

The Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations

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Page

- 1 Gruening, Morse and the Tonkin Gulf Resolution: A Historical
Commentary *by James T. Gay*
- 9 Brezezinski Material Opened at the Carter Library *by Martin
Elzy*
- 11 Hoover's Treasure Trove *by Paul Rich*
- 15 Availability of *FRUS* volumes
- 19 R.C.A. Communications, Inc. *by Robert Ferrell*
- 22 SHAFR By-Laws
- 27 Announcements
- 33 Calendar
- 34 Personals
- 36 Abstracts
- 37 Publications
- 40 Awards, Prizes, and Funds
-

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The Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations

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MEETINGS: The annual meeting of the Society is held in the summer. The Society also meets with the AHA in December, and with the OAH in March or April.

PRIZES: The Society administers four awards that honor the late Stuart L. Bernath and two honoring the late Myrna L. Bernath; these are financed through the generosity of the late 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 in the 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*.

GRUENING, MORSE AND THE TONKIN GULF RESOLUTION: A HISTORICAL COMMENTARY

by

James T. Gay

WEST GEORGIA COLLEGE

That Senators Ernest Gruening of Alaska and Wayne Morse of Oregon represented states of the Pacific Northwest may have been mere coincidence or perhaps the fates' whims manipulated time and space. Yet the fact remains these men, at a specific point in our recent past, as solons from the American Northwest, played a prophetic role in our nation's history.

More than a quarter of a century has passed since the Congress of the United States overwhelmingly supported President Lyndon B. Johnson with the passage of the Tonkin Gulf Resolution in response to what appeared to be aggressive acts perpetrated on peaceful American naval elements by North Vietnamese forces. The resolution declared "That the Congress approves and supports the determination of the President, as Commander in Chief, to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression."¹ Few in Congress realized the implications of their support of the resolution.

The history surrounding the resolution and its place in the tragic American involvement in Southeast Asia is well known and is recalled with painful remembrance by those who

¹U.S. Congress. 88th Congress, 2nd sess., 1964. *Congressional Record*, Vol. 101, p. 18133.

experienced that time. The role of the Tonkin Gulf Resolution in the Presidential escalation of the war in Southeast Asia will remain one of those permanent controversies.

In light of more than thirty years since passage of the Tonkin Gulf Resolution, a reexamination of one aspect of that Congressional action is appropriate. On August 7, 1964, the United States House of Representatives by a vote of 416 to 0 and the United States Senate by a vote of 88 to 2 adopted the Tonkin Gulf Resolution. Senator Wayne Lyman Morse, Democrat of Oregon and Senator Ernest Gruening, Democrat of Alaska, cast the two dissenting votes in the Senate. The Senate, for the most part, regarded the two as pariahs for their objection to what seemed to be an obvious course. A Senate that felt it was responding to a proper request by the President of the United States looked with a jaundiced eye upon the dissenters. However, it is much to their credit that this stalwart pair insisted on advancing their opposition with logic and determination. The objections Morse and Gruening placed on record would be a testament to their beliefs that the Tonkin Gulf Resolution was an invitation to active unilateral military intervention in Southeast Asia. Why did those two Senators oppose the Tonkin Gulf Resolution? It is time to reexamine the record.

Ernest Gruening and Wayne Morse came from differing backgrounds. Gruening was a Northeasterner by birth (New York City) and upbringing. He graduated from Harvard College in 1907 and Harvard Medical School in 1912. He abandoned medicine to pursue a successful career in journalism with several newspapers including the *Boston American* and the *New York Tribune* before serving in the Field Artillery Corps in World War I. Later Gruening was editor of *The Nation* and the *New York Post* before entering into a variety of government positions ending with his

appointment as Governor of Alaska by Franklin D. Roosevelt and election as Senator when Alaska was admitted into the Union in January, 1959.²

Wayne Morse was a Midwesterner by birth (Madison, Wisconsin) and education. He graduated from the University of Wisconsin in 1923, the University of Minnesota law department in 1928 and Columbia University Law School in 1932. Morse also served in the Field Artillery, United States Army as a second lieutenant (1923-29). Wayne Morse taught law at the University of Oregon from 1931 to 1944. During World War II he served on several national defense and labor boards before being elected to the United States Senate as a Republican from Oregon in 1944. In the fall of 1952, Morse resigned from the Republican party declaring himself an Independent. Morse had refused to support Dwight Eisenhower because the General refused to attack Joseph McCarthy's scare tactics and bowed to the wishes of the Taft conservative Republicans. Morse was reelected to the Senate as a Democrat in 1956.³

Despite differences in backgrounds and experiences, Gruening's and Morse's early careers reveal like penchants for service through their military and public involvements. That service continued in the Senate with both men establishing liberal images on domestic programs including the social agenda of Lyndon B. Johnson. Gruening and Morse gained reputations for being independent and "people minded" in their activities in the Senate. Wayne Morse especially viewed

²*Biographical Directory of U.S. Congress, 1774-1989*. Bicentennial Edition. United States Government Office, 1989, pp. 1101-1102.

³*Ibid.*, p. 1541.

his role as a trustee for the public good and a believer in the law as supreme. "I simply happen to be one of those persons whether before the final bar of court when the decision is rendered, or before the final bar of the United States Senate when a decision is rendered, who believes in government by law."⁴ Morse, with a background steeped in law, was deeply concerned over the Congress' propensity to extend to Presidents too much unchecked power in times of crisis.

In 1955 during the Chinese communist shelling of nearby Nationalist-occupied Tachen, Quemoy and Matsu island groups, President Eisenhower obtained from Congress an unusual resolution giving the President authority "to employ the armed forces of the United States as he deems necessary to the specific purpose of securing and protecting Formosa and the Pescadores against attack. . . ." Wayne Morse opposed the Formosa Resolution questioning Congress's judgment in surrendering what he believed to be a prerogative of Congress — the power to make war.⁵

Likewise, in 1957 President Eisenhower gained a similar resolution to use armed forces to defend Middle East nations "against overt armed aggression from any nation controlled by international communism." Again Morse expressed opposition to the possible blank-check use of armed forces that the resolution suggested. To the Senator from Oregon a constitutional principle was involved.

⁴A. Robert Smith. *The Tiger in the Senate: The Biography of Wayne Morse*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1962, p. 51.

⁵*Congressional Record*. 84th Congress, 1st sess., 1955. Vol. 101, pt. 1, pp. 954-973.

Morse believed these moves by Congress were ill-advised and represented extraordinary amendments of the Constitution. He felt that the 1955 and 1957 Resolutions threatened the sanctity of Article I, Section 8, of the Constitution — Congress' power to declare war. The Oregon Senator argued that the resolutions gave the Executive exceptional powers to make war *in futuro* to meet hypothetical and speculative situations yet to arise. Such actions, the senior Senator from Oregon warned, were hazardous to constitutional principles.⁶ This matter would be raised again. By the 1960s, Morse was becoming concerned with American military involvement in Vietnam; and in early 1964, he declared "American unilateral participation in the war in South Vietnam cannot be justified and will not be justified in American history . . . Southeast Asia is not essential to U.S. defense."⁷ The words and actions of the Johnson administration had convinced Morse that the United States was being prepared for increased military involvement in Southeast Asia.

