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Chartered in 1972

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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*.

Contents

Page	
1	Persian Gulf Diplomacy <i>by Jeff Gardner</i>
6	Sport and International Relations: A Research Guide <i>by Barbara Keys</i>
14	23rd Annual U.S. Foreign Affairs Doctoral Dissertation List <i>by Edward A. Goedeken</i>
35	Call for Applications for Executive-Secretary
37	Letters — A Difference of Opinion, <i>Kimball and Berman</i>
44	Obituary
45	SHAFR Council Minutes
47	Announcements
53	Personals
54	Publications
55	Calendar
56	Awards, Prizes, and Funds

PERSIAN GULF DIPLOMACY

by

Jeff Gardner

ABOARD THE USS THEODORE ROOSEVELT

From November 2001 to January 2002, the USS THEODORE ROOSEVELT (CVN-71) hosted a Diplomatic History course while engaged in operations off the coast of Pakistan. This unusual semester explored familiar elements of the history of foreign relations. Additionally, real-time national engagements in Afghanistan added a dimension to this learning environment that underscored some differences in foreign relations past and present and blurred others. The historical nature of conflict in South Asia, a unique shipboard environment, and the central role of the aircraft carrier in the ongoing operations combined to demonstrate to student sailors of the United States Navy how historical behaviors of United States diplomacy and foreign relations forged an employable framework for better understanding of the war they prosecuted outside the classroom.

Conflict in this region of South Asia, six thousand years removed from the earliest Aryan invasions, offers a history that challenged modern pretenses of diplomacy, power and warfare. Students learned foreign relations of the modern nation-state by day, only to see those historical norms contradicted during operations at night. For instance, none of the ordnance delivered upon Afghanistan by THEODORE ROOSEVELT warplanes shape directly US foreign relations with the traditional formulation of state actors. Shadowy Al Qaeda and Taliban non-government organizations fit no routine understanding of NGOs, and force of this magnitude directed toward an individual, Osama bin Laden, is a new dimension of United States diplomacy written in part by the students themselves. The ultimate homework assignment.

In more traditional study, students saw that Afghanistan's crossroads location between Iran and India in east-west travel and between Central and South Asia in travel north to south long ago created a structure of tribal diplomacy that largely still exists. The decidedly pre-modern arrangement, problematic for Western foreign affairs that historically underestimate it, provided context for a United States effort that appears to have learned from the past. Thus, the ability of US special forces to forge relations with Pashtun tribal leaders presented students with a different model for foreign relations than did the norms for diplomacy in the eighteenth, nineteenth and even twentieth centuries. Students discovered similarities and differences past and present, measuring each as the war unfolded. Even the munitions loadout of individual F-14 and F-18 sorties became cause for reasoned analysis. Such learning tools, creatively employed, more than made up for unavailability of some traditional academic assets that is to be expected aboard deployed war vessels.

Such constructive opportunity does not just fall into place, however. The shipboard environment is, indeed, unlike most educational arenas. For half of the THEODORE ROOSEVELT semester, Diplomatic History classes held from 1 AM to 3 AM reflected the operating schedule of a war fought largely at night. Combat drills, USO and military VIP events, and a national press corps that took interest in the Diplomatic History class required flexible scheduling. Three times, classes ended abruptly due to sailors having fallen overboard. More frequently, irritating and often useless loudspeaker announcements disrupt class rhythm.

The classrooms aboard THEODORE ROOSEVELT are two decks below the ship's three catapults. Departing aircraft power up with a deafening roar, and 10 to 15 seconds later a catapult hurls warplanes from a standstill to 138 miles per

hour in two seconds. The catapult's sudden stop sends a shudder throughout the ship, including the classrooms. Later, the retrieval of the aircraft — an event little more than a controlled, full power crash — disrupts class flow again. During a launch or retrieval cycle these events repeat within minutes, or less, and the 7,000 launches that had taken place aboard THEODORE ROOSEVELT by the end of the semester created measurable challenge for a learning environment.

Carrier sailors are used to the distractions however, and the nuances of complex carrier operations, such as noise, are routine. More formidable is the underway operations workload that often produces a student who is very tired, albeit for reasons different than those heard on campus. The average THEODORE ROOSEVELT sailor, 19.3 years old, required maturity greater than those years to successfully meet the job, the physical learning environment and the demands of the upper division Diplomatic History coursework.

The students were less accustomed to distractions caused by the nation's heightened war consciousness. Mail — 6,000 pounds arrived per day during the holiday season — carried more than packages and letters from home, from grade schoolers, from civic groups. Corporations sent products by the pallet, as did, for instance, Firehouse 71 in Riverside, California. Rock bands played, popular entertainers sang and comedians joked in hangar bay performances.

Politicians and military policymakers also arrived aboard THEODORE ROOSEVELT. These diversions proved most worthwhile to all of the history classes, including Diplomatic History. Students learning to think critically examined various statements made by the traveling entourages; among them, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Chief of Naval Operations, and congressional delegations that included nine

Operations, and congressional delegations that included nine senators on one visit and as many representatives on another visit. Classes that discussed the visits gained genuine satisfaction in understanding messages in a better context, both from applied historical perspective and in managing the current political jockeying that accompanies a military operation.

One student queried a senator about the constitutionality of the current conflict, a matter discussed in the US History classes. The senator said she did not know the answer, and advised the student to see a lawyer. The astonished student learned more from this exchange than from some other conventional classroom methods, and the episode is a good example of how the challenging shipboard environment created fine opportunities to learn.

The purpose of the naval aviation battle group in modern conflict created yet another challenge to a diplomatic history curriculum. Modern aircraft carriers present a paradox for the study of foreign affairs and diplomacy: this ultimate projection of policy in foreign affairs dominates other theatre instruments, and it does so quite visibly. Students are easily seduced into believing that diplomacy as a foreign relations option is a tool for the inferior and weak. Rarely if ever, even in recent years, has the overwhelming advantage of the modern aircraft carrier battle group been the stark reality of foreign relations equations that it is today. But the average 19-year-old student who knows no differently considered this advantage routine.

The phenomenon tended to undermine student's understanding of the tensions, compromises and less advantageous diplomatic options that are more realistic and common to United States diplomatic history. Therefore, students unaccustomed to

examining policy formulation from this perspective were, for instance, inclined to magnify meager US assets that existed at some point in US history into more powerful options. Understandably, this was especially true regarding naval assets. Since most of eighteenth and nineteenth century US diplomacy did not have the luxury of negotiating from a position of naval superiority, students constantly confronted circumstances foreign to their world view of power. It made much tidier history, students discovered, to consider the XYZ Affair or the Barbary pirates episodes with a carrier battle group present for those events than it was to engage those foreign relations challenges without it.

Thus, the central operational role of the aircraft carrier, its unique shipboard learning environment, and the historical nature of conflict in South Asia created a valuable learning forum for teaching diplomatic history aboard USS THEODORE ROOSEVELT. Real-time events purposefully demonstrated the values of a navy, of naval aviation, and of the results of US foreign relations hammered out by policymakers with access to neither. The coursework recognized the role of power in foreign relations, but required care to avoid overexposing the role of a navy in this formulation in overly parochial or partisan ways.

The environment created for students, technical experts in all facets of sophisticated modern naval aviation, exposure that transformed knowledge of things into a vitality of ideas. The process differed from campus primarily in that the melding of pinpointed experience with academic rigor allowed a degree of learning in the two-month long course that equaled the longer traditional campus course, and perhaps in some ways exceeded it. The end product provided the navy with thirteen sailors better versed in what they do and why they do it. For that, we are all better off.

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SPORT AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: A RESEARCH GUIDE

by

Barbara Keys

FRANKLIN AND MARSHALL COLLEGE

When Palestinian terrorists seized and then killed eleven Israeli athletes at the 1972 Olympic Games, they explained their choice of venue with what was in many ways an astute assessment: "We recognize that sport is the religion of the western world.... So we decided to use the Olympics, the most sacred ceremony of this religion, to make the world pay attention to us."¹

Modern Western sport has achieved astounding popularity across the globe over the last century. The statistics from the last Olympic Games, in Sydney, Australia, testify to the extent of sport's popular appeal: 11,000 athletes from 199 countries participated, and an estimated 3.7 billion individuals in 220 countries watched on television for a cumulative 36 billion viewer hours.² Soccer's quadrennial World Cup attracts a

¹Quoted in Barrie Houlihan, *Sport and International Politics* (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1994), 2.

