

SHAFR
Newsletter

*The Society for Historians of
American Foreign Relations*

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MEETINGS: The annual meeting of the society is held in the summer. The society also meets with the AHA in 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 thorough 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 and a journal, *Diplomatic History*.

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THE ABORTED U.S.-U.S.S.R. SUMMIT OF 1965

by

Raymond L. Garthoff

BROOKINGS INSTITUTION

It has always been clear that American escalation of its military involvement in Vietnam with the bombing of Hanoi on February 7 and 8, 1965, put a serious damper on improving U.S.-Soviet relations. What has not, however, been known heretofore is that it aborted a 1965 summit meeting that had been virtually agreed upon, but was then dropped by the Soviet leaders owing to the bombing of Hanoi.

I discovered an account of the exchanges leading to agreement, and the abandonment, of a summit meeting in January-February 1965 in a file in the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs archive in Moscow several years ago.¹ The

U.S. record of these exchanges has now become available in a recently published volume of *FRUS*.²

¹The Ministry of Foreign Affairs archive document containing the information about the aborted 1965 summit was a study of post war U.S.S.R.-U.S. summits prepared by the Diplomatic-Historical Directorate of the Ministry for the forthcoming May 1972 Moscow summit, and submitted by N.A. Kharlamov to A.M. Aleksandrov of the Central Committee on April 28, 1972. (Archive of the Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation; AVPRF, Fond 5, Opis 64, Dokument 5, "Summit Meetings of U.S.S.R. and U.S. Leaders in the Post War Period and the Visit of U.S. Vice President R. Nixon," March 30, 1972, pp. 18-19.)

²Foreign Relations of the United States, 1964-1968, vol. XIV, *The Soviet Union*, 2001, pp. 205-35.

On January 4, 1965, in his State of the Union address, his first major statement after election to the presidency in his own right, Lyndon Johnson expressed interest in a meeting with the Soviet leadership. That fact, on the open record, has been overlooked because there was no sign of follow-through by either side. *FRUS* now discloses that this initiative was reinforced by follow-through conversations the very next day with Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin by National Security Adviser McGeorge Bundy and Ambassador-at-Large Llewellyn Thompson. On January 14 President Johnson sent a letter to "the Soviet Government" (on Ambassador Dobrynin's advice it was not addressed either to Prime Minister Aleksei Kosygin or to First Secretary Leonid Brezhnev personally), proposing a summit meeting in the United States. Dobrynin, and subsequently an official reply from "the Soviet Government" to Johnson on February 1, turned the president's proposal into an official invitation for Johnson first to visit the Soviet Union as part of an exchange of visits. In another address on February 3, President Johnson accepted the idea of an exchange of visits. Although the American record in *FRUS* does not indicate explicit agreement on the order of visits, clearly agreement on arrangements for a summit meeting was near. The Soviet Foreign Ministry account, prepared later by the Diplomatic-Historical Directorate, treats the matter as having constituted agreement on a summit by early February. On February 6, the Soviet leaders publicly declared their favorable response to President Johnson's suggestion of an exchange of visits.

After the U.S. bombing of Hanoi on February 7-8, while Prime Minister Kosygin was visiting there, the question of the summit meeting was raised in a conversation between Thompson and Dobrynin on that same day (although no account of that meeting has been published). On February 9, Dobrynin delivered an official message for the president in

which, in effect, the Soviet Government withdrew its invitation and consideration of a summit meeting so long as the United States was continuing to bomb North Vietnam. And no meeting took place until June 1967.

A summit in 1965, and both American and Soviet desire to pursue a *détente*, were thus a casualty of the February 1965 initiation and bombing of escalation of the U.S. military commitment in Vietnam.

PUBLISHING ON DEMAND: WHO WILL BE THE GATEKEEPERS?

by
Paul Rich*

The pace of change in academia being wrought by the computer revolution shows no sign of slowing. In fact, it is accelerating. There is now an explosion in publishing on-line and the growth of the publishing on demand industry is bound to have an impact on foreign relations research and writing. Possibly my own experience with universe, one of the largest World Wide Web publishers, may be useful in assessing where the new technology is taking scholarship.

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Publishing on demand is a recent phenomenon, and most of the companies were started in 1999 or 2000. Some of the biggest include Xlibris, ipublisher, indypublish, and upublish. These concerns have all quickly forged connections with other companies; universe is 49 per cent owned by Barnes & Noble and Xlibris is in effect a Random House subsidiary. The competition is fierce and resembles the competition of Yahoo, AltaVista, and Google to be the prime search engine. At least for the moment, authors are being courted — which for most of us is an unusual experience.

These on-line companies are accepting newly written manuscripts, but they have a special interest in republishing books which are out-of-print. In the case of universe, it has acquired backlist titles from both Harvard University and Columbia University Presses and is working with special groups like the Harlem Writers. Books that Harvard published years ago, such as Trotsky's notebooks, and which have long been unobtainable except from antiquarian booksellers, are now back in print.

When a book goes out of print, it is not just the possibility of its being used in a course or placed on a reading list that is diminished. Most of us are good customers for our own books and end up giving copies, albeit parsimoniously, to students and friends, as long as the supply lasts and we can afford it. In an informal survey of colleagues, I find a surprising number who have one copy left of a book they wrote, or even, to their embarrassment, no copy at all. As far as I am concerned, the opportunity to put out of print titles back into print is a gift from heaven.

Most of us who have published know the frustration of trying to secure a second edition when a book does go out of print. The rights are under most contracts supposed to revert to the

author but sometimes presses are very dilatory in deciding, which they usually finally do, that they will not reprint. When the rights return to the author, the chances of finding another publisher are limited. There may be a slight demand for the book but not enough to justify reprinting.

With the new on-line companies, nothing ever goes out of print. There is no expensive inventory of printed books to warehouse, although in some cases a number of copies are printed and shipped to retail bookstores when the publisher thinks impulse sales could be a factor. The book is ordered after viewing it on-line; universe for example claims that placing the entire book on-line does not effect sales, although the choice of having the book on-line for viewing is left up to the author. The universe logic is that if the cost of the book is kept low, people will be willing to buy it rather than try to read it on the web. Prices seem to be between ten and twenty-five dollars, which means that printing the book from the web site is not as cheap as buying the book. Moreover, I think that many of us do not mind if a colleague or student in Africa or Latin America who cannot afford the price is able to read the book in a library computer.

Letting people read the book on the web seems to be a fairly universal policy for these new publishers; most of the on-line publishers are evangelical about putting books on-line as a sales device and keeping the prices for the paper book low. Once one accepts this idea of having the book available free in a web form as well as on paper, another fear that springs to mind is that the printed book will be cheap looking. Before seeing about second editions for some of my own books I checked out the quality of the paper books by ordering several and was surprised at how good the printing and the binding were. Moreover, the service by mail is excellent. The new publishers have electronic bookstores but the books can also

be ordered through Amazon and other electronic booksellers as well as through local “real” bookstores.

The marketing plan for universe is to have an order desk along with computers for previewing books and the machine to manufacture the books in every Barnes & Noble outlet as well as every Kinko’s, and one thinks that if that materializes that the other on-line publishers will also be working out bookstore arrangements. The Barnes & Noble idea is that the customer chooses books, goes off to browse or have a coffee, and picks up the newly printed books in twenty minutes or so. These book making machines have rapidly evolved and they do an amazing job on binding and covers. It is easy to imagine that they will be ubiquitous in a decade, present in all college bookstores as well as small town libraries and even the local drugstore.

