council to two problems: there will be reductions in the size of the volumes in the *Foreign Relations* series beginning with the Johnson administration; it seems unlikely that the State Department will meet the 30-year requirement on declassification of documents.

The meeting adjourned at 9 a.m.

## ANNOUNCEMENTS

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### SHAFR member wins the Bancroft

Melvyn Leffler (Virginia) was recently announced a co-winner of the 1993 Bancroft Prize. The \$4,000 prize was awarded for Leffler's *A Preponderance of Power: National Security, the Truman Administration, and the Cold War*. SHAFR members offers their congratulations!

### Kuehl Prize winner announced

The Warren Kuehl Prize Committee has awarded the 1993 prize to Thomas Knock of Southern Methodist University for his work, *Woodrow Wilson and the Quest for a New World Order*.

### Vietnam Conference

"Vietnam: The Early Decisions, 1961-1964," a conference, will be held at the LBJ Library on October 15-17, 1993. Several SHAFR members are on the program. For information contact:

Ted Gittinger  
Lyndon Baines Johnson Library  
2313 Red River Street  
Austin, TX 78705

### Call for Papers

The Woodrow Wilson Museum in Washington, D.C. is calling for paper proposals for its symposium "The 75th Anniversary of the League of Nations and its Legacy," to be held on Saturday, March 5, 1994. Proposals of 150-250 words should be submitted by *July 15, 1993* to: Sina Dubovoj, Symposium Coordinator, Woodrow Wilson Museum, 2340 S St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20008. Tel.: (202) 387-4062; fax: (202) 483-1466.

### 1993 Gilbert Chinard Prize

The Chinard awards are made jointly by the Society for French Historical Studies and the Institut Français de Washington for distinguished scholarly books in the history of themes shared by France and North, Central, and South America published by Canadian or American authors during 1993. The prize of \$1,000 is awarded annually for a book or manuscript in page-proof. Deadline for the 1993 award is December 15, and four copies of each entry should be sent to:

Professor Patrice Higonnet  
Chinard Prize Committee  
Department of History, Robinson Hall  
Harvard University  
Cambridge, MA 02138

### SHGAPE Information

The Society for Historians of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era (SHGAPE), an affiliated member of the AHA, fosters and advances the study and understanding of the history of the United States during the period 1865-1917. SHGAPE actively encourages graduate students to join at \$5.00. Members may subscribe to the *Hayes Historical Journal* and graduate student members may compete for a biennial \$500 Best Article award. Graduate students may submit proposals for SHGAPE presentations at the AHA. For information regarding graduate student activities, contact: Stacy A. Cordery, Dept. of History, East Carolina University, Greenville, NC 27858-4353. To become a member contact:

Roger D. Bridges  
Hayes Presidential Center  
Spiegel Grove  
Fremont, OH 43420-2796

### Rutgers Center Programs

The Rutgers Center for Historical Analysis begins its 1993-95 project on "War, Peace, and Society in Historical Perspective," with a conference on "War, Film, and History," October 21-23, 1993 at the Center, Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey, New Brunswick, NJ 08903. For

information, contact Professor John Whiteclay Chambers II, at the above address or phone the Center at (908) 932-8701, or fax 908-932-8708.

1993-94 Senior Fellows at the Center will include Peter Paret (Princeton), Stephen E. Ambrose (New Orleans), Carole Fink (Ohio State) and Omer Bartov (formerly of Tel Aviv). Application deadline for 1994-95 fellowships is January 15, 1994; Rutgers Center for Historical Analysis, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NY 08903.

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## PERSONALS

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Robert K. Brigham (Kentucky graduate student and winner of the 1992 Holt Dissertation Fellowship) has been awarded a 1993-94 NEH Dissertation-Year Fellowship.

Elizabeth A. Cobbs (San Diego) has been announced a Woodrow Wilson Fellow. Professor Cobbs is working on "The Peace Corps and the international response to colonization." Her manuscript "The Rich Neighbor Policy: Rockefeller and Kaiser in Brazil" won the Allan Nevins Prize and, in published form, won the 1993 Bernath Book Prize.

Peter L. Hahn (Ohio State) has received a 1993 summer stipend from NEH.

George Herring (Kentucky) has received a grant from the Gerald R. Ford Foundation for research on *America's Longest War*.

Jussi M. Hanhimäki (Bishop's U., Lennoxville, Quebec) has been awarded a Charles Warren Postdoctoral Fellowship at Harvard for the 1993-94 academic year in support of his research on the role of European Neutrality in the Cold War.

