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Newsletter

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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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This is the last *SHAFR Newsletter* to be edited and mailed at Tennessee Technological University, thus ending a thirty year association.

Nolan Fowler assumed the editorship with Volume IV, Number 1 (March, 1973). His last issue was Volume X, Number 4 (December, 1980). William Brinker, the current editor, began in March, 1980 and is concluding with this issue.

The newsletter is moving to Ohio State University and will be edited by Peter Hahn and Mitch Lerner.

NEEDLES IN THE HAYSTACKS:
USING CONGRESSIONAL COLLECTIONS
IN FOREIGN RELATIONS RESEARCH

by

ANDREW L. JOHNS

[Andrew L. Johns is a lecturer at California State University, Northridge. His current research projects include *Hawks, Doves, and 'A Wise Old Owl': The Republican Party's Influence on U.S. Vietnam Policy, 1961-1973*; and *The Conflict: Hubert Humphrey and the Vietnam War, 1964-1968* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, forthcoming).]

During the Vietnam War and its immediate aftermath, the United States saw a reassertion of congressional prerogatives in foreign policy. Indeed, in place of the deference to the executive that marked the first two decades of the Cold War, members of Congress such as Everett Dirksen, J. William Fulbright, and George Aiken played important roles in the making of policy on the war, both directly as members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and indirectly as leaders of public opinion and through their influence on the administration. Yet the existence and extent of congressional input into the policy-making process rates little more than a brief mention in most of the literature on the war.

This phenomenon is not restricted to the Vietnam conflict. As Robert David Johnson recently pointed out, the role of Congress in the formation and implementation of policy during the Cold War — and, indeed, throughout the history of American foreign relations — remains vastly understudied and underappreciated.¹ To a certain extent this oversight is natural. Scholars have focused primarily on the decision-making process within the executive branch, relations between nations, and the role of ideology in foreign policy. They

¹Robert David Johnson, *Congress and the Cold War*, *Journal of Cold War Studies* 3/2 (2001): 76-100.

have done so in large measure because of a reliance on documents produced by those who control foreign policy in the White House and the State Department. And while the nexus of foreign policy and domestic politics has been recognized as a factor in the American political system ever since Alexis de Tocqueville, the legislative contribution to the process rarely finds its way into the narrative.

As a result, some of the most neglected sources of research in writing the history of American foreign relations are the papers of former members of Congress. While these research collections vary in size, organization, scope, and utility, they nonetheless can prove to be a treasure trove of information on a wide variety of foreign policy topics. Speeches, memoranda from staff aides, newspaper clippings (local papers — another underutilized research source — can be very useful as indications of public opinion and will often have significant influence on politicians), copies of speeches from other congressional figures, correspondence with colleagues and constituents, and diaries can all be used to great effect by historians seeking to understand the role played by members of Congress in the foreign policy process.

Most members of SHAFR are acquainted with the papers of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and House Foreign Affairs Committee which are located at the National Archives.² Less familiar are the collections of individual members of Congress which are scattered across the country in university libraries, state historical societies, private foundations, and other smaller archives. The Senate and House historians have done an excellent job in organizing and publicizing the location of the research collections of the former members of each legislative body. In addition to the printed reference guides that provide contact information for each repository, there is a congressional biographical web site that contains a brief sketch of everyone who has served in Congress

²The NARA web site (www.archives.gov) has an index to the records of Congress, including detailed guides to both the Foreign Relations and Foreign Affairs committees.

since 1789. More importantly for researchers, each member's page has a link to his or her papers, if available, along with a bibliography of relevant secondary works.³ These collections include not only the primary repository for a senator or representative's personal papers (often extending prior to and beyond the scope of their congressional service), but also related materials available in other collections. For example, one of the most extensive congressional collections in the country is the J. William Fulbright papers at the University of Arkansas. But Fulbright's listing at the congressional biographical site also lists twenty-six other archives at which other Fulbright documents can be found. This is an invaluable resource for anyone considering Fulbright's influence on U.S. foreign policy during his long and distinguished career as a member of the Senate.

The main obstacle to conducting research in these collections is the commitment of time and resources required. To be sure, doing research at the various presidential libraries or the National Archives is very convenient, particularly if attending the AHA or SHAFR conferences in the Washington, D.C. area. In contrast, it can be very time-consuming (and expensive) to travel around the country to such far-flung locales as Burlington, Vermont or Pekin, Illinois to examine the manuscript collections of members of Congress, and often the scope of the papers does not justify the expense. There are, however, ways to overcome these obstacles. Many state historical societies offer grant programs for scholars ranging from "mini-grants" of \$500 to larger grants of up to \$5000. In addition, some congressional papers are housed in presidential libraries, nearly all of which have funds available for which

³See Karen Dawley Paul and Diane B. Boyle, eds., *Guide to Research Collections of Former United States Senators, 1789-1994: A Listing of Archival Repositories Housing the Papers of Former Senators, Related Collections, and Oral History Interviews* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1995); and Cynthia Pease Miller, ed., *A Guide to Research Collections of Former Members of the United States House of Representatives, 1789-1987* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1988). The Congressional Biography web site's URL is <http://bioguide.congress.gov/biosearch/biosearch.asp>.

researchers can apply.⁴ Furthermore, many collections are located within close proximity to other archives, particularly in the case of presidential libraries. For example, a researcher could examine the papers of Senator Bourke Hickenlooper, Senator Jack Miller, and several other Iowa congressmen during a single trip to Iowa City, Iowa by visiting the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library, the Iowa Historical Society, and the special collections department at the University of Iowa. With a little planning, congressional collections around the country can be accessed with a minimum of difficulty. And unless you are involved in an extensive biographical project, the vast majority of these collections can be reviewed for relevant material in a week of research.

Prior to doing research in one of these collections, contact the archivists at the university, historical society, or private foundation. They can provide much more information about the papers than published or internet guides, and often they will be able to tell you in advance whether or not it is worth your time and effort to examine the collection. Frequently, they will offer to send you copies of the relevant finding aids, and occasionally they will do a preliminary search through the material to assess the strength of the collection on your specific research query. Another important consideration is whether the papers are open to the public. If not, it is occasionally possible to receive permission from the member of Congress or his legal representatives to examine the collections.⁵

⁴A few examples of congressional collections that provide grant programs include the Everett McKinley Dirksen Congressional Research Center, the Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center, the Iowa Historical Society, and the Minnesota Historical Society. Given the shrinking size of state budgets, however, funding for state-sponsored programs may not be approved for every grant cycle. Prior to applying, be sure to contact the archive to confirm the availability of funds for the program.

⁵For example, conducting research in the papers of Senator Wallace Bennett (R-UT) require the permission of the Bennett family legal representatives. The archivists at the L. Tom Perry Special Collections Library at Brigham Young University were very helpful in facilitating access to Bennett's papers.