I decided to take the plunge and offered universe seven of my books and of editions I had edited: *The Invasions of the Gulf*, *Arab War Lords*, *Iraq and Imperialism*, *A Voyage in the Gulf*, *Wartime in Baghdad*, *A Soldier in Kurdistan*, and *Stanford Patriarchs*. The contract terms are generous, as the author is only tied to the publisher for a couple years. I opted for new cover designs and fretted about errors that I wanted to correct in the new editions. Editing takes place via the web. The proofs are posted at a site which the author gets the code to obtain, and the changes are put on a form obtained via the web. There is, happily, a human being connected with all this, and the editor I was assigned was very congenial. The seven books are now all in print in their second editions, forever.

The procedure with completely new books is similar although there has to be attention to the word processor used and the quality and copyright of proposed illustrations. A glance at the

new titles being offered from the on-line publishers shows that American foreign relations is already one of the favorite subjects. Sales seem at least as good as with conventionally published titles. At least one universe title has made *The New York Times* bestseller list. An obvious advantage is that anyone in the world with web access can take a look at the book.

I have been unable to come up with a downside to all of this for those of us who want to get our now out of print books back into print. Being able to correct errors is a great luxury. Most of us who have had books published would welcome the chance to change at least some mistakes. In the case of *The Invasions of the Gulf* I had been haunted by a typographical error that created two individuals who were apparently British Political Agents in the Gulf when there was only one, Messrs. Arthur and Arnold Galloway. There is now only one and the imaginary Arthur has gone away and will not appear in my nightmares anymore.

A negative aspect to these developments is that this is an industry in a rush. These companies are extremely anxious to expand their lists and not anxious to spend time on editing. So if one is used to a lot of editing, it takes some adjustment. There is editing, but all the schemes offered make it as minimal as possible. A book needing heavy editing is not for publishing on demand. If you have a book that needs a minimum of editing, these are not vanity presses and they will print the book and pay you royalties. When you start asking for editing, the enthusiasm dims.

Another caveat is that universities are conservative and I am not sure I would recommend this route for anyone looking for tenure. This is perhaps not something for a newly minted PhD who plans to impress a committee, unless of course he

or she has already published and gone out of print. Whenever on-line publishing is mentioned, the question of who is going to be the gatekeeper arises, which is legitimate. But I am on the boards of some journals and presses, and frankly the finances of academic publishing have been getting more and more precarious. So it is not clear that there will be gatekeepers of the old stamp even if conventional publishing survives this electronic onslaught.

The on-line publishers claim that in the next five years the demand for books on disk which can be inserted in handhelds and palm readers and, most importantly, the book readers which are now being sold commercially, — along with the demand for collections of books on cds, will make paper publishing alone obsolete. In other words conventional publishers that survive will be forced to become electronic publishers because the demand will be for electronic texts.

Conventional paper publishing, they argue, is much less desirable than publishing with an on-line company that can provide all the different versions that will be demanded. That may be true for fiction, but whether or not scholarly books will be needed in those versions is still open to debate. It is clear that bundling a number of new books on a single historical topic, such as Cuban-American relations, would make sense for a library cd. Possibly some academics will find taking disks or cds on a sabbatical or trip and using a handheld reader will be useful. But I for one would prefer when I am not in a plane or on a beach to have the paper version.

Another virtue being claimed for the on-line publishers is that library catalogs are inadequate and much good research material simply goes unnoticed. For example, a book on American relationships with Canada that includes references

to the French island of Miquelon will be found by a web search if the book is on-line but the Miquelon references might not be enough to have caused their mention in regular cataloging.

Much more could be said about all this, but I believe the debate in the next few years is going to focus on gatekeeping. Why not let the reader be the gatekeeper, say the proponents. Faced by the spiraling cost of books and journals, and the fact that many good books don't get published because of continuing budget crises, we may have to rethink our views on publishing. After all, many libraries are finding that transferring part of the onus for depth in collections to on-line services is an attractive alternative. We know very little about who makes the decisions of these on-line services to use various journals and articles. We just accept that the library has added another computer service.

What I do know is that when a book has already run the gauntlet of the gatekeepers and is simply out of print because of the increasingly commercial attitude of publishers, the publishing on demand industry is a new lease on life, and can only be good for research. As for new work, scholars who are impatient about editorial decisions and discouraged by the economics of publishing will find these services immensely attractive. When the changes in the last few years that the Internet and World Wide Web have brought to the study and teaching of American foreign relations are considered, it would be foolish to believe that we have seen even the end of the beginning of this revolution.

RESEARCH IN NATO ARCHIVES

by

Ronald D. Landa

HISTORICAL OFFICE

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

Last fall I conducted research in newly opened civil and military records of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) through 1965. These materials can be consulted at the NATO Archives Reading Room, located within the NATO headquarters complex on Boulevard Léopold III in the suburb of Evere, about 10 miles northwest of the center of Brussels.

Established in 1999 on the occasion of NATO's 50th anniversary, the Archives' mission is to preserve NATO's collective memory and to provide "access to records that will enable the public to understand the missions, aims, and achievements of the Alliance."

Open to researchers are chronological sets of formal documents issued by the International Staff and the NATO military authorities. These include agenda and minutes of Council meetings, as well as documents produced by various committees and working groups. Records are in English and French and are available on either CD-ROM, microfilm, or paper. Several finding aids can be used in the reading room, including lists of microfilm reels and mimeographed softbound indexes to North Atlantic Council documents for the years 1949 through 1959. Still closed for the time being are the Subject Files — material transferred by Divisions and Sub-Registries to the Archives.

The open documents contain few startling revelations, but do flesh out considerably the published record, supplementing the

Department of State's *Foreign Relations of the United States* series and Gregory Pedlow's *NATO Strategy Documents, 1949-1969*. For example, I was able to trace the activities of NATO's Working Group on Trends in Soviet Policy which monitored the 1956 upheaval in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

NATO's location makes transportation and lodging for the scholar a little difficult. The closest hotel is the pricey Mercure-Brussels Airport, 74 avenue Jules Bordet, within walking distance and also with a shuttle connection to the airport. The hotel telephone is (32-2) 726-7335, the fax (32-2) 726-8295. Inexpensive lodging in the vicinity is scarce. Researchers may prefer to stay in downtown Brussels and commute. From the center of the city NATO can be reached via bus no. 65, which originates at Place de Brouckere, stops along the way at the Gare Centrale, and terminates at the main gate to NATO headquarters. During rush hours this bus runs about every 10 minutes, somewhat less frequently the rest of the day. The trip takes approximately half an hour.

The Reading Room is open Monday through Friday, except for public holidays. Battery-operated laptop or palmtop computers are permitted, subject to certain restrictions. The staff can arrange for photocopies to be made. Additional information about regulations and hours, available records, and a request form for access are on the web site: www.nato.int/archives. Inquiries can be addressed to the head of the Archives Section, Robert Jurquet, or his deputy, Anne Marie Smith, at:

nac.central.registry@hq.nato.int

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PRACTICAL IDEALISTS: THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS
AND THE 1923 AMERICAN TOUR OF LORD
ROBERT CECIL AND RAY STRACHEY

by
Janet M. Manson
CLEMSON

Politics and international peace issues, particularly World War I and the concept of order in the postwar world, were compelling for members of the British intelligentsia, including figures associated with the influential literary and political circle known as the Bloomsbury Group — and especially political activist Leonard Woolf, one of the founding members of the League of Nations Society.¹ The League activities of Lord Robert Cecil and the prominent feminist Ray Strachey, who were Woolf's associates, are indicative of the complex working relationship of such activists. While much is known of Cecil's work on the League, partly acknowledged through a Nobel Prize in 1937, little is known of Strachey's work, and nothing has been published on their 1923 American tour in support of the League. Cecil was also accompanied on the tour by Philip Noel-Baker who had been on Cecil's staff as part of the British delegation at the Versailles Peace Conference and later served as Cecil's private secretary on League matters. Like the Cecils and Stracheys, Noel-Baker and his wife, Irene, were good friends of Leonard and Virginia Woolf. Perhaps the Stracheys were most closely

¹Leonard Woolf, *Beginning Again: An Autobiography of the Years 1911 to 1918*. 1964. Reprint. (London: The Hogarth Press, 1972), 191-2. Approximately three years after it was established, the League of Nations Society merged with the League of Nations Association to form the League of Nations Union.

connected to the Woolfs, since Ray's sister, Karin, was married to Virginia's brother, Adrian Stephen. In any case, Cecil's tour emphasizes political cooperation between American and British pro-League groups and also illustrates the complex nature of Bloomsbury political and social relationships.

