

The Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations

NEWSLETTER

Volume 27

No. 2

June 1996

Page

- 1 A Footnote to the Papers of Woodrow Wilson *by Priscilla Roberts*
- 16 Truman, Byrnes and the Atomic Bomb *by Frank Kofsky*
- 30 Doctoral Dissertations in U.S. Foreign Affairs *by Edward A. Goedeken*
- 48 Announcements
- 53 Publications
- 55 Calendar
- 56 Personals
- 57 Bernath Awards, Prizes, and Funds
-

ISSN 0740-6169

The Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations

Founded in 1967

Chartered in 1972

PRESIDENT: Mark Gilderhus, History, Colorado State, Fort Collins, CO 80521.

VICE PRESIDENT: Emily Rosenberg, History, Macalaster College, St. Paul, MN 55105.

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER: Allan Spetter, History, Wright State University, Dayton, OH 45435.

PROGRAM COMMITTEE: Robert Schulzinger, History, University of Colorado, Boulder, CO 80309-0234.

CHAIR, NOMINATIONS COMMITTEE: Linda Killen, History, Radford, Radford, VA 24142

FINANCE COMMITTEE: Marvin Zahniser, 4754 St. Bernard Ave., New Orleans, LA 70122-1237.

MEMBERSHIP: Annual dues are \$30 for regular members and \$15 for student or unemployed (unemployed rate valid for two years). Institutional Subscription Rates for *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 20, 1996 are \$75 for institutions in North America and \$90 for institutions in the rest of the world. Make checks payable to Blackwell Publishers or use MasterCard, Visa, or American Express. Mail orders, payments, and address changes to: SHAFR Membership Coordinator, Blackwell Publishers, 238 Main St, Cambridge, MA 02142 or call 1-800-835-6770. For those wishing only to receive the *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* office.

MEETINGS: The annual meeting of the Society is held in the summer. The Society also meets with the AHA in January.

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, the late Armin Rappaport, Robert Ferrell, Lawrence Gelfand, 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*.

A FOOTNOTE TO THE PAPERS OF WOODROW
WILSON: THE NORMAN H. DAVIS DIARY,
1921-1923

by

Priscilla Roberts

UNIVERSITY OF HONG KONG

[The most confident of historians is perhaps entitled to feel a slight twinge of trepidation in announcing the discovery of reasonably substantial and interesting material on Woodrow Wilson which somehow escaped the notice of Arthur S. Link. Such, however, has been my serendipitous good fortune. In summer 1992, during a research trip to Washington, D.C., in a fairly recent addition to the Norman H. Davis Papers in the Library of Congress I stumbled upon a brief holograph diary kept by Davis during the years 1921 to 1923. When I visited Princeton shortly afterwards, I attempted to bring these diary entries to Prof. Link's attention, but the Wilson Papers office had been closed and the last volumes of the Wilson Papers finally sent to the printers. I assumed that the editors must have already uncovered this material, and that in due course it would appear in that series. On discovering that it was omitted, I am venturing respectfully to present it as a small but illuminating footnote to that remarkable undertaking.]

Norman Hezekiah Davis (1878-1944) was an American businessmen from Tennessee who spent much of his early career in Cuba, where he acquired substantial interests in banking and sugar. In 1905 these led him to become President of the Trust Company of Cuba, in which capacity he worked closely with the pre-eminent American banking firm of J. P. Morgan & Company. In 1917, life for Davis, then nearing forty, took a new and conclusive direction when he moved into government service, which would preoccupy him for the rest of his life. He received successive assignments from every president from Wilson to Franklin D. Roosevelt, but for Davis the high point and formative period of his career of public or semi-public service would always be the years 1917-1921, when he worked for President Woodrow Wilson. He began as an adviser to the United States Treasury, which he represented in London and

Paris; then became United States financial commissioner to Europe, and a Treasury representative at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, where he served on the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, and the Reparations and Financial Commissions. During the Paris Peace Conference Davis and his fellow American financial adviser, the Morgan partner Thomas W. Lamont, would suggest, though unsuccessfully, that the United States government cancel Europe's war debts to the United States and mount a massive scheme of public and private American aid to bring about Europe's economic recovery, a scheme which predated the Marshall Plan by almost thirty years.¹ These positions were followed by brief terms as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury (November 1919-June 1920) and Under Secretary of State (June 1920-March 1921).

A firm Democrat, Davis was a trusted adviser of President Wilson, the man who would be his political idol for the remainder of his life, and he remained in close contact with the former President after he left office in 1921. Yet Davis' work for the Wilson administration marked only the beginning of more than twenty years in the diplomatic and international economic spheres. In recent years historians have challenged the older, isolationist view and stressed the extent to which the United States remained engaged in European affairs between the wars.² Davis was one of those

¹See Thomas W. Lamont and Norman H. Davis, "Observations Upon the European Situation: Possible Measures to be Taken," May 15, 1919, File 165-8, Box 165, Thomas W. Lamont Papers, Harvard Business School, Boston, MA; Robert Hardin Van Meter, Jr., "The United States and European Recovery, 1918-1923: A Study of Public Policy and Private Finance" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1971), 93-100; Michael J. Hogan, *Informal Entente: The Private Structure of Cooperation in Anglo-American Economic Diplomacy 1918-1928* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1977), 29-30.

²See, e.g., Peter H. Buckingham, *International Normalcy: The Open Door Peace with the Former Central Powers, 1921-29* (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 1983); Warren I. Cohen, *Empire Without Tears: America's Foreign Relations 1921-1933* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987); Frank C. Costigliola, *Awkward Dominion: American Political, Economic, and Cultural Relations with Europe, 1919-1933* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984); Michael J. Hogan,

Americans most involved, in such endeavors, working, sometimes in a public, sometimes in a quasi-private capacity, for both Republican and Democratic administrations. In his own person he demonstrated the nexus of private and public, diplomatic and business concerns which met in the making of American foreign policy. He served as an American representative at the International Economic Conference held at Geneva in May 1927, and on the organizing commission for an International Monetary and Economic Conference in 1932; during the 1920s he was also a member of the League of Nations Financial Commission, which, in collaboration with American and European bankers and British and European government officials, helped to stabilize the leading European currencies. From the late 1920s onward, Davis, as the leading American representative and expert on the subject, chaired a succession of disarmament negotiations, which in one incarnation or another spanned both the Hoover and Roosevelt administrations. In 1938 Davis also became Chairman of the American Red Cross, a position he filled until his death. He is believed to have drafted

Informal Entente: The Private Structure of Cooperation in Anglo-American Diplomacy, 1918-1928 (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1977); Bruce Kent, *The Spoils of War: The Politics, Economics, and Diplomacy of Reparations 1918-1932* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989); Melvyn P. Leffler, *The Elusive Quest: America's Pursuit of European Stability and French Security, 1919-1933* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979); Walter A. McDougall, *France's Rhineland Diplomacy, 1914-1924: The Last Bid for a Balance of Power in Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978); William C. McNeil, *American Money and the Weimar Republic: Economics and Politics on the Eve of the Great Depression* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986); Stephen A. Schuker, *The End of French Predominance in Europe: The Financial Crisis of 1924 and the Adoption of the Dawes Plan* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1976); Dan P. Silverman, *Reconstructing Europe after the Great War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982); Van Meter, "The United States and European Recovery, 1918-1923"; Joan Hoff Wilson, *American Business and Foreign Policy 1920-1933* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1971). The literature on the 1920s is reviewed more fully in Jon Jacobson, "Is There a New International History of the 1920s?," *American Historical Review* 88 (1983): 617-645; and Brian McKercher, "Reaching for the Brass Ring: The Recent Historiography of Interwar America Foreign Relations," *Diplomatic History* 15 (1991): 565-598.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt's 'Quarantine' speech of October 1937, in which the President called for a more forceful policy of international opposition to aggressor nations (a position from which the deliverer later retreated for some time). Davis' role in formulating this speech was symptomatic of the manner in which he, in common with many members of what would soon be called the American foreign policy Establishment, believed that the United States should undertake a more assertive role in the world.

In a more private capacity, Davis was a founding director, dedicated supporter, and, from 1936 until his death in 1944, president of the Council on Foreign Relations, the foremost private foreign policy think tank in the United States, a New York-based organization which would become the favored institution of those elite Americans who shared his sympathies. Throughout these years, Davis would remain faithful to the memory of Woodrow Wilson, in company with Colonel Edward M. House, Newton D. Baker, and — at least until the early 1930s, when the siren call of politics drew the latter away — Franklin D. Roosevelt, serving as one of the few prominent voices of 'internationalism' in Democratic Party councils. He was a strong and dependable supporter of the League of Nations, disarmament, and United States attempts to promote Europe's postwar economic recovery. For many years he was also President of the Board of Trustees of the Wilson Foundation, established in 1921, which attempted to promote Wilson's foreign policy ideals. It seems clear that his relationship with the first president under whom he served was the formative political experience of his long and active life.³

³There is no full biography of Davis, and much of this information comes from his entries in *Who Was Who in America*; the *Dictionary of American Biography*, suppt 3: 1941-1945 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973); *Biographical Dictionary of Internationalists*, ed. Warren F. Kuehl (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1983), 200-202; and *Dictionary of American Diplomatic History*, ed. John E. Findling (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1980), 134. Most of his assorted international activities are covered in Thomas C. Irvin, "Norman H. Davis and the Quest for Arms Control, 1931-1938" (Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1963); and Harold B. Whiteman, Jr., "Norman H. Davis and the Search for International

Davis did not routinely keep a diary, but in the early 1920s he occasionally made handwritten entries on particularly memorable events in a printed diary book which his heirs later donated to the Library of Congress, and which can now be found in Box 92 of his papers there. He corresponded often with Wilson, and when in Washington always called upon his former chief, visits which rank high among the relatively few events commemorated in his diary. Davis was one of the former President's trusted friends and associates; in 1922 he was privy to Wilson's efforts to persuade the Democratic party to endorse American membership in the League of Nations, the reduction of American tariffs, and a lenient settlement of the war debts which various countries owed the United States. He may even have supported Wilson's rather pathetic hopes to run for a third term in 1924, a project which death perhaps mercifully interrupted.⁴ Among these entries are several which provide fascinating glimpses of President Wilson in the final weeks of his presidency, and in retirement. Among the subjects Wilson discussed with Davis were his views on the future disposition of the Island of Yap, a matter which arose out of the Paris Peace Conference negotiations; his relationship with his Republican successor, Warren G. Harding; his financial worries and writing plans for the future; his continuing faith in the American people, notwithstanding the rejection of the League of Nations and the election of a Republican president; his belief in the need for party government; his dismay over the European situation; and his disapproval of the Four-Power Treaty negotiated at the Washington Conference of 1921-1922. The former President never abandoned his belief that the United States should have entered the League of Nations, and regretted that the United States had, as he put it in late 1921, "failed to take what might even be called an enlightened selfish course." It is also apparent that Davis remained one of his most trusted confidantes, helping the ailing former President to present his views to the American people until his death in early

Peace and Security, 1917-1944" (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1958).

⁴See *Wilson Papers*, vol. 68: *passim*.

1924. Overall, these extracts flesh out a little further the portrait of Wilson in his last years.

Extracts from the Diary of Norman H. Davis

January 4, 1921

I went to see the President at 11 a.m. principally to report and discuss the dispatch from Minister [Boaz Walton] Long⁵ to the effect that President Menocal had sent for him & expressed his displeasure at Gen. [Enoch Herbert] Crowders⁶ approaching visit — without previous consultations with & approval of President [Mario G.] Menocal,⁷ who stated that he would not receive Crowder. The President instructed me to instruct Long to inform Menocal that on account of the special relations with Cuba, and the serious situation there with which we are properly & necessarily concerned the President of the U.S. neither recognized the necessity or propriety in obtaining the consent of the Cuban President to send a special representative to discuss the situation with him; that he would be expected to receive Gen. Crowder with every possible courtesy and to be receptive to any recommendations made by Crowder in order to avoid the necessity of taking more drastic action.⁸ The President also said that Menocal still refused to tell

⁵A career diplomat who specialized in Latin American affairs, at this time Long (1876-1962) was United States Minister to Cuba.

⁶Crowder (1859-1932) was only one of a number of prominent United States military officers of this period — other such figures include Henry T. Allen, Tasker H. Bliss, Frank R. McCoy, James G. Harbord, and Leonard Wood — who often served in quasi-diplomatic capacities. See David A. Lockmiller, *Enoch H. Crowder: Soldier, Lawyer, Statesman* (Columbia, Mo.: University of Missouri Press, 1955).

⁷President of Cuba, 1912-1921.

⁸On August 31, 1920, in an earlier letter to Wilson, Davis described the Cuban situation to Wilson as follows:

You will recall that General Crowder in 1919, upon the invitation of President Menocal, went to Habana and collaborated with the leading members of both

Crowder to turn his guns on.⁹

January 23, 1921

Called to see the President at 11 a.m. to discuss the information etc to be laid before the Senate Committee on [Foreign] Relations — on the 25th when I had agreed to appear before the Committee to give information regarding the island of Yap and the negotiations relating

political parties in Cuba in effecting a revision of the Electoral Law. In November of the same year the Department of State urged President Menocal to extend to General Crowder an invitation to return to Cuba to witness the manner in which the Electoral Law he had taken such a large part in drafting was put into effect. This President Menocal refused to do, on the ground that his political opponents would herald General Crowder's visit as supervision of the coming elections by the United States, and would consider General Crowder's presence there a rebuke to his administration. President Menocal, however, gave positive assurances at that time that he himself would answer for the strict fulfillment of the Electoral Code, insofar as its fulfillment might depend upon his Government, and promised that the elections in November 1920 would be held with all possible guarantees and with the utmost impartiality.

