

The Society for Historians of American
Foreign Relations

NEWSLETTER

Volume 24

No. 3

September 1993

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The Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations

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*.

PURSUING QATARI HISTORY IN QATAR: FRUSTRATIONS OF THE GULF

by
Paul Rich

UNIVERSIDAD DE LAS AMÉRICAS, PUEBLA
AND THE HOOVER INSTITUTION, STANFORD

Qatar continues to be one of the more difficult of the Gulf satraps for academics to visit, largely because of the obstacles to obtaining a visa. During nearly ten years there as one of the few Americans in a senior government post, I accumulated a store of horror stories about airport immigration officers destroying the best made plans. An American general was only allowed through the gate when an Embassy official offered himself as hostage. A string quartet was turned away, went back to London, and returned two days later with the proper documents. The then British Ambassador had to be restrained by his chauffeur when it appeared that his daughter, arrived from boarding school for the holidays, was not going to be given entrance.

On the other hand, after accumulating enough seniority, I relished the quick way I was motioned through when getting back from leave. There was a certain satisfaction in living somewhere that not everyone could visit, and it made issuing open invitations rather harmless. The likelihood of having to provide the proffered hospitality was next to nil.

In 1981, when I first arrived in the capital (Doha), the new University of Qatar had not been built and the best library in the country was at the Doha Club, a prestigious facility open to diplomats, bankers, and government bureaucrats. I

eventually took over the chore of being the library adviser, which was a pleasant volunteer post since I got to select the books. The club library, thanks to the oil boom, had over 10,000 volumes. The National Library had more books, but its collection included anomalies such as ten copies of Jane Austin's *Pride and Prejudice*.

The palace of the Ruler, His Highness Shaikh Khalifa Al Thani, included two libraries. One was intended as a sort of historical collection and archive, and the other as a facility for government officials. During this period small libraries were established as well by the various ministries. None were maintained as the Western experts who organized them had hoped.

The university, which used the old buildings of a teachers' training college, eventually moved into a fabulous complex. The library however was compromised by the decision at the last moment to create separate libraries for men and women, a cumbersome arrangement. Unfortunately in 1984 what was to become a continuing budget crisis developed because of the price of oil and increasing defense costs. As a result neither the university library nor any of the other libraries mentioned were able to acquire the depth needed for research. The folklore study center for the Gulf states is also located in Doha; it too is very limited in scope — as several Fulbrighters have discovered.

This pessimistic view of the library and archival resources is based on actually visiting most of Qatar's libraries. There were four United States ambassadors to Qatar during my time there. For a period the country was ably represented by a Harvard classmate of mine, Charles Dunbar. His arrival doubled the number of Harvard alumni and Unitarians in the country. (Later he was to be George Shultz's emissary to Iran

and brought back intelligence that tipped Secretary Schultz to the Irangate machinations.) Mrs. Dunbar was a professional librarian and we took on the task of visiting all the libraries in the country. We found more than seventy, including small ones maintained by embassies and expatriate schools. Our efforts to organize the librarians produced a few pleasant social gatherings but not much success as far as coordination of purchasing and collecting.

This background perhaps indicates one of the possible problems of doing serious research in the Middle East. Standard reference works are not available. Even standard works on the Gulf are not available. The University of Western Australia, where I have spent considerable time over the years, has a better collection of Middle Eastern materials than the University of Qatar. That is a situation which can be endured for a time, but eventually the lack of even basic tools becomes more than an annoyance. The first week or so of every holiday I spent checking books like *Who Was Who* and microfilm of the *New York Times*.

As for original materials, the India Office Library in London remains the great repository of Gulf archives. There are no pre-independence holdings of consequence in Qatar. Of course as the years go by and the British withdrawal from the Gulf in 1971 moves further into the past, one can hope that there will be Gulf archives in the Gulf. But it is not altogether sure that they will be accessible or that professors will poke around without peril. A friend of mine who has edited a number of Gulf studies was given two days to leave Qatar and placed under police guard because of his innocent inquiries into the ruling family's genealogy. Fortunately I was able to rescue his notes and mail them to him.

I would imagine like other SHAFR members, I dreamed of stumbling across a treasure trove of letters and diaries that would sustain a magnum opus of political revelation, and through television programs and talks to various groups have high visibility during my Qatar career. Nothing ever surfaced. Years ago at a Yale summer course in Arabic, when I was getting ready to go off to Saudi Arabia, the lady teacher (who had left her native Egypt in despair) remarked "If you want to study the history of Arabia, you had better stay here."

There is of course far more to be said on that subject and it would be unfair to categorize the entire Gulf. Each of the Gulf states has its own flavour and its own mores. There obviously are many reasons for scholars to visit the Gulf that have nothing to do with the availability of library resources or of archives. However, Doha is not London and anyone proposing to visit the region is well advised to inquire in great detail about the facilities that will be available and the sentiments of the powers that be about the selected topic. Keep in mind that these are among the last absolute monarchies in the world. What would be considered as innocuous elsewhere can be regarded as totally improper in what the British called for good reason the *Veiled Shaikhdoms*.

NOTE ON BARTON BERNSTEIN'S
"SEIZING THE CONTESTED TERRAIN
OF EARLY NUCLEAR HISTORY"

by

Stanley Goldberg

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND - BALTIMORE COUNTY

In his Winter, 1993 article in *Diplomatic History*, "Seizing the Contested Terrain of Early Nuclear History,"¹ Barton Bernstein dismisses Harvey Bundy's claim that the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki were detonated high in the air to minimize radioactive poisoning. According to Bernstein the claim is "incorrect."² Bernstein bases this assessment on a study of minutes and memos between members of the so-called "Target Committee" as well as some of General Leslie R. Groves's post war correspondence.³

Unfortunately, in this instance, Bernstein was looking in the wrong place. Everyone connected with the project was quite startled by the amount of energy released by the test explosion at Trinity.⁴ No one expected a fireball with a quarter-of-a-

¹Barton J. Bernstein, "Seizing the Contested Terrain of Early Nuclear History: Stimson, Conant, and Their Allies Explain the Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb," *Diplomatic History* 17 (Winter 1993): 35-72.

²Bernstein, "Seizing the Contested Terrain of Early Nuclear History," p.47.

³Bernstein, "Seizing the Contested Terrain of Early Nuclear History," fn. 43.

⁴Compare the expectations as expressed by Groves to Chief of Staff, 29 December 1944, National Archives and Records Administration, RG 77, General Groves's Top Secret Files, Folder 8 B; or Groves to Stimson, 23 April 1945, Idem, Folder 25 Tab M; with the actual figures.

mile diameter. Since the bomb had been detonated from a height of one hundred feet, the ground had been heavily involved in the explosion. Not only had the sand been fused into a glass-like substance (dubbed "Trinitite"), but hours after the test, lethal amounts of radiation were measured near ground zero. Two weeks after the explosion, Trinity site director, K.T. Bainbridge, considered it still too dangerous to explore.⁵ In other words, it was quickly realized that if the fireball reached the ground there would be intense and dangerous lingering radiation.

On July 23, 1945, J. Robert Oppenheimer, director of the Los Alamos Laboratory, sent a memorandum to General Tom P. Farrell, General Groves's representative on Tinian, and Captain W.S. Parsons, assistant director of the laboratory and the "weaponer" on the Enola Gay, "containing a few notes covering some points in the initial combat operations." Among these notes are the following:

Tentative fuse setting have [sic] been established to fire the units at points 1850 feet above terrain. It is possible that further Trinity information may cause us to revise these firing heights.... The figures given above are appropriate for the maximum demolition of light structures, the fusing heights should be revised downward. It is suggested that Drs. [Norman] Ramsay [sic] [William] Penney, and [Robert] Serber be consulted on this matter and that if at all possible the problem be referred back to site Y [Los Alamos].... With such high

⁵See the exchange between Bainbridge and R.R. Wilson, in the Smithsonian Videohistory Program's "Manhattan Project" (S. Goldberg, Principal Investigator, Collection Division 4: Los Alamos, Session 13, (15 August 1989), Trinity Site.

firing heights it is not expected that radioactive contamination will reach the ground. The Ball of Fire should have a brilliance which should persist longer than at Trinity, since no dust should be mixed with it. In general, the visible light emitted by the units should be even more spectacular. Lethal radiation will, of course, reach the ground from the bomb itself. The minimum height of firing for which these conditions are likely to prevail is 1,000 feet above terrain.⁶

While it is clear that Oppenheimer was quite concerned that the fireball not reach the ground, the motives for doing so are not so transparent. But it is likely that one of the problems Oppenheimer wanted to avoid was prevention of quick on-site inspection by American observers, immediately after the war, of the cities on which the atomic bomb had been dropped.⁷

⁶ J.R. Oppenheimer to T.P. Farrell and W.S. Parsons, 23 July 1945, Los Alamos National Laboratory Archives.