As the British Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs during the war, Lord Cecil was among the first to read the Fabian Society report, written by his friend Leonard Woolf, advocating the creation of a league of nations. In 1915, Woolf's report was published in special supplements of *The New Statesman* and was subsequently transformed into a book, entitled *International Government: Two Reports (1916)*.² Into the 1920s, Cecil and Woolf continued to discuss matters raised by this book. In a letter of April 4, 1921, for instance, Cecil began a dialogue with praise: "I read your book on International Government, and I need not say that I read it with great pleasure and admiration. It sets out one of the main arguments for the League with unanswerable force." Much of Cecil's discussion centered on his very perceptive observation that cooperation among social classes was essential in order to promote international cooperation. Cecil wrote in part:

...I do not quite understand why you insist so strongly on the one hand that common interests of different nations are much greater than their hostilities and, on the other, that precisely the opposite is true of the different classes in the nations themselves. I know you have the authority

²See Wayne K. Chapman and Janet M. Manson, "Carte and Tierce: Leonard, Virginia Woolf, and War for Peace," in *Virginia Woolf and War: Fiction, Reality and, Myth*, ed. Mark Hussey (New York: Syracuse U.P., 1991), 62-4.

of the Prime Minister [David Lloyd George] in support of your point of view, but that does not recommend it to me! Surely, the whole of your powerful argument in favour of international cooperation applies equally to class cooperation. In other words, is not class war and class consciousness and all the rest of it really only another form of the same vice as underlies extreme nationalism?³

In his lengthy response of April 11, Woolf agrees that cooperation on all levels is desirable but, perhaps, more difficult to achieve at the national level for economic reasons. He describes in some detail the economic differences of classes at the national level, particularly since the Industrial Revolution, and then observes:

This is a completely different situation from that which exists in the world of nations. There is nothing in the organization of the society of nations which assumes and makes inevitable such a conflict of interests, although of course, as I said, some of the interests of some nations are in conflict with some of the interests of other nations.

I am afraid that I have written at terrible length about this, and I am not sure that I have made myself clear. But I feel that the point is of enormous importance at the present day. Personally I think that the class war and the conflict of class interests are the greatest curses, and that the first thing that one should aim at is to abolish this conflict and class war. I think you want exactly the same

³Robert Cecil to Leonard S. Woolf, Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations; hereafter cited as Berg Collection, NYPL. Permissions to quote from the unpublished correspondence of Cecil and Woolf, respectively, were granted by A. K. S. Lambton and Mrs. Trekkie Parsons, their literary executors.

kind of cooperation between individuals and classes in a nation as you want between nations, but that you cannot possibly get it so long as society is organized as it is today.⁴

Woolf closes by promising to send Cecil his latest book on the subject, *Socialism and Cooperation* (National Labour Press, 1921).

Cecil continued to explore ways to promote the kind of cooperation that he and Woolf discussed in this exchange of letters. Indeed, advocating the League of Nations in a speech that he delivered in Toronto during his North American tour a couple of years later, Cecil used language reminiscent of Woolf's 1921 letter:

[The] theory might perhaps be called the family theory of nations. That recognizes that there is no distinction between nations and individuals, from the ethical point of view; that they are all members one of another, that they all rise and fall with one another; that if misfortune happens to one of them it depresses all the rest; if prosperity comes to one of them it helps all the rest. That is the true theory; that is the theory which is in accordance, as I read it, with all the best economic and historical teachings; and that is the theory which lies at the base of the League of Nations.⁵

Woolf's report of 1915 had so favorably impressed Cecil that he had much of it included in the British draft proposal of the

⁴Leonard S. Woolf to Robert Cecil, Berg Collection, NYPL.

⁵Robert Cecil, "Education and the New Era: The League of Nations," in *Education and Life: Addresses Delivered at the National Conference on Education and Citizenship*, Held in Toronto, Canada, April 1923, ed. J. A. Dale (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1924), 259.

League and then passed it on to President Woodrow Wilson. Cecil also participated in the Versailles Peace Conference where he, Wilson, and General Jan Smuts played key roles in drafting the League Covenant. Thus, both Cecil and Woolf were very much a part of the League movement, although Woolf had a less public role than Cecil did as an "idea man" for the Labour Party and as a publicist for the League.

After the U.S. Senate rejected, in 1920, the Versailles Treaty with its provision for American membership in the League, European League members still hoped that the United States might become a member. American internationalists, like their British counterparts,⁶ not only shared this hope, but many of them worked through organizations to create a broad-based public education program designed to generate popular support for the League. The Foreign Policy Association, for example, adopted a program which provided for publications, citizens' meetings, and a series of public speeches by prominent individuals.⁷ Because of his League activities, American organizations, especially the Foreign Policy Association and the Non-Partisan Association, invited Lord Cecil to give a series of speeches in the U.S. promoting the

⁶Ibid., 257. Cecil discussed at some length the role of the League of Nations Union in publicizing and promoting the League in Britain through the Ministry of Education and the school system, private organizations such as the Girl Guides, and by providing articles and speakers for organizations that requested them.

⁷Warren F. Kuehl and Lynne K. Dunn, *Keeping the Covenant: American Internationalists and the League of Nations, 1920-1939* (Kent: Kent State University Press, 1997), 64-7.

League of Nations in 1923.⁸ Ray Strachey, the wife of Oliver Strachey (a mathematician and cryptographer in the Foreign Office), was a prominent feminist and political activist who had met Cecil through League organizations in London a few years before, and so she agreed to do the advance work for his tour. Indeed, Cecil, Strachey, and Leonard Woolf were all members of the League of Nations Union, an influential organization formed across party lines in 1918; Ray served as its political secretary.⁹ She also intended to advance her own projects, as she noted in a letter to her mother, Mary Berenson, on December 20, 1922: “I have practically decided to go to the USA, chiefly for the purpose of getting journalistic work, and to see about the novel [*Marching On* — book on the suffragist movement].”¹⁰ Ray traveled to New York in February 1923 to arrange Cecil’s schedule and to ensure that he arrived “amid a blare of trumpets” — an objective that was partly ensured through a

⁸*London Times*, 22 February 1923, 10. Cecil returned to the U.S. to repeat his performance on at least one other occasion. Kuehl and Dunn, *Keeping the Covenant*, 79-80.

⁹*New York Times*, 8 April 1923, sec. 8, 11; *The New Republic*, 28 March 1923, 122; E. M. Forster, *Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1962), 168-70; George W. Egerton, *Great Britain and the Creation of the League of Nations: Strategy, Politics, and International Organization, 1914-1919* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1978), 90-92. Sir Edward Grey became president of the League of Nations Union, serving alongside David Lloyd George, Arthur Balfour, and Herbert Asquith who lent support as honorary presidents.