Thomas C. Howard (Virginia Polytechnic Institute) has received an grant from the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute for research on "FDR, the Caribbean Model, and the Planning for the Postwar World."

In April 1993, Akira Iriye (Harvard) spoke on the future shape of Japanese diplomatic, military, and foreign aid policies at the "Japan and America Face the 21st Century" conference sponsored by the National Archives-Central Plains Region, the Truman Library, UM-Kansas City, International Relations Council, and the Consulate General of Japan in Kansas City.

Manfred Jonas (Union) was invited to participate in a conference on "American Values in Central Europe" held at the Eötvös Lorand University of Budapest, April 22-24, 1993. Jonas delivered a paper on "The Promise of American Life," and participated in a panel on the management of cultural diversity in the United States.

T. Christopher Jespersen (Arizona) has received a grant from the Gerald R. Ford Foundation for research on "After the War: The United States and Southeast Asia since 1973."

Warren F. Kimball (Rutgers and SHAFR President) has been appointed Robert Treat Professor of History, a "personal name chair," at Rutgers.

Melvyn P. Leffler (Virginia) has received the first annual Herbert Hoover Book Award for his *A Preponderance of Power: National Security, the Truman Administration and the Cold War*. See additional note in "ANNOUNCEMENTS."

Stephen Lofgren (Center of Military History) has received a research grant from the Truman Library Institute.

Steve Potts (Nebraska at Lincoln) has been awarded the 1993 Theodore C. Sorensen Fellowship to support his research on Kennedy Administration policy toward Native Americans.

Barney J. Rickman III (Valdosta State) has received a grant from the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute for research on "The Japanese Connection: The Ideology of American Cooperation with Japan, 1922-1952."

On August 12, Gaddis Smith (Yale) will present one of four scheduled lectures in "The Progress of the War" series at the Roosevelt Library. Smith will speak on "Roosevelt, the Sea and International Security."

The Harry S. Truman Library Institute has awarded research grants to the following SHAFR members: Illoyna Homeyard (Temple), Zachary Karabell (Harvard), and Darlene Rivas (Vanderbilt).

The Lyndon B. Johnson Library has awarded research grants to the following SHAFR members: David L. Anderson (Indianapolis), Peter G. Felten (Texas at Austin), and Stephen G. Rabe (Texas at Dallas).

CALENDAR

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1993

- June 17-20 The 19th annual meeting of SHAFR will take place at the University of Virginia.
- August 1 Deadline, materials for the September *Newsletter*.
- November 1 Deadline, materials for the December *Newsletter*.
- November 1-15 Annual election for SHAFR officers.
- November 1 Applications for Bernath dissertation fund awards are due.
- November 15 Deadline for SHAFR summer conference proposals.

1994

- January 1 Membership fees in all categories are due, payable at the national office of SHAFR.
- January 6-9 The 108th annual meeting of the AHA will take place in San Francisco. Deadline for proposals has passed.
- January 15 Deadline for the 1994 Bernath article award.
- February 1 Deadline for the 1994 Bernath book award.
- February 1 Deadline, materials for the March *Newsletter*.
- February 1 Submissions for Warren Kuehl Award are due.
- February 15 Deadline for the 1995 Bernath lecture prize.
- April 1 Applications for the W. Stull Holt dissertation fellowship are due.
- April 14-17 The 87th meeting of the OAH will take place in Atlanta, headquarters at the Atlanta Hilton and Towers.
- May 1 Deadline, materials for the June *Newsletter*.



The OAH will meet at the Washington Hilton and Towers in Washington, March 30-April 2, 1995; and at the Palmer House Hilton in Chicago, March 28-31, 1996.

The 1995 meeting of the AHA will be in Cincinnati, January 5-8. The program chair: Robert L. Harris, Jr., Africana Studies and Research Center, Cornell University, 310 Triphammer Road, Ithaca, NY 14850. The committee notes that 1995 is the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War II. Deadline for proposals is October 29, 1993.

The 1996 AHA meeting will be in Atlanta, and New York in 1997.

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## PUBLICATIONS

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David L. Anderson, ed. (Indianapolis), *Shadow on the White House: Presidents and the Vietnam War, 1945-1975*. University Press of Kansas, 1993. Cloth, ISBN 0-7006-0582-7, \$35.00; Paper, ISBN 0-7006-0583-5, \$14.95.

Henry W. Berger (Washington U.), *A William Appleman Williams Reader*. Ivan R. Dee, 1992. Cloth, ISBN 1-56663-008-8, \$35.00; paper, ISBN 1-56663-002-9, \$16.95.