²For broadcasting figures see the IOC's *Marketing Matters*, no. 18 (May 2001), 2, available at:
<http://www.olympic.org/ioc/e/facts/marketing/mark_report_e.html>.

similarly enormous global audience, and other sports events attract audiences in the millions across many countries. Few would argue with the contention that modern sport is the contemporary world's most successful global cultural form.

Because of their popularity, sports events can play a significant role in international relations, as was highlighted most recently in the lead-up to the International Olympic Committee's selection in July of the host city for the 2008 Games. The Chinese government had poured considerable energy and resources into Beijing's bid, seeing the Olympics as a major opportunity to showcase the country's achievements on a world stage. The international ramifications of a victory for Beijing were such that the U.S. government, though it had no formal role in the selection of host cities, conducted a high-level debate over whether to try to influence the IOC vote. Although some human rights groups argued that awarding the Games to China would mean rewarding an authoritarian regime, the Bush administration in the end decided not to oppose the bid, calculating that the prospect of hosting the global extravaganza would likely act to moderate China's behavior, deterring aggression against Taiwan and providing incentives for improvements in human rights policies.³

Sport and international politics intersected at many levels during the Cold War, when the politicization of sport reached an apogee. For the U.S. and the Soviet bloc, high medal totals at the Olympics were one means of "proving" the superiority of their respective political and economic systems.

³On the early history of China's relationship with the Olympics, see Andrew Morris, "'I Can Compete!' China in the Olympic Games, 1932 and 1936," *Journal of Sport History* 26, no. 3 (Fall 1999): 545-66.

For new nations seeking legitimacy, entry into the International Olympic Committee and other international sport federations was a stepping stone toward international recognition. The German Democratic Republic, for example, successfully used achievements in international sport as a vehicle for achieving recognition as an independent country. Sport boycotts were deployed as sanctions against racial policies and military actions: South Africa was excluded from international competition because of apartheid, and President Jimmy Carter led a boycott of the 1980 Olympic Games in Moscow as a protest against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Sports events were also used as an effective adjunct to traditional diplomacy, perhaps most famously in the 1971 “ping pong diplomacy” that helped set the stage for Nixon’s rapprochement with China.⁴

Despite the evident importance of sport’s role in international affairs, the subject has been largely neglected by diplomatic historians. Although the social history of sport has burgeoned into a significant subfield in recent years, the connections between sport and foreign relations have received little scholarly attention: journalistic accounts have proliferated, but the number of studies based on sustained archival research is surprisingly small.⁵ The studies that are produced too

⁴A useful overview of such issues is provided in Houlihan, *Sport and International Politics*.

⁵Some exceptions that examine the use of sport as a tool of diplomacy include Peter Beck, *Scoring for Britain: International Football and International Politics, 1900-1939* (London: Frank Cass, 1999); Lincoln Allison, ed., *The Changing Politics of Sport* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993); Pierre Arnaud and Alfred Wahl, eds., *Sports et relations internationales* (Metz: Centre de Recherche “Histoire et Civilisation de l’Europe Occidentale,” 1994); Hans Joachim Teichler,

often remain ghettoized in “sport studies” rather than integrated into mainstream scholarship on international relations.

The result is that the study of sport and foreign affairs is a field ripe with opportunities for intrepid scholars seeking new topics and approaches. Many important issues await serious analysis. In addition to questions relating to the political uses of sport by governments in foreign affairs, sport also touches on other issues of importance to international relations, including cultural exchange, private diplomacy, and the role of international nongovernmental organizations in global affairs (the IOC, for example, currently has more members than the UN). Sport also plays an important role in global economic flows and is now a key component of an American-dominated commercial and media empire.⁶

Internationale Sportpolitik im Dritten Reich (Schorndorf: Karl Hofmann, 1991); Kristina Exner-Carl, *Sport und Politik in den Beziehungen Finnlands zur Sowjetunion, 1940-1952* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997); and Per Olof Holmång, *Idrott och utrikespolitik: den svenska idrottsrörelsens internationella förbindelser 1919-1945* (Gothenburg: Historiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet, 1988). My own work examines the growth of international sport in the 1930s from the perspectives of the United States, Nazi Germany, and the Soviet Union. Barbara J. Keys, “The Dictatorship of Sport: Nationalism, Internationalism, and Mass Culture in the 1930s,” Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 2001; see also “The Internationalization of Sport, 1890-1939,” in *The Cultural Turn: Essays in the History of U.S. Foreign Relations*, eds. Frank A. Ninkovich and Liping Bu (Chicago: Imprint Publications, forthcoming).

⁶See David Rowe, *Sport, Culture and the Media: The Unruly Trinity* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1999), and Walter LaFeber, *Michael Jordan and the New Global Capitalism* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1999).

For research on topics relating to sport, many of the standard sources for diplomatic history are useful. Although American involvement in international sport has primarily been left in private hands, the U.S. State Department Decimal Files in the National Archives contain substantial materials on many sport issues in the post-World War II years. Before then, in keeping with its hands-off approach to cultural affairs in general, the State Department remained largely oblivious to the political ramifications of international sport.⁷ In other countries governments have often taken a much more active role in promoting sport, in many cases forming ministries for sport as early as the 1910s and '20s. In such cases government archives can yield rich troves of information. Often, too, local and national sport organizations (such as the British Football Associations) have kept extensive historical records and allow access to researchers.⁸

The archives of international sport organizations are an important source on many topics. Unfortunately some of these organizations do not permit access to researchers; others have only recently begun to open their files on a

⁷On the U.S. government's lack of interest in international sport before World War II, see Keys, "The Dictatorship of Sport," 90-6. One exceptional instance of pre-1945 government interest in sport occurred when the newly formed Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, a government agency charged with implementing the Good Neighbor policy, formed a sports section in 1941. It tried to devise and administer a program involving "interchange of athletes, teams, coaches, and demonstration groups" between the United States and Latin American countries, but little was accomplished before war intervened.

⁸On British sources (and British sources only, despite the title), see Richard William Cox, *History of Sport: A Guide to the Literature and Sources of Information* (Frodsham, Cheshire: Sport History Pub., 1994).

systematic basis.⁹ In some cases formal archives do not exist, and many early records (i.e., before 1945) have been lost or destroyed. Facilities are often so limited that only one or two researchers can work at one time. At the same time, however, the largest sport organizations recognize and are moving to promote the growing scholarly interest in sport studies. I have found archivists and administrators to be very helpful and eager to make their collections as open as possible. Generous photocopying policies, hospitable staff, pleasant—sometimes spectacular—locations, and amenities like free coffee can make working in these collections a real pleasure. In all cases, arrangements must be made well in advance of any visit, and typically a formal application is required. What follows is a brief description of holdings and working conditions at a few of the places most likely to be of interest to researchers.

The archives of the International Olympic Committee (www.museum.olympic.org; click on Studies Center) are a treasure trove for researchers on many subjects. Part of the sprawling IOC headquarters in Lausanne, Switzerland, the archives house 450 linear meters of documents dating to 1894, including the correspondence of IOC presidents and members, IOC correspondence with National Olympic Committees and international sport federations, administrative correspondence, reports of Sessions and Executive Board meetings, documents on the organization of the summer and winter Games, and materials relating to host-city candidates. A 30-year rule

⁹The international federation for track and field (the International Association of Athletics Federations, formerly the International Amateur Athletic Federation), for example, appears to have granted Allen Guttmann access to its files in the 1980s for his biography of Avery Brundage, but has since moved its headquarters from London to Monaco and now claims that its records are too disorganized to be used.

applies to most documents; a 50-year rule applies to personal files. Most of the central administrative records are in English or French (or both). The IOC Museum also houses a library with 17,000 volumes and a film collection. The IOC awards about half a dozen "postgraduate research grants" annually, which provide airfare, housing (in very, very small studios), and a daily stipend. For those unable to travel to Lausanne, the staff will conduct two hours of research for free.¹⁰

The records of the U.S. Olympic Committee, in Colorado Springs, are only now in the process of being formally archived. Access is provided to researchers only on topics for which records are catalogued and retrievable. Researchers may contact Cindy Slater, who heads Information Resources, regarding the availability of documents, but would be well-advised to exhaust other resources first.