¹⁰Hannah Whitall Smith Papers, Manuscripts Department, Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana. For permission to quote from Ray Strachey’s papers in this collection, I am indebted to her daughter, Barbara Strachey Halpern.

February 14 meeting with Colonel Edward M. House, who served as special advisor to President Woodrow Wilson during the war.¹¹ Meg A. Meneghel explains that Ray readily chose to advance feminist politics and League politics in the United States because of her on-going work for both causes. And Ray used important family ties in the United States to make speaking engagements for Cecil at Bryn Mawr and elsewhere — a practice she probably borrowed from her mother and from her stepfather, Bernard Berenson. The Berensons had most likely used family connections in their successful business venture of collecting art for American patrons.¹²

Ray succeeded on all counts. Robert Cecil and Philip Noel-Baker arrived in New York on March 27 to spend about five weeks in the U.S. and Canada. During this time, Cecil delivered some fifty speeches in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal, and elsewhere; he also met with various groups and notables, including political leaders such as President Warren Harding and former President Wilson.

In her March 30 letter from New York to family members, Ray provides a sketch of daily preparations for Cecil's meetings and appearances:

My actual programme this week is to go to the [Thomas W.] Lamonts (where Ld R is staying) at 10 AM, collect all the letters dealing with his movements here, consult

¹¹Ray Strachey to Family, 15 February 1923, Smith Papers.

¹²Meg A. Meneghel, "'Dear Mother': Ray Strachey's Role in Feminism and the League of Nations as Seen from the Lilly Library," in *Women in the Milieu of Leonard and Virginia Woolf: Peace, Politics, and Education*, eds. Wayne K. Chapman and Janet M. Manson (New York: Pace University Press, 1998), 90-1.

with him & Philip Baker over the days programme, & then, about 11:30 go by taxi (at public expense) to the office of the Foreign Policy Assn. where W. MacDonald & I send off cables and telegrams & talk by telephone to Canada & and see important visitors who come hundreds of miles to try & arrange secret interviews between such men as [Henry?] Ford, or [Senator William] Borah and Ld R. This is really the important side of the thing: but the social frills & the radio messages & all that take up more actual time. Well, then I lunch, spend the afternoon writing all the letters consequent on the decisions & at tea time return to Lamonts, when Ld R usually has a little time off for gossiping. Then he is driven to work on preparing his speeches & Philip settles down to the labour of preparing memoranda & heavy material for serious people, and I take the days ceremonial letters and answer them. We keep 2 typists working 12 hours a day at Lamonts, & two more at the office; its a terrific job. But I actually enjoy it.¹³

Cecil first met Thomas Lamont at the Versailles conference where he served as a financial expert. Lamont had a

¹³Smith Papers; Meneghel, "Dear Mother," 92. Cecil was sought out by a number of people including Salmon O. Levinson who used the opportunity to advance his views on the outlawry of war when Cecil was in Chicago. Robert H. Ferrell, *Peace in Their Time: The Origins of the Kellogg-Briand Pact* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), 35. Apparently, consultations of one sort or another were not uncommon among American and British political figures. For example, the Labour Party Advisory Committee on International Affairs invited peace activist Professor James Shotwell of Columbia University to attend a few of its meetings when it discussed disarmament issues in early 1924. Shotwell's visit occurred during Leonard Woolf's tenure as secretary for the committee. University of Sussex Library, Manuscripts Section, Leonard Woolf Papers, I.D. 1. c.

partnership in J. P. Morgan & Co., was a Republican, a member of the League of Nations Association and the Foreign Policy Association. He hosted Cecil and Philip Noel-Baker during their stay in New York.¹⁴

Ray Strachey's work on feminist issues was equally successful. Harcourt and Brace agreed to publish her novel *Marching On*; she was commissioned to write a number of articles by newspapers and magazines such as the *New York Evening Post* and the *Ladies Home Journal*, and she earned hundreds of dollars in lecture fees.¹⁵ On March 15, Ray reported to her family that she expected to cover all of her travel expenses through her work in the United States and that the Foreign Policy Association would pay for her passage back to England.¹⁶ Ray's 1923 lectures on women's rights were, in many ways, a continuation of the work she began in 1909, when Ray accompanied her friend Ellie Rendel and Anna Howard Shaw, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, on a lecture tour of the United

¹⁴*New York Times*, 28 March 1923; Robert Cecil, *A Great Experiment: An Autobiography* (New York, 1941), 143; Kuehl and Dunn, *Keeping the Covenant*, 155. Lamont became an early supporter of the League of Nations, in part, because he understood the interdependence of international economic and political policies. Since he believed that a strong League depended on stable international financial relationships, he helped bring about several agreements, including the 1924 Dawes and the 1929 Young plans, which promoted financial stability.

¹⁵Ray Strachey to Family, 15 February 1923; Ray Strachey to Family, 15 March 1923, Lilly Library; Meneghel, "Ray Strachey's Role," 92; Robert Cecil, *A Great Experiment: An Autobiography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1941), 143.

¹⁶Smith Papers.

States.¹⁷ Indeed, the *New York Times* of April 8, 1923, described Ray Strachey as: “[o]ne of the first women in England to stand for a seat in Parliament...[She] has been in the political game since the age of eighteen [and] was an early and hard worker for suffrage in England.” In that same newspaper article, Ray credited Lord Robert Cecil with having done “more than any other one man for woman suffrage in England.” Thus, Lord Robert, who had encouraged and supported Ray Strachey in her parliamentary campaigns, joined forces with her on a number of issues.¹⁸

For his part, Cecil also pronounced the American tour a success — though it had been a project he undertook with mixed feelings. He admitted in his autobiographies, *A Great Experiment* and *All the Way*, that, because Conservative Party policies on many issues (especially on the League) had changed so much, it was impossible for him to accept, in 1923, a position in the government headed by Conservative Party leader Stanley Baldwin. By 1920, Cecil had decided to devote his political energies to the League, and by that time he found himself out of step with his own party. Moreover, the Liberal Party was so badly split that it could not function

¹⁷Barbara Strachey Halpern, “Ray Strachey — A Memoir,” in *Women in the Milieu of Leonard and Virginia Woolf: Peace, Politics, and Education*, eds. Wayne K. Chapman and Janet M. Manson (New York: Pace University Press, 1998), 78. Ray Costelloe Strachey became acquainted with the Strachey family through her friend Ellie Rendel who was a niece of Oliver Strachey. Many of the Strachey women were political activists in the women’s suffrage movement — a cause that Ray’s maternal grandmother, Hannah Whittall Smith, had also embraced.

¹⁸*New York Times*, 8 April 1923, sec. 8, 11. See Halpern, 83; Constance Rover, *Women’s Suffrage and Party Politics in Britain 1866-1914* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1967), 113, on Cecil’s woman suffrage work.

as the opposition party, leaving that role to the Labour Party, which he could not join.¹⁹ In *All the Way*, Cecil describes his decision to devote himself to the League:

On the whole, therefore, I thought I could do a better job for the League outside all Parties. To be honest, I must add that definitely to go into opposition to the [Conservative] Party which had been so victoriously led by my father [Robert Cecil, the Marquis of Salisbury] and which was supported by my brother [Lord Hugh Cecil] and my much-loved cousin — Arthur Balfour — was so distasteful that I could not have done it unless I had been quite certain that it afforded the only chance for peace.²⁰

Thus, the American tour seemed to him the best means of furthering League interests at the time.²¹

¹⁹Cecil, *Experiment*, 101; Robert Cecil, *All the Way* (London: Hodder and Stoughton Ltd., 1949), 179-80. Cecil interpreted the Baldwin government's extreme sensitivity toward even the slightest involvement on Cecil's part in international issues such as the Ruhr crisis of January 1923 and most especially the government's handling of the Corfu incident, when Italy attempted to annex Corfu in August, to mean that many Conservatives had never intended to utilize the League as an integral part of British foreign policy. See David Cecil, *The Cecils of Hatfield House* (London: Constable & Company Limited, 1973), 294-6, 305. David Cecil observes that Robert Cecil, like his father the Marquis of Salisbury, felt compelled to take principled stands on important political issues regardless of Conservative Party policies. However, this sort of independent action served to isolate Robert Cecil politically--a problem not experienced by his father. See also Hugh Cecil, "Lord Robert Cecil: A Nineteenth-Century Upbringing," *History Today* 25 (1975): 118-9, 124-5.