Senator Ernest Gruening was also adamant that the United States was getting involved militarily in Vietnam without any justification. In *Vietnam Folly* he and co-author Herbert W. Beaser argued that American security was not threatened. And even if it was, "there is a question of whether that would justify its invading Vietnam and bombing it any more than one can justify the seizure by Stalin of the formerly independent countries surrounding Russia — Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, . . . — on the grounds that their control was essential to the security of Soviet Russia, even though these countries were

⁶*Congressional Record*. 85th Congress, 1st sess., 1957. Vol. 103, pt. 1, pp. 1001-1007.

⁷*Congressional Record*. 88th Congress, 2nd sess., 1964. Vol. 101, p. 4357.

geographically adjacent to Soviet Russia and not half way round the world from it.”⁸

Gruening had become alarmed with the Kennedy administration's committing a growing number of military advisers to South Vietnam in the period 1961-1963. In that period the numbers of American military personnel had grown from 600 at the end of the Eisenhower era to over 16,500 by the end of the Kennedy presidency. On March 10, 1964, months before the Tonkin Gulf affair, Senator Gruening delivered a speech entitled “The United States Should Get Out of Vietnam” which was one of the earliest major speeches against American involvement in Vietnam. Senator Morse would call it one of the great speeches on foreign policy. In this address Gruening pointed out that “the fight in South Vietnam can be won only by the South Vietnamese” and that “If there is no heart to fight in the people of South Vietnam, the sooner we face that fact the better . . . I consider the life of one American worth more than this putrid mess. I consider that every additional life (approximately 200 American dead as of this date) that is sacrificed in this forlorn venture a tragedy. Some day — not distant — if this sacrificing continues, it will be denounced as a crime.” Gruening urged President Johnson, who he declared had “inherited this mess” to remove “all our military” from Vietnam.⁹

From this point Gruening and Morse became twin critics of government policy regarding South Vietnam. From the floor of the Senate, they began a scenario of almost daily attacks on

⁸Ernest Gruening and Herbert W. Beaser. *Vietnam Folly*. 128 C street, N.E., Washington, D.C.. The National Press, Inc., 1968, p. 22.

⁹*Congressional Record*. 88th Congress, 2nd sess., 1964. Vol. 110, pp. 4831, 4834, 4836.

American military involvement in South Vietnam. By June the two Senators were calling for an immediate United Nations sponsored and enforced cease-fire in South Vietnam.

Then came the Tonkin Gulf incidents of August 2 and August 4, 1964. On the afternoon of August 2, several North Vietnamese torpedo boats approached the United States destroyer MADDUX as it patrolled in the Tonkin Gulf. After firing warning shots, the MADDUX determined that the North Vietnamese boats had hostile intent. The boats launched torpedoes, and the MADDUX drove the attackers off with gun fire while aircraft from the carrier TICONDEROGA assisted. Then on the night of August 4, the MADDUX and the destroyer TURNER JOY were reported under attack in heavy seas and adverse weather. As a result of these incidents, President Johnson ordered retaliatory air strikes against North Vietnamese torpedo boat bases and oil storage dumps. He also asked Congress for a resolution instructing him to take "all necessary measures to repel any armed attacks against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression."¹⁰

Gruening, who had been speaking out in opposition to American military involvement for months, was convinced the Tonkin Gulf Resolution was a blank check for the President to escalate and widen American military activity in Southeast Asia. The Alaskan Senator believed the resolution, aside from misrepresenting "what happened in the Gulf of Tonkin, embodied three falsities" The resolution was *not* ". . . consonant with the Constitution of the United States and the Charter of the United Nations, nor was it in accordance with our obligations under the Southeast Asia Collective Treaty.

¹⁰*Ibid.* p. 18133.

Article I, Section Eight, of the Constitution does not permit the President to wage war at his own discretion. The Charter of the United Nations specifically forbids the action authorized by the resolution and proposes wholly different alternatives. And so does the Southeast Asia Collective Treaty.”¹¹

Morse, already suspicious of the administration’s versions of the incidents, once more brought the Constitution into the debate. “What is wrong with letting the Constitution operate as written by our constitutional fathers? . . . Why should we give arbitrary discretion to mere men who happen to hold office at a given time, when the American people and their lives are at the mercy of the discretion of those mere men?”¹²

Gruening and Morse yielded to no one in their opposition to communism or in their support of America’s defending herself from armed attacks. However, both viewed the Tonkin Gulf Resolution as immorally outside the scope of national and international law. “I believe that future generations will look with dismay upon a Congress which is now about to make such a historic mistake,” declared Morse.¹³

Thus did two Senators make their courageous lonely stands in August more than thirty years past.

¹¹Ernest Gruening. *Many Battles: The Autobiography of Ernest Gruening*. Liveright, New York, 1973, p. 473.

¹²*Congressional Record*. 88th Congress, 2nd sess., 1964. Vol. 110, p. 18445.

¹³Anthony Austin. *The President’s War*. J.B. Lippincott Company. Philadelphia and New York. 1971, p. 102.

BRZEZINSKI MATERIAL OPENED AT THE CARTER LIBRARY

by
Martin Elzy

The Jimmy Carter Library has now opened for research about one-third of the White House files from the Carter administration as well as oral histories, federal records, audiovisual material, and material donated by individuals other than Jimmy Carter. Even though much of the material that has been opened deals with American foreign policy, and even though much research has been done by those interested in that topic, the files of the National Security Adviser and his staff have not yet been made available for research. Those National Security Adviser files total approximately seven hundred linear feet, or 1.5 million pages, of documents, ninety-nine percent of which are security-classified.

Looking at that mountain of security-classified material that constitutes the National Security Adviser's file, it is difficult for the Carter Library staff to know where to start processing. Where we start is important because the mandatory declassification review requests that will immediately be made will certainly slow and perhaps preclude further processing. Therefore, the Library has, in effect, allowed the National Security Adviser himself to make that decision.

As the Carter administration was leaving office, Zbigniew Brzezinski arranged to keep copies of about fourteen feet of material that he thought would assist him in writing what was later published as *Power and Principle: Memoirs of the National Security Adviser, 1977-1981* (1983). When he finished using this material, he donated it to the Carter

Library. As a first venture into processing of a large amount of high level foreign policy material, the Carter Library on December 16, 1994, opened this fourteen feet of material for research. *WARNING:* Actually much less material was opened, only that which was unclassified or declassified. But document withdrawal sheets do allow researchers to request mandatory declassification review of documents of interest. *SECOND WARNING:* At the pace that the Carter Library has been submitting security-classified material for mandatory declassification review, a pace determined by staffing which is not expected to increase, it will take about fifteen years to submit the documents closed in this one collection.