⁷Such teams of observers were being organized before the war ended. See, for example, Telecon, Marshall to MacArthur, 12 August 1945, National Archives and Record Administration, RG 77, Entry 3, Tinian Files, Box 20, "Envelope G"; or Telecon, Farrell to Groves, 13 August 1945, Idem, Box 19, "Telecon Master File" folder.

THE ASSOCIATION FOR DIPLOMATIC STUDIES:
STATUS REPORT ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
ORAL HISTORY PROGRAM

by

Dennis Kux

ASSOC. FOR DIPLOMATIC STUDIES

The Foreign Affairs Oral History program of the Association for Diplomatic Studies (ADS) is initiating a major face lifting to make the archive — now totalling some 800 interviews with retired Foreign Service Officers and others — more readily accessible to academic researchers around the country. Under the new approach, transcripts of interviews are being reassembled into files on specific countries, each containing sections of individual interviews that discuss assignments abroad or in the State Department.

The Association launched the new approach after completing a pilot project dealing with Greece. This collected in a book-sized document the sections of interviews on Greece by more than two dozen US diplomats who served there or worked on Greece in State Department assignments. ADS has begun assembling similar country collections of interviews regarding US relations with Germany, Austria, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco. The Association hopes to have the entire collection available in “country files” if possible by the fall of 1994.

“Our goal,” Association President Stephen Low declared, “is for the ADS oral histories to provide an important supplement to the documentary record of the State Department’s *Foreign Relations of the United States* series.” According to Low, “The history of our foreign policy since World War II cannot be reconstructed just from official documents. The recorded

memories of the actual players at all levels are needed as well if we are to understand America's post-war diplomacy."

The ADS oral history archive is at present available for academic and other researchers in hard copies of individual interviews at the Foreign Service Institute library in Rosslyn, Virginia and at the Lauinger Library of Georgetown University, Washington, DC. The ADS program director Charles Stuart Kennedy, who maintains his office at the Georgetown Library, will be happy to provide copies of transcripts or IBM compatible computer diskettes of individual transcripts and of country files (as these become available) for a nominal charge.

As a further aid to researchers, the Association is exploring ways to develop a comprehensive catalogue for the archive. This will be made available to libraries around the United States to make it easier than at present for researchers and others to tap into ADS foreign affairs oral histories or country studies. People interested in receiving a current listing of ADS oral history holdings or a more detailed Finders Guide can obtain these from either Stuart Kennedy, Lauinger Library, Georgetown University, Washington, DC 20057 (Telephone: 202-687-4104; Fax: 202-687-7501) or Dennis Kux, Association for Diplomatic Studies, Room 1207, 1400 Key Boulevard, Arlington, VA 22209 (Telephone: 703-875-5319; Fax: 703-875-5322).

The oral history program was begun in the mid-1980s by Stuart Kennedy and the late Victor Wolf, both retired Foreign Service Officers. They had a lively interest in diplomatic history and believed it would be useful to record the memories of colleagues and others directly engaged in the conduct of US foreign affairs. Shortly after its founding in 1986, ADS adopted the program as one of its major activities. From

modest beginnings, the overall archive has now grown into one of the largest, if not the largest, oral history collection dealing with US foreign relations.

The archive contains six different collections, the largest of which is made up of interviews with retired State Department career diplomats and non-career envoys. With interviews chiefly conducted by Stuart Kennedy aided by a loyal band of retired FSO volunteers, the State Department collection now comprises about 500 oral histories and has been growing at the rate of about 50 a year. The collection includes many senior diplomats and also tries to present a cross-section of Foreign Service life, including officers who specialized in administrative and consular as well as political or economic work. Mr. Kennedy himself has tapped into the collection to co-author two books published by Greenwood Press — *American Ambassadors in a Troubled World* and *The U.S. Consul at Work*.

A second collection deals with public diplomacy and totals some 110 interviews of retired US Information Agency officers. Begun about five years ago by retired USIA officer Lewis Schmidt, this program has largely achieved its initial aim of telling the story of the origins of USIA and its development since World War II. The collection is now trying to keep the oral record of US public diplomacy up-to-date by interviewing USIA officials as they move into retirement.

A third collection, which focuses on US international labor diplomacy, was launched in 1988 by retired FSO Morris Weisz. The managers of the program — retired FSO Don Kienzle has recently succeeded Mr. Weisz as executive director — are targeting all major figures who played roles in the US government's international labor diplomacy since the

founding of the labor attache corps in 1943. They are planning for about 100 interviews by mid-1996 and have already completed 42 interviews and 20 transcriptions of former labor officers and others involved in the field.

During the course of 1993, the Association has been working with retired AID officers in the hope of organizing a fourth component focused on US economic assistance efforts. Hopefully, this program will get under way during the coming year. In addition, there are two related oral history programs, the records of which will become available as part of the ADS archive. One is focused on the Foreign Service family and contains some 160 interviews with spouses by Jewell Fenzi, the wife of a retired FSO. The collection tells the story of what life overseas has been like during the last 35 years for the Foreign Service spouse. Mrs. Fenzi is authoring a book based on the interviews which is slated for publication in 1994 by Twayne.

The other collection comprises some 34 transcriptions of extended interviews by Mrs. Ann Morin, also a wife of a retired FSO, of women who served as US ambassadors between 1933 and 1983. The interviews are providing the raw material for a book that Mrs. Morin is preparing on women ambassadors, which will also be published by Twayne.

A private, nonprofit organization, the Association for Diplomatic Studies was founded in 1986 with the twin aims of enhancing training offered by the State Department's Foreign Service Institute for US government foreign affairs personnel and of promoting the study of American diplomatic history. The oral history program has been ADS's principal vehicle for working toward the latter goal. Although the Association is housed in the Foreign Service Institute, it is a private organization, not part of the government, and makes the oral

history archive available without restrictions to all bona fide researchers. As the transcripts in the archive are the property of the Association, there is no need to seek access to the material or clearance for its use under the Freedom of Information Act.

When the Foreign Service Institute shifts this fall to a new 62 acre campus in Arlington, Virginia and changes its name to the National Foreign Affairs Training Center, ADS will be moving its offices there. In the summer of 1994, ADS plans to open a Diplomatic History Research Center on the new campus to provide a permanent home for the oral history archive and to become a focal point in the nation's capital for use of oral histories as a tool for the study of US foreign affairs. In addition to offering researchers access to the ADS archive, the Center staff will be available to help researchers locate oral histories elsewhere in the country, at the presidential libraries and other locales. ADS is also planning to establish a modest Fellows program under which selected academics and others will be able to use the Center as their base while conducting research on US foreign relations in the Washington area. Information regarding this program will be available in late 1993 or early 1994.

Since October 1992, the President of ADS has been Dr. Stephen Low. A retired FSO and former Director of FSI and Dean of the Johns Hopkins University Bologna, Italy Center, Low served as Ambassador to Nigeria and Zambia during his diplomatic career. Dennis Kux, the author of this article and an active duty FSO detailed to the ADS, has been Executive Director since January 1993. Kux served as Ambassador to the Ivory Coast and also authored a history of India-US relations, *India and the United States: Estranged Democracies, 1941-91*, which the National Defense University Press and SAGE are publishing in the fall of 1993.

ADS would welcome comments from SHAFR members regarding the oral history files as well as suggestions regarding the finders guide or the proposed catalogue of the collection. The program also has need of volunteer interviewers, especially outside the Washington, DC area. Any SHAFR Newsletter readers interested in helping out are invited to contact Stuart Kennedy at the Lauinger Library. With much of the financial support for activities like the oral history program coming from membership dues, ADS would, of course, be happy to welcome readers of the SHAFR Newsletter who would be interested in joining the organization. Annual dues are \$50 and membership applications can be obtained from the ADS office, Room 1207, 1400 Key Boulevard, Arlington, VA 22209.