The Department of State had, however, amassed evidence of "numerous acts of fraud and violence", most perpetrated by Menocal's Conservative Party, which "presage[d] more radical means of coercion as the campaign develops." The State Department officials were therefore anxious to dispatch Crowder to Cuba as soon as possible, to monitor the elections and so "bring about a return of popular confidence in the electoral machinery" and "[restrain] the Liberal Party from abstaining from the elections or from fomenting any active revolt on the ground that they are being prevented from freely exercising the right of suffrage." Wilson approved this recommendation, but Menocal was unwilling to receive Crowder. *Wilson Papers*, vol. 66: 83-85. Due to allegations of fraud, the outcome of the election was disputed, and Crowder eventually arrived in Havana in January 1921, with the objective of resolving the impasse. On this episode in dollar diplomacy, which ended in Crowder's approval of the election of the Liberal candidate Alfredo Zayas, an outcome satisfactory both to Davis and to his business associates in J. P. Morgan & Co., see also Louis A. Perez, Jr., *Cuba Under the Platt Amendment 1902-1934* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1986), ch. 8; Dana G Munro, *The United States and the Caribbean Republics 1921-1933* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), ch. 2; books by Perez, Smith, Calhoun.

⁹These were the guns of the battleship *Minnesota*, on which Crowder arrived in Havana in January 1921, and where he conducted official business with his guns trained on the Cuban presidential palace.

to. when I had agreed to appear before the Committee to give information regarding the Island of Yap and the negotiations relating to. The President told me to give them all the facts & show how the Allies had failed to act fairly in the matter. The President reiterated that he had never withdrawn his reservation regarding Yap — nor had he consented or known of the minute of May 7/19 until I called his attention to it some weeks ago. In reply to an enquiry he said he believed [Sir Maurice P.A.] Hankey¹⁰ was honest but that in all important agreements it was the custom for the Heads of State to sign or initial same and that he had never done that in respect to any agreement which would give Yap to Japan nor the minute of May 7th.¹¹

After this we had some general discussion in the course of which the President said he had never lost a bit of his faith in the people. He intimated lack of confidence in so called intellectuals who would for selfish & dishonest reasons fool themselves & the people for a

¹⁰From 1916 to 1938 Sir Maurice Hankey was the influential secretary to the British cabinet. See Stephen Roskill, *Hankey: Man of Secrets*, 3 vols. (London: Collins, 1970-1974); John Naylor, *A Man and an Institution: Sir Maurice Hankey, the Cabinet Secretariat and the Custody of Cabinet Secrecy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

¹¹On May 7, 1919, during the Paris Peace Conference, the Council of Four awarded Japan a mandate over the Island of Yap, formerly a German colonial possession, in the northern Pacific. The United States then refused to recognize this decision, since Wilson contended that this item of the Council's deliberations had never been brought to his attention, and he was unaware that it was considered to have been settled. A diplomatic dispute ensued, because the Japanese insisted that they were entitled to receive the Island of Yap, the Council of Four, according to its minutes, having resolved to take this action. Wilson continued to insist that he had no recollection of any such decision, and the minutes must be inaccurate. There is evidence, however, that at an earlier stage he had concurred in it. The editors of the *Wilson Papers* suggest that his memory lapse may have been due to what was possibly a small stroke he suffered on April 28, 1919. Davis was responsible for drafting Wilson's letter of March 3, 1921, in which he restated his position on Yap. See Bainbridge Colby to Hugh Campbell Wallace, February 21, 1921, and notes by Wilson to Bainbridge Colby, March 3, 1921, *Wilson Papers*, vol. 67: 153-156, 194-96.

time but that eventually the masses have honest desires and true convictions of right etc. He also said he didn't believe God had forsaken America.

*March 4, 1921*¹²

I went to see President Wilson at 10.30 a.m. to get his signature to a letter which had been overlooked the previous day. Mr. [Warren G.] Harding¹³ & Mr. [Calvin] Coolidge¹⁴ and party entered the White House just ahead of me. The President had not come down & Admiral [Cary T.] Grayson¹⁵ took us up stairs. The President had not come down from his room. While waiting for him to come out I talked with Mrs. Wilson. She told me the President had a talk the afternoon before with Mr. Harding. The latter told him he would be glad at any time to have advice from him but the President told him he would not wish to bother him with advice because he knew from experience how much would be offered. H. replied that he was sincere and would welcome it. The President then told him there was one thing especially in which he was interested, viz — the Island of Yap and that he hoped H. would maintain the position that had been taken but that on this and other foreign questions he would recommend that he talk with me — as I was fully conversant etc. The President then came out. After greetings and explanations he signed the letter I took to him.¹⁶

¹²This was the day of Harding's inauguration and Wilson's retirement. The *Wilson Papers* include newspaper accounts of the journey of the two men to the ceremony at the Capitol, and Wilson's move to his new home in Washington, 2,340 S Street Northwest. *Wilson Papers*, vol. 67: 295-214.

¹³The Republican president-elect.

¹⁴The Republican vice-president-elect.

¹⁵Wilson's personal physician.

¹⁶During the following few days Charles Evans Hughes, the incoming Republican Secretary of State (1921-1925) repeatedly requested Davis to continue for some time in his position as Under Secretary of State, and also for a week or ten days

March 10, 1921

My wife and I called after 6 P.M. to see Mrs. Wilson. She said the President or rather Mr. Wilson was having his supper in the library — in his dressing gown, but would be glad to see me. He seemed somewhat discouraged about his slowness to regain his energy. He said he didn't enjoy his food; that he was gradually becoming accustomed to the radical change in atmosphere etc., and hoped soon to get down to serious work and incidentally make a living. He said he would enjoy his new home more if it were paid for or if he were earning a living — but that he borrowed money on collateral. I told him it would be possible to get a long time loan at a low rate of interest on his house and that he would soon begin to earn.¹⁷ I asked him if he felt like writing to which he replied yes but not a history of the peace conference as some people wanted him to do. Continuing he said that the Allies were destroying the League of Nations which could have been saved by us — to the eternal benefit of the U.S. and of the world; that he felt rather hopeless because the Democratic party is without a burning constructive policy — altho' its members are idealists but that the Republicans are so prejudiced and selfish they haven't the vision to

to continue to serve as Chairman of the Cable Conference which was being held at that time. Davis, however, insisted on a speedy resignation on March 9th, though he did agree to continue to chair the Cable Conference. Davis, diary entries, March 5, 7, 9, 1921.

¹⁷Wilson's new house was ultimately paid for by others, in a scheme conceived by his physician, Admiral Cary Grayson, who feared that financial worries were damaging his patient's health. A consortium of probably ten wealthy individual admirers of the President, headed by Bernard M. Baruch, Cleveland Dodge, Cyrus H. McCormick, Jr., and Jesse H. Jones, each contributed \$10,000 towards the cost of the house. It is not clear when, if ever, Wilson was told of this scheme, of which he was initially kept in ignorance. He certainly learnt of other such efforts, mounted by some of the same individuals, to provide him, first with a Pierce-Arrow automobile and later, in 1923, with a Rolls Royce. In 1923, several of these friends also joined forces to establish a trust fund which would give him an annual pension of \$10,000, an endeavor for which they received his warm thanks. *Wilson Papers*, vol. 67: 116-117, 137-138, 148, 156-157, 167-168, vol. 68: 438-444, 513-514, 516, 534.

follow an enlightened selfish policy; that few people had been able to see that entirely aside from its idealism the League of Nations was the only way to stabilize and rehabilitate the world — on which our prosperity and welfare are so dependent; and that we should at least have had enough intelligence and vision to have gone in if for no higher motive than selfishness which would have had the merit of enlightenment to that extent. He then said he saw no hope unless the American people's conscience and idealism could be brought back to where he had led them in 1918, and that he intended to use all his remaining efforts and energy to that end. He expressed greater conviction than ever before in the system of party government — as in England — which recent events showed the necessity for. A party should have full power to carry out its policies and thus assume full responsibility. He then talked of the European situation and said France was running amuck with imperialism and that [David] Lloyd George¹⁸ on account of his opportunism would not stand up on any principle which might disturb his political control. By invading Germany now in violation of the treaty & justice a sore will be made which will fester until it affects Europe and brings on another war.

Mr. Wilson then reverted to his purpose of endeavoring to enlighten the people on the duty of America to the world and to herself. He said that "As you will recall, when we left Paris in the summer of 1918 [*sic*] we had the moral leadership of the world. The other powers which had become so entangled in their own mistakes were glad to accept our leadership — and that in failing to rise to this wonderful opportunity for service — as well as duty — America had failed to take what might even be called an enlightened selfish course and had retarded the prosperity and stability of the world on which our own welfare is so dependent." He said so few people know how to use facts and that so many refuse to recognize facts.

¹⁸A leading Liberal politician and the Prime Minister of Great Britain, 1915-1922.

He cited Mr. [William Jennings] Bryan¹⁹ as a typical example. He said Mr. Bryan when Sec'y of State would often say to him "You should simply tell them they must stop fighting and make them stop." He would explain to Mr. Bryan that he had — as he knew — done that but it didn't stop them. Bryan would go away but at the next meeting advance the same views.

December 10, 1921

Attended the open session of the Conference on Limitation of Armaments. It was interesting and well staged — the atmosphere was good.

I went to call on Mr & Mrs Woodrow Wilson shortly after six o'clock and remained for dinner and went to the theatre with them. When I went in the library I found Mr. Wilson reading the afternoon paper giving accounts of the Conference. He expressed hearty approval of the Root Resolutions re. China which he described as a distinct forward step.²⁰ He thought the four power

¹⁹Wilson's first Secretary of State (1913-1915), and a leading figure in the Democratic party, who had three times been the unsuccessful Democratic presidential candidate. Bryan's own views were more pacifist than those of the president or many of his advisers. Bryan resigned from Wilson's cabinet in 1915 because he disagreed with the president over his handling of the *Lusitania* crisis, which Bryan thought insufficiently conciliatory. See Link, *Wilson: The Struggle for Neutrality* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960), 372-425; also Paolo E. Coletta, *William Jennings Bryan*, 3 vols. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1964-1969).

²⁰A leading figure in the Republican party, Elihu Root served as Secretary of War (1899-1903) and Secretary of State (1903-1908) in the administrations of William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt, where he reshaped American military and foreign policies in response to the new challenges of expanded American power and the acquisition of overseas possessions. He was a member of the American delegation at the Washington Conference. See Philip C. Jessup, *Elihu Root*, 2 vols. (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1938); Richard W. Leopold, *Elihu Root and the Conservative Tradition* (Boston: Little Brown, 1954).

The Root resolutions, which were repeated in the Nine Power, Treaty with minor modifications, were:

alliance re. Pacific Islands dangerous and not the way to get rid of the Anglo Japanese alliance. He was fearful it might lead to complications to adopt a policy similar to the old European Alliances. He said however that the Democrats must adopt a constructive course and only criticize when they could offer something better. He felt of course that the League of Nations covered everything provided for in four power treaty & much more & was less apt to cause complications. It was a mistake to exclude Holland. The small states must have a voice.

January 21, 1922

I went to Washington on the 20th inst. 1922 to spend the week end with Marshall Bullitt & his wife.²¹ On the 21st I went out to see ex-President Wilson about 12:15 & remained with him until 1:45. Most of the time was consumed in my reading to him & afterwards discussing a paper I had written giving my views as to the accomplishments & failures & mistakes of the pending Conference on the Limitation of Armaments and Far Eastern questions. In substance my views were that the four power treaty was or would

It is the firm intention of the Powers attending this Conference:

- (1) To respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China.
- (2) To provide the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity to China to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable Government, overcoming the difficulties incident to the change from the old and long-continued imperial form of Government.
- (3) To safeguard for the world, so far as it is within our power, the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout the territory of China.
- (4) To refrain from taking advantage of the present conditions in order to seek special rights or privileges which would abridge the rights of the subjects or citizens of friendly States and from countenancing action inimical to the security of such States.

Jessup, vol. 2, p. 462.