So, what did Zbigniew Brzezinski think was so important that he retained copies for writing his memoirs? The fourteen feet of material is divided into two series, a Geographic File and a Subject File. The Geographic File has folders related to China, Cuba, Ethiopia-Somalia, Iran, the Middle East, Poland, Southern Africa, Southwest Asia/Persian Gulf, and the USSR. The Subject File is twice as large and has a greater variety of topics, but many folders are devoted to Defense, SALT, Policy Review Committee Meetings, Special Coordination Committee Meetings, NSC Accomplishments, and Weekly Reports to the President.

Researchers may make inquiries about the Brzezinski Collection or borrow a copy of the finding aid by contacting Supervisory Archivist Robert Bohanan, Jimmy Carter Library, 441 Freedom Parkway, Atlanta, Georgia 30307; telephone 404-331-3942; e-mail robert.bohanan@carter.nara.gov

HOOVER'S TREASURE TROVE

by

Paul Rich

UNIVERSITY OF THE AMERICAS, PUEBLA, MEXICO
HOOVER INSTITUTION, STANFORD UNIVERSITY

The Hoover Institution's reputation as a think tank sometimes crowds out mention of its vast resources for research. The fact is that its library and archives provide a highly congenial atmosphere for inquiry into an enormous number of subjects. The location, within hailing distance of Stanford's open-shelf Green Library, and close proximity of the other Stanford libraries, adds to the Hoover's usefulness.

There are misconceptions about Hoover, as I learned from an Internet controversy that I had via email a couple years ago with a professor who was convinced that readers had to sign an elaborate loyalty oath to the United States before they could use the material! Pairing the Hoover with the Brookings Institution in a sort of Harvard-Yale rivalry in which the Hoover is den of conservatives and the Brookings is the shrine for liberals is misleading, as anyone familiar with them knows. Hoover has fellows holding every conceivable political view. No one who wishes to use its archives is going to be asked about affiliations. Indeed, although advance inquiries are obviously polite, every effort is made to help the off-the-street visitor.

Herbert Hoover began the collections that carry his name in 1919. In that January, Professor Edgar Eugene Robinson of the Stanford University history department had written to Hoover in Europe that the university wished to collect information on alumni participation in the war, and asked as well that Hoover donate the records of the Food

Administration. This may have inspired Hoover when in the summer of 1919 he proposed a much grander scheme:

This is to confirm the offer which I made to Dr. Wilbur [Stanford's president] to find \$50,000 at his demand or the demand of anyone he appointed to undertake the work for the purpose of sending a representative to Europe for the collection of historical material for the Stanford University Library. This fund to be entirely at the disposal of Dr. Wilbur or his agent for any purpose of expense for purchase of documents or otherwise that will contribute to the library's strength with regard to a documentary history bearing on the war. This fund is available at any time on demand.¹⁴

Hoover maintained a lifelong interest in the project, always wary that administrative costs would cut into the budget for acquisitions. He much preferred to see donations go for rescuing archives than for overhead, and that is one of the reasons for the tremendous amounts of material that made their way to Stanford. Despite its conservative reputation, Hoover has always been rather adventurous in its willingness to send people to the ends of the earth to acquire new holdings.

The Hoover has continued the tradition of sending agents overseas to gather materials, and recently large amounts have been gathered in Eastern Europe and Russia. By no means are these immediately mined for secrets, and sometimes the Hoover librarians can advise about collections which have not received attention. These holdings include Africa, Western

¹⁴Qtd. George H. Nash, *Herbert Hoover and Stanford University*, Hoover Institution Press, Stanford, 1988, 60.

and Central Europe, Eastern Europe, East Asia, North and South America, the Middle East, and the former republics of the Soviet Union. Subject guides are published. The variety of material is amazing: Russian secret police files, Solidarity literature, clandestine opposition and underground items representing dozens of groups and countries, the personal papers of many diplomats, a special collection with material on the educational systems of more than forty countries.

The Hoover is unique in having three times been denied the opportunity to be a Presidential Library. In 1960, President Hoover decided to locate his Presidential Library in West Branch, Iowa. This was part of an unhappiness with the policies of Stanford, although to his credit he continued to support the Institution and his family has persisted in a commitment to it.

Subsequently feelers were put out for locating the Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan papers at Stanford, with a relationship to the Hoover. In these cases the Stanford administration was not nearly so enthusiastic as were the Hoover leadership. (Difficulties over the John F. Kennedy memorials will be recalled, with the separate institution for the archives being built in Boston rather than at Harvard.)

Hoover's creation of a major library at Stanford is one of his great achievements. He gave generously of personal fortune to sustain it. But his greatest assistance was not the money he donated. It was his continuing personal interest, including the countless letters he wrote which gave those gathering material an introduction to individuals and governments throughout the world. An impressed observer wrote that "Hoover is the

greatest packrat of all time because, whenever he leaves a ton of food, he picks up a pound of history.”¹⁵

As anyone who visits Stanford will testify, the crates have never stopped arriving at the Hoover. There is as well a bonus, in that visitors may encounter Hoover fellows such as Robert Conquest, Milton Friedman, Edward Teller, George Shultz, and Seymour Martin Lipset. All in all, it is as one observer remarked, a most *curious* place, — and perhaps the closest American approximation of an Oxbridge senior common room and library.¹⁶

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 61.

¹⁶If that is so, it is deliberate. Or so I was told by Senior Fellow Rita Ricardo-Campbell, who was responsible for some of the interior plans when the Hoover grew to its present five buildings.

AVAILABILITY OF *FOREIGN RELATIONS* VOLUMES
(SEPTEMBER 1994)

Volume	Publ.	Price	GPO Stock No.
1951			
Vol IV, Parts 1 and 2, Europe	1985	30.00	044-000-02053-0
Vol VII, Parts 1 and 2, Korea and China	1978	30.00	044-000-01931-1
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Vol V, Parts 1 and 2, Western European Security	1983	28.00	044-000-01948-5
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Vol XIX, China and Tibet	(1995)		
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1961-1963			
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Vol X, Cuba, 1961-1962	(1995)		

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Vol XI, Cuba, 1962-1963	(1995)		
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Vol XIII, West Europe and Canada	1994	48.00	044-000-02377-6
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Vol XV, Berlin, 1962-1963	1994	32.00	044-000-02375-0
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Vol XVIII, Near East, 1962-1963	(1995)		
Vol XIX, South Asia	(1995)		
Vol XX, Congo Crisis	(1994)		
Vol XXI, Africa	(1995)		
Vol XXII, Northeast Asia	(1995)		
Vol XXIII, Southeast Asia	(1994)		
Vol XXIV, Laos Crisis	1994	47.00	044-000-02371-7
1964-1968			
Vol I, Vietnam 1964	1992	39.00	044-000-02312-1
Vol II, Vietnam, January-June 1965	(1995)		
Vol III, Vietnam, June-December 1965	(1995)		
Vol XIII, Western Europe Region	(1995)		
Vol XVI, Cyprus; Greece; Turkey	(1995)		

Robert H. Ferrell (Indiana, emeritus) came across the following on an excursion at the library of West Point. The memo was in a file labeled "atomic bomb," in the papers of C.K. Sadtler, an academy graduate of 1913, special collections, U.S.M.A. library. Ferrell liked its "bureaucratic delicacy, as in the beginning of one of the paragraphs, 'Attention is invited to the fact that...'. " — editor

R.C.A. COMMUNICATIONS, INC.
INTERDEPARTMENT CORRESPONDENCE

TO: The President DATE: December 23, 1941

FROM: Vice President and General Manager

SUBJECT:

Dear Mr. Sarnoff:

Telegraphic investigation made at our San Francisco and Honolulu offices concerning the handling of a War Department message dated December 7, 1941, addressed to Fort Shafter, T.H., reveals the following facts.