Unfortunately, some congressional collections are simply too expensive to visit for some researchers. In those instances, one can often request materials to be copied by the archivists or solicit research assistance from graduate students or professional research companies. In that case, it is critically important to obtain a detailed index to the collections in order to direct the proxy researcher to the proper documents and files.⁶

My own research on the influence of the Republican party on U.S. Vietnam policy during the 1960s and 1970s has required substantial time in presidential, congressional, and gubernatorial collections. In the course of that work, I have worked in a wide range of congressional collections. Perhaps the best collection in terms of organization and accessibility that I have used is the papers of Senator John Tower (R-TX) at Southwestern University in Georgetown, Texas. Tower's papers have been organized down to the file and document level and are searchable by topic on the library's computer. The staff at the library is extremely knowledgeable about the papers and went out of their way to provide any assistance I needed. Some collections — such as the Senator Jack Miller (R-IA) papers at the Iowa Historical Society — have never been adequately catalogued or are simply stored in boxes according to general subject area, but the assistance of the archivists and librarians at these repositories can help to overcome these obstacles. This applies especially to recently donated or deeded collections.

Moreover, many of the collections that one would expect to be used extensively in foreign relations research instead suffer from neglect by historians. A prime example of this is the papers of Senator John Sherman Cooper (R-KY) at the Modern Political Archives at the University of Kentucky. Cooper played a key role in U.S.

⁶In addition to finding aids and indices available on the internet or by mail, some collections — such as the papers of Senator Karl Mundt (R-SD) — have microfilmed guides and/or selected documents that can be procured via inter-library loan.

foreign policy as a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and also served as a member of the Warren Commission, a delegate to the United Nations, an adviser to Dean Acheson, and the U.S. Ambassador to India and the German Democratic Republic during his long career in public service. He was instrumental in congressional debates on the Vietnam conflict and on the role of the Central Intelligence Agency in the 1960s and 1970s. Yet when I discussed Cooper's papers with the archivist, he told me that I was the first historian he could recall ever using the collection in relation to foreign policy.⁷ Amazingly, this same sentiment was echoed by archivists at several other archives of prominent congressional leaders who have left their mark on U.S. foreign policy.

To be sure, the utility of congressional papers will vary widely depending on the nature of one's research. And even when such research is appropriate, it can often seem like looking for a needle in a haystack. Yet conducting research in congressional archives can provide a wealth of information for historians of American foreign relations, particularly when examining the domestic political components of foreign policy, which cannot be overlooked. As such, historians should give serious consideration to utilizing congressional papers as an integral part of their research.

⁷The lack of scholarly work on Cooper's career is startling given his career both in and out of the Senate. Among the few works that discuss his foreign policy views is Fredrik Logevall's forthcoming essay, *A Delicate Balance: John Sherman Cooper and Republican Opposition to the Vietnam War*, in *Vietnam and the American Political Tradition: The Politics of Dissent*, Randall Bennett Woods, ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), which is based on the research I conducted at the Modern Political Archives.

24TH ANNUAL U.S. FOREIGN AFFAIRS DOCTORAL
DISSERTATIONS LIST

by
EDWARD A. GOEDEKEN

SECTION I — FOREIGN AFFAIRS

A. Arms Control, Arms Race, and Antiwar Efforts

Barker, Holly M. "Collisions of History and Language: Nuclear Weapons Testing, Human Environmental Rights Abuses, and Cover-Up in the Republic of the Marshall Islands," *American*, 2000 (ANT), DA 3035440, Je. 2002.

Busch, Nathan Edward. "Assessing the Optimism-Pessimism Debate: Nuclear Proliferation, Nuclear Risks, and Theories of State Action," Toronto (Canada), 2001 (PS), DANQ 63761, May 2002.

Goldstein, Lyle Jared. "Valleys of Vulnerability: Instability in Asymmetric Nuclear Rivalries," Princeton, 2002 (PS), DA 3033015, May 2002.

Handler, Beth Ann. "The Art of Activism: Artists and Writers Protest, the Art Workers' Coalition, and the New York Art Strike Protest the Vietnam War," Yale, 2001 (ART HISTORY), DA 3007353, Sept. 2001.

Heim, Joel James. "An Ethic of Nuclear Nonproliferation: Steps toward a Nonnuclear World," Southern California, 2000 (REL), DA 3018087, Dec. 2001.

Lasenkys, Scott B. "Buying Peace and Security? U.S. Positive Economic Inducement Strategies for Reducing Regional Conflicts and Retarding Weapons of Mass Destruction Proliferation," Brandeis, 2001 (PS), DA 3004965, Aug. 2001.

Metres, Philip John III. "Behind the Lines: War Resistance Poetry in the United States, 1940-2000," Indiana, 2001, DA 3024216, Feb. 2002.

Moon, Penelope Adams. "We Have Got to Lead Them in the Ways of Peace: The Catholic Peace Fellowship in the Vietnam Era," Arizona State, 2001, DA 3014556, Nov. 2001.

Peterson, Harries-Clichy, Jr. "Pax Democratica: Implementing the Inter-Democratic Peace Proposition," Hawaii, 2001 (PS), DA 3030195, Apr. 2002.

Schofield, Julian. "Arms Races, Militarism, and War," Columbia, 2002 (PS), DA 3037752, Je. 2002.

Van Beek, Laga. "The Formative Years of the Women's Peace Movement in the United States, 1900-1920," Brigham Young, 1999, DA 9999996, July 2001.

B. Congress

Kamal Shahda, Mohamed Mostafa. "Legislating Foreign Policy: The Role of Congress in Making U.S. Foreign Policy toward the Middle East (1989-2000)" Johns Hopkins, 2001 (PS), DA 3006395, Aug. 2001.

Trinka, James A. "Complex Thinking in a Complex World: The Effects of Interdependence on Internationalism in the U.S. Senate," George Washington, 2001 (PS), DA 3018439, Dec. 2001.

C. Domestic Groups, Organizations, and Politics

Cavell, Colin Shawn. "The National Endowment for Democracy and the Export of *Made-in-America* Democracy," Massachusetts, Amherst, 2001 (PS), DA 3000299, July 2001.

Pfannestiel, Todd Joseph. "Rethinking the Red Scare: The Lusk Committee and New York State's Fight against Radicalism, 1919-1932," William and Mary, 2001, DA 3026411, Mar. 2002.

Settje, David Earl. "Has the Tiger Changes its Stripes? Lutheran Responses to the Cold War, Fears of Internal Communist Threats, and the Vietnam War, 1964-1975," Kent State, 2001, DA 3006163, Aug. 2001.

Stoner, John Charles. "Anti-Communism, Anti-Colonialism, and African Labor: The AFL-CIO in Africa, 1955-1975," Columbia, 2001, DA 3005804, Aug. 2001.

Wilkins, Fanon Che. "*In the Belly of the Beast: Black Power, Anti-Imperialism, and the African Liberation Solidarity Movement, 1968-1975*," NYU, 2001, DA 3009361, Sept. 2001.

D. Education

Lash, Jeffrey William. "Exporting Education: The Case of the American University in Cairo," Southwest Texas State, 2001 (GEOGRAPHY), Nov. 2001.

E. Environment

DeGarmo, Denise K. "Sign on the Dotted Line: Factors Influencing the Probability of Nation-States Becoming Parties to International Environmental Treaties," Michigan, 2001 (PS), DA 3029328, Apr. 2002.

Fisher, Dana R. "Regulating the Environment: The Battle over the Kyoto Protocol for Global Climate Change in Advances Industrialized Nations," Wisconsin-Madison, 2001 (SO), DA 3033327, May 2002.