THE DOMINO THEORY AND VENEREAL PATHOGENS (title suggested by Mike Schaller)

(The following brief letter exchange was occasioned when Joseph Alsop ran a series of columns in 1955 on the falling dominoes of Southeast Asia. He criticized the Eisenhower administration for lacking the courage of its convictions by failing to oppose, with sufficient vigor, communist guerrilla movements in the region. Eric Sevaried had served as a war correspondent in the China-Burma-India Theater during World War II and retained an appreciation of the complexities of Asian politics. This correspondence was brought to the attention of Mike Schaller by Jeff McIllwain, a graduate student at Ohio University.)

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.

Nov. 14-55

Eric Sevareid
Chief Washington Correspondent

Dear Joe --

I meant to send you a note the other day after reading your column based on the leaping dominoes theory — communist labor unions in Singapore to the fall of southeast asia to the fall of the middle east to chaos in Britain to the collapse of the western alliance, etc.

What I wanted to see was that this column followed on the heels of a story I heard which gives me comfort about the logicity of man.

A fellow asked his doctor to give him a dose of clap. The doctor said, "I'm often asked to cure it, but this is the first time I've been asked to give it to anybody."

"Well," said the fellow, "There's a guy I hate."

"I don't get it," said the doctor.

"It's this way: You give it to me, see; I'll give it to the old lady; I know she'll give it to Jacobson, the butcher; he'll give it to Mrs. Jacobson, she's bound to give it to that Baptist preacher on the corner, and that's the son of a bitch I'm after!"

regards,

[Eric]

November 17, 1955

Dear Eric:

Thanks for your letter. There are two remarks I should like to make about it.

First, if the men in your story's calculations were correct, the joke would not be very funny to the Baptist preacher.

Second, I think it is a mistake to ignore the mass of communist literature on the subject of the backdoor attack on the West, beginning with Lenin's famous remark, "The shortest way to Paris is through Peking".

I don't see how one can avoid making the kind of calculations I offered in my column in this dreary era of an unpleasantly unitary world.

Sincerely,

Joseph Alsop

JA:c[C]

Eric Sevareid, Esq.
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
Broadcast House
Washington 16, D.C.

1993 SHAFR SUMMER CONFERENCE REPORT

Douglas Little, Program Chair
(CLARK UNIVERSITY)

Race and U.S. Foreign Policy during the 1930s & 1940s

Thirty people gathered in Peabody Hall to hear three papers on a relatively neglected topic — the racial aspects of American relations with the Caribbean and Africa from 1937 to 1954.

Eric Paul Roorda (Williams) presented “Genocide and Refuge in the Dominican Republic 1937-1941,” which described American acquiescence in the slaughter of some 20,000 black Haitian “guest workers” in 1937 by Rafael Trujillo’s Latino troops during a border dispute between Haiti and the Dominican Republic. The massacre went largely unnoticed in the United States until 1940, at which point Trujillo moved to admit a few hundred Jewish refugees from Europe to divert attention from the earlier racist episode.

Tom Borstelmann (Cornell) presented “The Cold War and the Color Line,” a provocative examination of the emergence of the Truman administration’s informal alliance with South Africa during the late 1940s. Impressed by the anti-communist policies of the Afrikaner regime, eager to retain access to South Africa’s rich deposits of uranium, and convinced that black Africans were racially inferior, Washington reluctantly embraced apartheid after 1948.

Mary Dudziak (Iowa Law School) followed up with “Civil Rights & the Cold War,” a provocative discussion of the

interrelationship among the foreign policy elite, public opinion, and the courts. Worried that international criticism of "Jim Crow" might undermine America's Cold War struggle against Russia to win the hearts and minds of the Third World, the Truman and Eisenhower Justice Departments worked closely with Civil Rights groups to develop the winning arguments in what would become the landmark 1954 *Brown vs. Board of Education* case.

Although Gerald Horne's travel arrangements fell through at the last moment, he faxed his comments to Charlottesville, where Doug Little read them. Horne praised all three papers for highlighting the importance of racial considerations in 20th century American foreign policy. But he would have liked to see Roorda explore the relationship between American blacks and Jews during the Dominican affair. And he would have liked both Borstelmann and Dudziak to examine the impact of black organizations like the NAACP and African-American activists like DuBois on foreign policy and civil rights during the Truman and Eisenhower eras.

The sessions ended at 5:40 after a brief question and answer session that focused on the seeming contradiction between Borstelmann's account of Truman's South African diplomacy and Dudziak's account of Truman's civil rights initiative.

(Douglas Little, Clark University)

New Perspectives on the New Frontier

Eleven SHAFR loyalists attended the "C-Span session" early Sunday afternoon to hear three provocative papers on the 1960s. Let the record show that the cameras faced the audience.

Tim Maga (Bentley) presented "The New Frontier and the New Japan," a powerful critique suggesting that Kennedy's fixation with winning the Cold War in Asia led him to underestimate Japanese economic power in the early 1960s. Mistakenly persuaded that Japan still produced trinkets and deeply worried about leftist gains in the Diet, JFK threw open the doors to the American market to help jump-start Japan's economy at just the moment Tokyo was adopting the trade expansion policies that would eventually ensure that, in the words of Paul Tsongas, "Japan won the Cold War, not America."

Pinch-hitting for the ailing Mark White, Jim Hershberg (Woodrow Wilson Center) delivered "Kenneth Keating, John Kennedy, and the Advent of the Cuban Missile Crisis," an intricately argued account of how Kennedy's political worries limited his diplomatic options during October 1962. White's research suggests that JFK believed Keating began receiving top-secret information from the CIA about Soviet intentions as early as September 15, 1962, and that the New York Senator intended to use the information to embarrass Kennedy and to boost the political prospects of Nelson Rockefeller, Keating's mentor and a Republican presidential contender in 1964.

Tom Zeiler (Colorado) presented "Containing the Third World: American Neomercantilism in the 1960s," a study in the irony of U.S. economic diplomacy during the Kennedy and Johnson years. Simply put, despite high-minded developmentalist rhetoric and high-profile programs like the Alliance for Progress, American foreign economic policies during the 1960s placed a higher premium on reducing the U.S. balance of payments deficit than on increasing living standards in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Because U.S. officials continued to regard the World Bank and GATT as

tools for containing Russia ideologically, they contained the Third World economically.

Michael Schaller was unable to attend the conference, but he faxed his comments to Doug Little, who read them in disguise. Schaller found all three papers to be well-researched but not entirely persuasive. In Maga's case, Schaller acknowledged that JFK in effect played into Japan's hands. But what other options did Kennedy or his successors have? In White's case, Schaller saw little strikingly new and raised a series of questions about the source of Keating's information and the relationship between JFK's political and diplomatic considerations. Finally, in Zeiler's case, Schaller questioned the wisdom of lumping, say, Singapore and Paraguay together into an amorphous "Third World" category. Might not U.S. neomercantilist policies have had different impacts on such radically different economies? The session came to a close at 1:20 p.m. after a spirited question and answer period sparked by Bill Weeks of San Diego State University.

(Douglas Little, Clark University)

US Diplomacy in the Interwar Years

Twenty-five people attended the session "U.S. Diplomacy in the Interwar Years." The first paper was by Roger Hodgkins (Embassy of Australia) on "Robert Olds and American Foreign Policy during the 1920s." An investigation of Secretary of State Frank Kellogg's closest advisor, Hodgkins examined Olds' world view to determine if Olds and Kellogg believed the charges they made in 1926 and 1927 concerning Bolshevik influence in Mexico and Nicaragua. By skillfully investigating Olds' experience in Europe during WWI with the Red Cross and his observations concerning the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, Hodgkins concludes that yes, Olds did

believe the charges. This allowed him, like many others in the State Department at the time, to easily transfer these ideas to areas such as Mexico and Nicaragua without caution given their relative ignorance of, and internal events in, those places.

The second paper, "Austen Chamberlain, America, and the Kellogg-Briand Pact," was delivered by Lt. Col. Daniel Kuehl USAF. Daniel Kuehl sets out to examine the role Austen Chamberlain played in the making of the Kellogg-Briand Pact. Focusing on Anglo-American relations, Kuehl outlined each sides' outlook on the treaty. For Kellogg it was a means to get the disarmament movement restarted. To Chamberlain it served as another means to try and draw a reluctant US closer to European affairs. Chamberlain had to overcome an intense disdain for the United States and a personal dislike of Kellogg in order to cooperate in the mutual advantageous treaty. Kuehl found diplomacy working at its best.