²¹William Marshall Bullitt belonged to the socially prominent Bullitt family of Philadelphia, whose best-known member was his cousin William C. Bullitt, later the first United States Ambassador to the Soviet Union.

become an alliance; that we had probably entered rather than destroyed the Anglo Japanese Alliance; that we had agreed in this & the naval holiday proposal to tie our hands without getting as a quid pro quo a satisfactory settlement or assurance that Japan would cease her intrigue etc in China & Siberia to secure advantages & to control those countries in violation of all pledges to the contrary. Mr. Wilson agreed with my views & said that it might be well to bring out the fact that in the four power treaty we were guaranteeing title & possession to mandate islands in the Pacific which in effect were a trust created by the League of Nations.²²

Mr. [Arthur] Balfour²³ came to luncheon at the Bullitt's [sic] at 2 p.m. He said the Conference was now doing harm & should adjourn because all sorts of intrigues were at work. At 5 pm I went to call on Sir Auckland Geddes, the British Ambassador.²⁴ He seemed well pleased at British success & said they had had a difficult role to play. I told him I thought the four power treaty a mistake and dangerous & asked why it was decided on. He said they had proposed what [Bainbridge] Colby²⁵ & I had back in

²²Davis subsequently discussed with both Wilson and a number of other friends whether he should publish this paper as a letter to the *New York Times* or else give a speech on this subject. Ultimately, on February 17, 1922 he delivered an address before the Council on Foreign Relations, of whose reception he afterwards sent Wilson a full account. *Wilson Papers*, vol. 67: 538-542, 544-545, 551-553.

²³The British Foreign Secretary, a former Conservative Prime Minister (1902-1905).

²⁴British Ambassador to the United States, 1920-1924.

²⁵Wilson's final Secretary of State (1920-21), who took over the position in February 1920, when the President dismissed Robert Lansing, his predecessor, ostensibly for calling cabinet meetings during Wilson's illness on his own initiative, but quite possibly because Lansing openly denigrated the League of Nations. Wilson initially intended to practice law in partnership with Colby after leaving the presidency, but his poor health and reluctance to accept cases with any governmental aspect ultimately led to the dissolution of their professional association. *Wilson Papers*, vol. 67: 190.

February suggested viz: a tripartite declaration by England Japan & US, agreeing to the open door etc in the Far East & pledging ourselves to use our influence to maintain it but that [Charles Evans] Hughes²⁶ preferred a treaty. I asked why Holland wasn't included & he said because Japan objected. He also said he was sure Hughes was sorry now that he decided on the treaty rather than on the other course & that Japan would not evacuate Siberia (at least now) unless England & US forced them out which was not possible. He thought however that Japan would eventually be forced out by public opinion.

January 6, 1923

I went to Washington to address the Overseas Writers on the European situation & particularly Reparation & the French invasion of the Ruhr. That afternoon I took Dean Howard C. Robbins out for tea with Mr. & Mrs. Wilson.²⁷

²⁶Secretary of State, 1921-1925.

²⁷Howard Chandler Robbins, Dean of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, New York. When arranging this meeting, in a letter of December 27, 1922, Wilson described himself to Davis as "willing and even anxious...to meet" Robbins, a strong supporter of the League of Nations who had recently delivered a sermon, 'The Mantle of Elijah', which presented Wilson extremely favorably. Davis to Wilson, December 13, 1921, Box 67, Davis Papers; *Wilson Papers*, vol. 68: 244.

TRUMAN, BYRNES AND THE ATOMIC BOMB.

by

Frank Kofsky

CALIFORNIA STATE-SACRAMENTO

Although the articles on the atomic bomb in the Spring 1995 issue of *Diplomatic History* were both informative and insightful, I believe they nonetheless leave some important questions unanswered. I propose, therefore, to address certain of these questions in this communication.

1) *The Question of Veracity.* A historian whose interpretations rested on the assumption that all of the public utterances of prominent politicians — presidents, cabinet officers, members of Congress, and so on — were lies would face ostracism in short order. Yet for some reason it appears perfectly acceptable for scholars to proceed on the contrary, albeit unstated, assumption: that high-ranking politicians always tell the truth in public, mean just what they say, say just what they mean, and so on.

This consideration is immediately relevant to any discussion of the decision to drop atomic bombs on Japan in World War II. Because so many of the rationales — if not necessarily the *reasons* — for that decision are based on what politicians wrote and said at the time and later, we need to be extremely cautious about accepting their words at face value. Especially is this the case with the two main protagonists, Secretary of State James F. Byrnes and President Harry S. Truman.

For Byrnes, it is particularly risky to proceed on the basis that his statements were truthful, for as several recent studies have made clear, the man was notoriously devious and a master of deception. Inasmuch as he evidently was the adviser on whom Truman in the summer of 1945 leaned most heavily, and as he also was the most adamant in refusing to consider alternatives to the atomic bomb, his words demand the utmost scrutiny.

Likewise for Truman himself, whose reputation for candor — the buck stops here, and all that — is by no means as well deserved as his myth would have it. To be sure, Truman was not venal in the conventional sense; unlike some of his cronies and subordinates, he usually did not take bribes, exchange favors for dollars or make his services available to the highest bidder. But in the broader and more significant realm of *intellectual* honesty, the Truman myth could not be more mistaken.

The fact is, regardless of what he may have believed in private, Truman was always willing to say or write whatever he thought would enable him to prevail in any given situation; whether his words actually were true does not seem to have troubled him overmuch. Thus, in a speech on October 25, 1948, for instance, we find him drawing a parallel between Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin on the one hand, and on the other — the Republican Party. In this remarkable example of demagoguery, Truman denounced the Republican opposition for threatening to turn the Bill of Rights into “a scrap of paper,” for “want[ing] to see inflation continue unchecked” and — like the German businessmen who had “put money and influence behind Adolf Hitler” so as “to have a tough, ruthless dictator who would play their game and crush the strong German labor unions” — for seeking “a ‘front man’ to run the country for them.”¹

In similar fashion earlier that same year, Truman resorted to rhetoric redolent of Joseph McCarthy in lodging a scarcely veiled accusation of disloyalty against Henry A. Wallace: “[Wallace] ought to go to the country he loves so well [that is, the U.S.S.R.] and help them against his own country if that’s the way he feels.”²

¹Harry S. Truman, Address in the Chicago Stadium, October 25, 1948, in *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Harry S. Truman, 1948* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1964), 850–51.

²Anthony Leviero, “Truman Asks Peace but Bars ‘Slaver’; Attacks Wallace,” *New York Times*, March 30, 1948, 1.

Still earlier, during the war scare of March 1948, Truman shamelessly talked out of both sides of his mouth with respect to the Soviet Union. In a speech to a joint session of Congress carried on nationwide radio on March 17, he condemned the Soviet Union as a “growing menace” and the “one nation” violating its wartime agreements, sabotaging the United Nations and endangering world peace. One week and one day later, however, when reporters at his press conference asked Truman why, if the Soviets posed such a threat, his administration continued to permit them to buy surplus military hardware — including fully intact warplanes — left over from World War II, his answer, in its entirety, was: “Russia is, at the present time, a friendly nation and has been buying goods from us right along”.³ *Friendly nation*, indeed!

A third case in point relates directly to the subject at hand. Truman’s reaction on August 6 to news of the bombing of Hiroshima was to term it “the greatest thing in history”; newspaper accounts published on August 7 characterized his mood at the time as “jubilant,” with one journalist reporting, “the President afterward said he had never been happier about any announcement he had ever made.” When a member of the Democratic National Committee that same day sent a telegram reproaching him for expressing delight “over any device that would kill innocent human beings,” however, Truman denied everything. “The good feeling on my part was over the fact [that] Russia had entered into the war with Japan,” he replied to his critic on August 9, “and not because we had invented a new engine of destruction.” The only problem with this effort at exculpation was that the Soviets did not come into the war against Japan until August 8—two days *after* Truman’s comments celebrating “the greatest thing in history.”⁴

³Frank Kofsky, *Harry S. Truman and the War Scare of 1948: A Successful Campaign to Deceive the Nation* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1993), 135, 149.

⁴See Gar Alperovitz, with the assistance of Sanho Tree *et alia*, *The Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb: And the Architecture of an American Myth* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995), 513.

In the end, even Professor Barton Bernstein, who seemingly regards the use of the atomic bomb as unavoidable, acknowledges Truman's mendacity. With respect to Truman's description of Hiroshima as a "purely military" target, Professor Bernstein notes that, "unless engaging in a form of self-deception, [Truman] could *not* have believed his own diary words."⁵ Could it be that those who would deceive others must first deceive themselves?

The foregoing comments about the veracity of James Byrnes and Harry Truman are eminently pertinent to an examination of the reasons the two men offered for their insistence on using the atomic bomb; in particular, they invite us to reconsider their refusal to explore the possibility of modifying the terms of surrender to provide guarantees about the postwar fate of the Japanese emperor in the hope of obtaining Japan's surrender without an invasion or atomic bombardment. Barton Bernstein, in discussing the pleas of Undersecretary of State Joseph Grew and Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson for such a modification, writes that Truman and Byrnes rejected the idea because "Byrnes feared a political backlash in America, where Hirohito was likened to Hitler and judged a war criminal, and because Truman and Byrnes feared that such modified surrender terms might also embolden the Japanese to fight on for better terms."⁶

Professor Bernstein may be willing to assume that Byrnes's and Truman's statements accurately reflected their thinking; I am not. To begin with, if in mid-July, when he turned down the appeals of Stimson and Grew, "Byrnes feared a political backlash in America," why was he willing to accept just such a modification of the surrender terms as they had proposed a mere one month later? Nothing had occurred in the interim to lessen the likelihood of such

⁵Barton J. Bernstein, "Understanding the Atomic Bomb and the Japanese Surrender: Missed Opportunities, Little-Known Near Disasters, and Modern Memory," *Diplomatic History*, vol. 19, no. 2 (Spring 1995), 258.

⁶Bernstein, "Understanding the Atomic Bomb and the Japanese Surrender," 238.

a backlash, yet Byrnes himself devised arrangements that — notwithstanding Truman's deliberately misleading representation of them as "unconditional surrender" — in reality left the Japanese emperor on the throne "subject to the Supreme Commander of the Allied powers."⁷ This fact alone should excite our suspicion that Byrnes's "fear" was the *pretext*, rather than the reason, for keeping the surrender terms unchanged.⁸

We can, I think, give equally short shrift to the notion that "Truman and Byrnes feared that such modified surrender terms might also embolden the Japanese to fight on for better terms." For one thing, there was no *basis* for such a fear. Quite the contrary, actually. Given the desperation of Japan's situation and Tokyo's attempts at getting surrender negotiations under way — both of which, of course, were well known to Truman and Byrnes — it is far more plausible that, as Grew and Stimson argued at the time, making a concession regarding Emperor Hirohito would most likely result in the Japanese government redoubling its efforts to reach mutually agreeable surrender terms.

Besides which, on a more general note, if a power close to victory always refused to signal its willingness to negotiate the terms of surrender for fear that doing so might "embolden" a foe near defeat, all wars would necessarily drag on until the weaker side agreed to "unconditional surrender." In reality, however, the great majority of wars conclude with a negotiated surrender, in which the victor makes some relatively slight concessions to the vanquished in order to end the fighting — a consideration that again suggests the

⁷See Alperovitz, *The Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb*, 418–19.

⁸The bogus nature of Byrnes's alleged "fears" is further apparent from the fact that "the pressure from leading Republicans was all in the direction of offering a clarification of [surrender] terms sooner rather than later. From Herbert Hoover's private discussions with the president in May to public statements by the Senate minority leader in June and July, Republicans had begun to signal quite clearly that the president could expect support from the opposition party if he were to negotiate an end to the war" that allowed the emperor to retain his throne. See *ibid.*, 635.

falsity of Byrnes's and Truman's stated position. Wars in which the United States has fought are no exception to the rule — Lincoln, for example, engaged in negotiations with Confederate emissaries well before Lee finally surrendered to Grant — as Byrnes surely was aware. And in any case, had the secretary's own knowledge been deficient, that avid amateur student of history, Harry Truman, certainly could have enlightened him. Byrnes's obdurate unwillingness to alter the terms of surrender before August 6, 1945, in short, had neither logic nor the weight of historical precedent to recommend it.

2) *Why Didn't Stalin Sign the Potsdam Declaration?* If the above discussion of Byrnes's and Truman's determination to avoid any modification in the terms of surrender provokes doubts about their true motives, those doubts grow even stronger when we turn our attention to a second and related matter: the Potsdam Declaration that the United States, Great Britain and the government of Chiang Kai-shek — but *not* the Soviet Union — issued at the end of the three-power conference in Potsdam, Germany, in July 1945. Given that an exploration of this topic sheds considerable light on the thinking of Byrnes and Truman in the summer of 1945, it is surprising that none of the authors who wrote about the atomic bomb in *Diplomatic History* saw fit to address it. Be that as it may, let me now attempt to remedy the omission.

Those of Truman's advisers who believed that neither the use of the atomic bomb nor an invasion would be necessary to compel Japan's capitulation urged not only explicit reassurances about the fate of the emperor in the terms of surrender, but also a speedy Soviet declaration of war on Japan so as to make it clear to Tokyo that its position was thoroughly hopeless and it could no longer avoid conceding defeat. Having the Soviets join the U.S., the U.K. and China as signatories of the Potsdam Declaration would have been a first step in conveying this point to Japan. Why, then, is the name of the Soviet Union conspicuous by its absence from the Declaration?

Here, too, the evidence indicates that Byrnes's opposition to any alternative to the atomic bomb was decisive. Although State Department officials previously had suggested that the U.S., the U.K., the U.S.S.R. and China issue a statement at Potsdam, Byrnes himself deleted all mention of any such idea from the agenda he prepared for the conference.⁹ Not only did Byrnes deny the Soviets an opportunity to discuss the Potsdam Declaration, but he did not even show them the document before distributing copies for publication. As a result, the Declaration went out from the governments of the United States, Great Britain and China only — just as if Stalin had never bothered attending the Potsdam Conference in the first place.