Gray, Vanessa Joan. "Transnational Environmental Politics: The Case of U.S. NGOs in Columbia," U of Miami, 2000 (PS), DA 3001168, July 2001.

Krajnc, Anita. "Green Learning: The Role of Scientists and the Environmental Movement," Toronto (Canada), 2001 (PS), DANQ 59060, Oct. 2001.

Kukk, Christopher Lawrence. "Ties that Bind: The Effect of Transnational Issue Networks on the International Politics of Water," Boston College, 2001 (PS), DA 3021584, Jan. 2002.

F. Foreign Aid

Adamson, Michael Robert. "Inventing U.S. Foreign Aid: From Private to Public Funding of Economic Development, 1919-1941," California, 2000, DA 3003551, Aug. 2001.

Blumel, Christine M. "Foreign Aid, Donor Coordination and the Pursuit of Good Governance," Maryland, 2000 (PS), DA 3001434, July 2002.

Thompson, Adeyinka Christopher. "Ethics in International Politics? The Contradictions and Ethical Implications of Foreign Aid to Africa," Michigan State, 2000 (PHIL), DA 3000629, July 2001.

G. Human Rights

Hessler, Kristin Michelle. "A Theory of Interpretation for International Human Rights Law," Arizona, 2001 (PHIL), DA 3031372, May 2002.

Keith, Linda Camp. "The Law and Human Rights: Is the Law a Mere Parchment Barrier to Human Rights Abuse?" North Texas, 1999 (PS), DA 3019192, Jan. 2002.

Özbank, Rivdan Murat. "Understanding a Misunderstanding: Democracy and Dialogue in the West vs. Non-West Controversy over the Universality of Human Rights," Carleton (Canada), 2000 (PS), DANQ 57618, Aug. 2001.

Wendel, Dierdre Lynelle. "The External and Internal Influences on Human Rights in Latin America: A Regional Perspective," Iowa, 2001 (PS), DA 3009652, Sept. 2001.

H. Immigration and Refugees

Azuma, Eiichiro. "Interstitial Lives: Race, Community, and History among Japanese Immigrants Caught between Japan and the United States, 1885-1941," California, Los Angeles, 2000, DA 3005919, Aug. 2001.

Elahi, Babak. "Real Americans: Immigration into Modernity, 1900-1920," Rochester, 2001 (LIT), DA 3005548, Aug. 2001.

Franz, Barbara. "Refugees in Flux: Bosnian Refugees in Austria and the United States, 1992-2000," Syracuse, 2001 (PS), DA 3018955, Jan. 2002.

Mirabal, Nancy Raquel. "De Aquí, de Allá: Race, Empire, and Nation in the Making of Cuban Migrant Communities in New York and Tampa, 1823-1924," Michigan, 2000, DA 3001013, July 2001.

Vought, Hans Peter. "Redefining the *Melting Pot*: American Presidents and the Immigrant, 1897-1933," Connecticut, 2001, DA 3008145, Sept. 2001.

I. Individuals

Deason, Brian Scot. "Eye of the Storm: A Political Biography of U.S. Senator Scott W. Lucas of Illinois," Southern Illinois at Carbondale, 2001, DA 3021509, Jan. 2002.

Epple, Michael Jacob. "American Crusader: Bishop Fulton J. Sheen's Campaign against Communism," Akron, 2001, DA 3005892, Aug. 2001.

Maravillas, Anthony Rama. "Nixon in the Fifties," Illinois at Chicago, 2001, DA 3019411, Jan. 2002.

Matthews, Marty Dale. "Charles Pinckney: A Forgotten Founder," South Carolina, 2001, DA 3036220, Je. 2002.

Maynard, Christopher Alan. "From the Shadow of Reagan: George Bush and the End of the Cold War," Louisiana State, 2001, DA 3016560, Dec. 2001.

Rafshoon, Ellen G. "Power over Principle: Hans J. Morgenthau and the Fate of Émigré Realism in America," Emory, 2001, DA 3018826, Jan. 2002.

J. Intelligence

Batvinis, Raymond Joseph. "*In the Beginning . . .*: An Examination of the Development of the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Counterintelligence Program, 1936 to 1941," Catholic, 2002, DA 3037803, Je. 2002.

Kim, Jaechun. "Covert Action and Democratic Peace: Why Democracies Fight Secret Wars," Yale, 2001 (PS), DA 3007372, Sept. 2001.

Lobel, Aaron Robert. "Anticipating the Collapse? Political Judgment and the Debate over CIA Assessments of the Soviet Union, 1975-1991," Harvard, 2001 (PS), DA 3028407, Apr. 2002.

K. International Law

Leonard, Eric Kvande. "International Relations Theory and the International Criminal Court: Understanding Global Justice," Delaware, 2001 (PS), DA 3013626, Nov. 2001.

Theurkauf, Robin Siegel. "The Development of International Law: Secondary Rules of Adjudication in the Human Rights Regime," Yale, 2001 (PS), DA 3007434, Sept. 2001.

L. International Organizations

Bollettino, Vincenzo Natashi. "United Nations Staff Security: Testing the Role of Automated Reporting Systems with UNICEF," Denver, 2001 (PS), DA 3022130, Jan. 2002.

Luck, Edward C. "Mixed Messages: American Politics and International Organization, 1919-1999," Columbia, 2001 (PS), n.o.n., Oct. 2001.

Murray, Sarah Davies. "Small States, Domestic Institutions and NATO," NYU, 2001 (PS), DA 3009341, Sept. 2001.

Snider, Christy Jo. "Patriotism and Peace: Gender and Politics of Transitional Nongovernmental Organizations, 1920-1945," Purdue, 2000, DA 3017868, Dec. 2001.

Voeten, Eric. "Politics in the United Nations: Ideology, Institutions and Power in the Global Arena," Princeton, 2001 (PS), DA 3021986, Jan. 2002.

M. International Trade and Economics

Hamm, Patricia H. "How México Built Support for the Negotiation of the North American Free Trade Agreement: Targeting the Mexican Diaspora in the United States," California, Irvine, 2001 (PS), DA 3000204, July 2001.

Harrison, Christopher Scott. "Institutional Choice: How the U.S. Research Pharmaceutical Industry Snatched International Victory from the Jaws of Domestic Defeat," North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2001 (PS), DA 3007811, Sept. 2001.

Kim, EunMi. "The US Export Administration Act: Rationale and Role," Texas at Dallas, 2001 (PS), DA 3015134, Nov. 2001.

Lazin , Olga Magdalena. "Decentralized Globalization: Free Markets, U.S. Foundations, and the Rise of Civil and Civic Society from Rockefeller's Latin America to Soros' Eastern Europe," California, Los Angeles, 2001, DA 3005977, Aug. 2001.

Lee, Joonbeom. "Emergency Oil System and International Cooperation," Missouri-Columbia, 2001 (PS), DA 3012994, Oct. 2001.

Meissner, Chris Michael. "New World Order: The Emergence of an International Monetary System, 1850 to 1913," California, Berkeley, 2001 (EC), DA 3019741, Jan. 2002.

Mertha, Andrew Caesar. "Pirates, Politics, and Trade Policy: Structuring the Negotiations and Enforcing the Outcomes of the Sino-US Intellectual Property Dialogue, 1991-1999," Michigan, 2001 (PS), DA 3001010, July 2001.