Until recently it has been the custom for us to deliver messages to the Fort Shafter message center (from which point they were further distributed by the Army to other Army posts throughout the Island of Oahu) by motorcycle messenger from our Honolulu office.

To avoid this motorcycle trip we proposed to the Army the installation of a teletypewriter circuit between our Honolulu

office and the Fort Shafter message center. This was agreed to by the Army but there was some delay in securing the necessary teletypewriter equipment and we found it necessary to transfer two units from our New York office. This circuit was actually set up and mechanically completed on Saturday, December 6th, and our Honolulu Superintendent had made an engagement to visit the Fort Shafter message center on Monday, December 8th, in order to make final tests and to complete the necessary service details in connection with the handling of messages over this new circuit. The arrangements had not been completed for the commercial operation of the new printer circuit on Sunday, December 7th — the date of the message in question. The circuit is now in regular use for Government Army traffic only.

The message was filed with
the Western Union, Dec.
7th at

12:17 p.m. EST, or 6:47
a.m. HU Time

It was received by RCA at
San Francisco at

9:42 a.m. PST, or 7:12
a.m. HU Time

It was received by RCA at
Honolulu at

7:33 a.m. HU Time

Attention is invited to the fact that this message contained over 70 five-letter cipher groups and, as has been the custom of Government traffic of this character, was repeated back or collated from station to station for the sake of greater accuracy. The total elapsed time in transmission from Washington to Honolulu was 46 minutes.

It is apparent that some unavoidable delay occurred in the delivery of this message to Fort Shafter. The message was sent out by motorcycle messenger whose normal time for

delivery is about 25 minutes. However, our Superintendent reports by telegraph that because of "certain conditions" — evidently roads blocked by bombing and other exciting incidents which were happening at the time — the messenger did not make Fort Shafter until some time between 9:00 a.m. and 9:30 a.m. as admitted by Mr. Stevens, the Government clerk at the Fort Shafter message center. We hold a valid delivery receipt initialled "S" but apparently because of the prevailing excitement Mr. Stevens did not "time stamp" our delivery receipt, which would have furnished exact proof of the time of delivery. Mr. Stevens states that he believes the message was received by him between 9:00 and 9:30 a.m., and not 11:45 a.m. as claimed by the War Department.

It is regretted that the installation of the printer circuit had not been completed earlier, and that the "conditions prevailing" early that Sunday morning in and around Honolulu delayed the trip of the motorcycle messenger. Under the circumstances this is perhaps not surprising.

Respectfully,

/s/ W. A. WINTERBOTTOM

Periodically, SHAFR publishes its By-laws in the *Newsletter*. Special attention might be paid to the new wording in Article V, Section IV. This section reflects the newest changes approved by Council.

- editor

BY-LAWS OF SHAFR

Article I: Membership

Section 1: Any person interested in furthering the objects of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations as set forth in the Certificate of Incorporation shall become a member upon submitting an acceptable application and paying the dues herein provided.

Section 2: The following are the classes of membership in the Society: Regular, Student, Life, and Institutional. The specific qualifications of each class of membership shall be established by the Council.

Section 3: Annual dues for Regular, Student, and Institutional members shall be established by the Council.

Section 4: (a) All members in good standing, except institutional members, shall have the right to attend, participate in, and vote in all of the Society's meetings and to vote in its elections. Each member shall be supplied without additional charge one copy of each issue of *Diplomatic History* and the *Newsletter* while he is a member, and shall have such other privileges as may be prescribed by the Council.

(b) Membership in good standing is defined as paid membership certified by the Executive Secretary-Treasurer at least thirty days before participating in an election or in the Annual Membership Meeting.

Section 5: Any member whose dues become three months in arrears shall be automatically suspended.

Section 6: Dues are payable in advance of the first day of each year. New membership shall become effective at the beginning of the calendar year in which application is received and dues are paid except that dues paid after August 31 shall be applied for the following year.

Article II: Officers, Elections, and Terms of Office

Section 1: The officers of the Society shall consist of a President, a Vice-President, and an Executive Secretary-Treasurer.

Section 2: The President and Vice-President shall be elected for terms of one year each, beginning on January 1. The Vice-President shall be an automatic nominee for the office of President the following year, although contesting nominees may be offered in accordance with provisions of the By-Laws.

Section 3: The Executive Secretary-Treasurer shall be appointed by the Council to serve at the pleasure of the Council.

Section 4: In the event of the death, resignation or disability of the President, the last to be determined by a majority vote of the Council, the Vice-President shall succeed to the Presidency until the following January 1. Since the office of Vice-President will then be vacant, the Council by majority vote may designate one of its own members to act as chairman of meetings in the President's absence. A Vice-President who succeeds to the Presidency under the provisions of this section shall still be an automatic nominee for the next year's Presidency. If the Presidency, while filled by the elected Vice-President under the terms of this section, shall again become vacant, the Council, by majority vote, shall designate a President *ad interim* to act until the office is filled by an annual election.

Section 5: (a) Elections shall be held annually by mail ballot. The candidate for each office who receives the highest number of votes is elected. When more than two nominees are slated for a particular office, a run-off election will be held between the candidates with the two highest vote totals.

(b) The Nominating Committee shall present the name of the outgoing Vice-President as an automatic nominee for the office of President.

(c) The Nominating Committee shall also present a slate of two candidates for each of the following offices: Vice-President, members of the Council, and member of the Nominating Committee.

(d) Additional nominees for any office shall be placed on the ballot when proposed by petition signed by twenty-five members in good standing; but such additional nominations, to be placed on the ballot, must reach the Chairman of the Nominating Committee by September 15.

(e) The Chairman of the Nominating Committee shall certify the names to be placed on the ballot to the Executive Secretary-Treasurer by October 1. The Executive Secretary-Treasurer shall mail the completed election ballot to the membership not later than October 15 for return to him by

December 1. The election results, certified by the Nominating Committee, shall be announced at the Annual Membership Meeting.