H.W. Brands (Texas A&M), *Bound to Empire: the United States and the Philippines*. Oxford, 1992. ISBN 0-19-507104-2, \$28.00.

Noam Chomsky (MIT), *Letters from Lexington: Reflections on Propaganda*. Common Courage Press, 1993. Cloth, ISBN 1-56751-001-6, \$39.95; Paper, ISBN 1-56751-010-8, \$10.95.

-----, *Chronicles of Dissent: Interviews with David Barsamian*. Common Courage Press, 1993. Cloth, ISBN 0-9628838-9-1, \$39.95; paper, ISBN 0-9628838-8-3, \$16.95.

Alexander DeConde (UC-Santa Barbara), *Ethnicity, Race, and American Foreign Policy: A History*. Northeastern University Press, 1992. ISBN 1-55553-133-4, \$32.50.

George C. Herring (Kentucky), *The Pentagon Papers*. McGraw-Hill, 1993. ISBN 0-07-028380-X, \$6.00.

Michael J. Hogan, ed. (Ohio State), *The End of the Cold War: Its Meaning and Implications*. Cambridge University Press, 1992. ISBN 052143128x, \$44.95.

Mahmudul Huque (Chittagong U., Bangladesh), *The Role of the USA in the India-Pakistan Conflict, 1947-71*. Academic Publishers, Bangladesh, 1992. \$12.00.

Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones (Edinburgh) and Andrew Lownie, *North American Spies: New Revisionist Essays*. University Press of Kansas, 1993. ISBN 0-7006-0525-8, \$40.00.

Burton I. Kaufman (Virginia Tech), *The Presidency of James Earl Carter, Jr.*. University Press of Kansas, 1993. ISBN 070060572x, \$29.95.

Robert W. Love, Jr. (U.S. Naval Academy), *History of the U.S. Navy: vol. I 1775-1941; vol. II 1942-1991*. Stockpole, 1993. Vol. I - ISBN 081171862x, \$39.95; Vol. II - ISBN 0811718638, \$39.95.

Elizabeth Kimball MacLean (Columbus, OH), *Joseph E. Davies: Envoy to the Soviets*. Praeger Publishers, 1992. ISBN 0-275-93580-9, \$47.95.

Ernest R. May (Harvard) ed., *American Cold War Strategy: Interpreting NSC 68*. Bedford Books of St. Martin's, 1993. Cloth, ISBN 0-312-09445-0; Paper, ISBN 0-312-06637-6.

Sallie Pisani (Monmouth), *The CIA and the Marshall Plan*. University Press of Kansas, 1993. ISBN 0-7006-0502-9, \$25.00.

Hans-Jürgen Schröder (U. of Giessen) ed., *Confrontation and Cooperation: Germany and the United States in the Era of World War I, 1900-1924*. Berg Publishers, 1993. ISBN 0-85496-789-3, \$56.00.

Joseph M. Siracusa (U. of Queensland, Australia), *Safe for Democracy: A History of America, 1914-1945.* Regina Books, 1993. Cloth, ISBN 0-941690-49-0, \$26.95; paper, ISBN 0-941690-50-4, \$12.95.

Ronald Spector (George Washington), *After Tet: the Bloodiest Year in Vietnam.* Free Press, 1993. ISBN 0-02-930380-x, \$24.95.

Odd Arne Westad (Nobel Institute), *Cold War and Revolution: Soviet-American Rivalry and the Origins of the Chinese Civil War.* Columbia University Press, 1993. Cloth, ISBN 0-231-07984-2, \$50.00; paper, \$16.50.

Samuel R. Williamson, Jr (University of the South) and Steven L. Rearden (Herndon, VA), *The Origins of the U.S. Nuclear Strategy, 1945-1953.* St. Martin's Press, 1993. ISBN 0-312-08964-3, \$45.00.

Theodore Wilson (Kansas), *The First Summit: Roosevelt and Churchill at Placentia Bay, 1941.* University Press of Kansas, 1993. Cloth, ISBN 0-7006-0484-7, \$35.00; Paper, ISBN 0-7006-0485-5, \$14.95.

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## ABSTRACTS

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Peter Edwards (Australian War Memorial, Canberra), "The Australian Government and Involvement in the Vietnam War: *Vietnam Generation*, vol. 3, no. 2, 1991, pp 16-25. [This special issue of *Vietnam Generation* was published as a book under the title *Australia R&R*, edited by Jeff Doyle and Jeffrey Grey.]