Ortiz Mena Lopez Negrete, Antonio. "The Politics of Institutional Choice: International Trade and Dispute Settlement Mechanisms," California, San Diego, 2001 (PS), DA 3031945, May 2002.

Sheen, Seongho. "Trade, Technology and Security: U.S. Bilateral Export-Control Negotiations with South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, and Australia," Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, 2001 (PS), DA 3022700, Jan. 2002.

Thomas, Johnny. "The Crisis in International Lending: A Survey of Practices, Views, and Concerns of U.S. Bankers," Claremont Graduate, 2001 (EC), DA 3020873, Jan. 2002.

Wimaier, Wesley William. "A Constructivist Theory of International Monetary Relations: Monetary Understandings, State Interests in Cooperation, and the Construction of Crises (1929-2001)" Texas at Austin, 2001 (PS), DA 3036613, Je. 2002.

N. Literature and Miscellaneous

Fagen, William Michael. "Hegemony, Symphony, or Technology? Explaining Regime Change in International Telecommunications," George Washington, 2002 (PS), DA 3032743, May 2002.

Hamblin, Jacob Darwin. "Oceanography and International Cooperation during the Early Cold War," California, Santa Barbara, 2001, Dec. 2001.

Leib, Karl Andrew. "Power and Destiny: The International Space Station and U.S. Foreign Policy: Bridging Two Policy Worlds," Syracuse, 2001 (PS), DA 3018948, Jan. 2002.

Maus, Derek Craig. "Cold War Satire in Russian and American Fiction, or How We Learned to Start Worrying and Hate the Bomb Again," North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2001 (LIT), DA 3031872, May 2002.

Seifert, Jeffrey William. "Who(se) Rules (for) the Internet? Regime Formation and Global Public Policy for the Information Age," Syracuse, 2001 (PS), DA 3018964, Jan. 2002.

O. Media and Public Opinion

Kim, Sung Tae. "Covering Globalization: A Comparative Analysis of New Reports about the 1997 Asian Economic Crisis and the IMF Bailout," Indiana, 2001 (JO), DA 3024258, Feb. 2002.

Oumais, Nabil Ahmad. "The Western Elite Press Construction of Islam (The Arabs and Iran) (1991-1999)" Wayne State, 2001 (MC), DA 3037127, Je. 2002.

Wang, chun-Lei. "Reporting on China: What the Elite American News Media Say: A Content Analysis (1990-1995)" Ohio U, 2001 (MC), DA 3007475, Sept. 2001.

P. Military and National Security Affairs

Flynt, William Charles, III. "Red, Gray, and Blue: A Security Environment Approach to National Security Policy Countering Emerging Threats Targeting Critical Infrastructure," Kansas, 2001 (PS), DA 3029133, Apr. 2002.

Rogers, Angela L. "Multilateral Military Intervention Analysis in the Post-Cold War Era," Oklahoma, 2001 (PS), DA 3009537, Sept. 2001.

Tracy, George Arthur. "The Aviation Century in America: Effects of Selected Segments of Aviation Development on American Foreign Affairs, Military History, and Social History, 1900-1939," St. John's, 2001, DA 3011612, Sept. 2001.

Q. Missionaries

Burke, Jeffrey Charles. "The Establishment of the American Presbyterian Mission in Egypt, 1854-1940: An Overview," McGill (Canada), 2000 (REL), DANQ 64527, Je. 2002.

Davis, Matthew Mark. "Evangelizing the Orient: American Missionaries in Iran, 1890-1940," Ohio State, 2001, DA 3022470, Feb. 2002.

Fitzpatrick Berhrens, Susan R. "Of Divine Import: The Maryknoll Missionaries in Peru, 1943-2000," California, San Diego, 2001, DA 3036987, Je. 2002.

McPhee, Arthur Gene. "Pickett's Fire: The Life, Contribution, Thought, and Legacy of J. Waskom Pickett, Methodist Missionary to India," Asbury Theological Seminary, 2001, DA 3030278, Apr. 2002.

Reeves-Ellington, Barbara A. "*That Our Daughters May Be as Corner Stones: American Missionaries, Bulgarian Nationalists and the Politics of Gender, 1832-1872,*" SUNY at Binghamton, 2001, DA 3035478, Je. 2002.

R. Philosophy and Theory

Amini, Gitty Madeline. "Sanctions and Reinforcement in Strategic Relationships: Carrots and Sticks, Compellence and Deterrence," California, Los Angeles, 2001 (PS), DA 3024113, Feb. 2002.

Aronoff, Yael Sharon. "Making the Impossible Possible: When and Why Do Hardliners Become Soft?" Columbia, 2001 (PS), DA 3028496, Apr. 2002.

Brooks, Stephen Gallup. "The Globalization of Production and International Security," Yale, 2001 (PS), DA 3007318, Sept. 2001.

Crichlow, Robert Scott. "The Impact of Individuals on Foreign Policy Decision Making," Louisiana State, 2001 (PS), DA 3030252, Apr. 2002.

Davidson, Jason William. "The Roots of Revisionism and Status-Quo Seeking: Opportunities and Pressures at the International and Domestic Levels," Georgetown, 2001 (PS), DA 3011178, Oct. 2001.

Dogan, Nejat. "Inis L. Claude, Jr. and World Order: A Pragmatic Liberal Approach," Virginia, 2001 (PS), DA 3020345, Jan. 2002.

Dueck, Colin Wayne. "*America as She Has Been*: The Role of Ideas at Key Turning Points in U.S. Grand Strategy," Princeton, 2000 (PS), DA 3001198, July 2001.

Goldcamp, Edward Michael. "Attribution: A Political Psychology Perspective on the Democratic Peace," West Virginia, 2000 (PS), DA 3012782, Oct. 2001.

Goldsmith, Benjamin Earl. "Imitation and Transition in World Politics: Observational Learning and the Formation of Foreign Policy Preferences," Michigan, 2001 (PS), DA 3000952, July 2001.

Hoogensen, Gunhild Elizabeth Birgitta. "Jeremy Bentham and the Theories of International Relations," Alberta (Canada), 2000 (PS), DANQ 59972, Nov. 2001.

Nakamoto, Yoshihiko. "Understanding International Relations: The Historical Sociology of Raymond Aron and Stanley Hoffmann," Virginia, 2001 (PS), DA 3022099, Jan. 2002.

Reveron, Derek Scott. "Democracy for Export: An Examination of Program Implementation," Illinois at Chicago, 2001 (PS), DA 3019419, Jan. 2002.

Rynn, Jonathan Michael. "The Power to Create Wealth: A Systems-Based Theory of the Rise and Decline of the Great Powers in the 20th Century," CUNY, 2001 (PS), DA 3024830, Mar. 2002.

Wohlander, Scott Barry. "A Theory of Third-Party Intervention in Disputes in International Politics," Rice, 2001 (PS), DA 3021203, Jan. 2002.

S. Presidency

Anastasi, Thomas E. III. "Presidential Decision-Making during Selected Foreign Policy Crises from 1950-1968 Analyzed through the Use of the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator," Boston, 2001 (PS), DA 3010443, Oct. 2001.