²⁰Cecil, *All the Way*, 192.

²¹Cecil, *Experiment*, 143.

Many Americans were in awe of Cecil's family tradition of government service — a tradition that dated back to Queen Elizabeth I.²² Cecil's sincerity, passion for politics, especially the League, and his humility won over audiences regardless of their views on the League of Nations. A *New York Times* editorial on his first speech in the United States described Cecil as "A Practical Idealist" who had come here for a "free exchange of ideas" and to gain more information about Americans' perceptions of the League.²³ In a series of retrospective articles which appeared in May in different versions in the *New York Times* and the *London Times*, Cecil announced that he had fulfilled both of these objectives. He reported that he had had contact with a large number of people. (His speeches were well-attended, and they were often broadcast over the radio; in addition, his visit was given extensive coverage in the *New York Times*). Cecil observed that American audiences were always inquisitive and were, at the same time, courteous to a fault. During the question-and-answer sessions that Cecil conducted after his speeches, audiences usually regarded questioners as being disrespectful to the speaker if they were critical of the League. Nevertheless, Cecil correctly attributed widespread opposition to League membership to traditional American foreign policies which avoided involvement in international affairs and, hence, the kind of obligations required of League members, and to partisan politics that divided support for the League along party lines during the most recent presidential election.²⁴

²²"Lord Robert Cecil: His Background and His Championship of the League of Nations, a Personal Sketch," *Outlook* 18 April 1923, 703-5.

²³*New York Times*, 3 April 1923, 22.

²⁴Robert Cecil, "The League of Nations: Lord R. Cecil in America," *London Times*, 10 May 1923, 15-16.

The Ruhr crisis, which was brought on by the French and Belgian invasion of the Ruhr valley in January 1923, at a time when Germany was unable to make its war reparations payments, was very much on the minds of Americans during Cecil's visit; and, therefore, he spent a good deal of time discussing the crisis. He agreed with Americans that "the Ruhr was the greatest existing obstacle to American membership of the League." He conceded, in that same *London Times* article of May 10, 1923, that "...French action [in the Ruhr] is altogether irreconcilable with the spirit of the League, and [he] found it an almost impossible task to convince even those who were otherwise well disposed that there was any really effective reason other than the opposition of France why the League should not intervene."²⁵ To be sure, the Ruhr crisis moved Cecil's Bloomsbury associates and fellow League of Nations Union members Leonard Woolf and Professors Gilbert Murray and Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson, who were influential publicists in the British League of Nations movement, to write, in 1923, a number of articles for periodicals such as *The Nation & Athenaeum* (edited, at the time, by Leonard Woolf), and *The New Republic*, calling for a peaceful solution to the crisis. Cecil believed that this crisis could be resolved through negotiations undertaken by all parties involved, including Germany; he optimistically predicted that the whole matter would be put before the League of Nations.²⁶ However, he rejected the use of force to resolve such crises — a position opposed by Dickinson and Woolf. In his August 1923 Empire Day lecture, which he delivered a few months after returning to London, Cecil maintained that "The League...has proved that public opinion

²⁵Ibid., 16.

²⁶*New York Times*, 28 April 1923, 2.

and international co-operation are and have been weapons against war, and that peace can be secured by their means.”²⁷ Dickinson insisted that unless the League forced great powers, like France, to comply with its policies, there was “no hope for the League.”²⁸

Cecil had read *International Government* as well as other works by Woolf, so he was well aware that his friend was one of the early proponents of the use of force as a last resort to preserve peace when Cecil wrote Woolf about this issue years later.²⁹ He reluctantly admitted to Woolf that he had underestimated the importance of force. In a letter of October 12, 1940, Cecil stated: “Public opinion was not robust enough for peace in the interval of (19-) 39 [i.e., 1919-1939] and the advocates of the League — including myself — were not insistent enough on the requirement of force as the ultimate necessity for the restraint of aggression [sic].”³⁰ His conviction that the League should have responded more forcefully to events such as the Japanese aggression in Manchuria and the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in the 1930s

²⁷Lord Robert Cecil, *The Moral Basis of the League of Nations* (The Essex Hall Lecture 1923) (London: The Linsey Press, 1923), 38.

²⁸Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson, “Can These Bones Live?” *The New Republic*, 24 October 1923, 228-30.

²⁹For Leonard Woolf’s views on the use of force see *International Government*, 82, 233, 255. See also Chapman and Manson, “Carte and Tierce,” 62-7; *Leonard and Virginia Woolf working together and the hitherto unpublished manuscript ‘In. L. Re.’* Edited and Introduced by Wayne K. Chapman and Janet M. Manson. The Bloomsbury Heritage Series, No. 15 (London: Cecil Woolf, 1997), 4-6.

³⁰Robert Cecil to Leonard Woolf, 12 October 1940, Berg Collection, NYPL.

motivated Cecil to continue his work for international cooperation through organizations such as the League of Nations Union and the London International Assembly.³¹ By the 1940s, he had obviously modified his views on the efficacy of public opinion and international cooperation as the primary guarantors of international peace.³²

After the American tour of 1923, Lord Robert Cecil, Ray Strachey and Philip Noel-Baker continued their political activities. The tour did promote greater understanding of the League of Nations, even though the United States never did join the organization, and the League became a casualty of crises brought about by Japan, Germany, and Italy during the 1930s. Nevertheless, Cecil, Strachey, and Noel-Baker remained active in politics and worked with Leonard Woolf in some way. After he returned to England in May 1923, Cecil accepted the post of Lord Privy Seal in Stanley Baldwin's cabinet partly in order to work on League issues.³³ From 1926 to 1927, he represented Britain on the Disarmament Commission at Geneva, and then, in 1931, Leonard and Virginia Woolf's publishing company, the Hogarth Press, printed Cecil's *A Letter to an M.P. on Disarmament*. Ray Strachey, who is best known for "*The Cause*": *A Short History of the Women's Movement in Great Britain* (1928) and *Millicent Garrett Fawcett* (1931), also edited a book of feminist essays, *Our Freedom and Its Results* (1936), for the Hogarth Press. She returned to her post as Lady Nancy

³¹Robert Cecil, "The London International Assembly," *The Contemporary Review*, April 1943, 193-4.

³²For an explanation of his early views on these issues see Cecil, *The Moral Basis*, especially pages 37-8.

³³Cecil, *Experiment*, 145-47.

Astor's parliamentary secretary in 1931.³⁴ Moreover, Ray wrote essays for *The Nation & Athenaeum* and the *Political Quarterly* during Leonard's tenure on the editorial boards of both periodicals.³⁵ Philip Noel-Baker and Leonard Woolf served on the Labour Party's Advisory Committee on International Affairs. In 1929, Noel-Baker won a seat in the House of Commons on the Labour Party ticket and remained in Parliament until the 1950s; he was awarded a Nobel Prize in 1959. Noel-Baker's book *Disarmament* (1926) and pamphlet "Disarmament and the Coolidge Conference" (1927) were published by the Hogarth Press.³⁶ Leonard Woolf remained active in politics until shortly before his death in 1969. He became secretary of the Labour Party Advisory Committee on Imperial Questions in 1924; he helped found the journal *The Political Quarterly* (1930), and he became a director of the *New Statesman* in 1942. He also wrote numerous books, articles, and pamphlets on politics; naturally, he was a staunch supporter of the United Nations and author of such books as *Empire and Commerce in Africa* (1920), *Quack, Quack!* (1935) (on fascism), and *The War for Peace* (1940).