The papers of Avery Brundage, a leading figure in the USOC from 1920 on and head of the IOC from 1952 to 1972, are readily accessible and invaluable on many subjects. The collection is held at the University of Illinois in Urbana, and a published finding aid exists. Several libraries also hold

¹⁰For an overview of the archives see Cristina Bianchi, "Memoria Olympica: Aperçu des archives historiques du Comité International Olympique," *Mémoire Vive* (Lausanne), no. 8 (1999): 101-16. On the development of the IOC, the official history is quite useful: *The International Olympic Committee: One Hundred Years. The Idea, the Presidents, the Achievements*, 3 vols. (Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, 1994).

microfilm copies of the collection.¹¹ For most American researchers the most accessible of these is the Paul Ziffren Sports Resource Library in Los Angeles (www.aafla.org). The Ziffren Library is a useful stop for sports researchers on almost any topic because it combines in one place a wide array of sport-related materials. It also provides access to a comprehensive database, SportQuest, an important aid in locating secondary sources. Back issues of several journals, including the IOC's *Olympic Review*, can be accessed from the library's website. The staff at the Ziffren, led by Wayne Wilson, is both knowledgeable and helpful.

Those interested in pursuing less U.S.-centric, more global topics may be interested in the archives of the international soccer federation, the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA), which were formally opened to researchers in May 2000 (www.fifa.com). FIFA headquarters are located in Zürich, on a hill with striking views of the city and lake. FIFA's official languages are English, French, German, and Spanish, and most central administrative documents since World War II can be found in all four languages. Holdings for the period before 1945 are spotty, and very little dates to before 1931, when FIFA's secretariat moved from Amsterdam to Zürich. Like the IOC, FIFA has

¹¹*Avery Brundage Collection, 1908-1975*, comp. Maynard Brichford (Schorndorf: Hofmann, 1977). Microfilm copies of the collection are also held by the Paul Ziffren Sports Resource Library in Los Angeles, the International Olympic Committee Archives in Lausanne, Switzerland, the Carl-Diem-Institut in Cologne, Germany, and the Weldon Library at the University of Western Ontario in Canada. See also Allen Guttmann's biography, *The Games Must Go On: Avery Brundage and the Olympic Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984).

a grant program for researchers.¹² There is also a modest library housing FIFA official publications, official histories of national soccer programs, and other soccer-related books. FIFA's marketing deal with Coca-Cola provides a small perk: all the Coke and Coke-related beverages you can drink (and free coffee, too).

In short, the archival resources for research on many topics in the field of sport and international relations, especially for the 1940s, '50s, and '60s, are plentiful. Significant issues remain unexamined; central questions remain undefined. And there is the possibility of free coffee. For anyone looking around for new topics, what more do you need?

¹²On the Havelange Research Scholarship, see:

www.fifa2.com/scripts/runisa.dll?M2:gp:311326:67173+mrel/display+12197E; contact the Media Office for information and an application. Applications are due annually on September 1 for grants available the following calendar year.

23RD ANNUAL U.S. FOREIGN AFFAIRS DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS LIST

by
Edward A. Goedecken
IOWA STATE

SECTION I — FOREIGN AFFAIRS

A. Arms Control, Arms Race, and Antiwar Efforts

Appelbaum, Patricia Faith. "The Legions of Good Will: The Religious Culture of Protestant Pacifism, 1918-1963," Boston U, 2001 (REL), DA 9991058, Apr. 2001.

Barkley, Daniel Thurston. "Ballistic Missile Proliferation: A Self-Organizing Phenomenon," California, Irvine, 2000 (EC), DA 9980879, Jan. 2001.

Barth, Kai-Henrik. "Detecting the Cold War: Seismology and Nuclear Weapons Testing, 1945-1970," Minnesota, 2000, DA 9975748, Dec. 2000.

Butigan, Kenneth Michael. "Pilgrimage through a Burning World: Nonviolence in Action at the Nevada Test Site," Graduate Theological Union, 2000 (REL), DA 9986565, Mar. 2001.

Carter, Alexandra G. "Politics and Physics: Epistemic Communities and the Origins of United States Nuclear Nonproliferation Policy," Georgetown, 2000 (PS), DA 9986290, Mar. 2001.

Cooney, David Scott. "A Consistent Witness of Conscience: Methodist Nonviolent Activists, 1940-1970," Iliff School of Theology and U. of Denver, 2000, DA 9970560, Oct. 2000.

Gorsevski, Ellen W. "The Geopolitics of Peaceful Persuasion: Toward a Theory of Non-Violent Rhetoric," Pennsylvania State, 1999 (LANGUAGE), DA 9960587, Aug. 2000.

Kraig, Michael Ryan. "Nuclear Proliferation in the Developing World: Causes and Consequences," SUNY at Buffalo, 2001 (PS), DA 9997962, Je. 2001.

Mollin, Marian Beth. "Actions Louder than Words: Gender and Political Activism in the American Radical Pacifist Movement, 1942-1972," Massachusetts, Amherst, 2000, DA 9960775, Aug. 2000.

Pasley, James Franklin. "Chicken Pax Atomica: The Impact of Nuclear Weapons on Conflict between Interstate Dyads," Louisiana State, 1999 (PS), DA 9960090, Aug. 2000.

Plastas, Melinda Ann. "*A Band of Noble Women*: The WILPF and the Politics and Consciousness of Race in the Women's Peace Movement, 1915-1945," SUNY at Buffalo, 2001 (WOMEN'S STUDIES), DA 9997985, Je. 2001.

Uhrig, Steven C. N. "The Tactical Dynamics of Women's, Peace and Environmental Protest in New York City, October 1969 to December 1972," Stanford, 1999 (SO), DA 9958210, Ji. 2000.

B. Congress

Alwood, Edward M. "The Hunt for Red Writers: The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee Investigation of Communists in the Press, 1955-1956," North Carolina, 2000 (JO), DA 9968541, Nov. 2000.

Gomis, Henriette. "The Impact of the Congressional Black Caucus on U.S. Foreign Policy: Haiti and the Haitian Refugees, 1991-1994," U of Miami, 2000 (PS), DA 9972525, Nov. 2000.

Stone, Gary Steven. "The Senate and the Vietnam War, 1964-1968," Columbia, 2000, DA 9970290, Oct. 2000.

C. Domestic Groups, Organizations, and Politics

Copel, Melinda Susan. "The State Department Sponsored Tours of José Limón and His Modern Dance Company, 1954 and 1957: Modern Dance, Diplomacy, and the Cold War," Temple, 2000 (DANCE), DA 9969874, Oct. 2000.

Delegard, Kirsten Marie. "Women Patriots: Female Activism and the Politics of American Anti-Radicalism, 1919-1935," Duke, 1999, DA 9958756, Jl. 2000.

Johnson, David Kenneth. "The Lavender Scare: Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Civil Service, 1945-1975," Northwestern, 2000, DA 9974299, Dec. 2000.

Lewis, Anders Geoffrey. "Labor's Cold War: The AFL and Liberal Anticommunism," Florida, 2000, DA 9997824, Je. 2001.

O'Connor, David Laurence. "Defenders of the Faith: American Catholic Lay Organizations and Anticommunism, 1917-1975," SUNY at Stony Brook, 2000, DA 9974903, Nov. 2000.

Pergande, Delia Thompson. "Private Voluntary Aid to Vietnam: The Humanitarian Policies of Catholic Relief Services and CARE, 1954-1965," Kentucky, 1999 (BA), DA 9957047, Jl. 2000.

Raynor, Gregory Kenneth. "Engineering Social Reform: The Rise of the Ford Foundation and Cold War Liberalism, 1908-1959," NYU, 2000, DA 9970926, Oct. 2000.

Roach, Joe H. "Women in the American Communist Party and How Their Party Activities Effected Their Home Lives as Wives and Mothers," NYU, 2000, DA 9970928, Oct. 2000.

Woods, Jeff Randall. "Maroon Scare: Segregation and Anticommunism in the South, 1954-1968," Ohio U., 2000, DA 9975083, Dec. 2000.