Caruson, Kiki. "Presidential Leadership Strategy in Foreign Affairs: An Analysis of Executive-Legislative Interaction," Georgia, 2001 (PS), DA 3025261, Mar. 2002.

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COMMENTS ON MICHAEL BESCHLOSS' *THE CONQUERORS*

by

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In his book, *The Conquerors*, and in numerous media/marketing appearances, Michael Beschloss has arrogantly "flunked" President Franklin D. Roosevelt for his handling of Hitler's attempted extermination of Europe's Jews. FDR, according to Beschloss, bears particular responsibility for remaining silent during the first two years of the Holocaust, for being unsympathetic to the Jewish cause, and for not ordering the bombing of Auschwitz.

In making these assertions, Mr. Beschloss has joined a discredited group who would have our children believe that America was "indifferent" to the suffering of the Jews in World War II, that America was the passive accomplice in what Winston Churchill called "the greatest and most terrible crime ever committed in the whole history of the world." For all of us, the shadow of doubt that enough was not done for the Jews during the war will always remain, although it is objectively clear that little more could have been done. But neither America nor American Jewry were passive

observers of these events. Despite issues that bitterly divided them, primarily relating to Palestine, the Jewish community in America spoke the same words in pleading to do whatever was possible to reach out to Europe's Jews. Numerous plans were produced to rescue the Jews of Europe. Jewish leaders lobbied the Congress. Mass rallies were held across the country with overflow crowds throughout those years, praying, pleading for action to stop the genocide.

As the famed military historian John Keegan has written: "The removal and transportation of Europe's Jews was a fact known to every inhabitant of the continent between 1942 and 1945."¹ Yet Mr. Beschloss would have us believe that Roosevelt made no attempt to draw the world's attention to these crimes in 1942 and 1943. He also makes repeated allegations that because he resented Jewish and other ethnic group pressures, President Roosevelt did not identify the Jews specifically in the repeated Allied warnings that the Nazis collectively and individually would be held accountable for their barbaric crimes. There was a time earlier in the war when it was thought best not to identify the Jews specifically in the reporting of the Nazi crimes. Beschloss would have us believe that this was done for the petty, ugly reason of resenting ethnic pressures. I thought of this on a recent visit to London's Holocaust Museum. There is a specific exhibit referring to a speech by Winston Churchill on August 24, 1941, where he reports that "a crime without a name" was being committed against "Russian patriots who defended their native soil." These words were written after the Prime Minister had been briefed regarding information provided by the Enigma code breakthrough on the slaughter of Jews by the Einsatzgruppen after the Nazi invasion of Russia on June 22, 1941. We now know that this is when the Holocaust began. The British exhibit then states: "Western leaders feared that drawing attention to the Jews would be seen as special pleading and would fuel Nazi propaganda." (America was not yet in the war). Winston Churchill may have been wrong in this conclusion, but it was the

¹*The Second World War*, John Keegan, New York, 1989, p. 282

considered judgment of a great leader with vast sympathy for the Jewish cause, not Churchill's resentment against pressure from ethnic groups that influenced his words on this occasion.

It is hard to believe that anyone would make the allegation that FDR chose to ignore the plight of the Jews in World War II. Time and again, beginning with his pledge to Rabbi Wise and other Jewish leaders in November 1942, President Roosevelt made clear through governmental statements and messages to the mass rallies organized in those years that the Nazis would be held collectively and individually accountable for their crimes against the Jews. In his book, Beschloss denies this, asserting that in spite of a growing body of evidence in the summer and fall of 1942 pointing towards the mass execution of the Jews, FDR chose to hide the extent of what he knew and remain "silent" on the issue in 1942 and 1943. In making this allegation, Mr. Beschloss quotes from the December 17, 1942 Allied Declaration on war crimes as evidence to support his argument that FDR preferred not to mention the Jews when speaking of Nazi atrocities, noting only the "mass executions" of "many hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children." But Beschloss is wrong. As James Cheeks has noted in an HNN review, the December 17th Declaration was written precisely to highlight the Nazis crimes against the Jews, as its title "German Policy of Extermination of the Jewish Race" make clear. Beschloss chooses to ignore this. He not only fails to mention the title of the document, but also its stark references to the horrors of the Nazi's brutal treatment of the Jews and the "solemn resolution" of the Allies "to ensure that those responsible for these crimes shall not escape retribution."

With the Nazi coup against Admiral Horthy in March, 1944, a limited opportunity came to save the Jews of Hungary. President Roosevelt was deeply and personally involved in the effort to save them. This is the President's statement to the people of the United States and of Europe on March 24, 1944:

In one of the blackest crimes of all history – begun by the Nazis in the days of peace and multiplied by them a hundred times in time of war – the wholesale systematic murder of the Jews of Europe goes on unabated every hour. As a result of the events of the last few days hundreds of thousands of Jews who, while living under persecution, have at least found a haven from death in Hungary and the Balkans, are now threatened with annihilation as Hitler's forces descend more heavily upon these lands. That these innocent people, who have already survived a decade of Hitler's fury, should perish on the very eve of triumph over the barbarism which their persecution symbolized, would be a major tragedy. It is therefore fitting that we should again proclaim our determination that none who participate in these acts of savagery shall go unpunished. The United Nations have made it clear that they will pursue the guilty and deliver them up in order that justice be done. That warning applies not only to the leaders but also to their functionaries and subordinates in Germany and in the satellite countries. All who knowingly take part in the deportation of Jews to their death in Poland or Norwegians and French to their death in Germany are equally guilty with the executioner. All who share the guilt shall share the punishment.

The principal marketing thrust for Beschloss's book centers on the issue of whether or not the Allies should have bombed Auschwitz and on "new information" that the man who made the ultimate decision not to bomb Auschwitz "may not have been John McCloy but Franklin Roosevelt himself." This is important because apparently for Mr. Beschloss and some others whether Auschwitz should have been bombed is the defining question of World War II, a point of view frankly that is difficult to comprehend regarding a universal conflict in which 67 million people were killed, where nations were decimated, where democracy's survival was in the balance, where 16 million Americans were joined together in a military force that has never been equaled, and where our nation led the world into the nuclear age.

Beschloss identifies this “new information” as a taped private conversation in 1986 between John McCloy and Henry Morgenthau III who was researching a family memoir. In his PBS interview, he says: “I came upon an interview, unpublished, that John McCloy did just before he died... where he actually conceded that he had taken this to Roosevelt and said “do you want to bomb Auschwitz or not?” And he said that what Roosevelt said was, “absolutely not...”

I have read the transcript of the McCloy-Morgenthau interview. Nowhere does the above-cited conversation take place. In fact, the interview transcript could well be read to an opposite conclusion, that the President had nothing to do with the bombing decision, that it was never presented to him for decision. The interview between John McCloy and Henry Morgenthau III took place on October 8, 1986. On Page 11 of the transcript of that interview, Mr. McCloy was asked to characterize Secretary Morgenthau’s style as an official.

Henry Morgenthau III: How would you characterize his style as an official?

John McCloy: I had no difficulty with him at all. The general view was that he was an² but he was always in favor of the Jewish even irate at the treatment of the Jews and he was going to do everything in his power, he was vindictive in regard to that. Subtle, persistent and anywhere there was an antagonism to the or the advance of Hitler.