³⁴Lady Astor became the first woman elected to serve in Parliament. Halpern, "Ray Strachey," 82.

³⁵J. H. Willis, Jr., *Leonard and Virginia Woolf as Publishers: The Hogarth Press, 1917-1941* (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 1992), 248.

³⁶*Ibid.*, 121, 136, 222-23.

OBITUARY

Frank Merli (Queens College) died on Friday, December 22, 2000. Merli resided in Northport, Long Island. He was 71 years old. He received his Ph.D. in 1964 from Indiana University. He joined the Queens College Department in 1968 and was promoted to Associate Professor in 1972. He served as Graduate Adviser in the department since 1969.

Merli was the author of *Great Britain and the Confederate Navy, 1861-1865*, published in 1970 and co-editor of *Makers of American Diplomacy: From Benjamin Franklin to Henry Kissinger*. He was guest editor of the *Journal of Confederate History Special Commemorative Naval Issue on CSS Alabama* in 1990. He wrote entries in *The Encyclopedia of the Confederacy* in 1993 and many articles and book chapters on such topics as the confederate navy, Great Britain and the Confederacy, the British view of the Union and Confederate navies, Civil War blockades, and Civil War diplomacy.

Frank Warren, Queens College: City University of New York

ANNOUNCEMENTS

The recently announced Pulitzer Prize for general nonfiction was awarded to Herbert P. Bix (Tokyo, Japan) for *Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan*. Pulitzer officials stated that Bix provoked a rethinking of the emperor's role in the 20th century — especially during World War II — with his work. Societal congratulations for this achievement.

Senior Fellowships U.S. Institute of Peace

The United States Institute of Peace invites applications for the 2002-2003 Senior Fellowship competition in the Jennings Randolph Program for International Peace. The Institute funds projects related to preventive diplomacy, ethnic and regional conflicts, peacekeeping and peace operations, peace settlements, post-conflict reconstruction and reconciliation, democratization and the rule of law, cross-cultural negotiations, nonviolent social movements, U.S. foreign policy in the 21st century, and related topics. Fellows reside at the Institute for a period of up to ten months to conduct research on their projects, consult with staff, and contribute to the ongoing work of the Institute. Projects which demonstrate relevance to current policy debates will be highly competitive. The Fellowship award includes a stipend, an office with computer and voicemail, and a part-time research assistant. The competition is open to citizens of all nations. Women and members of minorities are especially encouraged to apply.

All application materials must be received in our offices by September 17, 2001. For more information and an application form, please visit the Institute's website at <<http://www.usip.org>>, or contact the Jennings Randolph Program, U.S. Institute of Peace, 1200 17th Street, NW, Suite 200, Washington, DC 20036-3011, Tel: 202-429-3886 Fax: 202-429-6063

E-mail: jrprogram@usip.org

Journal of Intelligence History

The International Intelligence History Study Group has launched the *Journal of Intelligence History*. The first issue features contributions by David Kahn on "Intelligence in World War II," Shlomo Shpiro on "Intelligence, Media and Terrorism," Gilbert Bloch on "The Polish Reconstitution of the German Military Enigma and the First Decryption of Its Messages," Heinz Ulbricht on "Uncle Dick and Other Horrors of the Enigma," Herbert

Romerstein on “Disinformation as a KGB Weapon in the Cold War,” and Anju Becker on “The Spy Who Couldn’t Possibly Be French: French Espionage (and) Culture.” For abstracts of the articles and full text of the reviews, visit the web-page at: <http://iintelligence-history.wiso.uni-erlangen.de> and then use the link to the journal.

LETTERS: A TOUCH OF HUMOR

Foolish Coincidence or Tragic Error?

Bombay, 30th July, 1949

From: His Goodness John Walter Smith
Stone Building, 2nd Floor, 20
Haines Road, Jacob Circle
Byculla, Bombay, 11

To: H. Truman,
The President of the United States of America
White House, Washington (U.S.A.)

My dear Truman,

I don't know if you are aware of my existence but this letter will make you cognizant of the facts which may enlighten you.

I am a powerful man, supporter of the world, which at present is getting finished.

As the U.S.A. are included in the world, if I am not supporting them, will get finished, i.e., all the american people will die.

In my opinion, the communism is not the biggest danger for the present world, but the Fate, which is finishing the world, if it is not supported by myself. Happily my almighty's power, at this critical moment, is a boon to the humanity, not doubting that also in the past it was always supported by myself.

Will you please send me \$10,000,000 (ten million) dollars, free of income taxes if any, as my pay for the hard work I have done in the past, and doing at present, and shall be thankful.

You will have strictly the necessary time, for doing the arrangements, for the payment of the above mentioned amount, please treat this as urgent, for the sake of U.S.A.

I would be thankful if the mentioned amount, was credited on my name and address, in any three guaranteed american banks, which will keep the same amount at my order to the value of #3,000,000 (three millions) for two banks and one bank in the value of \$4,000,000 (four millions) dollars, which will notify to me at the above mentioned address of the amount credited on me, asking at the same time to fill the specimen signature cards, sending me the cheque books for withdrawals.

Thanking

Yours Truly,
His Goodness John Walter Smith

[The previous is an odd and amusing document found some years ago at the Truman Library. The author of the letter is, I am quite sure, and despite his name, an Indian, or perhaps an Anglo-Indian. There is no record of Truman having

responded to the author, and certainly no evidence of the president having sent him \$10 million, "free of income taxes." Do note, however that the Soviet Union tested its first atomic bomb just one month after Mr. Smith issued his warning. Foolish coincidence or tragic error. - Andrew J. Rotter]

PUBLICATIONS

Gordon Chang (Stanford) ed., *Asian Americans and Politics: Perspectives, Experiences, Prospects*. Stanford, 2001. Cloth: ISBN 0-8047-4051-8 \$60; Paper: ISBN 0-8047-4201-4, \$22.95.

Warren I. Cohen (Maryland, Baltimore County), *America's Response to China: A History of Sino-American Relations*, Fourth Edition. Columbia, 2000. Cloth: ISBN 0-231-11928-3, \$45.00; Paper: ISBN 0-231-11929-1, \$17.50.

Andrew DeRoche (Front Range C.C.), *Black, White, and Chrome: The United States and Zimbabwe, 1953 to 1998*. African World Press, 2001. ISBN 0-865-43792-0, \$29.95.

Justus Doenecke (New College of U. of South Florida), *Storm on the Horizon: The Challenge to American Intervention, 1939-1941*. Rowman and Littlefield, 2000. ISBN 0-742-50784-X, \$39.95.

John Gaddis (Yale), *The United States and the Origins of the Cold War*. Columbia, 2000. Paper: ISBN 0-231-12239-X, \$19.50.

Gary R. Hess (Bowling Green), *Presidential Decisions for War: Korea, Vietnam, and the Persian Gulf*. Johns Hopkins, Cloth: ISBN 0-801-86515-8, \$49.95; Paper: ISBN 0-801-86516-6, \$17.95.

Akira Iriye (Harvard), *Cultural Internationalism and World Order*. Johns Hopkins, 2001. New in paper: ISBN 0-8018-6653-7, \$17.95.