D. Education

Hovde, Daniel Alan. "What are the Methods Used by Recruiters to Hire Overseas Teachers and Administrators for Overseas Schools," Union Institute, 2000 (ED), DA 9984264, Feb. 2001.

E. Environment

Berry, Peter Douglas. "Environmental Politics and the Reagan Administration: Interests, Ideas and Values in International Leadership," Toronto, 1999 (PS), DANQ 53913, May 2001.

Cass, Loren Ray. "The Politics of Climate Change: The Origins and Development of Climate Policy in the United Kingdom, Germany, and the United States," Brandeis, 2001 (PS), DA 9997717, Je. 2001.

Collins, Craig Parks. "Coalitions to Consensus: A Comparative Analysis of Stratospheric Ozone and Climate Change Negotiations," California, Davis, 2000 (PS), DA 9969595, Oct. 2000.

Hoffmann, Matthew Joel. "Going Global: The Complexity of Constructing Global Governance in Environmental Politics," George Washington, 2000 (PS), DA 9983948, Feb. 2001.

Kalpakistan, Jack V. "Identity, Conflict and Cooperation in International River Basins," Old Dominion, 2000 (PS), DA 9989686, Apr. 2001.

Kim, Young Ho. "When Do NGOs Make Differences in World Politics? An Analysis of the U.S. NGO Policy Advocacy for International Environmental Treaties," Ohio State, 2001 (PS), DA 9999406, Je. 2001.

Maarif, Syamsul. "The Relevance of the GATT/WTO to Environmental Policies," McGill, 1998 (PS), DANQ 51621, Dec. 2000.

Khagram, Sanjeev. "Dams, Democracy and Development: Transnational Struggles for Power and Water," Stanford, 1999 (PS), DA 9958128, JI. 2000.

F. Foreign Aid

Callan, Timothy Charles. "U.S. Foreign Aid in Complex Humanitarian Emergencies: Motivations behind Aid in Western Europe, Cambodia, Ethiopia, and

North Korea," SUNY at Buffalo, 2000 (PS), DA 9967791, Nov. 2000.

Costy, Alexander. "From Civil War to Civil Society? Aid, NGOs and Hegemonic Construction in Mozambique," Toronto, 2000 (PS), DANQ 53845, May 2001.

Van der Veen, Anne Maurits. "Ideas and Interests in Foreign Policy: The Politics of Official Development Assistance," Harvard, 2000 (PS), DA 9972445, Nov. 2000.

G. Human Rights

Baah, Richard Amoako. "Human Rights in Africa: The Conflict of Implementation," Tennessee, 1999 (PS), DA 9959255, JI. 2000.

Chase, Anthony. "Islam and Human Rights, Clashing Normative Orders?" Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, 2000 (PS), DA 9974796, Nov. 2000.

Calhoun, Noel Hild. "Transitional Justice and Liberal Democratic Ideology: Coming to Terms with Past Human Rights Abuses in Post-Communist Europe," Harvard, 2000 (PS), DA 9972267, Nov. 2000.

Filozof, Michael Francis. "Woodrow Wilson and International Human Rights," SUNY at Buffalo, 2000 (PS), DA 9958260, JI. 2000.

Goodhart, Michael E. "Democracy without Limits: Human Rights and Democratization of the Global Order," UCLA, 2000 (PS), DA 9981691, Feb. 2001.

Milner, Wesley Tyre. "Progress or Decline? International Political Economy and Basic Human Rights," North Texas, 1999 (PS), DA 9981107, Jan. 2001.

Morris, Susan Claire. "The Market and Ethics: The Case of the 1994 Decision by the Clinton Administration to Delink China's Human Rights Record from Most-Favored-Nation Status," Old Dominion, 2000 (PS), DA 9999649, Je. 2001.

Ostini, Jennifer Anne. "Discourses in Morality: The News Media, Human Rights and Foreign Policy in Twentieth-Century United States," Minnesota, 2000 (MC), DA 9966256, Sept. 2000.

Reilly, Niamh M. "Global Feminism and Human Rights," Rutgers, 2000 (PS), DA 9958483, JI. 2000.

H. Immigration and Refugees

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Acsay, Peter Josef. "Planning for Postwar Economic Cooperation: The U.S. Treasury, the Soviet Union, and Bretton Woods, 1933-1946," Saint Louis, 2000, DA 9973319, Nov. 2000.

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Butler, Christopher Kenneth. "Superpower Dispute Initiation: Status-Quo Evaluations and Strategic Timing," Michigan State, 2000 (PS), DA 9985359, Feb. 2001.

Johnson, Allen McTavish. "Moscow Dispatches, 1921-1934: The Writings of Walter Duranty, William Henry Chamberlain and Louis Fischer in Soviet Russia," Tulane, 2000, DA 9971304, Oct. 2000.

H. Sub-Saharan Africa

Dunn, Kevin Crawford. "Imagining the Congo: Identity and International Relations," Boston, 2000 (PS), DA 9962628, Aug. 2000.

Toga, Dawit. "Superpower Rivalry and Regional Conflicts in the Horn of Africa: Shifting Alliances, Strategic Choice, and Domestic Politics," Columbia, 2000 (PS), DA 9985964, Mar. 2001.

White, George, Jr. "Holding the Line: Race, Racism and American Foreign Policy, 1953-1961," Temple, 2001, DA 9997304, Je. 2001. [Focuses on Africa]

I. Western Europe

Blank, Joel Harold. "The Decline of Democratic Imperialism and the Rise of Democratic Peace: Case Studies in Anglo-American Relations, 1800 to the Present," California, Los Angeles, 2000 (PS), DA 9976246, Dec. 2000.

Cowan, James Lorenz. "L'Image des Etats-Unis dans la Presse Française, 1990-1999," Louisiana at Lafayette, 2000 (JO), DA 9975263, Dec. 2000.

Endy, Christopher Stewart. "U.S. Tourism in France: An International History, 1944-1971," North Carolina, 2000, DA 9979443, Jan. 2001.

Friedrich, Alexandra Margareta. "Awakenings: The Impact of the Vietnam War on West German-American Relations in the 1960s," Temple, 2000, DA 9990315, Apr. 2001.

Mahan, Erin Rose. "The Burdens and Dilemmas of the Atlantic Alliance: John F. Kennedy, Charles De Gaulle and Western Europe, 1961-1963," Virginia, 2000, DA 9975487, Dec. 2000.

McKenzie, Brian Angus. "Deep Impact: The Cultural Policy of the United States in France, 1948 to 1952," SUNY at Stony Brook, 2000, DA 9974893, Nov. 2000.

Makovsky, Michael Steven. "Power and Civilization: Winston Churchill's Worldview," Harvard, 2001, DA 9999746, Je. 2001.

Messenger, David Andrew. "France, the Allies and Franco's Spain, 1943-1948," Toronto, 2000, DANQ 53760, May 2001.

Rodrigues, Luís Nuno. "To the *Top of the Mountain* and *Down to the Valley*: The United States and Portugal during the Kennedy Presidency," Wisconsin, 2000, DA 9996855, Je. 2001.

Statler, Kathryn Claire. "From the French to the Americans: Intra-Alliance Politics, Cold War Concerns, and Cultural Conflict in Vietnam, 1950-1960," California, Santa Barbara, 1999, DA 9982175, Feb. 2001.

Vamvakas, Petros Ilias. "States in Transition and Defensive Alliances: Greece and Turkey in NATO," Boston U., 2001 (PS), DA 9991070, Apr. 2001.

CALL FOR APPLICATIONS FOR POSITION AS EXECUTIVE
SECRETARY-TREASURER OF THE SOCIETY FOR
HISTORIANS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS

Description of Position

SHAFR has a membership of approximately 1,650, including about 300 outside the United States. It holds one annual meeting for its members (usually in June), sponsors joint sessions or functions at the American Historical Association and Organization of American Historians' annual meetings, awards eleven prizes for scholarly achievement, and is responsible for publication of *Diplomatic History* and the *SHAFR Newsletter*.