Interestingly enough, once the Soviets caught wind of Byrnes's scheme, they sought to delay release of the Declaration until they could confer about its contents; the Secretary of State, however, would have none of it. When a "disturbed" Soviet Foreign Minister Vyacheslav M. Molotov subsequently complained about such high-handed tactics, Byrnes's typically feeble and unconvincing reply was that "he and Truman had not consulted Stalin and Molotov since they were not at war with Japan and Byrnes and Truman did not wish to embarrass them."¹⁰

As I suggested above, we gain greater insight into Byrnes's and Truman's rejection of any modification in the terms of surrender if we view it in the context of their excluding the Soviets from participation in the Potsdam Declaration. It is important to realize that the combined effect of these two decisions was to undercut those members of Japan's government who favored suing for peace,

⁹See United States Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States: Conference of Berlin (Potsdam), 1945* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1960), 201, 226–27.

¹⁰Robert J. Donovan, *Conflict and Crisis: The Presidency of Harry S Truman, 1945–1948* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1977), 95; the description of Molotov as disturbed is in James F. Byrnes, *Speaking Frankly* (New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1947), 207.

thereby playing into the hands of those who called for a continuation of the war. In the wake of the Potsdam Declaration, opponents of surrender in the Japanese cabinet could, and did, argue against an immediate capitulation on the grounds that (1) the Potsdam Declaration made no provision for the survival of the emperor, and (2) the absence of Stalin's signature on the Declaration meant there was still a possibility that, as Hirohito's chief advisor put it, "we could unite the country by negotiations which would save our honor...[and] maybe we could do that through the good offices of the Soviet Union."¹¹

Conversely, furnishing guarantees about the emperor and having the Soviets associate themselves with the United States and Great Britain in issuing the Potsdam Declaration held out real promise of being able to shorten the war. The rationalizations Byrnes and Truman gave for opposing each of these two measures separately are markedly unpersuasive; their determination to reject both is well-nigh incomprehensible.¹² Unless, of course, their true aim was not to end the war as quickly as possible, but rather to prolong it until at least two atomic bombs were ready for use.

Ineluctably, then, one is driven to the conclusion that the two men disapproved of any softening of the terms of surrender or any hint of Soviet involvement in the Potsdam Declaration precisely because

¹¹Kido Koichi, quoted in Herbert P. Bix, "Japan's Delayed Surrender: A Reinterpretation," *Diplomatic History*, vol. 19, no. 2 (Spring 1995), 207; ellipsis and bracketed material in Bix's article.

¹²Those who would contend that Byrnes's chose to bar the Soviets from collaborating in the preparation and release of the Potsdam Declaration in order to retard Soviet entry into the war against Japan have the burden of explaining exactly how the former was supposed to accomplish the latter. Whatever his other qualities, Byrnes was surely no fool; he would have been unlikely to deceive himself that anything connected to the Declaration would alter Stalin's timetable by so much as a single iota. In any event, there is not the slightest evidence that any of Byrnes's maneuvers regarding the Declaration slowed the Soviet declaration of war on Japan by one instant.

one or the other or both might have accelerated Tokyo's decision to look defeat full in the face and act accordingly.

(3) *Atomic Diplomacy Revisited.* From the preceding passages, it is clear that Truman and Byrnes had at least two opportunities to pursue policies that might well have brought the war in the Pacific to an earlier end without either an invasion or an atomic attack on Japan. To make this statement does not mean I am contending that these two policies — modifying the surrender terms and inviting the Soviets to sign the Potsdam Declaration — necessarily *guaranteed* a Japanese surrender; in real life, no such guarantees exist. But that is not the point. What *is* the point is that even though these measures, either alone or in conjunction, conceivably could have shortened the war — and lowered the death toll — appreciably, Truman and Byrnes showed no interest in them whatsoever. Indeed, they doggedly resisted every proposal to put either one (let alone both) to the test.

One thing is certain: the “reasons” — more accurately, excuses — that Truman and Byrnes furnished for failing to examine these and other alternatives to the atomic bomb were such pathetically clumsy, transparently phony and implausible concoctions that their purpose had to be to conceal rather than reveal the innermost workings of their authors' minds. What was it, then, that the president and his chief advisor so assiduously sought to hide?

In view of their single-minded elimination of all other alternatives, the most economical and defensible answer is that the unstated but nonetheless real goal of Truman and Byrnes was to keep Japan in the war long enough to permit the incineration of two of her heretofore — undamaged cities with atomic bombs. That way, regardless of whether the bombs jolted Japan into capitulation, Truman and Byrnes would have been able to provide a peerless demonstration for the edification of the Soviets. The targets may have been Japanese, in other words, but the intended audience was in the Kremlin.

There is nothing new in such a thesis. It originally emerged around the close of World War II; it received its first systematic formulation some 20 years later, in Gar Alperovitz's 1965 book, *Atomic Diplomacy: Hiroshima and Potsdam*.¹³ The one aspect of the thesis about which most of its advocates, including Alperovitz himself, have been less than completely clear, though, is just *what* Truman and Byrnes intended the atomic-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki to demonstrate. The usual assumption — and I emphasize that it *is* an assumption — has been that the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki served to alert the Soviets to the immense power of the United States's revolutionary new weapon, implicitly threatening them with being on the receiving end of that devastating power if they did not agree to play their assigned role in the United States's postwar world order.

There is probably some truth in this idea, but it is, in my view, far from the whole story. If, after all, Truman and Byrnes simply wanted to exhibit the destructiveness of atomic weaponry, it would have been easy enough to stage an explosion for that purpose without laying waste to the civilian populations of a pair of Japanese cities. No, something vastly more important was at stake than merely establishing the fact that a single atomic bomb could vaporize a medium-sized metropolis in an instant.

To get at the issue another way, we may approach it by asking how things must have appeared in August 1945 from the particular vantage-point of Josef Stalin. The key to seeing the situation from Stalin's perspective is to bear in mind that he knew at first-hand of the existence of promising alternatives to the atomic bomb and/or an invasion, even though Truman and Byrnes had simply chosen to ignore them. Equally significant, not only did he know of these other options, but he knew that Truman and Byrnes knew he knew

¹³Gar Alperovitz, *Atomic Diplomacy: Hiroshima and Potsdam: The Use of the Atomic Bomb and the American Confrontation with Soviet Power* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1965).

of them. Some concrete details may help unravel this last linguistic tangle.

That there were possibilities for bringing the war to a close in July, Stalin was fully aware. Already there had been repeated appeals to the Kremlin by Prince Fumimaro Konoye, Japan's special emissary to Moscow, seeking to have the Soviets intercede with the U.S. to arrange a surrender that would safeguard the person of the emperor. At the Potsdam Conference, moreover, Stalin had informed Truman and Byrnes of these entreaties. Thus, each side, the American and the Soviet, both knew how matters stood with Japan *and* that the other side knew as well.

Similarly with respect to a Soviet declaration of war against Japan. From Prince Konoye's supplications, Stalin realized that any sign of Soviet entry into the war would dash the last hopes of those within the Japanese cabinet who, like imperial adviser Kido Koichi, still entertained illusions of being able to make use of "the good offices of the Soviet Union" to negotiate a compromise peace. Once again, Stalin could have no doubt that Truman and Byrnes both understood this state of affairs and knew that he did, too. If the Americans appeared to be dragging their feet, giving the impression that they were thoroughly disinclined to take advantage of the demoralizing impact on Japan of a Soviet declaration of war, it could hardly be because they did not comprehend the probable effect of such a development.

However puzzled Stalin might have been by this reluctance of Truman and Byrnes to attempt to hasten Tokyo's capitulation, either by a change in the terms of surrender or by the threat that the Soviets were about to join the war against Japan, the harsh light of the atomic bombs that fell on Hiroshima and Nagasaki must have made many things clear to him. First and foremost, it was an easy deduction that Truman and Byrnes had decided well in advance of August 6 not to explore any of the other options for ending the war, seemingly to be sure they would have an opportunity to use atomic bombs on Japan. Stalin perceived, in other words, that rather than

ordering the destruction of the two Japanese cities only after all means short of an invasion had failed to bring about a surrender, Truman and Byrnes had from the outset planned to employ atom bombs; any other approach they had simply dismissed out of hand.

But *why*? Why this determination to favor the atomic bomb over all other methods of compelling Tokyo to submit? Could it have been because Truman and Byrnes wanted to make certain that he, Stalin, appreciated the terrifying might of this ghastly new weapon? Probably not, for if that was their intent, there were, as I remarked above, other ways of achieving it short of incinerating Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Perhaps, then, Truman and Byrnes had sought to impress on Stalin not merely the devastating power of an atomic bomb, but their readiness to *use* it — even on civilians, if it suited their purpose. Ah! This idea gets us closer to the nub.

Yet we are still not at the end of the matter. More than a show of the bomb's cataclysmic force, more even than a show of Truman's and Byrnes's willingness to unleash that force on civilian populations, Hiroshima and Nagasaki served to demonstrate that Truman and Byrnes were sufficiently ruthless to rain atomic destruction on Japan *even when there was almost surely no military necessity for doing so*. Having inferred that Truman and Byrnes had deliberately disregarded other possibilities for achieving a Japanese surrender, how could Stalin avoid the conclusion that they had rushed to drop atomic bombs in order to prove they possessed the "will" and "resolve" required to take such a step without flinching? That such a demonstration had been designed primarily for his benefit was not a proposition this highly distrustful and suspicious individual was likely to doubt.

And that, in the eyes of Truman and Byrnes, was just the beauty of the whole scheme. They could tell a credulous electorate, overjoyed to have the war come to such a sudden and unexpected halt, that the atomic bomb was the sole alternative to an invasion of Japan, that its use had shortened the war and saved American lives — the only kind that mattered. Few Americans would know otherwise, and

fewer still would be inclined to let the cat out of the bag if they did. Stalin, meanwhile, would be aware of the truth — aware that Tokyo had indicated its desire to get out of the war weeks before August 6, aware that there were certainly other paths to a surrender beside the atomic bomb or an invasion. He, therefore, would not fail to decipher the intimidating message in the mushroom clouds. Which, of course, was exactly what Truman and Byrnes meant for him to do.

Will and *resolve*, two words that appear in the paragraph before last, should be familiar to us from a different context: they were, according to strategists of the American war in Southeast Asia, what Washington's behavior was designed to exhibit in order to maintain U.S. "credibility." I employ them here to emphasize the point that what Hiroshima and Nagasaki amounted to above all else was an effort to establish what we might refer to as the Truman administration's atomic credibility. The logical foundation of this thesis is simple and straightforward: for a nation pursuing international dominance, even a monopoly on a new super-weapon may not be enough. Before other governments will acknowledge such dominance, they must first be convinced that those who control the weapon are also prepared to use it. For this purpose, nothing could make the point more dramatically than dropping atomic bombs on two cities — both intentionally left intact so that their demolition might produce the maximum psychological effect — in a defeated nation whose government had for weeks been searching for a way to lay down its arms.

The evidence for this version of events is, naturally, circumstantial: cunning plotters such as Truman and Byrnes were hardly about to leave "smoking guns," much less fingerprints, so that later historians might sully their reputations. Even circumstantial reasoning, however, may produce a conviction if it is sufficiently compelling — and if the jury is capable of evaluating it objectively. In this instance, the interpretation I have set forth above has the undeniable virtue of satisfying the principle of Occam's razor: of all the many attempts that seek to make sense of the existing

evidence, it is not only the most powerful and most straightforward, but also the one with the fewest *ad hoc* contrivances tacked on to dispose of awkward facts. No other hypothesis comes close to explaining why Truman and Byrnes, after receiving the report of a successful test of the first atomic bomb at Alamogordo, New Mexico, on July 16, 1945, so adamantly set their face against any proposal that threatened to propel the Japanese into an immediate surrender.

This interpretation also allows us to make a clear-cut judgment about the morality of the Truman-Byrnes decision to use the atomic bomb on Japan. During World War II, Japan's infamous Unit 731 employed electricity, surgery, extremes of heat and cold, chemicals, microorganisms, and the devil only knows what else, to perform indescribably gruesome "experiments" on civilians and prisoners of war. In the last days of the fighting, when the imminence of Japan's capitulation had become unmistakable, the Unit's officers ordered their men to carry out one last exercise: after injecting domestic animals with a variety of organisms that cause infectious diseases in humans, the soldiers of Unit 731 released the animals into the Manchurian countryside. Close to 1,000 people perished in the aftermath.

Priding ourselves on our civilized values, we shake our heads in bewilderment and incredulity when confronted with such gratuitous sadism. Yet how different in principle was the conduct of Truman and Byrnes? At a time when it was obvious to any halfway-informed member of the Truman administration that Japan's days were numbered and its government was actively seeking a way out of the war, they authorized the atomic annihilation of hundreds of thousands of civilians, never caring to probe any of the probable means of achieving a surrender without such wanton bloodshed. It would be difficult to judge such an unnecessary slaughter of noncombatants anything other than a crime against humanity even if it had occurred at the height of the war. Coming as the conflict was rapidly racing toward a conclusion, it was little short of premeditated murder.