Izumi Hirobe (Nagoya, Japan), *Japanese Pride, American Prejudice: Modifying the Exclusion Clause of the 1924 Immigration Law*. Stanford, 2001. ISBN 0-8046-3813-0, \$49.50.

Howard Jones (Alabama), *Crucible of Power: A History of American Foreign Relations from 1897*. Scholarly Resources, 2001. Paper: ISBN 0-8420-2918-4, \$37.95.

Victor S. Kaufman (Southwest Missouri State), *Confronting Communism: U.S. and British Policies toward China*. Missouri, 2001. ISBN 0-8262-1313-8, \$34.95.

Tim Maga (Bradley), *Judgment at Tokyo: The Japanese War Crimes Trials*. Kentucky, 2001. ISBN 0-8131-2177-9, \$25.00.

Stanley Michalak (Franklin and Marshall), *A Primer in Power Politics*. Scholarly Resources, 2001. Paper: ISBN 0-8420-2951-6, \$21.95.

Constantine Miniar-Beloroutchev (Moscow State U), *American Isolationism in the Second World War: Post-War Foreign Policy Formation*. Moskovski Litsey, 2001. (In Russian, with a summary in English). ISBN 5-7611-0275-7.

Jonathan Nielson (Columbia College) ed., *Paths Not Taken: Speculations on American Foreign Policy and Diplomatic History, Interests, Ideals and Power*. Praeger, 2000. ISBN 0-275-96769-7, \$65.00.

Victor Papacosma, Sean Kay, and Mark R. Rubin (Kent State), *NATO After Fifty Years*. Scholarly Resources, 2001. Paper: ISBN 0-8410-2886-2, \$21.95.

Nick Sarantakes (Texas A&M), *Keystone: The American Occupation of Okinawa and U.S.-Japanese Relations*. Texas A&M, 2000. Paper: ISBN 0-89096-969-8, \$34.95.

M. E. Sarrotte (Notre Dame), *Dealing with the Devil: East Germany, Detente and Ostpolitik, 1969-1973*. North Carolina, 2001. ISBN 0-8078-2599-9, \$55.00.

James Siekmeier (Angelo State), *Aid, Nationalism, and Inter-American Relations: Guatemala, Boliva, and the United States, 1945-1961*. Edwin Mellen, 1999. ISBN 0-7734-7954-6, \$109.95.

Eileen P. Scully (Princeton), *Bargaining with the Sate from Afar: American Citizenship in Treaty Port China, 1844-1942*. Columbia, 2001. Cloth: 0-231-12108-3, \$49.50; Paper: ISBN 0-231-12109-1, \$19.50.

John H Schroeder (Wisconsin-Milwaukee), *Matthew Calbraith Perry: Antebellum Sailor and Diplomat*. Naval Institute, 2001. ISBN 1-5575-0872-7, \$36.95.

Stephen M Streeter (McMaster), *Managing the Counter-revolution: The United States and Guatemala, 1954-1961*. Ohio, 2001. ISBN 0-89680-215-9, \$30.00.

PERSONALS

The U.S. Fulbright commission and University College Dublin have named Terry Anderson (Texas A&M) as the Mary Ball Washington Professor of American History for the 2001-2002 academic year.

Justus Doenecke's book, *Storm on the Horizon: The Challenge to American Intervention, 1939-1941*, won the Eighth Annual Herbert Hoover Book Award of the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library Association for the year 2000. It is presented for the best book submitted by a publisher on any topic of American history focusing on the years 1914-1964, the years of Hoover's public life.

Rafael Medoff (SUNY-Purchase) has been named Associate Book Review Editor of *American Jewish History*.

On March 1st the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies (AICGS) hosted a presentation of the latest book in the New Cold War History series. The author, Mary Elise Sarotte, summarized the key themes of her book, *Dealing with the Devil: East Germany, Detente, and Ostpolitik, 1969-1973*.

Regina



Books

SHAFR MEMBER DISCOUNTS

THE UNITED STATES AND POST-COLD WAR INTERVENTIONS: Bush and Clinton in Somali, Haiti and Bosnia, 1992-1998. Lester H. Brune.(1999) 192pp.

"The author provides good historical background for each intervention as well as an examination of the dilemmas of post-intervention peacekeeping. This book is particularly helpful in the wake of the Kosovo War..." Choice \$14.95 Paper **SHAFR Price (pap) \$ 9.00**

INTO THE DARK HOUSE: American Diplomacy & the Ideological Origins of the Cold War. Joseph M. Siracusa. (1998) 288pp.

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Joseph M. Siracusa & Yeong-Han Cheong (1997) 160pp

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Graebner. <i>Empire on Pacific...</i>	\$ 9.00	—
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CALENDAR

- 2001**
- August 1 Deadline, materials for the Sept. *Newsletter*.
- November 1 Deadline, materials for Dec. *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.
- 2002**
- January 1 Membership fees in all categories are due, payable at Blackwell Publishers, 350 Main St., Malden MA 02148.
- January 3-6 116th annual meeting of the AHA in San Francisco. Deadline has passed.
- January 15 Deadline for the Bernath Article Award.
- February 1 Deadline for the Bernath Book Award, deadline for March *Newsletter*, and deadline for Ferrell Book Prize.
- February 15 Deadline for the Bernath lecture prize.
- March 1 Deadline for Graebner Prize nominations.
- April 15 Applications for the W. Stull Holt dissertation fellowship are due.
- April 26-29 The 94th meeting of the OAH will take place at the Westin Bonaventure in Los Angeles.
- May 1 Deadline, materials for the June *Newsletter*.
- June 14-16 SHAFR's 28th annual conference will meet at American University. Richard Immerman is Program Chair, Anna Nelson is Local Arrangements Chair.

Sites for future AHA meetings are: Chicago, January 2-5, 2003; and Washington, January 8-11, 2004.

The 2002 SHAFR annual meeting will be held in Athens, GA.

The 2002 meeting of the OAH will be held in Washington, April 11-14, at the Renaissance Hotel.

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: Garry Clifford, Department of Political Science, 341 Mansfield Rd., University of Connecticut, Storrs CT 06269

Books may be sent at any time during 2001, but should not arrive later than February 1, 2002.

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 2002 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, 2002.

RECENT WINNERS:

1996 Robert Buzzanco
1997 Carolyn Eisenberg
1998 Penny Von Eschen

1999 Eric Roorda
Kurk Dorsey
2000 Gregory Mitrovich
Joseph Henning

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. The winner of the 2002 competition will deliver a 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 or within ten years of the receipt of the PhD 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 2002. The Chairperson of the Committee is: Bob Buzzanco, University of Houston, Houston TX 77204-3785

RECENT WINNERS:

1995 Thomas Schwartz
1996 Douglas Brinkley
1997 Elizabeth Cobbs

1998 Peter Hahn
1999 Robert Buzzanco
2000 Tom Zeiler

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 2001. 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, 2002. Three (3) copies of the article shall be submitted to the chairperson of the committee: Fredrik Logevall, Department of History, UC/Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara CA 93106. The award is given at the SHAFR luncheon held in conjunction with the OAH annual meeting.

RECENT WINNERS:

1996 David Fitzsimons
1997 Robert Vitalis
1998 Nancy Bernhard

1999 Robert Dean
Michael Latham
2000 Joseph Manzione

The Stuart L. Bernath Dissertation Grant

This grant has been established to help doctoral students who are members of SHAFR defray some 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, in triplicate, must include:
 - (a) applicant's vita;
 - (b) a brief dissertation prospectus focusing on the significance of the thesis (2-4 pages will suffice);
 - (c) a paragraph regarding the sources to be consulted and their value;
 - (d) an explanation of why the money is needed and how, specifically, it will be used; and

- (e) a letter from the applicant's supervising professor commenting upon the appropriateness of the applicant's request. (This should be sent separately to the selection committee chair.)
5. One or more awards may be given. Generally awards will not exceed \$1,500.
 6. The successful applicant must file a brief report on how the funds were spent not later than eight months following the presentation of the award (i.e., normally by the following September).