The Executive Secretary-Treasurer is currently paid an annual stipend of \$7,500, with an additional \$7,500 per year for a part-time secretary to facilitate the Executive Secretary-Treasurer's work and to maintain the SHAFR Business Office. It would be desirable, in addition, for the Executive Secretary-Treasurer to receive further support from his or her home institution in the form of time-release or funding (besides the office support mentioned below).

The Executive Secretary-Treasurer's term of office is for four (4) years, renewable at the discretion of the SHAFR Officers and Council.

The Executive Secretary-Treasurer has responsibility for:

1. Overall maintenance of the SHAFR Business Office;
2. Maintenance, in conjunction with Blackwell Publishers, of a current SHAFR membership list;
3. Preparation and report on SHAFR annual budget and financial report at the January and summer meetings and preparation, with the appropriate CPA, of SHAFR's annual tax returns;

4. Advising the SHAFR Nominations Committee with respect to recruitment of candidates for SHAFR Officers and Council membership, preparation and mailing of ballots, determination of election results, and notification of all candidates of the outcomes;
5. Maintenance of membership of all SHAFR committees and instructions for committee procedures and publicizing of awards;
6. Convening of Investment Committee (by E-mail or telephone) to review investment adviser's record and to report to Council at SHAFR meetings;
7. Planning of appropriate receptions, luncheons, and Council meetings at the AHA and OAH meetings, and similarly at SHAFR annual meetings in conjunction with SHAFR local arrangements and program committees;
8. General oversight of the work and schedule of a part-time secretary who shall be provided with office space and access to SHAFR-designated telephone, voice mail, E-mail, fax, and copier. The part-time secretary shall maintain a regular work schedule and be responsible for all routine office correspondence: communication with SHAFR Officers, Council members, and general membership as determined by the Executive Secretary-Treasurer.

Send applications or inquiries to Robert L. Beisner, either by mail at 3851 Newark St., NW; Washington, DC 20016-3026; or by E-mail at huskerindc@rcn.com, no later than 15 April 2002.

Regina



Books

SHAFR MEMBER DISCOUNTS

DR. STRANGELOVE AND THE HIDEOUS EPOCH: Deterrence in the Nuclear Age. John Renaker. Illustrated (2000) 446 pp. Movie characters, notes, movie script, bibliography, index.

“This is an unusual book by an unusual writer—who is also erudite and well grounded in the relevant traditional literature. He displays an original approach and imaginative new analysis...” Raymond L. Garthoff, The Brookings Institution

Paper \$ 17.95

SHAFR Price (paper) \$10.00

THE CHANGING ASIA-PACIFIC REGION: Strategic & Economic Issues. Chae-Jin Lee, ed. (2001) 162pp.

“Asia-Pacific: The Changing Strategic Landscape,” Robert A. Scalapino; “Asian Economic Models Reconsidered,” L.D. Levin; “The United States and Japan,” N.D. Levin; “American China Policy, 1971-1999,” Michel Oksenberg; “Korea in the New Millennium,” Chong-Sik Lee; “Pacific Regional Institutions,” Donald Crone

Paper \$14.95.

SHAFR Price (paper) \$8.00

KOREA: Dynamics of Diplomacy. Byung Chul Koh, ed. (2001) 178pp

Paper \$14.95

SHAFR Price (paper) \$8.00

THE COLD WAR—Reassessments. Arthur L. Rosenbaum & Chae-Jin Lee, eds. (2000) 214pp.

Essays by John Lewis Gaddis, William Stueck, David W.P. Elliott, Raymond L. Garthoff, William C. Wohlforth, Lynn M. Hansen

Paper \$ 14.95

SHAFR Price (paper) \$9.00

MAKING PEACE PAY: A Bibliography on Disarmament & Conversion. Nils Petter Gleditsch, et al, comps. (2000) 180pp

Cloth \$39.95

SHAFR Price (cloth) \$15.00

Additional Regina Titles

The Cuban-Caribbean Missile Crisis of October 1962. Lester H. Brune. (1996) 160pp. \$12.95 paper **SHAFR Price (pap) \$8.00**

America and the Indochina Wars, 1945-1990: A Bibliographical Guide. Lester H. Brune & Richard Dean Burns, eds (1992) 352pp. \$39.95 **SHAFR Price (cloth) \$13.00**

Empire on the Pacific: A Study in American Continental Expansion. Norman A. Graebner. (1983) 278pp. \$14.95 paper **SHAFR Price (paper) \$9.00**

Theodore Roosevelt and the International Rivalries. Raymond Esthus. (1982) 165pp \$12.95 **SHAFR Price (paper) \$8.00**

Panama, the Canal and the United States. Thomas M. Leonard. 144pp. \$10.95 paper **SHAFR Price (paper) \$6.00**

Renaker, Dr. Strangelove	\$ 10.00	_____
Lee, Changing Asia-Pacific Region	\$ 8.00	_____
Koh, Korea	\$ 8.00	_____
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LETTERS — A DIFFERENCE OF OPINION

January 10, 2002

Dear Larry,

I regretted using the word “Philippic” soon after I mailed my historical note to Bill Brinker, the editor of the SHAFR Newsletter, in late August, just before the deadline for submissions. I regretted it, or at least had serious second thoughts about it, because of the potential the word held for misunderstanding. My intent was not to insult you but to use a one-word noun to characterize a book that I understood — both from the publisher’s advertising campaign and from the author’s prose — as a denunciation and condemnation of Nixon-Kissinger policy regarding the Vietnam War. Perhaps it was the wrong word, even though it is associated with great writers and orators such as Demosthenes and Cicero, both of whom vociferously criticized tyrants, as you seemed to do in your book about Nixon.

I have long argued orally and in print that historical debate too often consists in bitter or personal accusation, and if I have contributed to this unfortunate tradition, then I apologize. In any case, my use of the almost archaic word “Philippic” was not meant as a personal attack against a colleague for whom I have great respect. My main interest was in historiography; namely, in the question of the decent-interval, which is a central issue in the story of Nixon-Kissinger Vietnam policy. I disagreed with your interpretation.

My use of “political scientist” to describe you was descriptive, not condescending. My son is a political scientist — as are some of my best friends — and I admire political science. My use of the word “misinterpret” was also

descriptive of what I thought about our differing interpretations of the evidence. My purpose in the note was not to attack you personally but to present new evidence. I suppose we should have talked about this when we had the chance at the Wilson Center in April 2000 when you were in the audience at a presentation I gave on the matter. Neither one of us took the opportunity. Of course, then, I didn't know who held the views you expressed in your book.

I would welcome your comments in the SHAFR Newsletter as a contribution toward a debate that we ought to have about such an important issue as the decent interval. We can all trot out our evidence and see where it leads and hope that the discussion furthers historical knowledge and our colleagues benefit from it. I hope that Bill Brinker is receptive to your request.

Regards, Jeff

On January 12, 2002, Larry Berman wrote:

Dear Professor Brinker,

I really don't need Jussi Hanhimaki to defend me with respect to Jeffrey Kimball's recent description of what he calls my "philippic." [I love those words] I am requesting the opportunity to respond in the next Newsletter. Professor Kimball accuses me of "misinterpreting" the documents in my possession — an especially serious charge when made to a distinguished group of diplomatic historians. Kimball notes that I'm a political scientist (I did receive the Bernath Lecture Prize), so perhaps my cognitive and intellectual limitations can be explained by my disciplinary training. Nevertheless, it's obvious to those of us with limited skills as the result of

forceps delivery that Professor Kimball has his own case to advance and what better way to do so than by tarnishing Berman without even the courtesy of a communication or query to the author. Curious stuff for such a highly regarded scholar as Kimball, especially given the strong reviews my book has received in recent months. Please let me know when I should submit my response to Professor Kimball characterization of my work.

Thank you, Larry

[Subsequent e-mail messages between the *Newsletter* editor and Professors Kimball and Berman resulted in their agreement to print the letters above and a response by Larry Berman, which follows]

February 17, 2002

In the September 2001 SHAFR *NEWSLETTER*, Professor Jeffrey Kimball (“The Case of the ‘Decent Interval’: Do We Now Have a Smoking Gun?”) flatters me with use of “philippic” in describing my recent book, *No Peace No Honor: Nixon, Kissinger and Betrayal in Vietnam*. I am grateful for being placed in company with speeches of Cicero against Mark Anthony, Demosthenes against Phillip II of Macedon, and other discourses of bitter condemnation against tyrants. In Plutarch’s words, Demosthenes possessed both “force and effectiveness” as well as “majesty of utterance.”