The third paper of the afternoon, "Roosevelt's Bombshell: The Economic Diplomacy of the United States, Britain, and Germany, 1933-1934" was by Patricia Clavin (University of Keele, G.B.). In an essay supported by research in archives in three nations, Clavin examined how the Hitler regime could remain loyal to its nationalistic economic ideals without provoking international condemnation and retaliation. The answer was to focus its policy on commercial debts in order to befriend Great Britain while alienating the U.S. This would serve to create better relations with London while exacerbating rifts between the US and Great Britain. Continued tension in Anglo-American economic relations would prevent a unified opposition to Germany while allowing Germany to escape from its debt to the United States from the Dawes and Young Plans.

Manfred Berg (German Historical Institute), and David Schmitz (Whitman) who chaired the session, generally agreed in their assessments of the papers. Both found all three stimulating essays that raised important issues for American diplomacy through varied approaches to understanding the past. The full significance of Olds' impact on Kellogg and foreign policy was questioned, but Schmitz believed that Hodgkins' findings fit well with other studies, particularly Douglas Little's observation that as the State Department began to institutionalize antibolshevism during the interwar years, it provided them with a "framework for understanding revolutionary phenomena" and forced events to "conform with the preexisting anticommunist mold."

Both commentators wondered whether it was not the fact that the interests of both sides were well served rather than the brilliance of Chamberlain's diplomacy that allowed him to cooperate with Kellogg. Berg and Schmitz would have liked to see the larger context of economic and naval relations between the two nations developed. Finally, both commentators praised the extensive research done by Clavin, but Berg questioned whether there was a conflict for the Nazis in their goals. Schmitz wondered, given the German strategy, what could the U.S. have done to improve international economic relations with England so that the division could not be exploited? The half dozen or more questions from the audience followed along the lines of the commentators concerns.

(David F. Schmitz, Whitman College)

America and the Arab World, 1948-1956

In "The Truman Administration and Transjordan's Annexation of Arab Palestine," Robert Bookmiller (Millersville) explained

that the United States approved King Abdallah's annexation of the West Bank in 1950 as the most efficient resolution of one vexing territorial dispute in the wake of the first Palestine War. While contributing little to the well-being of Palestinian refugees, the annexation satisfied U.S. global and regional interests. Margaret M. Manchester (Clark), argued in "The Suez Crisis, the Baghdad Pact, and the Issue of Credibility," that a drive to preserve American credibility determined the Eisenhower Administration's response to the Suez Crisis and that the Eisenhower Doctrine was designed to stabilize the Middle East while avoiding American membership in the Baghdad Pact. Commentator Joel Gordon (Franklin & Marshall), praised both readers for copious research in primary records and for sensitivity to non-American events and perspectives. He also challenged Bookmiller to accentuate the importance of Jordan in international calculations and he encouraged Manchester to consider Nasser as a master of realpolitik rather than an emotion-driven character as drawn by his western contemporaries. The audience of twenty-five posed questions on topics ranging from American perceptions of Soviet threats to American understanding of and reaction to Arab nationalism.

(Peter Hahn, The Ohio State University)

New Conceptual Approaches for the Study of American Relations with the Third World

Michael Hunt opened the panel at 1 pm on Friday (18 June) with approximately sixty to seventy people in attendance. The session began with a paper by David Painter (Georgetown). It offered a comprehensive, analytic framework with a prominent place accorded world systems theory and political economy. Robert McMahon (Florida) followed with a survey of U.S. dealings with Pakistan and India that stressed the

incongruities, miscalculations, and failures marring “national security policy.” The comment by Gabriel Kolko (York) suggested keeping in mind that theoretical approaches were nothing but tools that had to prove themselves in practice. He also took issue with painter’s high evaluation of world systems and corporatism and McMahon’s low evaluation of policymakers. (They were, Kolko contended, shrewd and well informed but often led astray by forces beyond their control.) Most of the discussion followed up on these issues, allowing Painter, McMahon, and Kolko to develop further their views. A half dozen in the audience were able to get in questions and comments before the panel closed at 3:15. Lively informal conversation followed.

(Michael Hunt, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)

American Diplomacy in the Age of Theodore Roosevelt

Richard H. Owens (Lewis), Raimund Lammersdorf (Free University of Berlin), and William Tilchin (Rhode Island College) were members of the panel on “American Diplomacy in the Age of Theodore Roosevelt.” Joyce Goldberg (University of Texas at Arlington) was commentator and Calvin Davis (Duke) was chairman.

Richard Owens entitled his paper “Marianne and Uncle Sam: The Growth and Confirmation of Franco-American Cordiality, 1989-1906.” He noted that both powers undertook new initiatives in international relations and experienced several diplomatic crises during the period, but they quietly resolved disagreements with each other and cooperated in such important endeavors as the Open Door in the Far East. He emphasized the role of General Horace Porter, ambassador to France under Presidents William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt, in the development of friendlier attitudes between

Paris and Washington. Owens believes that some of the foundations for Franco-American cooperation during the World Wars were laid down during the years from 1898 to 1906.

The title Raimund Lammersdorf chose for his paper, "Standing TR on his Head: The American Role at the Algeciras Conference of 1906," reflects a statement TR made about how he handled the kaiser. Lammersdorf disagreed with usual interpretations of Roosevelt's Algeciras diplomacy, observing that many historians have let TR's own statements dominate their thinking. He discovered that European documentation does not support Roosevelt's belief that he scored numerous successes at Algeciras, and he found that German diplomats sometimes gave TR a false sense of intimacy with Wilhelm II. Ambassador Hermann Speck von Sternburg, for example, changed messages from his foreign minister and even his chancellor to sound like personal messages from the kaiser.

William Tilchin in "Hands-on Diplomacy: TR and the Jamaican Incident of 1907" turned to an incident which has received little attention from historians although it required considerable diplomacy in Washington and London. When an earthquake struck Kingston, Jamaica in 1907, American battleships went to the relief of the devastated port, only to be told by Governor Sir Alexandre Swettenham with remarkable rudeness that their assistance was not wanted. TR's careful handling of negotiations over this sensitive affair was an important example of "hands-on" diplomacy, Tilchin believes.

Goldberg praised the panelists for their scholarship, but regretted that they did not give more attention to Roosevelt's personality. She had constructive criticisms for each. She questioned whether Ambassador Porter was as important in

Franco-American relations as Owens believes. She pointed out to Lammersdorf that ethnocentric attitudes in both Germany and the United States could explain interpretations written at the time of Algeciras. She remained skeptical of the importance Tilchin assigned to the Jamaican incident.

(Calvin D. Davis, Duke University)

FDR and World Affairs 1935-1945

Approximately 50-100 people attended a full and lively session consisting of three papers and two commentaries, at 3:30 P.M. on June 18. In "The Moral, Philosophical and Historical Foundations and Consequences of the American Approach to World War II," Paul Joliet (St. Bonaventure) argued that Americans did understand the Clausewitzian relationship between war and politics, that their moralistic war aims were actually political, and that these aims and the nature of coalition war logically led them to divorce the actual conduct of the war from narrow postwar territorial objectives. In "FDR and Stalin: Optimistic Patrician vs. Crafty Commissar," retired Foreign Service Officer and Community College Instructor Charles G. Stefan of Gainesville, Fla., maintained that FDR was under no illusions regarding the Soviet Union but that its importance to the war effort required close relations with Stalin. FDR felt he could establish such relations and overall was successful, though he never came to grips with the contradictions in his policy which emerged in the Polish controversy. In "FDR, Germany and American Plans for Postwar Europe," Diane Clemens (California-Berkeley) maintained that Roosevelt had originally desired State Department control of postwar German policy to democratize that country, but that international events and War Department objections forced him to abandon this approach and alter his policy.

In the first commentary, J. Garry Clifford (Connecticut) focused on Clemens' paper and the importance of bureaucratic politics in explaining U.S. World War II diplomacy. He further suggested the need to look beyond FDR, especially in light of the president's failing health in 1944-45. In the second commentary, session chair Mark A. Stoler (Vermont) attempted to place the papers in historiographic context, noting that Joliet and Stefan fit in with other defenses of U.S. policies against old but continuing charges of naivete and that Clemens fit into the present emphasis on bureaucratic politics. He agreed with the general conclusions in each paper while noting additional factors which needed to be considered.