Article III: Powers and Duties

Section 1: The President shall supervise the work of all committees, formulate policies for presentation to the Council, and execute its decisions. He shall appoint the members of the Membership and Program Committees and of special committees, commissions, and boards. He shall sign all documents requiring official certification. The President shall be *ex officio* a member of the Council and shall preside at all Membership and Council meetings at which he is present. A retiring President shall retain membership on the Council for three years after the expiration of his term of Office as President.

Section 2: The Vice-President shall preside at Membership and Council meetings in the absence of the President and shall perform other duties as assigned by the Council. The Vice-President shall be *ex officio* a member of the Council.

Section 3: The Executive Secretary-Treasurer shall have charge of all Society correspondence, and shall give notice of all Council meetings. He shall keep accurate minutes of all such meetings, using recording devices when deemed necessary. He shall keep an accurate and up-to-date roll of the members of the Society in good standing and shall issue a notification of membership to each new member. He shall see that the By-Laws are printed periodically in the *Newsletter*. He shall submit all mail ballots to the membership and shall tabulate the results. He shall retain those ballots, for possible inspection, for a period of one month. He shall give instructions of the Council to the new members of committees when necessary. Under the direction of the Council, he shall manage all funds and securities in the name of the Society. He shall submit bills for dues to the members and deliver an itemized financial report annually to the membership. He shall have custody of all records and documents pertaining to the Society and be responsible for their preservation, and shall prepare an annual budget for approval by the Council. The Executive Secretary-Treasurer shall be *ex officio* a member of the Council, but without vote.

Article IV: The Council

Section 1: The Council of the Society shall consist of (a) those officers or former officers of the Society who, in accordance with Article III of the By-Laws, serve *ex officio* as members of the Council and (b) six members (three year terms) elected by the members of the Society. In the event of a vacancy on the Council caused by death or resignation, the vacancy shall be filled at the next annual election.

Section 2: The Council shall have power to employ and pay necessary staff members; to accept and oversee funds donated to the Society for any of the objects of the Society stated in the Certificate of Incorporation; to appoint the Executive Secretary-Treasurer; to arrange for meetings of the Society; to create, in addition to committees named in the By-Laws, as many standing or *ad hoc* committees as it deems necessary to fulfill its responsibilities; and to transact other business normally assigned to such a body.

Section 3: The Council may reach decisions either at meetings or through correspondence filed with the Executive Secretary-Treasurer, provided that such decisions have the concurrence of two-thirds of the voting members of the Council.

Article V: Committees

Section 1: The Nominating Committee shall consist of three members in good standing who hold no other office in the Society and shall be elected for a term of three years, except that members of the first Nominating Committee shall be appointed by the President to terms of one, two, and three years, respectively. The Chairmanship shall be held by the member with the longest years of service, except that when two or more members have equal length of service the President shall designate which of them shall serve as Chairman. If a post on the Nominating Committee becomes vacant through death, resignation, or ineligibility through acceptance of an office in the Society, the President shall appoint a member to fill the post until the next annual election, when a replacement shall be chosen for the unexpired term.

Section 2: The Membership Committee shall consist of members in good standing, appointed by the President for a term of three years; except that

for the purpose of establishing and maintaining a regular rotation of membership on the Committee the President may, as appropriate, appoint members for a term shorter than three years. The Chairman shall be appointed by the President for a term of three years. The Chairman and members may be reappointed for one additional term.

Section 3: The Program Committee shall consist of five members in good standing appointed by the President for a term of one year. Two co-chairpersons shall be designated, one to oversee the program and one primarily responsible for local arrangements.

Section 4: The Endowment Committee shall have responsibility for (1) recommending investment management and policy to Council; (2) serving as SHAFR's advisory board to the investment management firm approved by Council; (3) monitoring the endowment investments; (4) reporting regularly (at least twice a year) to Council on the status of the endowment investments. The membership of the Committee will be three members appointed by the President (each serving three-year rotating terms, with the senior member normally Chair) and the Executive Secretary-Treasurer as an *ex officio* member.

Article VI: Diplomatic History

Section 1: The Editor of *Diplomatic History* shall be appointed by the President with the approval of the Council for a term of at least three years and not exceeding five years.

Section 2: The Editorial Board shall consist of the Editor and nine members nominated by the Editor and appointed by the Council. Members shall serve three years except that for the purpose of establishing and maintaining a regular rotation members may be appointed for a term of shorter than three years.

Article VII: Amendment

Section 1: Amendments to the By-Laws may be proposed by twenty-five members in good standing or by any member of the Council.

Section 2: Once proposed, amendments must be approved by a majority vote of Council and a concurring majority vote of those participating in a mail ballot.

Article VIII: Meeting

Section 1: There shall be an Annual Membership Meeting open to all members of the Society in good standing. Notice of the final time, place, and agenda of the Annual Membership Meeting shall be mailed by the Executive Secretary-Treasurer to each member of the Society at least thirty days prior to that meeting.

Section 2: Resolutions tentatively approved at the Annual Membership Meeting shall be submitted by the Executive Secretary-Treasurer directly to the full membership of the Society by mail ballot for final approval.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

The following members have recently become Life Members of SHAFR:

Martin Sherwin

Qiang Zhai

Jost Dulffer

Roger Hodgkins

Ellen Nore

Mahmudul Huque

Todd Bell

Kenton Clymer

John Mueller

Thomas Zeiler

Gary Ostrower

Richard Kottman

Doron Ben-Atar

Donald Barlow

John Young

Ju-Cheon Lee

Alonzo Hamby

Naoki Kamimura

Kevin Smith

Tadashi Aruga

The following members have recently contributed to the SHAFR endowment:

Carmela Santoro	Delber McKee
Nolan Fowler	Richard Leopold
Vincent De Santis	Robert Goldbaum
Richard Donnely	Anthony Williams
Michele Schuitema	J.A. Thompson
Douglas Houston	Robert Beisner
Fred H. Harrington	Robert Branyan
Roger Bell	Jonathan Lewis
Wayne Cole	Jules Karlin
Dominic Cerri	

Changes at H-DIPLO

H-DIPLO, the diplomatic history discussion list on the Internet, has a new sign-up address. To subscribe, send an e-mail message to: LISTSERV@MSU.EDU. The text of the message should say: SUB [space] H-DIPLO [space] your full name [space] your institution. The message length cannot exceed 45 characters, so use abbreviations if necessary.

Michael Ruhl has joined David Broscious as list co-moderator. Both are senior graduate students at the Contemporary History Institute, Ohio University, and can be reached on e-mail by their last names @ouvaxa.cats.ohiou.edu, or by phone at (614) 593-4362.