Of course, Professor Kimball’s did not come to praise my utterances. Kimball writes that I “misinterpreted” newly declassified evidence in developing the thesis that Nixon possessed a devious plan of permanent war at an acceptable political cost — air war, not land war — in order to prevent

the collapse of South Vietnam. Nixon had no expectations that the Nobel Prize winning negotiations conducted between Henry Kissinger and Le Duc Tho would bring an end to the conflict in Vietnam.

Kimball, on the other hand, believes that he has discovered “incontrovertible evidence” that both Nixon and Kissinger supported a decent interval as early as 1970. Since I rejected this historical explanation of a decent interval strategy, Kimball reasons that I must have misinterpreted the documentation. I have the utmost respect for Professor Kimball’s scholarship and have benefitted greatly from his award-winning book, *Nixon’s Vietnam War*. Nevertheless, I do not believe the available evidence supports Professor Kimball’s claim for a “smoking-gun” as described in the recent *NEWSLETTER*. In Kimball’s words, Nixon and Kissinger realized “in late 1970 that they could not win the war, but knowing that ‘objective’ political and military realities compelled them to end American involvement, they settled on the decent-interval solution.”

In 1970 the United States had yet to back away from a negotiating position of “mutual withdrawal” of troops as part of any settlement to the conflict in Vietnam. The United States would withdraw its troops from South Vietnam only if the North would do the same. Le Duc Tho, however, adamantly insisted that the only invading foreign army in South Vietnam was that of the United States. Kissinger capitulated (a small point missed by the Nobel Prize Committee). Once the U.S. agreed to unilateral withdrawal, the decent interval strategy became more or less obsolete because Nixon was allowing an invading army to remain “in-place.” By 1972 the balance of forces in the South was decidedly in Hanoi’s favor and the Politburo instructed Tho that he could concede on the point of President Thieu

paper. They understand bombs, mines, and the U.S. resolve.”

I have not seen a declassified document that even remotely suggests Nixon or Kissinger believed that with 150,000 Northern troops in the South, elections could be held — one of those small details about the Vietnamese parties shaping the future of South Vietnam. It all sounded so noble. The declassified record provides many examples of encouragement to President Thieu: that he not hold elections until the northern troops went home and that he use political prisoners, whose release had been promised by Kissinger to Tho, as hostages for getting the northern troops out of the South. Thieu was being asked to accomplish something that Kissinger failed to achieve in three years of negotiations.

Then Vice President Richard Nixon learned from the 1954 Geneva Accords that any provisions pertaining to elections could be ignored if the balance of forces did not favor the desired outcome. Kissinger and Nixon repeatedly told their ally that there was no reason to risk a political solution until a North Vietnamese withdrawal from the South. The aged men in the Politburo had no intention of accommodating this daydream.

Professor Kimball makes much of two marginal notations made by Kissinger in a briefing book for Kissinger's 1971 trip to China. “We need a decent interval,” is what Kissinger wrote in preparation for discussions with the Chinese. This notation is quite interesting and may or may not reflect Kissinger's thinking at the time. It is hardly a smoking gun and I am surprised that Kimball would leap from a Kissinger notation to a Nixon world view or exit strategy. The notion that one can deduce from what Kissinger said to anyone what

he really believed is contrary to everything that we know about him.

Professor Kimball writes that President Thieu was not betrayed because he “was aware of the concessions made by the Nixon administration in the negotiations.” The declassified record makes it “perfectly clear” that Thieu was informed and never consulted; he was kept in the dark by Kissinger who negotiated directly with Tho on the future of South Vietnam. “I wanted to punch Kissinger in the mouth,” is what President Thieu told his assistant, Hoang Duc Nha, after learning the depth and consequences of Kissinger’s concessions in October 1972.

The new documentation suggests a deceitful plan that I compare to Lyndon Johnson’s manipulation of the Tonkin Gulf Resolution that was used to justify expanded military engagement. The Paris Accords were intended to justify American reengagement — as was the case in 1964, the public and the Congress would not be told. Permanent war at acceptable political costs is the conclusion that I drew from the available documentation and that I presented in *No Peace No Honor*. Only Watergate derailed that plan.

In *No Peace No Honor* I interpreted the new documentation in a way that rejects the decent interval strategy. I am comfortable with the inference that Nixon planned for an indefinite stalemate by using U.S. airpower to prop up the government of South Vietnam through 1976 and the end of his second term. He was prepared to take on Congress by appealing directly for support from the Silent Majority. Nixon expected violations to occur, but he had an enforcing mechanism — the return of the B-52s. The President would take whatever actions necessary to guarantee that when he

turned the keys of the White House over to the next occupant in 1976, there would be a South Vietnam.

Professor Larry Berman, Director, University of California Washington Center, 1608 Rhode Island Ave., N.W., 3rd Floor, Washington, D.C. 20036

Tel: 202-974-6202-office

Fax: 202-974-6250

larry.berman@ucdc.edu

OBITUARY

Scott L. Bills of Warren Wilson College died on October 13, 2001 at the age of 53. After receiving his B.A. at West Virginia University, Scott spent seven fruitful years at Kent State University, winning his master's and doctor's degrees in that period. Influenced by the troubled times at the university, he became involved in efforts to understand the tragic shootings at Kent State in 1970, editing and writing an influential study, *Kent State/May 4: Echoes through a Decade* (1982; rev ed. 1988). His interest in peace studies led him into an active role as co-executive editor of *Peace & Change*, and then in 1999 as president of the Peace History Society. At the same time he was an active scholar in diplomatic history producing papers and monographs on U.S. relations with the Third World, culminating in two significant books — *Empire and Cold War: The Roots of US-Third World Antagonism, 1945-47* (1990) and *The Libyan Arena: The United States, Britain, and the Council of Foreign Ministers* (1995). I will always be grateful for his initiative in organizing a *Festschrift* on my behalf, *The Romance of History* (1997) that he edited with a fellow former doctoral student, E.

Timothy Smith. His most enduring impact derived from his role as teacher. From 1983 to 2001 he taught at Stephen F. Austin State University where he was honored in 1999 by appointment as Regents Professor of History. At the time of his death he had just taken a new position at Warren Wilson College in North Carolina. The profession has lost a inspirational teacher and a talented scholar, and I have lost a valued friend. He leaves behind his wife Kris and his son Seth.

Lawrence S. Kaplan

SHAFR COUNCIL MINUTES

San Francisco, January 5, 2002

7:30 am

Robert J. McMahon, presiding

Members present included: Chris Jespersen, Dina Khoury, Robert Beisner, Mark Stoler, Malcolm Crystal, Robert McMahon, Thomas Schoonover, Allan Spetter, Frank Ninkovich, William Walker III, Robert Buzzanco, Deborah Kisatsky, Randall Woods, William Stueck, and William Brinker.

1. Larry Grubbs (South Carolina) has been awarded the Bernath Dissertation Award. Martin Lorenz-Meyer (Kansas) has won the Georgetown Travel Grant. Grubbs is working on "Literally a Continent to Win: The United States, Development and the Cold War in Africa." Lorenz-Meyer is working on the Safehaven Program launched to prevent the building of concealed Nazi assets in neutral countries.

2. Malcolm Crystal, representing Blackwell Publishers, stated that membership numbers were holding steady. Discussion followed concerning JSTOR (the on-line journal collection) and *Diplomatic History*. Crystal will investigate. It was also noted that the Spring 2002 issue of *DH* will be the first completely done at the University of Colorado.
3. Robert Beisner reported that the publication of the new guide should take place in 2003.
4. William Stueck, Local Arrangements Chair for the 2002 SHAFR Summer Conference, called members' attention to the fact that a tour of the Carter Center is scheduled for June 20th (Thursday) and the annual conference will be held June 21-23 on the University of Georgia campus in Athens.
5. Dina Khoury reported for Peter Hill regarding the June 6-8, 2003, conference to be held at George Washington University. Hope Harrison will be Local Arrangements chair.
6. Regarding the 2004 annual meeting, Robert McMahon led a preliminary discussion regarding possible sites. Suggestions from the members would be welcome.
7. Allan Spetter reported on the Gelfand-Rappaport Fund. He invited discussion about possibly using the fund to support a graduate fellowship(s).
8. Spetter reported the results of the recent SHAFR election. Michael Hogan was elected vice-president, Dennis Merrill and William Burr were elected to Council, and Darlene Rivas was elected to the Nominating Committee.
9. Spetter reassured the members that SHAFR's invested funds have weathered the stock market storms in good order. He also stated that the SHAFR archives at Texas A&M are available for research.