The remainder of the session focused on replies to Frederick Marks' question regarding why FDR did not bargain with Stalin. In addition to providing and explaining reasons, each presenter maintained that bargaining actually did take place and once again defended FDR's approach. These replies took 20 minutes and brought the session to official closure at 5:45 P.M. Many in the audience remained for additional discussion with members of the panel.

(Mark Stoler, University of Vermont)

Anglo-American Naval Diplomacy in World War II

Some twenty people attended this session. H.P. Willmott (National War College) presented a paper entitled "Grave of a Dozen Schemes: The Evolution of British Strategy in the War Against Japan." Willmott set forth the array of difficulties facing British strategists in prosecuting the war against Japan: Commonwealth tensions, logistic constraints, and fundamental differences over strategy among British leaders and between the British and Americans. The result was ambiguity, confusion, and a wide gap between intentions

and results. Robert M. Love Jr. (U.S. Naval Academy) presented a paper on Anglo-American Naval diplomacy and the Battle of the Atlantic, 1941-42. He dwelt on controversy between the two navies in setting up the escort of convoy system, involving different national perspectives and experiences, lack of escorts, and the complexities of organizing combined forces.

In his commentary, Michael Barnhart (Stony Brook) asked a series of insightful questions extending the perspectives of the two papers. He asked what the two navies learned from past experience in World War I and why the British in particular failed to come to grips with the kind of war they were likely to be fighting in the Pacific.

(Waldo Heinrichs, San Diego State University)

German-American Images: The Origins and Impact of Transatlantic Perceptions in the 20th Century

The session convened promptly at 9 a.m. on Saturday, with 40-45 persons in attendance.

Manfred Boemeke (German Historical Institute) presented a paper in which he argued that while Woodrow Wilson was no admirer of Germany and remained suspicious of even the post-Wilhelmine Germans, the course he pursued at Versailles was not motivated by his anti-German feelings but by his particular sense of justice which required that Germany, though to be treated fairly, had to do something to expiate its war guilt. Russel Van Wyk (North Carolina at Chapel Hill) followed with a paper that contended that Germany had much to learn about the workings of American economics and politics in the 1920s, and proceeded to do so on the basis of its experience with the Mixed Claims Commission which caused them so

much grief. In the final paper, Michaela Hönicke (current fellow - Brookings Institution), explored the image of Germany promoted in films and other media by the U.S. Government during the early years of World War II. Perhaps surprisingly, Germany's leaders and not the German people were depicted as "the enemy," despite the well-known views of Franklin D. Roosevelt to the contrary.

The commentator, Elisabeth Glaser-Schmidt (German Historical Institute), subjected these varied papers to very careful analysis, stressing in particular the difficulties that arise when dealing, as did all of the papers, with images. She expanded on many of the themes the papers had introduced, and offered a number of highly useful suggestions for further investigation. In his concluding comment, the chair, Manfred Jonas (Union College), said "amen" to the Boemeke paper, questioned Van Wyk's reliance on the Mixed Claims experience to make his case, and suggested that the image of the enemy uncovered by Hönicke should be considered as what it was, i.e. a propaganda ploy to raise American support for the war, and not necessarily anyone's assessment of Germany. A lively discussion followed.

(Manfred Jonas, Union College)

Truman, Eisenhower, and National Security Policy

Some 60 people attended this Sunday morning session. Jerald Combs (San Francisco State) presented the sole paper, "From MC-26 to the New Look: The Great Eisenhower Reversal on Defense Policy." Scrutinizing successive NATO defense plans, Combs challenged several of the fundamental arguments of the Eisenhower administration and the recent scholarship on it. As NATO's first SACEUR, Combs averred, Eisenhower to the chagrin of both Acheson and the "Three Wise Men"

relentlessly advocated that each nation increase its commitment of conventional forces for Europe's forward defense. Consequently, presidential candidate Eisenhower's attack on the Democrat's defense spending was "hypocritical." What is more, although Eisenhower would not consider the implications of nuclear weapons on NATO strategy until briefed by the JCS shortly before he left his post as SACEUR, once in the Oval Office he shifted quickly to an over-reliance on massive retaliation. Eisenhower would have done better, Combs concluded, by "offering" the Soviets nuclear parity and formulating a flexible response strategy that included the later doctrine of "No Early First Use."

The first commentator was Robert R. Bowie, who was in charge of State Department policy planning from 1953 to 1957. Bowie underscored that when Eisenhower was SACEUR the West lacked the atomic capability to "knock-out" the Soviets and there existed an insufficient stockpile for theater use. Hence as a military professional Eisenhower had to seek the conventional build-up. His charge as president, however, was to consider the political economy as well as military dimensions of security planning. Moreover, he had available the enormously expanded nuclear stockpile and plant facilities produced by Truman's authorizations. Bowie argued that both Eisenhower's New Look and Truman's final strategy relied on massive retaliation. But because Eisenhower was certain any "general war" would invariably "go nuclear," which would be catastrophic, he was less concerned with prevailing in a war than with preventing its start.

The second commentator, Robert Wampler, could not attend the session. His prepared remarks were read by the chair, Richard Immerman. Wampler, a prominent contributor to the Nuclear History Program, agreed in all respects with Bowie. In addition, he stressed the difficulties Eisenhower

experienced at SACEUR reconciling NATO and U.S. military planning and the attention Eisenhower paid to reassuring America's European allies and other elements of alliance management. Wampler also advised Combs to focus more on the relationship of Eisenhower's force goals and his strategy, and on the problems that inhered in integrating nuclear weapons into NATO planning, problems reflected in the Ridgway Report. In conclusion, Wampler highlighted the many variables that comprised the exceedingly complex strategic equation.

Following the presentations the audience directed questions to both Combs and Bowie. There was also discussion of what has been learned from recently declassified documents and the archival lacuna that remain.

(Richard Immerman, Temple University)

Diplomacy by Other Means in the Early 20th Century

The first paper presented was "Wireless: Radio Technology, Woodrow Wilson, RCA and the New Diplomacy, 1914-21," and was by John Rossi, (Penn State at Erie). Rossi indicated how a subject that is currently being discussed, the "information highway," had some fascinating precedents, in this case, in the field of American Diplomatic History. Kenneth Steuer (Minnesota), in his paper, "The American YMCA and the Creation of Czechoslovakia, 1917-1920," illustrates the thesis that American welfare organizations have had considerable impact in the field of international relations over the past several decades. Mr. Li Li (North Carolina, Chapel Hill), in his presentation, "The Expression of Self-Identity: The American Missionary Response to the May 30th Movement," added that missionary activity also has also been similarly influential.

The commentary was by Donald Barlow (Prestonburg CC). His remarks suggested how the presenters raised substantive questions regarding traditional and non-traditional approaches to the study of American Diplomatic History.

This session proceeded very smoothly; the papers were excellent, well-researched and well-presented. Though the audience was small — about 15 — the discussion period was spirited. The major topic discussed was whether non-traditional diplomacy should be pursued; were not the topics presented too various and vague to admit much substantive analysis. It was argued that it would be better to stick to traditional approaches to the study of diplomatic history so as to produce a better understanding of the subject, assertions which were variously rebutted by members of the panel. All in all, this was a useful, thought-provoking session.

(Alfred E. Cornebise, University of Northern Colorado)

The World According to James Madison

Thirty people attended “The World According to James Madison.” Two papers were presented. In the first, “Madison’s Response to the Federalist Diplomacy of the 1790s”, Robert W. Smith (William and Mary) outlined and explained Madison’s criticisms of the foreign policies of the Washington and Adams administrations in terms of his desire to clarify the limits of executive and legislative authority. This priority in turn reflected Madison’s commitment to “republican” or “whiggish” notions about the proper definition of the newly established American political order. In the second, “Robert Smith, James Madison, and the 1810 Florida Intrigue”, Thom Armstrong (El Camino) discussed the efforts of the Madison administration to conceal the evidence of its involvement in the 1810 revolution in West Florida as

these could be traced in the “doctoring” of documents that were released in the course of justifying Madison’s decision to annex the Spanish province to the United States.