-----, "Una rilettura del conflitto vietnamita (A Reassessment of the Vietnam Conflict)", *Relazioni Internazionali*, no. 18, June 1992, pp. 88-95.

-----, "Some reflections on the Australian Government's commitment to the Vietnam War", *Journal of the Australian War Memorial*, no. 20, April 1992, 18-23.

-----, "Countdown to Commitment: Australia's decision to enter the Vietnam War in April 1965", *Journal of the Australian War Memorial*, no. 21, October 1992, pp. 4-10.

-----, "Vietnam - What the Documents Reveal", *Quadrant*, vol. 36, no. 9, (No. 289), September 1992, pp. 45-50.

-----, "The Menzies Government and Southeast Asia", *The Sydney Papers*, vol. 4, no. 4, Spring 1992, pp. 27-35.

These articles all relate to the official history of Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War and two other southeast Asian conflicts. These essays are based on unrestricted access to official records and freedom from political or official censorship. The article in *Vietnam Generation* summarizes some of its major themes for an American readership, as the article in *Relazioni Internazionali* does for Europeans. They note the importance of Australia's involvement in the Malayan Emergency (1948-60) and the Indonesian-Malaysian Confrontation (1963-66) in shaping policies which led to Australia's involvement in Vietnam. There were significant differences from, as well as similarities to, American policies over the same period. At times, Australian Governments were more "hawkish" than their contemporaries in Washington; at other times, they feared that the United States might lead its allies into a nuclear conflict involving China.

Raymond G. O'Connor (U. of Miami - emeritus), "Forward," in Joseph G. Dawson III, ed., *Commanders in Chief: Presidential Leadership in Modern Wars* (Lawrence, KS, University of Kansas Press, 1993).

A review of the key role of the president in determining whether the nation will go to war, in controlling the grand strategy of campaigns, and in the making of the peace. Examples illustrate how certain presidents have dealt with these issues and how various factors have affected their actions.

## AWARDS, PRIZES, AND FUNDS

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### 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. Gerald J. and Myrna F. Bernath, in memory of their son, and are administered by special committees of SHAFR.

#### The Stuart L. Bernath Book Prize

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

**ELIGIBILITY:** The prize is to be awarded for a first book. The book must be a history of international relations. Biographies of statesmen and diplomats are included. General surveys, autobiographies, editions of essays and documents, and works which are representative of social science disciplines other than history are *not* eligible.

**PROCEDURES:** Books may be nominated by the author, the publisher, or by any member of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations. A nominating letter explaining why the book deserves consideration must accompany each entry in the competition. Books will be judged primarily in regard to their contribution to scholarship. Winning books should have interpretative and analytical qualities of high levels. They should demonstrate mastery of primary material and relevant secondary works, and they should be examples of careful organization and distinguished writing. Five (5) copies of each book must be submitted with the nomination and should be sent to: Frank Ninkovich, Department of History, St. John's University, Grand Central and Utopia Parkways, Jamaica, NY 11439.

Books may be sent at any time during 1993, but should not arrive later than February 1, 1994.

The prize will be divided only when two superior books are so evenly matched that any other decision seems unsatisfactory to the committee. The committee will not award the prize if there is no book in the competition which meets the standards of excellence established for the prize. The 1993 award of \$2,000.00 will be announced at the annual luncheon of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations held in conjunction with the Organization of American Historians' annual meeting in April, 1994.

PREVIOUS WINNERS:

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1972 Joan Hoff Wilson<br>Kenneth E. Shewmaker | 1983 Richard Immerman                         |
| 1973 John L. Gaddis                           | 1984 Michael H. Hunt                          |
| 1974 Michael H. Hunt                          | 1985 David Wyman                              |
| 1975 Frank D. McCann, Jr.<br>Stephen E. Pelz  | 1986 Thomas J. Noer                           |
| 1976 Martin J. Sherwin                        | 1987 Fraser J. Harbutt<br>James Edward Miller |
| 1977 Roger V. Dingman                         | 1988 Michael Hogan                            |
| 1978 James R. Leutze                          | 1989 Stephen G. Rabe                          |
| 1979 Phillip J. Baram Manager,                | 1990 Walter Hixson<br>Anders Stephanson       |
| 1980 Michael Schaller                         | 1991 Gordon H. Chang                          |
| 1981 Bruce R. Kuniholm<br>Hugh DeSantis       | 1992 Thomas Schwartz                          |
| 1982 David Reynolds                           | 1993 Elizabeth Cobb                           |

**The Stuart L. Bernath Lecture Prize**

**ELIGIBILITY:** The lecture, to be delivered at the annual meetings of the Organization of American Historians, 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 research and teaching. Each lecturer will address not specifically his/her own research interests, but 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 February 15, 1994. The chairperson of the committee to whom nominations should be sent is: Lorraine Lees, Department of History, Old Dominion University, Norfolk, VA 23508.