10. Bill Walker, based upon his work on the Bernath Lecture Prize committee, suggested that Council may wish to look at the wording of the various Bernath Prize descriptions.

11. Bob McMahon reported the need to locate a replacement for Allan Spetter as Executive Secretary/Treasurer of the society. Spetter mentioned his wish to be relieved of his duties before the summer, 2002. Council unanimously resolved to thank Allan for his years of outstanding service to the organization.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

SHAFR's New Leader

As a result of the membership's votes a year ago, Robert L. Beisner was chosen to become vice-president and, as of the Council Meeting at the AHA, SHAFR's President for the current year. At present Bob is Professor Emeritus at American University. His credentials, or pedigree, include undergraduate work at Hastings College, in Nebraska, and an MA and PhD from the University of Chicago where he graduated Phi Beta Kappa. Beisner won the John Dunning Prize and the Allan Nevins Prize for his dissertation. After a brief stint at Colgate, he went to American University in 1965 and rose through the ranks from Assistant Prof through departmental Chair, and finally served as Director of General Education from which he retired in 1997. While at American he received repeated recognition in research, service and instruction. He has been a supportive member of SHAFR, serving on committees, agreeing to serve as primary editor of

the new SHAFR Guide, last year serving as VP, and now as President.

If there are any SHAFR members who are unacquainted with Bob's published work, a short list would include his early, highly-praised, *Twelve Against Empire: The Anti-Imperialists, 1898-1900*; *Arms at Rest: Peacemaking and Peacekeeping in American History* co-edited with Joan R. Challinor; *From the Old Diplomacy to the New, 1865-1900*; and recent articles dealing the Acheson and Kissinger. He is at work on an Acheson monograph.

Congratulations Bob, the membership is delighted with your selection and expect sound leadership (when you find time away from the stresses connected with producing SHAFR's new foreign relations guide).

Plug for the old Guide

Allan Spetter reminds members that copies of the *SHAFR Guide to U.S. Foreign Relations*. Get 'em while they last at the bargain basement price of \$30.00. Contact Spetter at: History, Wright State U., Dayton OH 45435

3rd Annual Graduate Student Cold War Conference

The George Washington University Cold War (GWCW) group will host its Third Annual Graduate Conference on Friday and Saturday, April 19-20, 2002, in Washington, D.C. The conference is designed to be a forum for both Master's and Ph.D. students to present their research and findings, and to network with other students and prominent scholars in the

field of Cold War studies. Scholars who have commented on student papers at previous conferences include Thomas Blanton, Malcolm Byrne, Raymond Garthoff, James Goldgeier, Hope Harrison, James Hershberg, Christian Ostermann, David Wolff, and Vlad Zubok. In addition, we are delighted that this year Professor Arnold A. Offner, former president of the SHAFR and Cornelia F. Hugel Professor of History at Lafayette College will give a keynote address on his forthcoming Stanford Press book, *Another Such Victory: President Truman and the Cold War, 1945-1953*.

For further information contact: Christian Ostermann, e-mail: ostermac@wwic.si.edu

Journal of Intelligence History

The International Intelligence History Association has published Vol. 1, No. 2, Winter 2001 issue of the *Journal of Intelligence History*. It features contributions by Thomas Boghardt on "A German Spy? New Evidence on Baron Louis von Horst," Alessandro Massignani on "The Regi Carabinieri: Counterintelligence in the Great War," Jurgen Schmidt on "Political Police and German Occupational Forces in Romania, Fall 1918," Gerhard Krebs on "Signal Intelligence in the Pacific War," Sigurd Hess on "The British Baltic Fishery Protection Service (BBFPS) and the Clandestine Operations of Hans Helmut Klose 1949-1956," and Richard Cummings on "The Intelligence of Underpinnings of American Covert Radio Broadcasting in Germany During the Cold War." In addition, you will find reviews of recent publications on intelligence history. For abstracts of the articles and the full text of the reviews, visit the Journal's web-page at: <http://intelligence-history.wiso.uni-erlangen.de> and use the link to the Journal.

**Northern Great Plains History Conference
Call for Papers**

The NGPHC will meet October 9- 12, 2002 at the Holiday Inn Metrodome in Minneapolis, Minnesota. The NGHC will meet with the World War II Roundtable of the Twin Cities on Thursday evening for a presentation by Carlos D'Este. Please send, by April 2, 2002, your one page proposal and c.v. to: Joe Fitzharris, Department of History, Mail #4018, University of St. Thomas, 2115 Summit Avenue, St. Paul, MN 55105 or via e-mail copy to: JCFITZHARRIS@STTHOMAS.EDU

**The 17th Annual Siena College
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World War II- A 60 Year Perspective
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Replies and Inquiries to: Professor Thomas O. Kelly, II,
Department of History, Siena College, 515 Loudon Road,
Loudonville, NY 12211

Tel: (518) 783-2512

Fax: 518-786-5052

E-Mail: le gendziewic@siena.edu

Fourth Triennial Vietnam Symposium Call for Papers

The Vietnam Center will host the 4th Triennial Vietnam Symposium, April 11-12, 2002, at the Holiday Inn Hotel-Civic Center in Lubbock, Texas. We encourage the submission of paper proposals covering the entire range of topics relating to the American experience in Southeast Asia, including anti-war activities, the role of Free World Forces, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and its allies, and other related Vietnam subjects. As with all Vietnam Center-sponsored conference, we strongly encourage graduate students to submit paper proposals.

Individuals interested in presenting papers should submit a one-page outline proposal to Dr. James R. Reckner at the Vietnam Center by e-mail, facsimile, or regular mail no later than March 1, 2002. Proposals for full panels are welcome. Contact: Dr. James R. Reckner, The Vietnam Center, Texas Tech University, Lubbock, Tx 79409

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Journal Sets and Research Finding Aids

Historian desires to place complete or near complete sets of journals and research finding aids. If you are interested in obtaining any of the sets mentioned below, they are available for the costs of shipping from Bloomington, Indiana. Please contact Professor William B. Pickett at 812-234-8462 or by e-mail at jpick78411@aol.com by March 30, 2002.

1. *The American Historical Review*- All volumes from 1895 through 2001 except those listed below. Volumes through 68 are bound in red buckram. The set includes two indexes, volumes 1-10; the copy of the editor of the territorial papers of the U.S., Clarence Carter; and volumes 41-60. Missing volumes: 1-4; 6-7; 25; 33, no. 3; 71, no. 1; 89, no. 4; 102: 106, no. 4

2. Francis Wharton, ed., *A Digest of the International Law of the United States* (3 vols., Washington: Government Printing Office, 1886) (Needs rebinding—backs have separated)

3. *Journal of American History* (formerly Mississippi Valley Historical Review) Volume 39, nos. 3-4 (1952-53) and successive volumes through 83 (1996). Vols. 40-49 are bound in green buckram.

4. *Journal of Modern History*. We have volumes: 10 (no. 1 is missing), 11,13 (nos. 2-4 missing), 18 (nos. 1-2 missing), 19-34 (bound in red buckram, double volumes), 35-48, 49 (no.4 missing)

5. Justin Winsor, ed., *Narrative and Critical History of America* (8 vols., Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1883-1889). Boards mostly off; text clean.

6. *National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections*, Phillip M. Hamer, ed., *A Guide to Archives and Manuscripts in the United States* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1961) Various imprints: 1959-61, 1962, index 1959-62, 1963-64, 1965 and index 1963-65, 1966 and index 19666, 1967 and index 1967, 1968 and index 1967-68.

7. *Naval Documents related to the Quasi-War between the United States and France: Naval Operations* (7 vols., Washington: Department of the Navy, 1935-38.