Henry Morgenthau III: But he didn’t get involved in the bombing of Auschwitz that was all post facto.

John McCloy: They came to me and wanted me to order the bombing of Auschwitz. *He wasn’t involved in that nor was the President.* (italics added)...

²These blank spaces are exactly as they appear in the transcript of the interview.

Auschwitz was raised peripherally as the conversation with Mr. McCloy was about to end. McCloy was 88 years old – never in all of the extensive interviews he gave in his life, nor in his papers, is there any indication of his ever discussing the bombing questions with the President. Henry Morgenthau III never cited the interview in the family memoir nor in his frequent public appearances where he participated in discussions related to the Holocaust. In reality, the transcript presents a painfully disjointed, obviously strained, totally ambiguous recollection that is hardly the source of important historical judgments. Perhaps Mr. McCloy discussed the bombing question to the President at some uncertain date to ascertain his opinions. There is no record of such a meeting in the voluminous records of the Roosevelt era in the Presidential Library at Hyde Park. But if an informal conversation took place, it is important to note that the opinion attributed to FDR reflects the viewpoint expressed by David Ben-Gurion (then Chairman of the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem, later first Prime Minister of Israel) in June 1944 when he responded to a proposal that the Allies be asked to bomb the extermination camps. At that meeting, presided over by Ben-Gurion, the Jewish Agency voted eleven to one against the bombing proposal.³

The Holocaust is an enormously complicated tragedy. Today we have the photographs, the films, the diabolically precise records of the genocide but when I read David Ben Gurion in June 1944 saying: “We do not know the truth concerning the entire situation in Poland, and it seems that we will be unable to propose anything concerning this.” – I appreciate how helpless everyone must have felt as the news slowly leaked through the Nazi wall of secrecy as to the enormity of the crime. It is certainly appropriate – and even necessary – for contemporary generations to look at the horrendous dimensions of the Nazi slaughter and ask: Could we have prevented it? What more could have been done?

³Meeting of the Executive of the Jewish Agency, Jerusalem, June 11, 1944

Because these questions must be asked, historians must carefully seek the truth; they must present the context of the events. Today it is taken for granted that Hitler would be defeated but historians know that victory in World War II was far from assured. The Nazi war machine was the most powerful in world history. It took the combined might of the United States, the British Empire, the Soviet Union and countless other brave allies to destroy it. The bombing of Auschwitz was never mentioned before the summer of 1944. At that point, American forces were fully engaged with Japanese aggression across the total expanse of the Pacific Ocean. In Europe, the invasion of Normandy began on June 6th. Despite the fact that two-thirds of the Nazi armies were on the Russian front, D-Day and an Allied success were by no means assured. The German armies were holding our forces at bay in Italy, causing heavy casualties, making us fight for every road and hill. We were planning the invasion of southern France for August 15th. America and our allies were stretched dangerously across western and southern Europe. The Allied bombing strategy was totally directed toward destroying Nazi fuel supplies, their synthetic oil industries, the oil fields of Romania, and their communication and transport lines wherever possible.

By making the bombing of Auschwitz such a central issue, Mr. Beschloss and others like him trivialize the meaning and the horror of the Holocaust. The unremitting, remorseless massacre of the Jews – carefully concealed by the top secret security of the Nazi murderers – continued because no one, no nation, no alliance of nations could do anything meaningful to close down the Death Camps – except, as President Roosevelt said over and over again, by winning the war and destroying the Nazis with unconditional determination as soon as possible.

Mr. Beschloss insists that “the sound of bombs exploding at Auschwitz would have constituted a moral statement for all time...” Were the countless Jewish leaders immoral who considered the possibility of bombing Auschwitz and rejected it? Were David Ben-Gurion and his ten colleagues of the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem

immoral because they voted against asking the Allies to bomb the Death Camps? Mainstream Jewish opinion was against the whole idea of bombing Auschwitz. The very thought of the Allied forces deliberately killing Jews – to open the gates of Auschwitz so the survivors could run where? – was abhorrent then as it should be now. Although only President Roosevelt or General Eisenhower could have ordered the bombing of Auschwitz, there is no record of any kind that indicates that either one was ever asked to issue such an order – even though Jewish leaders of all persuasions had clear access to them both. United States Supreme Court Justice Lewis Powell, a key intelligence officer for the Air Force in Europe in World War II in an oral history interview in 1985 was incredulous that anyone would even suggest that Allied forces bomb Auschwitz. “I am perfectly confident,” he said, “that General Spaatz [the USAF Commander in Europe] would have resisted any proposal that we kill the Jewish inmates in order to put Auschwitz out of operation. It is not easy to think that a rational person would have made such a recommendation.”

When I first spoke on the subject of America and the Holocaust in Chicago in 1996, an 80-year-old man, an Auschwitz survivor, came up to me, eyes filled with tears, to thank me for having told “the truth.” He had been a slave laborer at the Farben factory in Buna, near Auschwitz. He said that when the sirens announced the bombing raids, the Nazis forced the Jews to the rooftop while the Nazis took refuge in the cellars. “Bomb Auschwitz,” he said, “I never would have survived – if the bombs did not kill us, the Nazis would have shot us down like dogs if we tried to escape.” Is that an immoral position? The bombing raids on the IG Farben plants/Monowitz where this Auschwitz survivor was forced into slave labor succeeded in hitting 2.2% of damageable buildings.⁴ These targets were far more vulnerable than the Auschwitz gas chambers and crematoria. And what if Allied bombing had destroyed the killing machinery at Auschwitz? What would the

⁴*Bombers Over Auschwitz*, by Irving Uttal, Lieutenant Colonel USAF (Ret.), 2002 (available from Colonel Uttal upon request).

Nazis have done? They would have used machine guns and firing squads and grave-trenches as they did before. Or, as Rondall Rice has written,⁵ the SS might have begun the death marches back to the Reich a few months earlier – “destroying Hitler’s grip on Europe was a guaranteed means for saving the remaining Jews.”

President Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, General Eisenhower, General Marshall, the intelligence services of the Allied nations, every Jewish leader, the Jewish communities in America, in Britain, in Palestine, and yes, anyone who had a radio or newspaper in 1942 knew that Jews in colossal numbers were being murdered. They may have received the news with disbelief. There was no precedent for it in human history. The general information of the genocide was broadly available to anyone who would read or listen. But Auschwitz, like every extermination camp, was treated as a top-secret project by the Nazis. We publicized what we knew but the Nazis tried to keep as much information as possible away from everybody. As Martin Gilbert points out, the details and even the name of Auschwitz were not confirmed until the escape of two prisoners in April, 1944 – two years after its murderous processes had begun.

We should remember, as Professor Novick has reminded us in a book that deserves a significant audience,⁶ that it was only years after the war that the word “holocaust” came into general use to describe the Nazi genocide. It is also important to note that no one – no one, foresaw the events that became the Holocaust. In discussing those events, it is helpful to read the words of Louis de Jong, an eminent Dutch historian and Holocaust survivor who in a lecture at Harvard University in 1989 said:

⁵*The Bombing of Auschwitz*, Edited by Michael Neufeld and Michael Berenbaum, St. Martin’s Press, 2000, p. 179

⁶*The Holocaust in American Life*, by Peter Novick, Houghton Mifflin, 1999, p. 127 et seq.