Call for Papers

The Oral History Association invites proposals for papers and presentations for its 1996 annual meeting, October 10-13, in Philadelphia. The theme of the meeting is "Oral History,

Memory, and the Sense of Place.” The deadline for proposals is December 15, 1995. For information: Howard Green, New Jersey Historical Commission, CN 305, Trenton, NJ 08625. Phone (609) 984-3460, FAX (609) 633-8168, e-mail hlgreen@pilot.njin.net

Call for Papers/Presentations

The National Social Science Assoc. will hold its Fall Conference, November 8-10, 1995 in Washington D.C. For information: NSSA Office (619)448-4709, FAX (619) 258-7636

Call for Papers

World War One: A Multi-Disciplinary Conference

Fort Hays State U, April 12-13, 1996

Appropriate topics include, but are not limited to: the crisis in the Balkans (then and now); women and minorities in wartime, literature and the arts; popular culture; propaganda; military technology, tactics, and strategy; major battles (Verdun, Gallipoli, Jutland etc.); the war in Africa and the Middle East; biography (Wilson, Haig, Ludendorff, etc.); the Russian Revolution; the League of Nations; and the origins of fascism. Deadline for proposals is October 1, 1995.

Interested scholars, including advanced graduate students, should submit a 150-word proposal and a c.v. to:
Dr. Steven Trout, Department of English, Fort Hays State University, 600 Park Street, Hays, KS 67601-4099

**The Great War Society Information
January 14, 1995**

On September 29, 30, and October 1, 1995, the Great War Society is presenting a seminar. This year's session will be conducted at the Marriott Hotel in Bethesda, MD.

The theme will be "In Pursuit of Peace" and will include scholars' presentations on the effect of the armistice and peace conference on the changing of the socio-political world thereafter. Included will be discussions on the naval and aviation aspects of the period, and the overall political and military conditions and events which shaped the future of the world. For information: F. R. Carroll, The Great War Society, P.O. Box 4585, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94309. Phone (408) 426-7646, FAX (408) 469-0593. For brochures on the seminar use the above address or call 1-800-966-1216, or E-Mail: Sal cc net. cc

**Call for Papers
May 30 - May 31, 1996
World War II — A Dual Perspective**

Siena College will sponsor its annual conference on the Anniversary of World War II — but now on two levels. The foci for 1996 will be 1946, World War II — The Aftermath and 1936, World War II — The Preliminary Period. In the first focus, papers dealing with displaced persons, War Crimes Trials, Literary and cinematic studies of the war, veterans affairs, the G.I. Bill and economic reconversion, as well as papers dealing with broad issues of earlier years will be welcome. In the second focus, papers on the rise of Fascism, Japan and China, Italy and Ethiopia, The League of Nations, Arms and Armament, Military Doctrine, The Spanish Civil

War, Pacifism, the impact of World War I, etc. will all be appropriate as well as many others. In either focus, art, music, women's and minorities studies will be of interest.

For information: Professor Thomas O. Kelly, II, Department of History, Siena College, 515 Loudon Road, Loudonville, NY 12211-1462. Phone: (518) 783-2595, FAX (518) 783-4293.

Obtain copy of Longley paper before Annapolis

Lyle Longley will deliver a paper "Geopolitical Weapons of the Weak: Non-Violent Responses of the Developing World to the United States" at the SHAFR Annapolis Conference. It will be the only paper on the panel with comment by Richard Immerman and Bob McMahon. Longley notes that it is a long paper of approximately forty pages and that the conference format will allow brief overview oral presentation. Hence, he would like for the audience to have the opportunity to read the full paper beforehand. If you are interested, contact: Kyle Longley, Department of History, The Citadel, 171 Moultrie Street, Charleston, SC 29409 (803) 849-3613, e-mail: longleyk@citadel.edu

Editor Seeks Contributors

Antonio Donno (Universita di Lecce) is editing a book on United States Policy in the Middle East in the 50s — a collection of topical and thematic essays — to be published in 1996. Donno seeks papers from interested scholars in the field. For information: Antonio Donno, Dipartimento di Scienze storiche, Universita degli studi, 734100 Lecce (Italy). FAX 832-336754. E-mail Andonno@ilenic.unile.it

New Prize in American Diplomacy

The American Academy of Diplomacy announces a new book award to recognize distinguished writing in the field of American diplomacy. The award of \$2,500 will be presented for the first time in the winter of 1995.

Eligibility is limited to books by American citizens and scheduled for publication in 1995. Books submitted should delineate the nature of official diplomatic relationships between governments, and also those non-official (or "Track Two") activities that supplement or reinforce official diplomatic contacts. The Academy is interested in studies dealing with the history, practice, and process of American diplomacy which focus on the way foreign policy is implemented. The deadline for submission of nominations is September 5, 1995.

One copy of each book to be considered for the prize should be sent to:

Ambassador Bruce Laingen
American Academy of Diplomacy
1726 M Street, N.W., Suite 800
Washington, DC 20036

CALENDAR

1995

- June 21-24 SHAFR's 20th annual conference will meet at the U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, MD. Robert Love is chairing local arrangements.
- 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.
- November 15 Deadline for M. Bernath Research Fellowship

1996

- January 1 Membership fees in all categories are due, payable at Blackwell Publishers, 238 Main St., Cambridge, MA 02142.
- January 4-7 The 110th annual meeting of the AHA will take place in Atlanta. Deadline for proposals has passed.
- January 15 Deadline for the 1996 Bernath article award.
- February 1 Submissions for Warren Kuehl Award are due.
- February 1 Deadline for the 1996 Bernath book award.
- February 1 Deadline, materials for the March *Newsletter*.
- February 1 Deadline for Ferrell Book Prize.
- February 15 Deadline for the 1996 Bernath lecture prize.
- April 1 Applications for the W. Stull Holt dissertation fellowship are due.
- March 28-31 The 89th meeting of the OAH will take place in Chicago with headquarters at the Palmer House Hilton.
- May 1 Deadline, materials for the June *Newsletter*.

The OAH will meet at the Hilton in San Francisco, April 17-20, 1997, in Indianapolis, April 2-5, 1998; and in Toronto in 1999.

The AHA will meet in New York City in 1997. The program cochairs are Margaret Strobel, University of Illinois at Chicago and Michael J. Galgano, James Madison University. The first deadline for proposals is October 27, 1995.

PERSONALS

Gordon H. Chang (Stanford) has been elected to a seat on the AHA nominating committee.

Nick Cullather (Indiana) is the new associate editor of the *Journal of American History*.

Frank Costigliola (Rhode Island) has been awarded a Guggenheim fellowship for research on language and power in the Western Alliance, 1947-73.

Vincent deSantis will be honored by a symposium on American political history to be held at the University of Notre Dame, October 13-14, 1995. (For information contact: Bill Miscamble, History, Notre Dame.)

John L. Gaddis has been appointed a Woodrow Wilson Scholar for 1995-95 to pursue a biography on George F. Kennan.

Richard Immerman (Temple) has received an NEH grant to write a script for a television documentary on John Foster Dulles. Keep alert for casting calls once production begins!.