Applications, in triplicate, should be sent to: Ted Wilson, History, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS66045. The deadline for application is November 1, 2001.

RECENT WINNERS:

- | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| 1994 Delia Pergande | 1997 D'Arcy M. Brissman |
| 1995 Amy L. Staples | 1998 Max Friedman |
| 1996 David Fitzsimons | |

Georgetown Travel Grants

The Bernath Dissertation Grant committee also administers grants to be funded from the SHAFR Georgetown fund to support travel for research in the Washington area. The amounts are determined by the committee.

RECENT WINNER:

Elisse Wright (Ohio State)

The Myrna F. Bernath Book Award

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 2000 and 2001 will be considered in 2002. Submission deadline is November 15, 2001. Five copies of each book (or page proofs) must accompany a letter of application. Contact: Carol Adams, Salt Lake Community College, 4600 Redwood Road, Salt Lake City, UT 84130

PREVIOUS WINNERS

- 1991 Diane Kunz and Betty Unterberger
1996 Nancy Bernkopf Tucker

The Myrna F. Bernath Fellowship Award

An award of \$2500 (apply in even-numbered years), to research the study of foreign relations among women scholars. The grants are intended for women at U.S. universities as well as for women abroad who wish to do research in the United States. Preference will be given to graduate students and newly finished Ph.D's. The subject-matter *should be historically based* and concern American foreign relations or aspects of international history, as broadly conceived. Work on purely domestic topics will not be considered. Applications should include a letter of intent and three copies of a detailed research proposal of no more than 2000 words. Send applications to: Carol Adams, Salt Lake Community College, 4600 Redwood Road, Salt Lake City, UT 84130. Submission deadline is November 15, 2002.

RECENT WINNERS:

1992	Shannon Smith	1997	Deborah Kisatsky
1994	Regina Gramer		Mary Elise Savotte
	Jaclyn 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 2001, 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 (8-12 pages, double spaced) should describe the dissertation project as fully as possible, indicating the scope, method, chief source materials, and historiographical significance of the project. The applicant should indicate how the fellowship, if awarded, would be used. An academic transcript showing all graduate work taken to date is required, as well as three letters from graduate teachers familiar with the work of the applicant, including one from the director of the applicant's dissertation.

Applications and supporting papers should be sent before April 15, 2001 to: Carol Anderson, History, University of Missouri-Columbia, MO 65211. Holt Memorial

Fellowships carry awards of \$2000, \$1500, and \$1000. Announcements of the recipients will be made at the Society's annual summer meeting. At the end of the fellowship year the recipient of the fellowships will be required to report to the Committee relating how the fellowship was used. A version of the report of the first-place winner will subsequently be published in the *SHAFR Newsletter*.

RECENT WINNERS:

1997 Max Friedman

1998 (1st) Christopher Endy

(2nd) Richard Wiggers

(3rd) Xiaodong Wang

1999 (1st) Michael Donoghue

(2nd) Gregg Brazinsky

(3rd) Carol Chin

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 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, Box 3H, New Mexico State University, Las Cruces, NM, 88003-8001. Phone: 505-646-1515, Fax: 505-646-8148, email: jmatray@nmsu.edu

The deadline for nominations is March 1, 2002.

RECENT WINNERS:

1988 Alexander DeConde

1994 Wayne Cole

1990 Richard W. Leopold

1995 Walter LaFeber

1992 Bradford Perkins

1998 Robert Ferrell

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 1999 and 2000. Deadline for submissions is February 1, 2001. Current Chairperson: Mel Small, History, Wayne State U., Detroit MI 48202.

PREVIOUS WINNERS:

1987 Harold Josephson

1993 Thomas Knock

1988 Melvin Small

1995 Lawrence S. Wittner

1991 Charles DeBenedetti and

1999 Frances Early

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: Mary Giunta, NHPRC - Room 300, National Archives, Washington DC 20408.

PREVIOUS WINNERS 1991 Justus Doenecke
 1996 John C.A. Stagg

THE LAWRENCE GELFAND - ARMIN RAPPAPORT FUND

The Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations established this fund in to honor Lawrence Gelfand, founding member and former SHAFR president and Armin Rappaport, founding editor of *Diplomatic History*. The fund will support the professional work of the journal's editorial office. Contact: 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 2001, 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, 2002.

Books may be nominated by the author, the publisher, or by any member of SHAFR. Current chairperson: Chester Pach, Contemporary History Institute, Ohio University, Athens OH 45701-2979.

PREVIOUS WINNERS:

1992 David Anderson and Diane Kunz	1997 Robert Schulzinger
1994 Mel Leffler	1998 Jeffrey Kimball
1995 John L. Harper	2000 Marc Gallichio
1996 Norman Saul	

NATIONAL HISTORY DAY AWARD

SHAFR has established an award to recognize students who participate in the National History Day (NHD) program in the area of United States diplomatic history. The purpose of the award is to recognize research, writing, and relations to encourage a better understanding of peaceful interactions between nations. The award may be given in any of the NHD categories. For information contact: Cathy Gorn, Executive Director, National History Day, 0119 Cecil Hall, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742

The SHAFR Newsletter

SPONSOR: Tennessee Technological University, Cookeville, Tennessee.

EDITOR: William J. Brinker, Box 5154, Cookeville, TN 38505
Tel. (931) 372-3332; e-mail Wbrinker@TNTECH.edu; FAX (931) 372-6142.

EDITORIAL ASSISTANTS: Thomas R. Greer and Tara King.

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

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

FORMER PRESIDENTS OF SHAFR

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|---|---------------------------------------|
| 1968 Thomas A. Bailey (Stanford) | 1985 Warren F. Kuehl (Akron) |
| 1969 Alexander DeConde (CA-Santa Barbara) | 1986 Betty Unterberger (Texas A&M) |
| 1970 Richard W. Leopold (Northwestern) | 1987 Thomas G. Paterson (Connecticut) |
| 1971 Robert H. Ferrell (Indiana) | 1988 Lloyd Gardner (Rutgers) |
| 1972 Norman A. Graebner (Virginia) | 1989 George Herring (Kentucky) |
| 1973 Wayne S. Cole (Maryland) | 1990 Michael Hunt (North Carolina) |
| 1974 Bradford Perkins (Michigan) | 1991 Gary Hess (Bowling Green) |
| 1975 Armin H. Rappaport (CA-San Diego) | 1992 John Lewis Gaddis (Ohio) |
| 1976 Robert A. Divine (Texas) | 1993 Warren Kimball (Rutgers-Neward) |
| 1977 Raymond A. Esthus (Tulane) | 1994 Melvyn Leffler (Virginia) |
| 1978 Akira Iriye (Chicago) | 1995 Robert Dallek (UCLA) |
| 1979 Paul A. Varg (Michigan State) | 1996 Mark Gilderhus (Colorado State) |
| 1980 David M. Pletcher (Indiana) | 1997 Emily Rosemberg (Macalester) |
| 1981 Lawrence S. Kaplan (Kent State) | 1998 Arnold Offner (Lafayette) |
| 1982 Lawrence E. Gelfand (Iowa) | 1999 Walter LaFeber (Cornell) |
| 1983 Ernest R. May (Harvard) | 2000 Robert D. Schulzinger (Colorado) |
| 1984 Warren I. Cohen (Michigan State) | |