Butchering masses of Japanese to terrorize the Soviets was just the sort of tactic Stalin could appreciate. One suspects it put him on notice that when it came to bottomless cynicism and brutal savagery, his former allies, now becoming his antagonists, were every bit his equal.

DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS IN U.S. FOREIGN AFFAIRS

by
Edward A. Goedeken

SECTION I - FOREIGN AFFAIRS

A. Arms Control, Arms Race, and Antiwar Efforts

Gathje, Peter Ronald. "The Cost of Virtue: The Theological Ethics of Daniel and Philip Berrigan," Emory University, 1994 (REL), DA 9424809, Oct. 1994.

Harel, Yacov. "Nuclear Proliferation and Moderation of Regional Conflicts," City University of New York, 1994 (PS), DA 9431363, Jan. 1995.

Masker, John Scott. "International Security Regimes and Small States: A Study of the Nordic and South Pacific Nuclear-Free Zone Proposals," Boston College, 1994 (PS), DA 9432288, Jan. 1995.

Rojecki, Andrew. "Arms Control Movements and the Media: From the Cold War to the Nuclear Freeze," Northwestern University, 1993 (MC), DA 9415807, JI. 1994.

Ushioda, Setsuko. "Satellite-Based Multilateral Arms Control Verification Schemes and International Law," McGill University (Canada), 1993 (LAW), DANN 87975, Dec. 1994.

Weddle, Meredith Baldwin. "Walking in the Way of Peace: Quaker Pacifism in the Seventeenth Century," Yale University, DA 9426213, Nov. 1994.

B. Congress

Malekafzali, Farhad. "Foreign Policy Position-Taking by the Members of the House of Representatives," University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1994 (PS), DA 941944, Oct. 1994.

Schnietz, Karen Elisabeth. "To Delegate or Not to Delegate: Congressional Institutional Choices in the Regulation of Foreign Trade, 1916-1934," University of California, Berkeley, 1994 (BA), DA 9504991, Mar. 1995.

Stephan, Henry Johan. "The Influence of the United States Senate on NATO's Central Partnership: A Study of Domestic-International Interaction on the Military Relationship between the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany between 1979 and 1989," Georgetown University, 1993 (PS), DA 9424496, Nov. 1994.

C. Domestic Groups, Organizations, and Politics

Diamond, Sara Rose. "Right-Wing Movements in the United States, 1945-1992," University of California, Berkeley, 1993 (SO), DA 9430456, Jan. 1995.

Field, Bruce Edward. "From Critics to Casualties: The National Farmers Union and U.S. Foreign Policy, 1945-1953," College of William and Mary, 1994, DA 9433581, Jan. 1995.

Neather, Andrew Edward. "Popular Republicanism, Americanism, and the Roots of Anti-Communism, 1890-1925," Duke University, 1994, DA 9420405, Sept. 1994.

Price, Ronald Dean. "The Rhetoric of Counter-Subversion: A Rhetorical Analysis of Selected Anti-Communism Speeches of U.S. Senator Karl E. Mundt," University of Kansas, 1994 (SP), DA 9504050, Mar. 1995.

Soule, Sarah Anne. "The Student Anti-Apartheid Movement in the United States: Diffusion of Protest Tactics and Policy Reform," Cornell University, 1995 (SO), DA 9511841, May 1995.

Stam, Allan C., III. "Win, Lose or Draw: Domestic Politics and War," University of Michigan, 1993 (PS), DA 9409813, Jl. 1994.

Vaughan, Caroline H. "A Comparative Discourse Analysis of Editorials on an International Crisis," Columbia University Teacher's College, 1994 (ED), DA 9432599, Jan. 1995. [Compares editorials of *Al-Fair*, a Palestinian newspaper, *An Nahar*, Lebanese, *The Jerusalem Post*, and *The New York Times*]

Von Eschen, Penny Marie. "African Americans and Anti-Colonialism, 1937-1957: The Rise and Fall of the Politics of the African Diaspora," Columbia University, 1994, DA 9427157, Dec. 1994.

D. Education

Huang, Cecilia Siqiong. "International Scholars as Participants in American International Educational Exchange," University of Miami, 1994 (ED), DA 9500239, Feb. 1995.

Oweini, Ahmad A. "Understanding Student's Coping Mechanisms in Response to Prolonged Hostilities: The Case of Students at the American University of Beirut in the Lebanese War, 1975-1991," Columbia University Teachers College, 1994 (ED), DA 9432559, Jan. 1995.

Sadki, Cherif. "A Comparative Analysis of French and American Governmental Bilateral Aid to African Education: A Study of the Policies from 1960-1980," State University of New York at Buffalo, 1994 (ED), DA 9429850, Dec. 1994.

Thurston, Beverly Marie. "A Cultural Mirror: The Development of International Education Curricula in American Classrooms," Carnegie Mellon University, 1994, DA 9419197, Aug. 1994.

Valverde, Gilbert A. "International Development Assistance for Education: An Exploratory Study of Three Decades of World Bank and USAID Project Assistance in Latin America and the Caribbean," University of Chicago, 1994 (ED), DA 9514030, Je. 1995.

E. Foreign Aid

Dore, Gilbert. "United States Foreign Assistance Diplomacy: Congressional Policy on Aid to Vietnam, 1952-1963," McGill University (Canada), 1992, DANN 87599, Dec. 1994.

Kolody, Jill Ellen. "The Relationship between Foreign Direct Investment and Levels of Cooperation and Conflict in the Developing Nations of Central America," University of Maryland, 1993 (PS), DA 9425067, Oct. 1994.

Williams, Cynthia Patrice. "Collaboration in International Development: U.S. Universities, Private Voluntary Organizations, and the U.S. Agency for International Development," University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1994 (PS), DA 9418362, Sept. 1994.

F. Human Rights

Cholewinski, Ryszard I. "The Protection of Migrant Workers and Their Families in International Human Rights Law," University of Ottawa (Canada), 1993 (LAW), DANN 89654, Feb. 1995.

Gonzalez-Parra, Claudio Juan. "The Development of Human Rights Organizations: A Comparative Analysis of Political Resistance in Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay," University of Denver, 1993 (PS), DA 9412288, JI. 1994.

Moore, Rebecca Ruth. "Campaign for Democracy: The Evolution of Democracy-Building in United States Human Rights," University of Virginia, 1994 (PS), DA 9506890, Apr. 1995.

Piagos, George Vassiliou. "Structures and Standards of International Human Rights Organizations and the Social Control of State Behavior: A Case Study on Western Europe," Vols. I-II, Yale University, 1993 (SO), DA 9433717, Feb. 1995.

Tooley, Jacquelyn Michelle. "The Struggle of Women for Justice and Human Rights in Guatemala: Voices of the Voiceless," Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1994 (REL), DA 9428257, Nov. 1994.

G. Immigration and Refugees

Herschkowitz, Andrew J. "American Political Institutions and Immigration Policy-Making: The Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy," University of Texas at Austin, 1994 (PS), DA 9505999, Apr. 1995.

Wylie, Mark. "The Economic Standing of Immigrants to the United States, 1880-1914," University of California, Los Angeles, 1994 (EC), DA 9508715, May 1995.

H. Individuals

Vickers, Sarah Pauline. "The Life of Ruth Bryan Owen: Florida's First Congresswoman and America's First Woman Diplomat," Florida State University, 1994, DA 9424786, Oct. 1994. Owen served as minister to Denmark from 1933-1936.

I. Intelligence

Orton, J. Douglas. "Reorganizing: An Analysis of the 1976 Reorganization of the U.S. Intelligence Community," University of Michigan, 1994 (BA), DA 9423282, Oct. 1994.

J. International Law

Jones, Floyd Eugene. "International Law and the Necessity for World Government," University of Missouri-Columbia, 1994 (PHIL), DA 9513669, Je. 1995.

Kauzlarich, David Alan. "Nuclear Threats by the United States in the Korean and Vietnam Wars: Toward a Grounded Theory of International Governmental Crime," Western Michigan University, 1994 (SO), DA 9429013, Dec. 1994.

Schabas, William A. "The Abolition of the Death Penalty in International Law," University of Montreal (Canada), 1993 (LAW), DANN 89063, Feb. 1995.

K. International Organizations

Assamawy, Hakeem A. "The Role of the United Nations and Other Involved Organizations in the Iran-Iraq Conflict," George Washington University, 1994 (PS), DA 9507455, Apr. 1995.

Babej, Peter. "Weimar Revisionism and the League Minorities System: An Analysis of the Interplay between National Objectives and International Institutions," Harvard University, 1994 (PS), DA 9421936, Sept. 1994.

Conroy, Richard William. "Beyond Peacekeeping: Strategies of United Nations Peace Enforcement in a Turbulent World," University of Notre Dame, 1994 (PS), DA 9434076, Feb. 1995.

Maynard, Wayne Kent. "The Peace Operations Schema: Rationalizing United Nations Peacekeeping in the Post-Cold War Milieu," University of Alabama, 1994 (PS), DA 9508500, May 1995.

Pease, Kelly-Kate Stephanie. "International Organizations and the North-South Conflict: The Nature of Governance in the New World Order," University of Nebraska-Lincoln, 1994 (PS), DA 9430175, Dec. 1994.

Rowe, Sulvester Ekundayo. "The Non-Aligned States and the United Nations Peacekeeping, 1948-1976," City University of New York, 1994 (PS), DA 9432378, Jan. 1995.

Stoett, Peter J. "Atoms, Whales, and Rivers: Global Environmental Security and International Organization," Queen's University at Kingston (Canada), 1994 (PS), DANN 90337, Mar. 1995.

L. International Trade and Economics

Briley, John David. "The Political, Historical, and Economic Aspects of the Canadian-American Free Trade Agreement," University of Tennessee, 1994 (PS), DA 9432188, Jan. 1995.

Commins, Margaret M. "From Security to Trade in U.S.-Latin American Relations: Explaining U.S. Support for Free Trade with Mexico," University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1994 (PS), DA 9508198, May 1995.

Cortell, Andrew Philip. "Responding to the Challenge: International Competition and the Semiconductor Industry in the United States and Britain, 1970-1988," Columbia University, 1994 (PS), DA 9421333, Sept. 1994.

DeSouza, Patrick Jude. "The Regulation of Foreign Investment in the United States 1973-93 and the Making of American Foreign Economic Policy," Stanford University, 1994 (PS), DA 9429916, Dec. 1994.

Gazel, Ricardo Costa. "Regional and Interregional Economic Effects of the Free Trade Agreement between the U.S. and Canada," University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1994 (EC), DA 9503193, Mar. 1995.

Hagy, David W. "Hegemonic Decline: Great Britain, the United States, and Steel," Tulane University, 1993 (PS), DA 9422274, Sept. 1994.

Lee, Sanghwan. "The United States' Trade Conflict with the Northeast Asian Countries: An Examination of Hegemonic Stability and Surplus Capacity," Michigan State University, 1994 (PS), DA 9512089, Je. 1995.

Lu, Yu. "The Relationship between Congress and Bureaucracy during Policy Development: An Empirical Study of U.S. Trade Policy in the 1980s," State University of New York at Stony Brook, 1994 (PS), DA 9510278, May 1995.

Margáin, Eduardo. "Interests, Power and Income Distribution in Highly Asymmetrical International Economic Relations: Mexican Relations with the

United States and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)" George Washington University, 1994 (EC), DA 9507466, Apr. 1995.

O'Brien, William Patrick. "Independence, Missouri's Trade with Mexico, 1827-1860: A Study in International Consensus and Cooperation," University of Colorado at Boulder, 1994, DA 9506362, Apr. 1995.

Prestemon, Jeffrey Paul. "Effects of the North American Free Trade Agreement on Mexico's Imports of Forest Products from the United States and Canada," University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1994 (EC), DA 9508822, Je. 1995.

Reich, Arie. "Toward Free Trade in the Public Sector: A Comparative Study of International Agreements on Government Procurement," University of Toronto (Canada), 1994 (LAW), DANN 92691, Je. 1995.

Roach, Paul Lawrence. "The Critical Partner: West German Opinion of American Leadership in International Economic Affairs, 1958-1973," University of California, Irvine, 1994, DA 9417919, Aug. 1994.

Rousso, Alan Eisenman. "Tipping the Balance of Power: The Political Economy of Intra-Alliance Trade in the Nuclear Age," Columbia University, 1994 (PS), DA 9427132, Dec. 1994.

M. Literature and Miscellaneous

Balakrishnan, Uma. "International Regimes on Global Warming," University of Notre Dame, 1994 (PS), DA 9434997, Jan. 1995.

Dutt, Diya. "The Politics of Alleviating World Hunger: United States Policy towards Global Food Security between 1974-1990," University of Cincinnati, 1994 (PS), DA 9511290, Je. 1995.

Fischer, Fritz. "Americans in the Third World: Peace Corps Volunteers in the 1960s," Northwestern University, 1994, DA 9433834, Feb. 1995.

Harrison, Neil Edward. "Heads in the Clouds, Feet in the Sand: Multilateral Policy Coordination in Global Environmental Issues," University of Denver, 1994 (PS), DA 9419259, Aug. 1994.