Klaus Larres has been awarded a grant from the Dept. of Education for Northern Ireland and the Development Research Fund of the Queen's University of Belfast for research on a monograph with the provisional title "Ideology and the Collapse of Detente."

Rafael Medoff was appointed Visiting Scholar in the Jewish Studies Program at Purchase College, the State University of New York.

The Peace History Society (formerly The Council on Peace Research in History) has announced its current officers: President Geoffrey Smith (Queen's University, Ontario) and Vice-President Harriet Hyman Alonso (Fitchburg State College). Scott L. Bills (Stephen F. Austin State University) will continue as co-editor of *Peace and Change: A Journal of Peace and Research*.

Christian F. Ostermann (Washington, DC) has been awarded a Dissertation Year Fellowship by the Harry S. Truman Library Institute for his study on U.S.-GDR Relations in the 1950s.

ABSTRACTS

Joseph M. Siracusa (University of Queensland), "Peace Movements in Australia and New Zealand and the Cold War", a Paper presented to the Peace History Commission of the International Peace Research Association, XV General Conference, Malta, 30 October-4 November 1994.

The paths to peace are as diverse as its causes. It cannot be achieved by summits or even unilateral disarmament by the superpowers. Nothing lasting can be achieved that will not emerge out of multidimensional processes. No one path or actor alone can guarantee its successful attainment. The championing of the cause of peaceful initiatives must necessarily come from a broad spectrum of nations to generate the political will amongst the major players to respect a universal desire to reduce military violence on the largest scale.

Because of this need for broad participation, smaller nations such as New Zealand and Australia have an important part to play in the international arena. Their policies added strength to the voices of others, stimulated attention and debate, and in recent years have made demonstrable contributions to progress on many fronts, contributing to financial aid and relief, education and technological development. They have also supported initiatives directed at limiting the spiralling process of militarism. Moreover, the Australian and New Zealand experiences, with regard to the limitation of nuclear violence, may be examined through the development of their peace movements, cooperation with other countries to ease international tensions and arms control and disarmament policies. Commitment to these broad goals has increased public awareness while awakening the role spokespersons of peace can play in the global community.

PUBLICATIONS

Terry H. Anderson (Texas A&M), *The Movement and the Sixties*. Oxford, 1995. ISBN 0-19-507409-2, \$27.50.

Michael A. Barnhart (SUNY Stony Brook), *Japan and the World Since 1868*. Edward Arnold, 1995. Cloth, ISBN 0-340-52857-5, \$49.95; paper, ISBN 0-340-52858-3, \$15.95.

Scott L. Bills (Stephen F. Austin), *The Libyan Arena: The United States, Britain, and the Council of Foreign Ministers, 1945-1948*. Kent State, 1995. Cloth, ISBN 0-87338-511-X, \$30.00.

H. W. Brands (Texas A&M), *The Devil We Knew: Americans and the Cold War*. Oxford, 1994. New in paper, ISBN 0-19-509377-1, \$10.95.

Bernard V. Burke (Portland State), *Ambassador Frederic Sackett and the Collapse of the Weimar Republic, 1930-1933*. Cambridge, 1995. ISBN 0-521-4705-6, \$44.95.

Kenton J. Clymer (Texas), *Quest for Freedom: The United States and India's Independence*. Columbia, 1994. ISBN 0-231-10045-0, \$18.50.

Wayne S. Cole (Maryland), *Determinism and American Foreign Relations during the Franklin D. Roosevelt Era*. University Press of America, 1995. ISBN 0-8191-9739-4, \$33.50.

Alfred E. Eckes, Jr. (Ohio U), *Opening America's Market: U.S. Foreign Trade Policy since 1776*. North Carolina, 1995. ISBN 0-8078-2213-2. \$34.95.

Robert H. Ferrell, ed. (Indiana-emeritus), *Holding the Line: The Third Tennessee Infantry, 1861-1864, by Flavel C. Barber*. Kent State, 1994. Cloth, ISBN 0-87338-504-7, \$35.00.

Irwin Gellman (Corona del Mar, CA), *Secret Affairs: Franklin Roosevelt, Cordell Hull, and Sumner Welles*. Johns Hopkins, 1995. ISBN 0-8018-50835, \$29.95. (Incorrectly listed in the March issue)

George C. Herring (Kentucky), *LBJ and Vietnam: A Different Kind of War*. Univ of Texas Press, 1995. ISBN 0-292-730853, \$29.95.

Warren F. Kimball (Rutgers/Newark), *The Juggler: Franklin Roosevelt as Wartime Statesman*. Princeton, 1994. New in Paper, ISBN 0-691-03730-2, \$14.95.

Thomas J. Knock (Southern Methodist), *To End All Wars: Woodrow Wilson and the Quest for a New World Order*. Princeton, 1995. New in Paper, ISBN 0-691-00150-2, \$16.95.

Klaus Larres (Queen's Univ. of Belfast), *Politics of Illusion: Churchill, Eisenhower and the German Question, 1945-1955*. (In German) German Historical Institute, London, Vol. 35, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht - Göttingen/Zurich, 1995. ISBN 3-525-36320-6, DM 92.

Frederick W. Marks III, (Forest Hills, NY), *Power and Peace: The Diplomacy of John Foster Dulles*. Praeger, 1995. Paper ISBN 0-275-95232-0, \$19.95.

John Prados (Washington, DC), *The Hidden History of the Vietnam War*. Ivan R. Dee, 1995. ISBN 1-56663-079-7, \$27.50.

-----, *Combined Fleet Decoded: The Secret History of American Intelligence and the Japanese Navy in World War II*. Random House, 1955. ISBN 0-679-43701-0, \$37.50.

Emily S. Rosenberg (Macalester) et al., *Liberty, Equality, Power: A History of the American People*. Harcourt Brace, 1996. ISBN 0-15-5000036-5, \$32.00.

Lawrence S. Wittner (SUNY Albany), *The Struggle Against the Bomb, Vol. I, One World or None: A History of the World Nuclear Disarmament Movement Through 1953*. Stanford, 1995. Now in paper, ISBN 0-8047-2528-4, \$16.95.

**THE KECK CENTER
FOR INTERNATIONAL AND STRATEGIC STUDIES**

The Keck Center for International and Strategic Studies is a non-partisan and non-profit research organization, founded at Claremont McKenna College, California, in 1983. The Center fosters education and research about contemporary international affairs and strategic issues focusing on the Pacific Rim and Europe.