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

PREVIOUS WINNERS:

- |                          |                            |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1977 Joan Hoff Wilson    | 1986 William Stueck        |
| 1978 David S. Patterson  | 1987 Nancy Bernkopf Tucker |
| 1979 Marilyn B. Young    | 1988 William O. Walker III |
| 1980 John L. Gaddis      | 1989 Stephen G. Rabe       |
| 1981 Burton Spivak       | 1990 Richard Immerman      |
| 1982 Charles DeBenedetti | 1991 Robert McMahon        |
| 1983 Melvyn P. Leffler   | 1992 H.W. Brands           |
| 1984 Michael J. Hogan    | 1993 Larry Berman          |
| 1985 Michael Schaller    |                            |

### 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 or essay appearing in a scholarly journal or edited book, on any topic in United States foreign relations that is published during 1993. The author must not be over 40 years of age, or, if more than 40 years of age, must be within ten years of receiving the Ph.D. at the time of acceptance for publication. The article or essay must be among the first six publications by the author. 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 nominations shall be submitted by the author or by any member of SHAFR by January 15, 1994. Three (3) copies of the article shall be submitted to the chairperson of the committee: Diane Kunz, Department of History, Yale University, New Haven, CT 06520.

The next award will be announced at the SHAFR luncheon held in conjunction with the annual meeting of the OAH in April, 1994.

#### PREVIOUS WINNERS:

|                      |                            |
|----------------------|----------------------------|
| 1977 John C.A. Stag  | 1986 Duane Tananbaum       |
| 1978 Michael H. Hunt | 1987 David McLean          |
| 1979 Brian L. Villa  | 1988 Dennis Merrill        |
| 1980 James I. Matray | 1989 Robert J. McMahon     |
| David A. Rosenberg   | 1990 Lester Foltos         |
| 1981 Douglas Little  | 1991 William Earl Weeks    |
| 1982 Fred Pollock    | 1992 Marc Gallicchio       |
| 1983 Chester Pach    | 1993 Daniel P. O'C. Greene |
| 1985 Melvyn Leffler  |                            |

### The Stuart L. Bernath Dissertation Grant

This grant has been established to help doctoral students who are members of SHAFR defray some of the expenses encountered in the writing of their dissertations.

Requirements are as follows:

1. The dissertation must deal with some aspect of United States foreign relations.
2. Awards are given to help defray costs for dissertation research.
3. Applicants must have satisfactorily completed all other requirements for the doctoral degree.



4. Applications must include:
  - (a) a one-page curriculum vitae of the applicant and a dissertation prospectus;
  - (b) a paragraph regarding the sources to be consulted and their value to the study;
  - (c) an explanation of why the money is needed and how, specifically, it will be used; and
  - (d) 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 \$1000.
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).

Applications should be sent to: Walter Hixson, Department of History, University of Akron, Akron, OH 44324. The deadline is November 1, 1993.

**PREVIOUS WINNERS:**

|                       |                      |
|-----------------------|----------------------|
| 1985 Jon Nielson      | 1988 Elizabeth Cobbs |
| 1986 Valdinia C. Winn | Madhu Bhalla         |
| Walter L. Hixson      | 1989 Thomas Zeiler   |
| 1987 Janet M. Manson  | Russel Van Wyk       |
| Thomas M. Gaskin      | 1990 David McFadden  |
| W. Michael Weis       | 1991 Eileen Scully   |
| Michael Wala          | 1992 Shannon Smith   |

**The Myrna F. Bernath Book Prize**

A prize award of \$2,500.00 to be offered every two years (apply in odd-numbered years) for the best book by a woman in the areas of United States foreign relations, transnational history, international history, peace studies, cultural interchange, and defense or strategic studies. Books published in 1991-93 will be eligible next fall. Five copies of each book (or page proofs) must accompany a letter of application.