[There is] an aspect of the Holocaust which is of cardinal importance and which can never be sufficiently underlined: that the Holocaust, when it took place, was beyond the belief and the comprehension of almost all people living at the time, Jews included. Everyone knew that human history had been scarred by endless cruelties. But that thousands, nay millions, of human beings – men, women and children, the old and the young, the healthy and the infirm – would be killed, finished off, mechanically, industrially so to speak, would be exterminated like vermin – that was a notion so alien to the human mind, an event so gruesome, so new, that the instinctive, indeed the natural, reaction of most people was: it can't be true...⁷

Mr. Beschloss would have his audiences believe that President Roosevelt was besieged by Jewish leaders, led by Secretary Morgenthau, urging him to order the bombing of Auschwitz. Of course, that is not true. No mainstream Jewish leader or organization made such a request. In fact, there was considerable Jewish opposition to the suggestion of bombing Auschwitz both in the United States and Palestine. The first suggestion to John McCloy (the Assistant Secretary of War) regarding the bombing of Auschwitz, came on August 9, 1944, in a letter from Leon Kubowitzki, head of the Rescue Committee of the World Jewish Congress, in which he forwarded, without endorsement, a request to consider such bombing from Mr. Ernest Frischer of the Czechoslovak State Council (in exile in London). What is rarely cited, but what one is charged with knowing if one chooses to make historical judgments of those horribly painful years, is that in a letter dated July 1, 1944, from the same Leon Kubowitzki to the Executive Director of the War Refugees Board (John Pehle), Mr. Kubowitzki argued against bombing Auschwitz because “the first victims would be the Jews” and the Allied air assault would serve as “a welcome pretext for the Germans to assert that their Jewish

⁷*The Netherlands and Nazi Germany*, by Louis de Jong, Harvard University Press, 1990

victims have been massacred not by their killers, but by Allied bombing.” The same argument is made in a Report of the Meeting ... of the War Refugee Board of August 16, 1944,⁸ which cites the opinion of the Jewish community against bombing.

Someday I hope to hear Mr. Beschloss and others broadcast that it is the killers who bear the responsibility for their deeds. We must remember, and our children must learn, that it was Hitler and his henchmen who imagined the Holocaust and the Nazis who carried it out. America was not an accomplice. America was not “passive.” America destroyed Hitler and Nazism, the greatest threat ever to modern civilization – and it was President Roosevelt who made America the arsenal of democracy, who was our Commander-in-Chief leading the greatest military force in history, who crafted the victorious alliance that won the war, and who inspired and guided the blueprint for the world in which we live.

Professor William L. O’Neill, in his review of *The Conquerors* in *The New Leader* (November/December 2002), writes:

Another puzzling feature is that Beschloss appears to detest Roosevelt. He represents him as a doddering old conniver much of the time, then concludes by writing that today’s ‘democratic, decentralized Germany is largely the country that Roosevelt imagined and worked for.’ This statement goes against practically everything else Beschloss has to say about FDR. It is also true, making Beschloss’ denigration of Roosevelt even harder to understand... Foremost scholars, while not excusing FDR’s failings, put them in context. What one almost never sees is a book like this one, where FDR’s personal shortcomings dominate the narrative and are followed by extravagant praise. Beschloss claims to have begun *The Conquerors* in 1992. The undigested state of his frequently excellent material suggests that he probably should have started sooner.

⁸*The Bombing of Auschwitz*, op. cit., p. 274

Mr. Beschloss, is, of course, entitled to “detest” Franklin Delano Roosevelt — many names come to mind of those who detested FDR during his lifetime.

For me, Winston Churchill’s judgment of President Roosevelt is preferable. Winston Churchill once said that Franklin Delano Roosevelt was the greatest man he had ever known. President Roosevelt’s life, he said, “must be regarded as one of the commanding events of human destiny.”

SOME NOTES ON THE NEW *AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS SINCE 1600: A GUIDE TO THE LITERATURE*

by

Robert L. Beisner

In the 1970s, members of SHAFR first conceived the idea of producing an annotated bibliographical guide to the study of the history of U.S. foreign relations. The plan originated in the hope of updating (and superseding) the impressive but by then hopelessly obsolete Samuel Flagg Bemis and Grace Gardner Griffin, eds., *Guide to the Diplomatic History of the United States, 1775-1921* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1935). SHAFR’s ambition bore fruit in a superb new work, Richard Dean Burns, ed., *Guide to American Foreign Relations since 1700* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 1983), a collective effort of forty-one contributing editors and ninety-two contributors that included 9,255 entries in forty chapters along with maps and two appendixes. A substantial historiographical essay preceded each chapter.

This fine compendium of historical scholarship immediately became indispensable to researchers and teachers alike. But relevant new publications also appeared by the hundreds each year, and before

long SHAFR members began wondering about the possibilities of an update or new edition. The “Burns Guide” had not become obsolete—it remains extremely useful even now—but it became progressively necessary to venture beyond it in bibliographical searches. (The same fate, of course, awaits the new work.) By the mid-nineties, members of the SHAFR Council were actively considering the production of a new *Guide*.

In 1997, I was asked to oversee a new edition. I consulted widely, especially among members of a distinguished advisory board I appointed for the purpose, before making several important decisions. Although the 1983 *Guide* served as a general model, it seemed advisable to depart from its design in a few respects, especially in not including maps or lists and sketches of important foreign policy “makers” readily available elsewhere. Reluctantly, we also decided against the substantial historiographical essays that introduced each chapter of the original, judging that they had mostly gone unread, to be replaced by brief editors’ statements about their selection criteria (all but one chapter of the new work includes a historiographical section). We made these decisions in an awareness of the likely size of the new work and the need to save space. The result is that the new volumes are not a *Guide to American Foreign Relations since 1700* but a straightforward annotated bibliography--*American Foreign Relations since 1600: A Guide to the Literature*. After making basic organizational decisions, in the spring and summer of 1998 I turned to the sometimes daunting task of recruiting editors for specific chapters, a small number of whom had to be replaced over the next two years.

Several other decisions shape the character and structure of the new *Guide*. After lengthy consideration and consultation with the advisory board focused on the possibility of creating some kind of “balance” in coverage among different periods of U.S. history, I decided instead that market forces should prevail and so advised the chapter editors. The result is readily apparent; just as with the Burns *Guide*, works on the twentieth century—and the post-World War II period—predominate, reflecting the United States’s years as

a great power and the scholarship such status attracts. The number of entries in particular chapters ranges from 140 to 1,335.

I asked all editors to include helpful works on historiography. That some chapters are relatively bereft of such entries does not reflect any lack of industry on the editors' part but the simple fact that little historiographical attention has been given to certain areas. I also urged them to pay more attention than in the past to journal articles and essay collections. Annotations were to be descriptive but if possible contain pointed guidance about an item's relative importance. Although assuming that we were largely producing a guide to historical literature published in English, I encouraged editors to include works in other languages when they thought them of great importance. Many did so, but chapters vary, depending on editors' judgment about selection and their varying familiarity with foreign language sources. Dissertations are included only when considered high in quality and necessary to fill gaps not addressed by published scholarship—nearly a hundred are listed or mentioned. The new work also reflects a commitment to mainstreaming. With the exception of two chapters on reference works, overviews, and syntheses, we have eschewed using separate chapters on particular topics, such as economic or military history, or, to point to more recent historical trends, cultural relations or the impact of sex and gender on the conduct of foreign policy. (Since SHAFR owned the copyright to the contents of the 1983 *Guide*, editors were free to use, revise, or exclude old references and annotations and were given digital files from that work, scanned for the purpose. I also shared with them the contents of a diplomatic-military history bibliography of some 17,000 items I had assembled over the years).