8. *Naval Documents relating to the United States Wars with the Barbary Powers* (2 vols., Washington: Department of the Navy, 1939-40.

9. *World Politics* (1948 ff). Full set through vol. 30, no 1. 15 vols. in blue buckram. The first five volumes are doubles.

PERSONALS

Alessandro Brogi (Post-doc, Yale) has been awarded a Marshall/Barauch Fellowship for research and writing on the U.S. and Communist Anti-Americanism in France and Italy, 1944-1964.

Robert D. Eldridge recently joined the faculty of the Graduate School of International Public Policy, Osaka University, Japan, as associate professor, and, earlier this year, published *The Origins of the Bilateral Okinawa Problem: Okinawa in Postwar U.S.-Japan Relations, 1945-1952*.

Ole R. Holsti, George V. Allen Professor of International Affairs, (Duke) recently delivered The Ira C. Eaker Lecture at the U.S. Air Force Academy, on civil-military relations; the Chancellor's Lecture at Louisiana State, on public opinion and foreign policy; a Plenary Lecture at the Centre for European Security Studies at the Hague, on civil-military relations; and the Ducey Lecture, Reed College, on the Bush administration's foreign policy.

Lawrence S. Kaplan (Georgetown) has been awarded a Fulbright Research Fellowship for February through June, 2002, at the University of Leuven (Louvain), Belgium.

Priscilla Roberts (Hong Kong) has been awarded a Marshall/Barauch Fellowship for research and writing on George Marshall and the Twentieth century U.S. foreign policy tradition.

Mark Stoler (Vermont) spoke at the Marshall Foundation in Lexington on November 1, 2001. As part of their series "The Art of Biography" Stoler presented "A Tale of Two Biographies" based upon how he researched and wrote his George C. Marshall volume and his recent study of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

PUBLICATIONS

Jongsuk Chay (UNC-Prembroke), *Unequal Partners in Peace and War: The Republic of Korea and the United States, 1948-1953*. Praeger, 2002. ISBN: 0-275-97125-2, \$64/95.

Joan Hoff (Montana State) and Marion Yates, *The Burning of Bridget Cleary*. Basic Books, 2001. Paper, ISBN 0-465-03088-2, \$16.00.

Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones (Edinburgh), *Cloak and Dollar: A History of American Secret Intelligence*. Yale, 2001. Cloth, ISBN 0-300-07474-3, \$29.95.

Joseph Fry (Nevada, Las Vegas), *Dixie Looks Abroad: The South and U.S. Foreign Relations, 1789-1973*. LSU, 2002. Cloth, ISBN 0-8071-2745-0, \$39.95.

Jeffery Livingston (Cal State-Chico), *Swallowed by Globalism: John M. Vorys and American Foreign Policy*. UPA, 2001. ISBN: 0-77618-1985-1, \$24.00.

Kyle Longley (Arizona State), *Eagle's Shadow: The United States and Latin America*. Harlan Davidson, 2002. ISBN 0-88295-968-9, \$21.95.

Timothy Naftali (Virginia), Ernest R. May (Harvard), and Philip D. Zelikow (Virginia), *The Presidential Recordings, John F. Kennedy*. Norton, 2001. Cloth, ISBN 0-393-04954-0, \$150.00.

Arnold Offner (Lafayette), *Another Such Victory: President Truman and the Cold War, 1945-1953*. Stanford, 2002. ISBN 0-8047-4254-5, \$37.95.

Priscilla Roberts (Hong Kong), ed., *Window on the Forbidden City: The Beijing Diaries of David Bruce, 1973-1974*. Centre of Asian Studies, U. of Hong Kong, 2001. ISBN 962-8269-34-8, HK \$220.00.

Hubert van Tuyll (Augusta State), *The Netherlands and World War I: Espionage, Diplomacy, and Survival*. Brill, 2001. ISBN 90-04-12243-5.

CALENDAR

- 2002
- March 1 Deadline for Graebner Prize nominations.
- April 11-14 The 95th meeting of the OAH will take place at the Renaissance Hotel in Washington DC.
- April 15 Applications for the W. Stull Holt dissertation fellowship are due.
- May 1 Deadline, materials for the June *Newsletter*.
- June 20 Tour of the Carter Library.
- June 21-23 SHAFR's 28th annual conference will meet at the University of Georgia. William Walker III is Program Chair, William Stueck is Local Arrangements Chair.
- 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.
- 2003
- January 1 Membership fees in all categories are due, payable at Blackwell Publishers, 350 Main St., Malden MA 02148.
- January 2-5 117th annual meeting of the AHA in Chicago. 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.

Sites for future AHA meetings are: Washington, January 8-11, 2004, Seattle, January 6-9, 2005, Philadelphia, January 5-8, 2006.

The 2003 SHAFR annual meeting will be held at George Washington University, June 6-8.

The 2003 meeting of the OAH will be held April 3-6 in Memphis, Tennessee. The 2004 Meeting will be in Boston, March 25-28.

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. Five (5) copies of each book must be submitted with the nomination and should be sent to: Garry Clifford, Department of Political Science, University of Connecticut, Storrs CT 06269. Books may be sent at any time during 2001, but should not arrive later than February 1, 2002.

Recent Winners: Gregory Mitrovich and Joseph Henning

The Stuart L. Bernath Lecture Prize

DESCRIPTION: The lecture, to be delivered at the annual meetings of the Organization of American Historians, will be comparable in style and scope to the yearly SHAFR presidential address delivered at the SHAFR annual meeting, but will be restricted to younger scholars within ten years of the receipt of the PhD with excellent reputations in teaching and research. Each lecturer will address not specifically his/her own research interests, but broad issues of concern to students of American Foreign Policy. The committee is soliciting nominations from

members of the Society. Nominating letters should reach the Committee no later than 15 February 2002. The Chairperson of the committee is: Robert Buzzanco, Department of History, University of Houston, Houston TX 77204-3785.

Recent Winner: Odd Arne Westad

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. Nominations may 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 Winner: 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.

Applications, in triplicate, should be sent to: Terry Anderson, History, Texas A&M, College Station, TX 77843. The deadline for application is November 1, 2002.

Recent Winner: Larry Grubbs

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: Martin Lorenz-Meyer

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 2002 and 2003 will be considered in 2003. Submission deadline is November 15, 2003. 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.

Recent Winners: Cecilia Lynch and Jessica Gienow-Hecht

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: Deborah Kisatsky and Mary Elise Savotte

THE W. STULL HOLT DISSERTATION FELLOWSHIP

This fellowship is intended to help defray costs of travel, preferably foreign travel, necessary to the pursuit of research on a significant dissertation project. 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. Applications and supporting papers should be sent before April 15, 2002 to: Stephen G. Rabe, Arts & Humanities, JO 31, University of Texas at Dallas, Richardson TX 75083. Recent Winner: Mary Montgomery

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. The deadline for nominations is March 1, 2002.

Chairman: Lloyd E. Ambrosius, Department of History, University of Nebraska, Lincoln NE 68588-0327. Phone: 403-472-2414, Fax: 402-472-8839, E-mail: lambrosius@unl.edu.

Recent Winner: Robert Divine

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." Deadline for submissions is February 1, 2003. Current Chairperson: Mary Ann Heiss, History, Kent State University, Kent OH 44242-0001. Recent Winner: Fredrik Logevall

ARTHUR LINK PRIZE FOR DOCUMENTARY EDITING

The prize will recognize and encourage analytical scholarly editing of documents, in appropriate published form, relevant to the history of American foreign relations, policy, and diplomacy. By "analytical" is meant the inclusion (in headnotes, footnotes, essays, etc.) of both appropriate historical background needed to establish the context of the documents, and interpretive historical commentaries based on scholarly research. The competition is open to the editor/author(s) of any collection of documents published after 1984 that is devoted primarily to sources relating to the history of American foreign relations, policy, and/or diplomacy; and that incorporates sufficient historical analysis and interpretation of those documents to constitute a contribution to knowledge and scholarship. 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. Recent Winner: Warren Kimball

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 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. Current chairperson: Chester Pach, Contemporary History Institute, Ohio University, Athens OH 45701-2979.

Recent Winner: Mark Gallicchio

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 ASSISTANT: Jason Moore.

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) |
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