Scapple, Karrin. "Do International Environmental Policies Really Protect the Environment? A Framework for Analyzing Treaties," Ohio State University, 1994 (PS), DA 9427782, Dec. 1994.

Travis, Birdie Ruth. "The American Civil War Novel, 1900-1910," Michigan State University, 1993 (LIT), DA 9418078, Aug. 1994.

Tsatsoulis-Bonnekessen, Barbara. "Acculturation in International Development: The Peace Corps in Costa Rica," Vols. I-II, University of Kansas, 1994 (ANT), DA 9504064, Mar. 1995.

Williams, David Rhys. "The Image of the Chinese in American Drama to 1925," Cornell University, 1994 (THEATER), DA 9427915, Nov. 1994.

N. Media and Public Opinion

Anderson, Shawny. "Condensed Hegemony: A Cultural/Ideological Critique of *Reader's Digest*, 1980-1992," Purdue University, 1994 (MC), DA 9501661, Feb. 1995.

Bresnahan, Rasalind. "Access to, Use and Credibility of Mass Media, Alternative Media and Other Alternative Information Sources during the Persian Gulf Crisis and War with Iraq: A Survey of Information-Seeking by College Students of the Post-Vietnam Generation," Vols. I-II, Temple University, 1994 (MC), DA 9512808, Je. 1995.

Campomenosi, Louis Joseph, III. "The *New York Times* Editorial Coverage of the American Involvement in Vietnam, 1945-1965: A Case Study to Test the Huntington Thesis of the Existence of an Oppositional Press in the United States," Tulane University, 1994 (PS), DA 9503868, Mar. 1995.

Daniels, LeAnne. "Covering the World at Three Prestige U.S. Newspapers: How Newspaper Environments Influence International News Decisions," Indiana University, 1994 (MC), DA 9500391, Feb. 1995.

Huang, Huey-Ing. "Print Media Coverage of the Beijing Pro-Democracy Movement: A Content Analysis," Florida State University, 1994 (MC), DA 9511345, May 1995.

Isaacs, Maxine. "The Independent American Public: The Relationship between Elite and Mass Opinion on American Foreign Policy in the Mass Communications Age," University of Maryland, 1994 (PS), DA 9507975, Apr. 1995.

Lee, Hong Jong. "American Foreign Policy and the Press: The Case of *Koreagate*," University of Cincinnati, 1993 (PS), DA 9416755, Jl. 1994.

Lee, Meihua. "The Effects of American Media on Image of the United States and Value Formation in Taiwan," State University of New York at Buffalo, 1993 (MC), DA 9420182, Sept. 1994.

Mahmoud, Abduljawad. "A Time Series Analysis of the Portrayal of Palestinians by Selected U.S. and West European Press from 1948 to 1988," Howard University, 1994 (MC), DA 9507316, Apr. 1995.

McGrath, Richard Brian. "Rhetorical Functions of Historical Narrative: The *Pentagon Papers*," Indiana University, 1994 (SP), DA 9418836, Aug. 1994.

Mughees-Uddin. "Elite Editorial Framing of US Foreign Policy: The Case of Pakistan and *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and *The Los Angeles Times* (1980-1992)" University of Iowa, 1993 (MC), DA 9421169, Sept. 1994.

Mukherjee, Amit. "International Protection of Journalists: Practice and Prospects," Syracuse University, 1993 (PS), DA 9422255, Sept. 1994.

Park, Chun Il. "A Comparative Analysis of the Selection Process and Content of Television International News in the United States and Korea: A Case Study of the U.S. CNN PrimeNews, Korean KBS 9 O'Clock News and SBS 8 O'Clock News Programs," Ohio University, 1994 (MC), DA 9434242, Jan. 1995.

O. Military and National Security Affairs

D'Lugo, David Edward. "The Relative Cost of Power: The Role of Factor Endowments and Comparative Advantage in the Wars of the United States, 1941-1973," University of California, Los Angeles, 1994 (PS), DA 9431192, Jan. 1995.

Fordham, Benjamin Oliver. "Building the Cold War Consensus: The Political Economy of U.S. National Security Policy, 1949-1951," University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1994 (PS), DA 9508203, May 1995.

Leitner, Peter Mitchell. "Decontrolling Strategic Technology, 1990-1992: A Participant Observer Study of Technology, Negotiation, and National Security," University of Southern California, 1994 (PS), n.o.n., Oct. 1994.

Purrington, Courtney Allen. "Governing an Alliance: The Political Economy of the Japan-U.S. Security Relationship," Harvard University, 1994 (PS), DA 9500123, Feb. 1995.

P. Missionaries

Harris, Marjorie Jane. "American Missions, Chinese Realities: An Historical Analysis of the Cross-Cultural Influences on the Development of North China Union Women's College/Yenching Women's College, 1905-1943," University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1994 (REL), DA 9429416, Dec. 1994.

Higham, Carol Lee. "The Savage and the Saved: Protestant Missionaries, the Image of the Indian, and Native Policy in the United States and Canada, 1830-1900," Duke University, 1993 (SO), DA 9416884, Aug. 1994.

Lin, Mei-Mei. "The Episcopalian Missionaries in China, 1835-1900," University of Texas at Austin, 1994, DA 9428592, Dec. 1994.

Moranian, Suzanne Elizabeth. "The American Missionaries and the Armenian Question: 1915-1927," University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1994, DA 9419604, Jan. 1995.

Xu, Xiaoguang. "A Southern Methodist Mission to China: Soochow University, 1901-1939," Middle Tennessee State University, 1993, DA 9417558, Aug. 1994.

Q. Philosophy and Theory

Ahn, Byeonggil. "Domestic Politics, Rational Actors, and Foreign Conflicts," University of Rochester, 1994 (PS), DA 9417244, Aug. 1994.

Auerswald, David P. "Compelling Scenarios: The Domestic Politics of Coercive Diplomacy," University of California, San Diego, 1994 (PS), DA 9502062, Feb. 1995.

Austin, Daniel Aaron. "Soveriegn Situational Neutrality, the Constraint of Conflict, and the Society of States," University of Pennsylvania, 1994 (PS), DA 9503733, Mar. 1995.

Bukovansky, Mlada. "Revolutionary States and the International System: Socialization and Structural Change," Columbia University, 1994 (PS), DA 9427036, Dec. 1994.

Gruber, Lloyd Gerard. "From Anarchy to Organization: Power Politics and the Institutionalization of International Relations," Stanford University, 1994 (PS), DA 9429933, Jan. 1995.

Kaarbo, Juliet. "Power and Influence in Foreign Policy Decision-Making: The Role of Junior Parties in Coalition Cabinets," Ohio State University, 1993 (PS), DA 9411983, Jl. 1994.

McLean, Scott L. "Patriots and Prophets: American Nationalism in International Society," Rutgers University, 1994 (PS), DA 9511504, Je. 1995.

Reddick, Mary Jeanette. "Anarchy and Community in International Relations Theory," University of Utah, 1994 (PS), DA 9501585, Feb. 1995.

Reiter, Dan. "Learning, Realism, and Alliances: An Empirical Examination of the Causes of Alliances," University of Michigan, 1994 (PS), DA 9423297, Oct. 1994.

Smith, Heather Ann. "A New International Environmental Order? An Assessment of the Impact of the Global Warming Epistemic Community," Queen's University at Kingston (Canada), 1994 (PS), DANN 90338, Mar. 1995.

Tellis, Ashley Joachim. "The Drive to Domination," Vols. I-II, University of Chicago, 1994 (PS), DA 9419842, Sept. 1994.

Weitsman, Patricia Ann. "Common Enemies and Uncommon Interests: The Politics of Peacetime Alliances and Coalition Warfare," Columbia University, 1994 (PS), DA 9421414, Sept. 1994.

Wolinsky, Yael. "International Bargaining under the Shadow of the Electorate," University of Chicago, 1994 (PS), DA 9514039, Je. 1995.

Wrightson, Patricia Stein. "Normative Realism: An Interpretation of Reinhold Niebuhr's Approach to International Relations," University of Maryland, 1993 (PS), DA 9425146, Oct. 1994.

R. Presidency

Shuster, Gerald Richard. "Ronald Reagan's Use of Rhetoric to Establish a New Consensus in Foreign Policy during his First Term in Office: An Analysis," University of Pittsburgh, 1993 (SP), DA 9426699, Nov. 1994.

Young, Michael David. "Foreign Policy Problem Representation and President Carter," Ohio State University, 1994 (PS), DA 9427838, Dec. 1994.

S. Revolution and Terrorism

Foxell, Joseph William, Jr. "Policy Management of the Counterterrorism Program by the U.S. Department of State: 1974-1984," New York University, 1994 (PS), DA 9502314, Mar. 1995.

Magherini, Federigo Francesco. "A Comparative Analysis of the Effectiveness of Political Violence in Italy: Fascist Squadristm (1919-1922) and Red Brigades Terrorism (1970-1982)" Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, 1993 (PS), DA 9417328, Aug. 1994.

SECTION II - HISTORICAL PERIODS

A. Colonial and Revolutionary

Lewis, James Eldon, Jr. "*We Shall Have Good Neighbours: The American Union and the Collapse of the Spanish Empire, 1783-1829*," University of Virginia, 1994, DA 9425739, Nov. 1994.

B. 1900-1920

Kennedy, Ross Alexander. "Uncertain Security: American Political Ideology and the Problem of Militarism, 1890-1941," University of California, Berkeley, 1994, DA 9504862, Mar. 1995.

C. World War II

Mertz, Richard Rolland. "The Diplomats and the Dictator: A Study of Western Diplomatic Reactions to the Rise of Hitler, September 1930-November 1933," George Washington University, 1993, DA 9412283, Sept. 1994.

Shaw, Keven Irving. "Conspiracy on the High Seas: Roosevelt and Churchill Search for an Anglo-American Coalition," Washington State University, 1994, DA 9512782, Je. 1995.

Tian, Xiansheng. "Patrick J. Hurley and Chinese-American Relations, 1944-1945," Oklahoma State University, 1994, DA 9509265, May 1995.

D. Cold War

Dejardin, Fiona M. "The Photo League: Aesthetics, Politics, and the Cold War," Vols. I-II, University of Delaware, 1993 (ART HISTORY), DA 9419504, Sept. 1994.

Fousek, John Howard. "To Lead the Free World: American Nationalism and the Ideological Origins of the Cold War, 1945-1950," Cornell University, 1994, DA 9501364, Jan. 1995.

Haddow, Robert Hamilton. "Material Culture and the Cold War: International Trade Fairs and the American Pavilion at the 1958 Brussels World's Fair," Vols. I-II, University of Minnesota, 1994 (ART HISTORY), DA 9433051, Jan. 1995.

Lombardi, Robert. "Embedded Containment: Creation of the CoCom Regime, 1947-1954," University of Toronto (Canada), 1993 (PS), DANN 86226, Sept. 1994.

Manchester, Margaret Muranyi. "The Tangled Web: The Baghdad Pact, Eisenhower, and Arab Nationalism," Clark University, 1994, DA 9500853, Feb. 1995.

Milliken, Jennifer Louise. "A Grammar of State Action: US Policymakers' Social Construction of the Korean War," Vols. I-II, University of Minnesota, 1994 (PS), DA 9508955, May 1995.

Murray, Shoon Kathleen. "American Elite's Reaction to the End of the Cold War: A 1988-1992 Panel Study," Yale University, 1993 (PS), DA 9418540, Aug. 1994.

Park, Mun Su. "The International Dimensions of the Korean War: Geopolitical Realism, Misperception, and Postrevisionism," State University of New York at Buffalo, 1993 (PS), DA 9420202, Sept. 1994.

Proctor, David Annis. "Submerging Ancient Differences and Securing Western Virtues: German Rearmament, 1950-1955," Florida State University, 1994, DA 9424778, Oct. 1994.

Rather, Lucia J. "The Geneva Conference of 1954: Problems in Allied Unity," George Washington University, 1994, DA 9416582, Jl. 1994.

E. Vietnam and Subsequent Wars

Alshaia, Abdulrahman A. "New Political Realities and Leadership: An Analysis of Hegemonic Stability Theory and the U.S. Role during the 1990 Gulf Crisis," Catholic University of America, 1994 (PS), DA 9418586, Aug. 1994.

Brigham, Robert Kendall. "The NLF's Foreign Relations and the Viet Nam War," University of Kentucky, 1994, DA 9507116, Apr. 1995.

Logevall, Fredrik Bengt Johan. "Fear to Negotiate: Lyndon Johnson and the Vietnam War, 1963-1965," Yale University, 1993, DA 9433713, Feb. 1995.

Rudd, Gordon William. "Operation Provide Comfort: Humanitarian Intervention in Northern Iraq, 1991," Duke University, 1993, DA 9420403, Sept. 1994.

Sieg, Kent Gerard. "*A Straw in the Wind: The Johnson Administration and the Paris Talks on Vietnam, 1968-1969*," University of Colorado at Boulder, 1993, DA 9423540, Nov. 1994.

SECTION III - REGIONS

A. Asia and the Pacific

Forczyk, Robert Albert. "Emergent India and the Assessment of Third World Regional Powers in the Post-Cold War Era," University of Maryland, 1993 (PS), DA 9425027, Oct. 1994.