#1 THE KOREAN WAR: 40-Year Perspectives. Chae-Jin Lee, ed. (1991) \$10.95 pap [ISBN 0-930607-12-0]. CIP

#2 THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN: CHANGING RELATIONS. Chae-Jin Lee, ed. (1992) \$9.95 pap [ISBN 0-930607-13-9]. CIP

#3 GERMAN UNIFICATION: Problems And Prospects. Gaines Post, Jr., ed. (1992) \$10.95 pap [ISBN 0-930607-14-7]. CIP

#4 THE PROSPECTS FOR KOREAN REUNIFICATION. Jay Speakman and Chae-Jin Lee, eds. (1993) \$10.95 pap [ISBN 0-930607-15-5]. CIP

#5 U.S.-JAPAN PARTNERSHIP IN CONFLICT MANAGEMENT: The Case of Korea. Chae-Jin Lee and Hideo Sato, eds. (1993) \$10.95 pap [ISBN 0-930607-16-3]. CIP

#6 THE UNITED NATIONS IN A NEW WORLD ORDER. Edwin M. Smith and Michael G. Schechter. (1994) \$10.95 paper [ISBN 0-930607-17-1]. CIP

#7 INDOCHINA: SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CHANGE. David W.P. Elliott, Ben Kiernan, Hy Van Luong, Therese M. Mahoney. [1994] \$ 10.95 paper [ISBN 0-930607-18-x] CIP

SHAFR Price \$5.00 ea.

Shipping \$1.00 ea.

All orders must be pre-paid (a personal check is fine).

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Send to: Regina Books, Box 280, Claremont, Ca. 91711

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 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: Richard Immerman, Department of History, Temple University, Philadelphia, PA 19122.

Books may be sent at any time during 1995, but should not arrive later than February 1, 1996.

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 1995 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 Spring, 1996.

PREVIOUS WINNERS:

1972 Joan Hoff Wilson 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. Stephen E. Pelz	1986 Thomas J. Noer
1976 Martin J. Sherwin	1987 Fraser J. Harbutt James Edward Miller
1977 Roger V. Dingman	1988 Michael Hogan
1978 James R. Leutze	1989 Stephen G. Rabe
1979 Phillip J. Baram	1990 Walter Hixson Anders Stephanson
1980 Michael Schaller	1991 Gordon H. Chang
1981 Bruce R. Kuniholm Hugh DeSantis	1992 Thomas Schwartz
1982 David Reynolds	1993 Elizabeth Cobbs
	1994 Tim Borstelmann

The Stuart L. Bernath Lecture Prize

DESCRIPTION: The Bernath Lecture Prize seeks to recognize and encourage excellence in teaching and research in the field of foreign relations by younger scholars. Prize-winners normally deliver their lecture at the SHAFR luncheon at the annual meeting of the OAH. The lecture is to be comparable in style and scope to the yearly SHAFR presidential address and is to address broad issues of concern to students of American foreign policy, not the lecturer's specific research interests. The award is \$500, with publication of the lecture in *Diplomatic History*.

ELIGIBILITY: The prize is open to any person under forty-one years of age whose scholarly achievements represent excellence in teaching and research. Nominations may be made by any member of SHAFR or any other member of any established history, political science, or journalism department or organization.

PROCEDURES: Nominations, in the form of a short letter and *curriculum vita*, should be sent directly to the Chair of the Bernath Lecture Committee. The nominating letter requires evidence of excellence in teaching and research and must reach the Committee no later than 15 February 1996. The Chairperson of the Committee for 1995-1996 is: Charles Brower, Department of History, U.S.M.A., West Point, NY 10996.

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	1994 Diane Kunz

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 1995. 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, 1996. Three (3) copies of the article shall be submitted to the chairperson of the committee: Mary Ann Heiss, Kent State University, Kent OH 44242.

The next award will be announced at the SHAFR luncheon held in conjunction with the annual meeting of the OAH in Spring, 1996.

PREVIOUS WINNERS:

1977 John C.A. Stagg	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	1994 Frederick Logevall
	1995 Heike Bungert

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: Peter L. Hahn, Department of History, Ohio State University, Columbus, OH. 43210. The deadline is November 1, 1995.

PREVIOUS WINNERS:

1985 Jon Nielson

1986 Valdinia C. Winn

Walter L. Hixson

1987 Janet M. Manson

Thomas M. Gaskin

W. Michael Weis

Michael Wala

1988 Elizabeth Cobbs

Madhu Bhalla

1989 Thomas Zeiler

Russel Van Wyk

1990 David McFadden

1991 Eileen Scully

1992 Shannon Smith

1993 R. Tyler Priest

Christian Ostermann

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. Contact: Anders Stephanson, History Department, Columbia University, New York, NY 10027.

PREVIOUS WINNERS

1991 Diane Kunz
Betty Unterberger

The Myrna F. Bernath Research Fellowship

The society announces two Myrna F. Bernath Research Fellowships, 2,500 USD each, to research the study of foreign relations among women scholars. The grants are intended for women at U.S. universities as well as for women abroad who wish to do research in the United States. Preference will be given to graduate students and newly finished Ph.D's. The subject-matter *should be historically based* and concern American foreign relations or aspects of international history, as broadly conceived. Work on purely domestic topics will not be considered. Applications should include a letter of intent and three copies of a detailed research proposal of no more than 2000 words. Send applications to: Professor Anders Stephanson, Department of History, Columbia University, New York, NY 10027. Submission deadline is November 15, 1995.

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 1996, 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, 1996 to: Katherine A.S. Siegel, Department of History, St. Joseph's University, Philadelphia, PA 19131.

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

1993 Darlene Rivas

1994 Christian Ostermann

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: James Matray, History Department, New Mexico State University, Las Cruces, NM 88003.

PREVIOUS WINNERS:

1986 Dorothy Borg

1992 Bradford Perkins

1988 Alexander DeConde

1994 Wayne Cole

1990 Richard W. Leopold

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 1995 and 1996. Deadline for submissions is February 1, 1997. One copy of each submission should be sent to each member of the selection committee.

Thomas Knock
Dept. of History
Southern Methodist
Dallas TX 75275

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
1988 Melvin Small

1991 Charles DeBenedetti 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. Current Chairperson: Mary A. Giunta.

M. Giunta, Act. Dir.
Documentary History
of US Foreign
Relations under the
Articles of
Confederation,
National Archives
Washington, DC 20408

Justus Doenecke
New College, U. of S.
Florida
Tampa, FL 33620

George Herring
Dept. of History
Univ. of Kentucky
Lexington, KY 40506

PREVIOUS WINNER

1991 Justus Doenecke

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. 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.

ROBERT H. FERRELL BOOK PRIZE

This is competition for a book, published in 1995, 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 of \$1,000 is to be awarded as a senior book award; that is, any book beyond the first monograph by the author. The deadline for submission of books is February 1, 1996.

Books may be nominated by the author, the publisher, or by any member of SHAFR. A letter of nomination should be sent to the Ferrell Prize committee chairman, and a copy of the book should be sent directly to each member of the committee at the addresses listed below.

Jim Miller
132 13th Street S.E.
Washington DC 20003

Ted Wilson, chair
Department of History
U. of Kansas
Lawrence, KS 66045

Doug Brinkley
Department of History
Hofstra University
Hempstead, NY 11550

PREVIOUS WINNERS:

1992 David Anderson and Diane Kunz
1993 Mel Leffler