**PREVIOUS WINNERS**

- 1991 Diane Kunz  
Betty Unterberger

### **The Myrna F. Bernath Research Fellowship**

A \$2,500.00 research fellowship awarded every two years (apply in even-numbered years) for a woman to do historically-based research abroad or for a female citizen from a foreign country to do historically-based research in the United States on United States foreign relations, transnational history, international history, peace studies, cultural interchange, and defense or strategic studies. Whenever possible preference will be given to a graduate student. Three copies of each proposal, consisting of no more than fifteen double-spaced pages and three references, should be sent to: Professor Joan Hoff, Department of History, Ballantine Hall 742, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN 47405. Submission deadline is November 15, 1994.

#### **WINNERS:**

1992 Shannon Smith

### **THE W. STULL HOLT DISSERTATION FELLOWSHIP**

The Society of Historians for American Foreign Relations is pleased to invite applications from qualified doctoral candidates whose dissertations are in the field of the history of American foreign relations. This fellowship 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 1994, 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 from the director of the applicant's dissertation, are required.

Applications and supporting papers should be sent before April 1, 1994 to: Thomas Schwartz, Department of History, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, TN 37235.

The Holt Memorial Fellowship carries an award of \$1,500.00. Announcement of the recipient of the Holt Memorial Fellowship will be made at the Society's annual summer meeting. 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.

**PREVIOUS WINNERS:**

1984 Louis Gomolak  
1986 Kurt Schultz  
1987 David McFadden  
1988 Mary Ann Heiss

1990 Katherine A.S. Siegel  
1991 Kyle Longley  
1992 Robert Brigham

**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 career, lists any teaching honors and awards, and comments 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: Leon Boothe, 1 University Drive, Highland Hts., KY 41099-0001.

**PREVIOUS WINNERS:**

1986 Dorothy Borg  
1988 Alexander DeConde

1990 Richard W. Leopold  
1991 Bradford Perkins

## THE 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 1993 and 1994. Deadline for submissions is February 1, 1995. One copy of each submission should be sent to each member of the selection committee:

Lawrence Wittner  
Dept. of History  
SUNY at Albany  
Albany, NY 12222

Melvin Small  
Dept. of History  
Wayne State University  
Detroit, MI 48202

David Schmitz  
Dept. of History  
Whitman College  
Walla Walla, WA  
99362

### PREVIOUS WINNERS:

1987 Harold Josephson  
1989 Melvin Small  
1991 Charles DeBenedetti (deceased) and Charles Chatfield  
1993 Thomas Knock

## ARTHUR LINK PRIZE FOR DOCUMENTARY EDITING

The inaugural Arthur S. Link Prize For Documentary Editing was awarded at the American Historical Association meeting in December 1991. The prize will be offered hereafter whenever appropriate but no more often than every three years. Eligibility is defined by the following excerpt from the prize rules.

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" is meant 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. 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. Nominations may be made by any person or publisher. The award is \$500 plus travel expenses to the professional meeting where the prize is presented. For all rules and details contact the committee chair. One copy of each entry should be sent directly to each member of the committee.

M. Giunta, Act. Dir.  
Documentary History  
of US Foreign  
Relations under the  
Articles of  
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The Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations established this fund in 1990 to honor Armin Rappaport, the founding editor of the Society's journal, *Diplomatic History*. The fund will support the professional work of the journal's editorial office. It was initiated by Michael J. Hogan and Thomas G. Paterson, who donated earnings from their book, *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations*, and by the authors of essays in this book, who waived fees. Further donations are invited from authors, SHAFR members, and friends. Please send contributions in any amount to Professor Allan Spetter, SHAFR Executive Secretary-Treasurer, Department of History, Wright State University, Dayton, OH 45435.

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# The SHAFR Newsletter

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**BACK ISSUES:** The *Newsletter* was published annually from 1969 to 1972, and has been published quarterly since 1973. Copies of many back numbers of the *Newsletter* may be obtained from the editorial office for \$2.00 per copy (for members living abroad, the charge is \$3.00).

**GUIDELINES FOR SUBMISSION:** The *Newsletter* solicits the submission of personals, announcements, abstracts of scholarly papers and articles delivered or published upon diplomatic subjects, bibliographical or historiographical essays, essays of a "how-to-do-it" nature, information about foreign depositories, biographies, autobiographies of "elder statesmen" in the field, jokes, *et al.* Papers and other submissions should be typed and the author's name and full address should be noted. The *Newsletter* accepts and encourages submissions on IBM-formatted 5¼" or 3½" diskettes. A paper submitted in WordPerfect is preferred. A hardcopy of the paper should be included with the diskette. The *Newsletter* goes to the printer on the 1st of March, June, September, and December; all material submitted for publication should arrive at least four weeks prior.

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