Foster, Anne L. "Alienation and Cooperation: European, Southeast Asian, and American Perceptions of Anti-Colonial Rebellion, 1919-1937," Cornell University, 1995, DA 9511954, Je. 1995.

Greenberg, David Robert. "The U.S. Response to Philippine Insurgency," Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, 1994 (PS), DA 9427335, Nov. 1994.

Kim, Bong Joong. "Democracy and Human Rights: U.S.-South Korean Relations, 1945-1979," University of Toledo, 1994, DA 9426438, Nov. 1994.

Lee, Jae-Kyoung. "Anti-Americanism in South Korea: The Media and the Politics of Signification," University of Iowa, 1993 (JO), DA 9421157, Sept. 1994.

Li, Xiao-Bing. "Diplomacy through Militancy? The 1954-55 Chinese Offshore Islands Crisis: A Case Study in Sino-American Brinkmanship," Carnegie Mellon University, 1991, DA 9419724, Sept. 1994.

Long, Yi. "The American Response to the Development of Chinese Nuclear Weapons: A Study in the Evolution of Perception and Policy," University of Hawaii, 1994 (MC), DA 9429631, Dec. 1994.

MacIsaac, Steven Dale. "Nationalists, Expansionists and Internationalists: American Interests and the Struggle for National Economic Development in the Philippines, 1937-1950," University of Washington, 1993 (PS), DA 9417056, Aug. 1994.

Moon, Katharine H.S. "International Relations and Women: A Case Study of U.S.-Korea Camptown Prostitution, 1971-1976," Princeton University, 1994 (PS), DA 9429192, Dec. 1994.

Nashel, Jonathan D. "Edward Lansdale and the American Attempt at Remake Southeast Asia, 1945-1965," Rutgers University, 1994, DA 9431119, Jan. 1995.

Qing, Simei. "Chinese and American Conceptions of Peace, Order and China's Modernization (1945-1959)" Vols. I-II, Michigan State University, 1994, DA 9512128, Je. 1995.

Scully, Eileen Paula. "Crime, Punishment, and Empire: The United States District Court for China, 1906-1943," Vols. I-II, Georgetown University, 1994, DA 9501845, Feb. 1995.

Simpson, Caroline Sue. "American Orientalisms: The Gender and Cultural Politics of America's Postwar Relationship with Japan," University of Texas at Austin, 1994 (AS), DA 9506093, Apr. 1995.

Walens, Susann. "The Philippines and Vietnam, 1945-1964: From Success to Failure," Union Institute, 1994, DA 9433579, Feb. 1995.

Zimmermann, Scott Gerard. "The United States and Korea, 1882-1950," University of North Dakota, 1994, DA 9502849, Mar. 1995.

Zhang, Qingsong. "Dragon in the Land of the Eagle: The Exclusion of Chinese from U.S. Citizenship, 1848-1943," University of Virginia, 1994, DA 9425704, Nov. 1994.

B. Canada

Dorsey, John Luke Kurkpatrick. "Diplomats and Vertebrates: U.S.-Canadian Wildlife Protection Treaties in the Progressive Era," Yale University, 1994, DA 9428280, Dec. 1994.

Fenton, Mary Ann. "Petitions, Protests, and Policy: The Influence of the American Colonies on Quebec, 1760-1776," University of New Hampshire, 1993, DA 9420573, Sept. 1994.

Kirkey, Christopher John. "The Canadian-American Bargaining Relationship in the North: Explaining Interstate Bargaining Outcomes," Brandeis University, 1994 (PS), DA 9417706, Oct. 1994.

Sauer, Angelika Elisabeth. "The Respectable Course: Canada's Department of External Affairs, the Great Powers, and the *German Problem*, 1943-1947," University of Waterloo (Canada), 1994, DANN 89489, Feb. 1995.

C. Central America and Caribbean

Hager, Robert Peter, Jr. "Moscow and the Central American Conflict, 1979-1991," University of California, Los Angeles, 1993 (PS), DA 9420464, Sept. 1994.

Kelly, Thomas Healy. "Sewage Diplomacy: The Political Geography of Cross-Border Sewage Flows at San Diego-Tijuana," Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, 1994 (PS), DA 9507260, Je. 1995.

Spenser, Daniela. "Encounter of the Mexican and Bolshevik Revolutions in the U.S. Sphere of Interests, 1917-1930," University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1994, DA 9430864, Jan. 1995.

Valenzuela, Barbara J. "An Analysis of the Rhetoric of Henry Lane Wilson in his Role as United States Ambassador to Mexico," Wayne State University, 1993 (SP) DA 9418266, Aug. 1994.

Waters, Robert Anthony, Jr. "Only Ninety Miles Away: A Narrative History of the Cuban Missile Crisis," University of Mississippi, 1994, DA 9431587, Jan. 1995.

Winn, Valdenia Camille. "The Scramble for Bauxite: Anglo-American Relations and Jamaica, 1940-1947," University of Kansas, 1994, DA 9508687, May 1995.

D. Eastern Europe

Nelson, Sonia L. "The Impact of U.S. International Economic Plans on Czechoslovakia's Postwar Development, 1943-1948," Northern Illinois University, 1994, DA 9510172, May 1995.

E. Latin America

Christian, Cindy M. "The Effects of U.S. Hegemonic Decline on Economic Development and Political Conflict in Latin America," State University of New York at Binghamton, 1993 (PS), DA 9417864, Aug. 1994.

Conteh, Adama Juldeh. "Economics and the Politics of Cocoa in the Gold Coast/Ghana: British Policies, United States Response, and Gold Coasters' Reactions, 1930-1966," Howard University, 1993, DA 9507311, May 1995.

Fox, Elizabeth Russell. "International Relations and National Policies of Latin American Broadcasting," American University, 1993 (PS), DA 9418444, Aug. 1994.

Pinal-Calvillo, Sylvia Adriana. "Latin American Disengagement from the United States Secular Trends of Increased Autonomy, 1948-1983," University of Arizona, 1994 (PS), DA 9424966, Oct. 1994.

Sherblom, Donald Edward. "The Latin American Debt Crisis and United States Hegemony," New School for Social Research, 1992 (PS), DA 9417670, JI. 1994.

F. Middle East and the Persian Gulf

Abboud, Farid C. "Through Warped Lenses: A History of United States-Syrian Relations, 1945-1954," University of California, Los Angeles, 1994, DA 9500678, Feb. 1995.

Al-Yousif, Yousif Abdualla. "The PLO: Dynamic Forces Prompting Changes in Strategy and Objectives," University of Denver, 1993 (PS), DA 9412286, Aug. 1994.

Astorino-Courtios, Allison Kay. "Prerequisites of Progress: Decision and Decision-Makers in the Arab-Israeli Conflict. The Roles of Cognitive Processes and Political Environments," New York University, 1994 (PS), DA 9422910, Oct. 1994.

Holland, Matthew Floyd. "A Role in Search of a Hero: America and Egypt from Roosevelt through Eisenhower," University of Arizona, 1994, DA 9424949, Oct. 1994.

Hovsepian, Viken. "U.S. Policy toward the Palestinian Issue, 1948-1988: Continuity or Change?" University of Southern California, 1994 (PS), n.o.n., Oct. 1994.

Hoyt, Paul Daniel. "U.S. Foreign Policy toward Empowerment in the Middle East: A Cognitive and Group Process Approach," Ohio State University, 1994 (PS), DA 9427717, Dec. 1994.

Klinghoffer, Judith Apter. "The Johnson Administration, Israel and American Jewry: Linkages to the Vietnam War," Rutgers University, 1994, DA 9431100, Jan. 1995.

G. Russia and the Soviet Union

Bogumil, David Daniel. "Models of Conflict and Cooperation: Interaction Patterns of International Actors," Purdue University, 1993 (SO), DA 9420786, Sept. 1994. Examines relations between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Fischer, Beth A. "The Reagan Reversal: America's Soviet Policy, 1981-1985," University of Toronto (Canada), 1994 (PS), DANN 92675, Je. 1995.

Hill, Donna Lee. "A Grounded Theory Analysis of United States and Russian Negotiating Behaviors," University of California, Irvine, 1994 (PS), DA 9506821, Arp. 1995.

McIntosh, Daniel. "Working with the Bomb: Soviet and American Planning for the Use of Intercontinental Nuclear Forces, 1945-1968," University of Denver, 1993 (PS), DA 9412602, Jl. 1994.

Pollock, John H. "Strategic Knots: Linked Decisionmaking in US-Soviet Interaction, 1969-1983," Columbia University, 1994 (PS), DA 9421389, Sept. 1994.

Skinner, Kiron Kanina. "The Politics of Weakness and the Politics of Strength: American Use of Security Linkage during the Carter Era," Harvard University, 1994 (PS), DA 9500137, Feb. 1995.

Smith, Shannon Lee. "The Politics of Progress and the American-Russian Relationship, 1867-1917," Cornell University, 1994, DA 9501279, Jan. 1995.

Terrio, Deone Marie. "Reassessments of the International Situation under Khrushchev and Brezhnev: Changing Kremlin Perspectives on the World, 1955-80," Cornell University, 1994 (PS), DA 9427885, Nov. 1994.

H. Sub-Saharan Africa

Lyons, Terrence Patrick. "Reaction to Revolution: United States-Ethiopian Relations, 1974-1977," Johns Hopkins University, 1994 (PS), DA 9429541, Dec. 1994.

Speakman, June Sager. "Congress and Policy Change: The Case of Angola," City University of New York, 1994 (PS), DA 9431370, Jan. 1995.

I. Western Europe

Charles, J. Robert. "The Future Tasks of the Alliance: NATO's 1967 Harmel Exercise and Report," Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, 1993 (PS), DA 9417325, Aug. 1994.

Lombardi, Ben William Angelo. "Security, Community, Hegemonic Stability and Post-Cold War Europe," Queen's University at Kingston (Canada), 1993 (PS), DANN 85305, Jl. 1994.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Guide Available

There are still a few copies of the *Guide to American Foreign Relations since 1780* available at a price of \$30.00. Contact the office of Allan Spetter, History, Wright State Univ., Dayton, OH 45435.

Lawrence Gelfand - Armin Rappaport Fund

The Fund formerly named in honor of Armin Rappaport has been reconstituted as the Lawrence Gelfand - Armin Rappaport fund and will appear so in future notices of SHAFR.

**National Security Studies Quarterly
Call for Papers**

The National Security Studies Quarterly publishes articles and book reviews in the interdisciplinary field of national security studies. Articles on contemporary and historical security issues, including politics, religion, area studies, and other related subjects are welcome. The NSSQ accepts submissions from leading researchers, scholars, and practitioners. Submission guidelines: Submit articles of one to 35 pages in length, double spaced. Include a one

paragraph abstract of the article and a brief biographical statement about yourself. Send to: NSSQ, The National Security Studies Program, Georgetown University, Box 571029, Washington, DC, 20057-5029. Phone: James Ludes @ (202) 687-1639.

SHGAPE Call for Papers

The Ohio Historical Society, the Society for Historians of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era, the Ohio State University College of Humanities and Department of History invite proposals for papers or panels to be presented at a centennial conference on William McKinley and the McKinley Era (ca. 1885-1900) to be held March 15, 1997, at the Ohio Historical Center, Columbus, OH. For further information contact: Terry Kehoe, The Ohio Historical Society, 1982 Velma Ave., Columbus, OH 43211, or at: tkehoe@magnus.acs.ohio-state.edu.

Mid-America Conference on History

The 1996 Mid-America Conference on History will be held in Topeka, Kansas September 12-14. All fields of history are welcomed. We have already received several good proposals for diplomatic history papers and we would welcome more. Diplomatic historians should note that one of the featured speakers will be Robert A. Divine, who will speak on "The Persian Gulf War Revisited". For more information, please contact Bill Cecil-Fronsman, Dept of History, Washburn Univ., Topeka, KS. 66621. E-mail: zzceci@acc.wuacc.edu Phone: (913) 231-1010 x1317. Fax: (913) 231-1084.

Smith Richardson Foundation Grant Program

Description: The Smith Richardson Foundation's International Affairs Program announces a new program to support *junior faculty research* on American foreign policy; international relations; international security; military policy; and diplomatic and military history. The Foundation hopes to help advance the academic

careers of some of the most promising young scholars in these fields. Accordingly, this program will award yearly up to three research grants of \$50,000 each to support untenured, junior faculty engaged in the research and writing of a scholarly book that must be completed during the one-year term of the grant. These grants are intended to buy-out up to one year of teaching time and to underwrite research costs (including research assistance and travel). Each grant will be paid directly to, and should be administered by, the academic institution at which the junior faculty member works.

Procedure: Applicants must submit a research proposal no longer than ten pages to the Smith Richardson Foundation. This proposal must describe the problem that the proposed book will examine; list specific research questions that the book will answer; give an overview of the literature or body of knowledge and the question to be addressed by the project; explain how the project will contribute to our understanding of the problem; describe the analytical approach and sources of information that the researcher will use to answer the research questions; and describe the organization of the book that will result from the research. In addition to this proposal, the applicant should also include a *curriculum vitae*, a detailed budget explaining how the grant would be used, and a work timetable, including a date on which the applicant would begin to use the grant funds. Proposals must include a cover letter that summarizes the research in one or two paragraphs.