In his comments William Weeks (San Diego State) raised questions about how far Madison’s positions in the 1790s could be assessed as the most realistic or wisest options available to the United States at the time, then concluded with observations on the ways in which Madison’s conduct in 1810 set precedents for the growth of executive power in the realm of foreign policy. The issues raised in the comments were pursued by the audience in a lively period of questions and discussion. The session concluded at 11 a.m.

(J.C.A. Stagg, *The Papers of James Madison*)

The United States, the United Nations, and the Cold War

Approximately 40 people attended a lively session on “The United States, the United Nations, and the Cold War.” With the United Nations taking on new peacekeeping responsibilities all across the globe in the post-Cold War world, panelists and audience agreed that the UN was an important topic that had been ignored for too long.

Caroline Pruden (Vanderbilt) opened the panel with her paper on “The Eisenhower Administration’s Use of the United Nations as a Forum for Psychological Warfare and Cold War Legitimization.” She detailed how the Eisenhower administration, especially UN Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge and presidential adviser C.D. Jackson, saw the UN as a forum that could be used to build worldwide opposition to Communism and win international support for America’s Cold War policies in the 1950s. The U.S. now vigorously challenged Communist propaganda and used the UN to

disseminate American propaganda. Pruden concluded that U.S. efforts to use the UN in this way met with only limited success. It helped win American acceptance of the UN, but it limited the UN's effectiveness in dealing with real problems.

In his paper on "Kennedy, Stevenson, and the World: The New Frontier at the United Nations," Jeff Broadwater (Barton College) described the hostile relationship between president John F. Kennedy and UN Ambassador Adlai Stevenson. According to Broadwater, Stevenson represented the U.S. effectively at the UN, but exercised little real influence on American policy because the Kennedy administration never took him or the UN seriously.

In his comments, William Widenor (Illinois) emphasized that the United Nations had always been a propaganda battleground during the Cold War. He also pointed out the difficulty that Presidents had in balancing the competing demands that domestic and international constituencies placed on the UN. He concluded that the UN's shortcomings were inherent in the institution, not the fault of any one individual or presidential administration.

Thomas Campbell (Florida State) saw the Eisenhower administration's efforts to use the UN as a propaganda vehicle as an example of the rigidity of America's Cold War policy at the time, and he agreed that the personal differences between Kennedy and Stevenson had little impact on American policy because the Kennedy administration never paid much attention to the UN.

The audience asked questions and engaged in a spirited discussion with the panel on the history and the future of the United Nations. (Duane Tananbaum, Lehman College)

Rethinking the Barbary Wars

Two papers were presented, the first by David Fitzsimons (Michigan) on "American Ideology and the First Moroccan Treaty" and the second by Alexis Manaster Ramer (Wayne State) on "The Genesis of the United States-Maghribi Wars."

The audience of 18-20 was responsive, primarily to Fitzsimons but to Manaster Ramer as well. Fitzsimons was interested not in the First Moroccan Treaty which was removed from the title of his paper but in the attitude toward the Barbary states on the part of foreign policy elites. He noted three models — Felix Gilbert's, James Hutson's, and Michael Hunt's — idealist, realistic, race-driven, as in the current mode. He concluded that Jefferson and Adams were motivated by mercantilist and practical objectives in their attitudes toward the Barbary powers rather than by any wish to seek a new order in international relations. Race was not a factor. Many of the comments centered on the possibility that both scholars had something to contribute, and that the idea of "elite ideologies" was too simplistic. Manaster Ramer was interested in showing the disjunction between diplomacy and war in American-Barbary relations. He claimed that naval historians have dominated studies in the field, and that diplomatic historians should pay more attention to the subject. Regrettably, the presentation was incomplete, and the commentators had no time to reflect on the implications.

(Lawrence S. Kaplan, Kent State University)

The US and China 1936-1945

The session was held at 3:30 p.m. on Friday, June 18, 1993. Justus D. Doenecke (New College, South Florida) served as chair. About 40 people were in the audience. The first paper

was offered by Kyle Longley (Centre College), who spoke on "The U.S. Response to the Sian Captivity: Problems of Understanding Complex Rural Societies." He argued that in a major crisis involving the kidnapping of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, US officials did not possess basic intelligence and had difficulty coming up with a response. Furthermore, American diplomats ignored the land tenure of rural China. The second paper, presented by Karen G. Gardner (Texas), was entitled "Maud Russell, the Committee of a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, and the Postwar U.S. China Policy Debate. The paper outlines Russell's pro-Mao views and her futile efforts to influence American policy. The third presentation was offered by Appu K. Soman (Vanderbilt). Soman spoke on "The End of an Era: The Taiwan Straits Crisis, 1958." He argued that Eisenhower, Dulles and the Joint Chiefs of Staff used the crisis to reign in Chiang, giving the People's Republic of China a diplomatic triumph and leaving the world a bit safer. Commentator was Noel H. Pugach (New Mexico). Pugach concurs with Longley on U.S. ignorance, finds it unsurprising that the U.S. response was limited, and denies that the fundamental issue at Sian centered on the peasant's struggle for reform. Pugach found Russell's paper too uncritical of its subject and claimed that Soman's presentation struck an effective blow for Eisenhower revisionism.

(Justus Doenecke, New College, University of South Florida)

The US and the Dilemmas of Latin American Development

Thirty-five people attended the session. Michael Edmondson (Temple), began the session by analyzing Herbert Hoover and the Commerce Department's policy toward Mexico during the 1920s. Edmondson held that the department conducted a

different and more effective diplomacy than the State Department and that the paradigm of "corporatism" can be used to explain Hoover's vision for U.S.-Mexican relations. Darlene Rivas (Vanderbilt), outlined Nelson Rockefeller's efforts to create charitable organizations and socially responsible, capitalistic enterprises in Venezuela during the early postwar period. Rivas emphasized that historians must consider private as well as public diplomacy and that Rockefeller's efforts demonstrate the need for further study of the response by North American business interests to the opportunities and problems presented by developing nations. R. Tyler Priest, (Wisconsin), analyzed U.S. efforts to spur the production of manganese in Brazil in the early Cold War. Priest challenged those historians who have deemphasized the importance of raw materials in the conduct of U.S. foreign policy. The first commentator, Elizabeth A. Cobbs (San Diego), expressed appreciation for the authors' efforts but cautioned them to insure that their evidence fit within the interpretative models they employ. Stephen G. Rabe (Texas-Dallas) also praised the authors but urged them to explore fully the impact that U.S. development efforts had on these Latin American nations. Because the three papers were read in a timely fashion, the audience had ample opportunity to discuss the ideas presented.

Stephen G. Rabe (Texas at Dallas)

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Reminder

Leon Boothe wishes to remind the members to nominate candidates for the 1994 Norman and Laura Graebner Award. Leon's address: 1 University Drive, Highland Hts., KY 41099-0001.

Call for Papers

The Western Social Science Association calls for papers for its 36th annual meeting to be held at Albuquerque, New Mexico, April 20-23, 1994. Papers on practically any aspect of United States diplomatic history will receive a sympathetic reception from the history section coordinator. Proposals should be sent by December 1, 1993 to Benjamin D. Rhodes, Department of History, University of Wisconsin-Whitewater, Whitewater, WI 53190. Proposals should include an abstract of the presentation and a brief c.v. Moderators and discussants are also needed.

Call for Papers

On November 11-12, 1994 "Peace and War Issues: Gender, Race, and Ethnicity," a conference co-sponsored by the Rutgers Center for Historical Analysis and the Council on Peace Research in History, will be held at Rutgers University. Proposals for papers or sessions are welcome. Deadline, January 1, 1994. Contact Harriet Hyman Alonso and John Whiteclay Chambers II, conference co-chairs, c/o the Rutgers

Center for Historical Analysis, 88 College Ave., New Brunswick, NJ 08903. (908) 932-8701; fax (908) 932-8708.

Author seeks assistance

A Swiss historian is engaged in a detailed study of the misunderstandings which arose between Eisenhower, Allen and John Foster Dulles, and Anthony Eden during the Suez crisis in 1956. He is particularly looking for further helpful information on the role of the US intelligence services, notably for their perception and assessment of the secret British-French-Israeli preparations for the attack on Egypt. Please contact Dr. Pierre-Th. Braunschweig, University of Berne, Eichholz-Strasse 9, CH-3084 Wabern, Switzerland. Telephone (country code 41)-31-961 35 96.

European Assoc. for American Studies

The next biennial meeting of the European Association for American Studies will take place in Luxembourg, 25-28 March, 1994. The overall conference theme is "The Insular Dream: Obsession and Resistance." The foreign-policy workshop will consist of six papers on the topic "Isolating America from the Vietnam War: Protest and Criticism in the United States and Europe." It will focus on the following areas: European criticisms of the protest against American involvement in the Vietnam War; new aspects of anti-Vietnam war protest within the United States; the relationship of the anti-Vietnam war movements to the history of U.S. isolationism.

Further information may be obtained from the workshop organizer, Dr. Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones. Proposals for papers

should reach him by 15 November, 1993. His contact address before 1 September and after 15 December is Department of History, University of Edinburgh, George Square, Edinburgh EH8 9JY, Scotland, U.K. (Fax: 031 650 6536). From 1 September to 15 December he may be contacted at Department of History/International Relations Programme, St. Hilda College, University of Toronto, Toronto M5S 1A1, Canada (Fax: 416 971 2087).

SSRC-MacArthur Foundation Fellowships on Peace and Security in a Changing World

The Social Science Research Council Committee on International Peace and Security announces dissertation and postdoctoral fellowships for training and research on peace and security in a changing world. These Fellowships will support innovative and interdisciplinary research on the relationships among security issues and worldwide cultural, military, social, economic, environmental, and political changes, and the impact of these changes on issues on international peace and security.

The competition is open to researchers in the social and behavioral sciences, the humanities, and the physical and biological sciences.

For further information contact: Social Science Research Council, Program on International Peace and Security, 605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158. (212) 661-0280. Fax: (212) 370-7896.

Woodrow Wilson Museum Symposium

The Woodrow Wilson House Museum in Washington, D.C. will be sponsoring a symposium commemorating "The 75th Anniversary of the League of Nations and its Legacy," to be held on Saturday, March 5, 1994 at the Women's National Democratic Club in Washington. The symposium will begin the evening of March 4 at the Wilson House (Woodrow Wilson's retirement home) with a reception in honor of Professor Emeritus Arthur A. Link. Guests will have an opportunity to view our major exhibit, "A World Made Safe: Woodrow Wilson, Peace and the League of Nations," and to tour the house. Cost of the Symposium is \$35. Inquiries should be directed to: Sina Dubovoj, Symposium Coordinator, Woodrow Wilson Museum, 2340 S St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20008. Tel: (202) 387-4062; fax: (202) 483-1466.

United States-Vietnam Conference

The Center for Continuing Education at the University of Notre Dame announces a transdisciplinary conference "The United States and Viet Nam: From War to Peace," December 2-4, 1993. For further details contact: Harriet Baldwin, Center for Continuing Education, Notre Dame, IN 46556. Tel: (219) 631-7864; fax: (219) 631-8083.

Excerpts from National Coordinating Committee Page Putnam Miller, Director

On April 26 the President directed the Information Security Oversight Office (ISOO) to head a task force to revise the Executive Order on classification and declassification. In June

the NCC made presentations before 4 of the 6 task force committees. The task force plans to have a draft executive order to supersede Reagan's E.O. 12356 to give to the President by November 30.

H-Net Announces Diplomatic History Electronic Discussion List and 16 Other Scholarly List for Historians

A. Dramatic changes are underway in the electronic communications infrastructure worldwide, especially the Internet and Bitnet systems that link academic computers together. H-Net is an initiative of the History department at the University of Illinois, Chicago, to assist historians to go on-line, using their personal computers and the Internet and Bitnet networks. H-Net is sponsoring a series of electronic discussion groups or "lists."

B. The H-Net lists currently in operation are:

H-Diplo	Diplomatic history, foreign affairs, international relations (all nations)
H-Urban	Urban history
H-Rural	Rural and agricultural history
H-Women	Women's history
HOLOCAUS	Holocaust studies; anti-semitism; related themes of modern history
H-South	US South
H-CivWar	US Civil War
H-LatAm	Latin American History
H-Law	Legal and Constitutional history
H-Ethnic	Ethnic & immigration history
H-AmStdy	American Studies
H-Durkhn	social thought

H-TEACH	teaching history
H-Labor	labor history
H-RHETOR	history of rhetoric
H-Pol	US political history

Starting fall 1993:

IEAHCNet American colonial history; sponsored by the Institute of Early American History & Culture at Williamsburg

H-DIPLO is edited by Michael McCarthy, a member of the faculty at Marshall University in West Virginia, and a specialist on World War I. His email address is: MMCCARTH@MUVMS6 [Bitnet] or MMCCARTH@MUVMS6.WVNET.EDU [Internet]. Other lists are being discussed; to volunteer as editor or member of an editorial board, please send a note to H-NET@uicvm. We are especially interested in lists on: Asian history, African history, Russian history and the history of education.

C. To subscribe you only need a computer email address. From that address you send this message to LISTSERV@UICVM sub xxxxxx Firstname Surname, Yourschool where xxxxxx = list name; for example, sub H-Diplo Leslie Jones, Northern Vermont U

On Internet send the message to: LISTSERV@uicvm.uic.edu

D. H-DIPLO is explicitly aimed at diplomatic historians. Subscribers will automatically receive messages in their computer mailboxes. These messages can be replied to, saved, discarded, downloaded to a PC, copied, printed out, or relayed to someone else. The lists are like newsletters that are published daily, and which carry announcements from the editor, H-Net Guides, and letters and mini-essays from the

subscribers. Currently (July) our lists have 1500+ subscribers (1000+ separate people) in 25 countries. They receive an average of 3 messages a day. Membership is open to any scholar or graduate student, and is free. (We especially welcome librarians and archivists.) Each list is moderated by a historian and has a board of editors. The moderators control the flow of messages and reject those unsuitable for a scholarly discussion group.

E. The primary purpose of each list is to enable scholars to easily communicate current research and teaching interests; to discuss new approaches, methods and tools of analysis; to share information on access to library catalogs and other electronic databases; and to test new ideas and share comments on current historiography. Each list is especially interested in methods of teaching history to graduate and undergraduate students in diverse settings. The lists feature dialogues in the discipline. They publish syllabi, course outlines, class handouts, bibliographies, listings of new sources, guides to online library catalogs and archives, and reports on new software, datasets and cd-roms. Subscribers write in with questions, comments, and reports, and sometimes with mini-essays of a page or two. Most of the lists have no chronological or geographical limits. Items posted on h-lists are in the public domain and can be freely recirculated, provided credit is given the author.

F. Each list will publish announcements of jobs, fellowships, conferences, conventions, new books, new journals, new e-lists, and the like. To post an announcement to all the H-Net lists, send an email copy:

by [Bitnet] to H-NET@uicvm
or by [Internet] to H-NET@uicvm.uic.edu
or send a fax copy to (312) 996-6377, care of H-Net.

Each list will publish book reviews. To volunteer as a reviewer send a note to the editor at @uicvm (For example,

H-DIPLO@uicvm or H-LatAm@uicvm). To submit books for review, or for other paper correspondence, write to:

H-DIPLO c/o H-Net room 723 SEO

Dept of History m/c 198

851 S Morgan St., Chicago IL 60607-7049

[our phone is : 312-996-3141, our fax: 312-996-6377]

G. H-Net will be offering one-day training workshops at history conventions and at history departments across the country. It has been endorsed by the American Historical Association, and has received funding from the American Council of Learned Societies. H-Net is directed by Richard Jensen, professor of history at UIC. u08946@uicvm
voice: 615-552-9923

Regina



Books

SPECIAL SHAFR DISCOUNT

AMERICA AND THE IRAQI CRISIS, 1990-1992:

Origins and Aftermath. Lester H. Brune. xii, 212pp.

This study focuses on understanding U.S. policy before, during and after the conflict. The initial chapters examine the historical nature of Middle Eastern problems, Chapter 3 focuses on U.S. policies during the 1980s and Bush's success in forming a multinational coalition. Chapter 4 describes American dissent, Chapter 5 reviews the basic military aspects of the campaign, and Chapter 6 examines UN efforts to enforce the cease-fire terms. The final chapter looks at the continuing wartime and post-war controversial issues.