Project Criteria: Proposals will be evaluated based on the following criteria: (1) the relevance of potential analysis and findings to current and future foreign and security policy issues; (2) the potential to innovate in the field and to contribute to academia or policy literature on the chosen topic; (3) the degree to which research questions and analytical methods are will defined; (4) the degree to which the project will develop valuable new data or information through field work, archival work, or other methods; and (5) the publication record of the applicant.

Eligibility: Applicants must have a Ph.D., preferably in Political Science or History; must be full-time faculty members of a college or university in the United States; and must not have received tenure (or been denied tenure at the university where they will be employed during the administration of this grant). The ideal applicant will have already published one scholarly book or completed a scholarly manuscript which had been accepted for publication at a university or college press. This grant may not be used for revising a dissertation into a manuscript. Applicants should explain how they meet all of these requirements in the cover letter to their research proposal.

Deadline: The Foundation must receive the proposal by July 12, 1996. The Foundation will notify applicants of its decisions by October 15, 1996. Please mail your proposal to: The Junior Faculty Research Grant Program, Smith Richardson Foundation, 60 Jesup Road, Westport, CT 06880.

Senior Fellowships On International Peace and Conflict Issues

The United States Institute of Peace offers senior fellowships in the Jennings Randolph Program for International Peace. These fellowships support practitioners and scholars working on projects concerning the sources and nature of international conflict and ways of managing conflict and sustaining peace. For 1997-98 the Institute expects to award about thirteen fellowships. Priority will be given to proposals that promise to make a timely contribution to the understanding and resolution of ongoing and emerging international conflicts. For information, please contact: United States Institute of Peace, Jennings Randolph Program for International Peace, 1550 M Street NW, Suite 700F, Washington DC 20005-1708. (202) 429-3886. Fax: (202) 4296063. TTY: (202) 457-1719 Internet: jrprogram@usip.org

George C. Marshall and the China Mission Symposium

The George C. Marshall Foundation will sponsor a symposium October 17-19, 1996, to reexamine the U.S. attempt to mediate the growing civil strife between China's Nationalists and the Communists, December 1945 — January 1947. Papers are by invitation only and attendance is limited by the seating. Contact: Larry I. Bland, Marshall Papers Project, George C. Marshall Foundation, P.O. Drawer 1600, Lexington, VA 24450. Telephone: 540-463-7103; Fax 540-464-5229.

New Russian Center for American Studies

Ivan I. Kurilla, Assistant Professor at Volgograd State University and recently awarded his Kandidatskaya (PhD equivalent), writes to inform SHAFR members that he and two other professors at Volgograd have organized "a Center for American Studies targeted to the study of Foreign Policy of American countries (Latin American as well as the USA) and Russian-American relations, primarily in the 19th and early 20th centuries." His address: 30, 2-ya Prodolnaya, Volgograd, 400062, Russia. E-mail: root@ic.vgu.tsaritsyn.su

Director Search

A search for a Director, Cold War International History Project at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, DC, is underway. The incumbent coordinates all aspects of the project's activities through publications, conferences, fellowship competition, networking and working to promote the opening of east bloc archives and other primary sources. Candidates must possess a Ph.D. in history or international relations and have at least three years of directly related work experience. Please call (202) 287-3000 ext 212 and request vacancy announcement WC-604-T which highlights additional qualification requirements and salary range. Interviewing begins in July, and will continue until the position is filled.

PUBLICATIONS

Larry I. Bland and Sharon Ritenour Stevens (Marshall Foundation), *The Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, vol. 4, "Aggressive and Determined Leadership," June 1, 1943-December 31, 1944. Johns Hopkins, 1996. ISBN 0-8018-5368-0, \$55.00.

Noam Chomsky (MIT), *Powers and Prospects: Reflections on Human Nature and the Social Order*. South End, 1996. Cloth ISBN 0-89608-536-8, \$40.00; paper ISBN 0-89608-535-X, \$16.00.

Jian Chen (Southern Illinois), *Chinese Communist Foreign Policy and the Cold War in Asia: New Documentary Evidence, 1944-1950*. Imprint Publications, 1996. ISBN 1-879176-20-3, \$55.00.

Paola E. Coletta (Naval Academy - emeritus), *Allied and American Naval Operations in the European Theater, World War I*. Edwin Mellen.

Carolyn Eisenberg (Hofstra), *Drawing the Line: The American Decision to Divide Germany, 1944-1949*. Cambridge, 1996. ISBN 0-521-39212-8, \$49.95.

David M. Esposito (Penn State), *The Legacy of Woodrow Wilson: American War Aims in World War I*. Praeger, 1996. ISBN 0-275-95493-5, \$46.00 est.

William Conrad Gibbons (George Mason), *The U.S. Government and the Vietnam War: Executive and Legislative Roles and Relationships, Part IV: July 1965-January 1968*. Princeton, 1995. Cloth ISBN 0-691-00636-9, \$79.50; paper ISBN 0-691-00635-0, \$24.95.

John L. Harper (Bologna Center of Johns Hopkins), *American Visions of Europe: Franklin D. Roosevelt, George F. Kennan, and Dean G. Acheson*. Cambridge, 1996. Now in paper ISBN 0-521-56628-2, \$16.95.

Michael J. Hogan ed., *Hiroshima in History and Memory*. Cambridge 1996. Cloth ISBN 0-521-56206-6, \$54.95; paper ISBN 0-521-56682-7, \$17.95.

Bruce Kuklick (Pennsylvania), *Puritans in Babylon: The Ancient Near East and American Intellectual Life, 1880-1930*. Princeton, 1996. ISBN 0-691-02582-7, \$29.95.

Timothy P. Maga (Bentley), *The Perils of Power: Crisis in American Foreign Relations Since World War II*. New Haven Press, 1995. Paper ISBN 0-936285-25-7, \$10.99.

Charles S. Maier (Harvard) ed., *The Cold War in Europe*. Marcus Wiener Press, 1996. Third Edition, paper ISBN 1-55876-133-0, \$18.95.

John Major (Hull), *Prize Possession: The United States and the Panama Canal, 1903-1979*. Cambridge, 1993. ISBN 0-521-43306-1, \$49.95.

Frederick W. Marks (Forest Hills), *Velvet on Iron: The Diplomacy of Theodore Roosevelt*. Books on Demand, 1996 reprint. Cloth ISBN 0-8032-3057-5, \$81.00; paper ISBN 0-8032-3057-5, \$75.00.

Cathal J. Nolan (British Columbia) ed., *Ethics And Statecraft: The Moral Dimension of International Affairs*. Praeger Press, 1995. Cloth ISBN 0-313029642-1, \$65.00; paper ISBN 0-275-95382-3, \$19.95.

Jerry K. Sweeney (South Dakota State) and Jerry M. Cooper (Missouri) eds., *A Handbook of American Military History*. Westwood Press, 1996. ISBN 0-8133-8569-5, \$45.00.

Michael Schaller (Arizona), Robert Schulzinger (Colorado), and Virginia Scharff, *Present Tense: The United States Since 1945*. 2nd edition. Houghton Mifflin, 1995. ISBN 0395-745047, \$22.36.

Gerhard L. Weinberg (North Carolina), *Germany, Hitler, and World War II: Essays in Modern German and World History*. Cambridge, 1995. Now in paper, ISBN 0-521-56626-6, \$15.95.

-----, *A World at Arms: A Global History of World War II*. Now in paper ISBN 0-521-55879-4, \$19.95.

CALENDAR

1996

- August 1 Deadline, materials for the September *Newsletter*.
- November 1 Deadline, materials for 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 Myrna F. Bernath research fellowship proposals.

1997

- January 1 Membership fees in all categories are due, payable at Blackwell Publishers, 238 Main St., Cambridge, MA 02142.
- January 2-5 The 111th annual meeting of the AHA will take place in New York.
- January 15 Deadline for the 1996 Bernath article award.
- February 1 Submissions due for Warren Kuehl Award.
- February 1 Deadline for the 1996 Bernath book award.
- February 1 Deadline, materials for March *Newsletter*.
- February 1 Deadline for Ferrell Book Prize.
- February 15 Deadline for the 1996 Bernath lecture prize.
- March 1 Deadline for Graebner Prize nominations.
- April 1 Applications for the W. Stull Holt dissertation fellowship are due.
- April 17-20 The 90th meeting of the OAH will take place at the San Francisco Hilton.
- May 1 Deadline, materials for the June *Newsletter*.
- June 19-22 SHAFR's 22nd annual conference will meet at Georgetown University. Program chair - Maartin Pereboom (Salisbury State). Local arrangements - David Painter and Nancy B. Tucker.

Future OAH meetings will be in Indianapolis (Westin Hotel and Indiana Convention Center), April 2-5, 1998; Toronto (Sheraton Centre) in 1999; St. Louis (Adam's Mark) March 30-April 2, 2000.

Future AHA meeting will be in Seattle, Jan. 8-11, 1998; Washington, D.C., Jan. 7-10, 1999; and Chicago, Jan. 6-9, 2000.

PERSONALS

Yeong-Han Cheong (Queensland) has been awarded a research grant from the John F. Kennedy Library.

Robert E. Herzstein (South Carolina) has been elected chair of the European History Section of the Southern Historical Association and has been named Carolina Distinguished Professor.

Robert S. Hopkins (Creighton) has received a research grant from the Harry S. Truman Library Institute.

Kyle Longley has been appointed assistant professor at Arizona State.

Frank Ninkovich (St. John's) is one of three co-recipients of the first biennial Akira Iriye International History Book Award for books published in 1994-95. Frank's prize winning book is, *Modernity and Power: A History of the Domino Theory in the Twentieth Century* (Chicago, 1994).

Thomas J. Noer has been appointed Valor Distinguished Professor of Humanities at Carthage College, Kenosha, Wisconsin.

Marie-Jeanne Rossignol (Université Paris) has been awarded the 1996 OAH Foreign-Language Book Prize for *Le ferment nationaliste: Aux origines de la politique extérieure des Etats-Unis 1789-1812* (Belin, Paris, 1994).

Ralph E. Weber (Marquette) has received a research grant from the Dwight D. Eisenhower Library Institute.

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, History, Temple University, Philadelphia, PA 19122.

Books may be sent at any time during 1996, but should not arrive later than February 1, 1997.

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 1996 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, 1997.

RECENT WINNERS:

- | | |
|----------------------|----------------------|
| 1990 Walter Hixson | 1992 Thomas Schwartz |
| Anders Stephanson | 1993 Elizabeth Cobbs |
| 1991 Gordon H. Chang | 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 1997. The Chairperson of the Committee for 1995-1996 is: Cecilia Stiles Cornell, Sangamon State, Springfield IL 62794-9243.

RECENT WINNERS:

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------|
| 1990 Richard Immerman | 1993 Larry Berman |
| 1991 Robert McMahon | 1994 Diane Kunz |
| 1992 H.W. Brands | 1995 Thomas Schwartz |

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 1996. 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: Elizabeth Cobbs, History, University of San Diego, San Diego, CA 92110.

The award is given at the SHAFR luncheon held in conjunction with the OAH annual meeting.

RECENT WINNERS:

1990 Lester Foltos	1993 Daniel P. O'C. Greene
1991 William Earl Weeks	1994 Frederick Logevall
1992 Marc Gallicchio	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: Bill Miscamble, CSC, History, Notre Dame, South Bend, IN 46556. The deadline is November 1, 1996.

RECENT WINNERS:

- | | |
|---------------------|----------------------|
| 1990 David McFadden | 1993 R. Tyler Priest |
| 1991 Eileen Scully | Christian Ostermann |
| 1992 Shannon Smith | 1994 Delia Pergande |

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 1996 and 1997 will be considered in 1997. Submission deadline is December 1, 1997. 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 and 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 awards are granted every other year. 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, 1996.

RECENT WINNERS:

1992 Shannon Smith

1994 Regina Gramer
Jacklyn Stanke
Christine Skwiot

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: David S. Foglesong, Visiting Scholar, Hoover Tower, Tenth Floor, Hoover Institution, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305-6010.

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.

RECENT WINNERS:

1990 Katherine A.S. Siegel

1991 Kyle Longley

1992 Robert Brigham

1993 Darlene Rivas

1994 Christian Ostermann

1995 John Dwyer

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.

RECENT 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. Current Chairperson: Melvin Small, History, Wayne State University, Detroit, MI 48202

PREVIOUS WINNERS:

1987 Harold Josephson

1993 Thomas Knock

1988 Melvin Small

1995 Lawrence S. Witner

1991 Charles DeBenedetti and

Charles Chatfield

**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: George Herring, History, Lexington, KT 40506-0027.

PREVIOUS WINNER 1991 Justus Doenecke

THE LAWRENCE GELFAND - ARMIN RAPPAPORT FUND

The Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations established this fund in to honor Lawrence Gelfand, former SHAFR president and Armin Rappaport, founding editor of *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. Current chairperson: Doug Brinkley, Department of History U. of New Orleans, New Orleans, LA 70148.

PREVIOUS WINNERS:

- 1992 David Anderson and Diane Kunz
- 1994 Mel Leffler
- 1995 John L. Harper