1993 \$28.95 cloth [ISBN 0-941690-53-9], \$12.95 paper [ISBN 0-941690-54-7], \$10.95 text price
SHAFR Discount \$7.00

KOREA AND THE COLD WAR: Division, Destruction

and Disarmament. Ed. by Kim Chull Baum and James I. Matray. xii, 132pp.

These 14 essays review the four decades of a divided Korea—from the Korean War to the collapse of the Cold War. In 1990, amidst a rising hopefulness that perhaps the time had arrived to plan for reunification, scholars from several nations gathered at Seoul on the fortieth anniversary of the Korean War to discuss the prospects for Korea's future.

1993. \$29.95 cloth [ISBN 0-941690-48-2] **SHAFR Discount \$18.00**

PANAMA, THE CANAL AND THE UNITED STATES:

A Guide to Issues and References. Thomas M. Leonard. 144pp.

This brief account surveys Panama-U.S. relations from earliest times, but focuses on the 20th century. Chapter 1 reviews Panama's ambitions and problems, while Chapter 2 reveals U.S. interests in the isthmus region. Chapter 3 examines U.S. "invasion" in order to end Noriega's reign, and the final chapter points out the continuing problems.

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PERSONALS

Ademola Adeleke (Toronto) has received a Harry S. Truman award for research on "The United States, the Colombo Plan and the Geopolitics of International Aid."

Stephen Ambrose (New Orleans) has been awarded a 1993-94 fellowship by the Rutgers Center for Historical Analysis.

Elizabeth Bredner has joined the history department at Creighton.

David Broscious (Ohio University) has received a dissertation fellowship from the Institute for the Study of World Politics for 1993-94 and a research grant from the Harry S. Truman Library Institute.

Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones (Edinburgh) will be Canadian Commonwealth Visiting Fellow at the International Relations Programme, Department of History, University of Toronto, in the Fall Semester of 1993.

Howard Jones (Alabama) became chair of the department in August, 1993.

--- His book, *Union in Peril: The Crisis over British Intervention in the Civil War* is a History Book Club selection.

--- Tristar Pictures (in Hollywood) has bought option rights on his book, *Mutiny on the Amistad*, for making a full-length motion picture.

Way to go, Howard!

Klaus Larres (Queen's University of Belfast) has been awarded a Visiting Research Scholarship for the long vacation 1993 from St. John's College, Oxford.

Arlene Lazarowitz (California State, Long Beach) was awarded a research grant by the Harry S. Truman Library Institute.

Mel Leffler (Virginia) was awarded the first Hoover Book Award by the Hoover Presidential Library Association for *A Preponderance of Power*.

Rafael Medoff (Ohio State) was selected by the American Jewish Archives as a Marguerite R. Jacobs Memorial Post-Doctoral Fellow in American Jewish Studies for 1993-1994.

Jonathan M. Nielson (El Camino CC) was awarded a Summer Seminar For College Teachers Grant from NEH. Nielson's *Historians in War and Peace: American Historians at the Versailles Peace Conference, 1919*, a Nevins Prize nominee, will be published by Kendall-Hunt.

Adebayo Oyebade (Temple) has been awarded a research grant by the Harry S. Truman Library Institute.

Tom Paterson (Connecticut) is a candidate for a place on the Nominating Board of the OAH.

Paul Rich (Hoover Institution) has accepted a chair in international relations at the University of the Americas in Cholula, Puebla, Mexico.

The following SHAFR members are serving on OAH committees: **Emily Rosenberg** (Macalester) on the OAH executive board, **Anna K. Nelson** (American) on the Advisory Committee on Historical Diplomatic Documentation, and **Diane Clemens** (Berkeley) and **Robert Dallek** (UCLA) on the Richard W. Leopold Prize Committee.

Michael Wala (Erlangen-Nürnberg) was named William R. Castle, Jr., Fellow for 1993 by the Hoover Presidential Library Association.

David Woolner (McGill) has been awarded the Lubin-Winant Research Fellowship from the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute to support research on Anglo-American relations under Cordell Hull and Anthony Eden, 1936-1944.

SHAFR members **Barton Bernstein** (Stanford), **Lloyd C. Gardner** (Rutgers), **Joan Hoff** (Indiana), and **Emily Rosenberg** (Macalester) are available lecturers under the OAH Lectureship Program. **Stephen Ambrose** (New Orleans), **Robert Divine** (Texas-Austin), and **Walter LaFeber** (Cornell) are unavailable or already booked for '93-'94, but interested parties are urged to inquire for '94-'95. Sharon Caughill is the Lectureship Coordinator at (812) 855-7345.

CALENDAR

1993

- 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 15-18 The 87th meeting of the OAH will take place in Atlanta with headquarters at the Atlanta Hilton and Towers.
- May 1 Deadline, materials for the June *Newsletter*.
- June 23-26 The 20th annual meeting of SHAFR will take place at Bentley College, Waltham, MA.
- August 1 Deadline, materials for the September *Newsletter*.

The OAH will meet at the Washington Hilton and Towers in Washington, March 30-April 2, 1995. The program chair: Michael

J. Frisch, History, Park Hall, SUNY-Buffalo, Buffalo, NY 14260.
Tel: (716) 645-2181, Fax: (716) 645-5954.

E-mail: hismikef@ubvm.bitnet

The OAH will meet at the Palmer House Hilton in Chicago, March 28-31, 1996, and in San Francisco in 1997.

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 in New York in 1997.

PUBLICATIONS

Harriet Hyman Alonso (Brooklyn, NY), *Peace As A Women's Issue: A History of the U.S. Movement for World Peace and Women's Rights*. Syracuse University Press, 1993. Cloth, ISBN 0-8156-2565-0, \$39.95; paper, ISBN 0-8156-0569-3, \$17.95.

James J. Barnes and Patience P. Barnes (Wabash College), *Private and Confidential: Letters from British Ministers in Washington to the Foreign Secretaries in London, 1844-1967*. Susquehanna University Press in conjunction with Associated University Presses, 1993. ISBN 0-945636-33-4, \$55.00.

D. Clayton James (Virginia Military Institute) and Anne Sharp Wells (VMI), *Refighting the Last War: Command and Crisis*

in Korea, 1950-1953. The Free Press, 1992. ISSN 0-02-916001-4, \$24.95.

Frederick W. Marks III (Forest Hills, NY), *Power and Peace: The Diplomacy of John Foster Dulles*. Westport: Praeger, 1993. ISBN 0-275-94497-2, \$49.95.

Michael Wala (Erlangen-Nürnberg), ed., *The Marshall Plan*, by Allen W. Dulles, Berg Publishers, 1993. ISBN 0-85596-350-2, \$29.95.

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References Available

[Abbreviated notes describing the society's awards, prizes, and funds appear in the March and September issues of the *Newsletter*. Full descriptions appear in the June and December issues. — editor]

AWARDS, PRIZES, AND FUNDS

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 the late Myrna F. Bernath, Laguna Hills, California, in honor of their late son, and are administered by special committees of SHAFR.

The Stuart L. Bernath Book Prize

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.

The Stuart L. Bernath Lecture Prize

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.

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.

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.

The Myrna F. Bernath Book Prize

A prize award will 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.

The Myrna F. Bernath Research Fellowship

A 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.

THE W. STULL HOLT DISSERTATION FELLOWSHIP

This fellowship is intended to help defray costs of travel, preferably foreign travel, necessary to the pursuit of research on a significant dissertation project.

New: Thomas Schwartz, Holt Committee Chairperson
German Historical Institute
1607 New Hampshire Ave. NW
Washington, DC 20009

THE NORMAN AND LAURA GRAEBNER AWARD

The Graebner Award is to be awarded to a senior historian of United States foreign relations whose achievements have contributed most significantly to the fuller understanding of American diplomatic history.

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."

New: Tom Knock, chair, Dept. of History
Southern Methodist University
Dallas, TX 75275

ARTHUR LINK PRIZE FOR DOCUMENTARY EDITING

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.

THE ARMIN RAPPAPORT FUND

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.

ROBERT H. FERRELL BOOK PRIZE

This is competition for a book which is a history of American Foreign Relations, broadly defined, and includes biographies of statesmen and diplomats. General surveys, autobiographies, or editions of essays and documents are not eligible. The prize is to be awarded as a senior book award; that is, any book beyond the first monograph by the author.