The quality of the results is for others to judge. Although individual chapters surely vary in quality, as is inevitable in any collective enterprise, I was personally impressed by the editors' range, expertise, and judgment. Reading every single annotation was like being in graduate school again, and I once more received a fine education, but not enough to succumb to the temptation to pronounce on the "meaning" of the total body of scholarship

represented except to note some notably visible trends. One is the broadening of scholars' definition of the "history of U. S. foreign relations." Brief reference to the editors' use of a keyword system will help make this clear. Part of the substructure of our work (though not visible in it) is a uniform set of keywords from which editors drew to attach to every entry. Growing attention to "nontraditional" aspects of the field is reflected in the assignment of the keyword "Domestic Society" to 363 entries (of a total of 16,356), "Race and Racism" to 527 (and 269 to "African-Americans"), "Cultural Relations" to 581, and "Sex and Gender" to 201. Having decided to consider the relations between Native Americans and, first the local colonial rulers and later the federal government, as a form of "foreign relations," we ended up with 260 entries associated with the keyword "Indians."

The new bibliography also provides a rough measure of where work has and has not been concentrated since 1982, the last year of publication of works mentioned in the 1983 *Guide*. On the average, works published since 1982 comprise almost exactly half of the new *Guide*. As one would expect, the percentage of such works is far higher in the chapters covering the period since 1961, but the pattern for earlier chapters is not so clear. Although in general the farther back in U.S. history, the more listings of pre-1982 publications, there are notable exceptions; for example, in the chapter on 17th and pre-1776, 18th century history, 58 percent of the listed works were published after 1981. Yet in the next chapter, on the revolutionary years themselves, only 16 percent of listed works date from the last two decades. Chapters covering the period from the age of the Federalists to the Nixon-Kissinger era run from a low of 18 percent (the chapter on the diplomacy of the Civil War) to a high of 79 percent (the chapter on the Eisenhower years). As we finished our work, we tried hard to keep it as current as possible—nearly 100 titles from 2002 appear in it.

As many in of our colleagues have made a point of declaring in recent years, there is little reason for tearing of hair and gnashing of teeth about the guild's health and vigor. Although many history

departments and universities may currently undervalue the field, the quality of the work recorded and annotated in the new *Guide* demonstrates that it is not the result of any deficiencies in how contemporary historians of U.S. foreign relations are practicing their profession. As the institutions that normally house such historians return to a sensible appreciation for the importance of the role of power in human affairs and the relations between the nations and peoples of the world, as they surely will, I have little doubt that they will also restore the teaching of the field to its rightful place.

Will someone else be writing a similar preface in another ten, fifteen, or twenty years? Perhaps. Even now, SHAFR is considering how to avoid starting over from scratch in the future. It may be possible, for example, using SHAFR's web site to post supplements to this *Guide*. In a few years, those using it might be able to swing from the book to an integrated spot on the internet in pursuing their bibliographical searches. Because this *Guide* has been prepared in digital form, such supplements, if kept reasonably updated, should greatly simplify the preparation of a later edition of this work, which may also eventually be put on line in its entirety.

LETTERS

A reply to Manfred Jonas:

Professor Jonas seems quite clear in his letter about what is not true but, unfortunately, neither it nor his book are quite clear about why U.S. policy toward Germany changed so drastically in December 1941. Yet he is good company with every other historian that I have ever read on the subject. I might wish for clarity on this subject, but the overwhelming preponderance of ambiguity in the historiography is the reason I wrote my book and article. One might also ask why historians who are so thorough on most things are conspicuously not

when it comes to the momentous and drastic change of U.S. policy toward Germany in December 1941.

- Richard Hill

OSAMA BIN LADEN AS PAU-PUK-KEEWIS

by

ROLAND N. STROMBERG

PROFESSOR EMERITUS, WISCONSIN-MILWAUKEE

“Full of wrath was Hiawatha” when he saw what carnage Pau-Puk-Keewis had wrought in the village; “found the people in confusion, heard of all the misdemeanors, all the malice and the mischief.”

Hard his breath came through his nostrils,
Through his teeth he buzzed and muttered
Words of anger and resentment,
Hot and humming like a hornet.
“I will slay this Pau-Puk-Keewis
Slay this mischiefmaker!” said he.
“Not so long and wide the world is,
Not so rude and rough the way is,
That my wrath shall not attain him,
That my vengeance shall not reach him.

But, after swift pursuit through the forests and the headlands, Hiawatha and his hunters “found not Pau-Puk-Keewis.” From the lowlands far beneath them he made gestures of defiance and derision. He went underground, hid in caves, and persuaded some beavers to take him in. Eventually, however, Hiawatha and his hunters ran him to earth, as a beaver, and beat him to death (they thought). But his spirit, his Jebbi, escaped and lived on.

After much travail the hunters described him as a giant cow (warplane?) and brought him down, but the cunning villain’s soul still survived; he changed himself into a serpent, eluded Hiawatha’s grasp, fled down the Gitche Gumee (I think the Red Sea) and took refuge with the Old Man of

the Mountain (possibly Saddam Hussein). In the end despite his renewed vows of vengeance Hiawatha had to settle for changing Pau into an eagle, who is still seen in winter snowstorms. It would appear that he no longer harassed the village, but continued as something of a nuisance.

This lucid account of the September 11 incident and its aftermath appears in Chapter XVII of Longfellow's epic. The serious researcher will want to peruse the whole extensive document, which I have only summarized. The lesson seems to be that we won't kill the Taliban spirit, we can only hope somehow to deflect it or sublimate it.

SHAFR COUNCIL MINUTES

PALMER HOUSE HILTON — 7:30 AM, JAN. 7, 2003

Robert Beisner presiding

Members and guests present: Deborah Kisatsky, Michael Hogan, Scott Laderman, Bob Beisner, Peter Hahn, Dennis Merrill, Andrew Rotter, Malcolm Crystal, Ann Heiss, Mark Stoler, David Schmitz, Mark Lawrence, David Anderson, Bill Burr, Jim Matray, Phyllis Soybel, William Brinker.

1. Comments regarding the sale and marketing of the soon-to-be published *Guide* were presented by Bob Beisner. A motion from Dennis Merrill, Chester Pach, and Peter Hahn was introduced. It read:

The SHAFR Business Office is authorized to market the *Guide* according to the terms of the contract and under the provisions outlined below:

A) SHAFR will offer the *Guide* for pre-publication sale, beginning January 2003, at the following prices: \$65 to student members and \$95 to other members. Once the guide is published (estimated date: June 2003), prices will increase to \$80 and \$120, respectively.

B) The SHAFR Business Office will advertise the sale on the Web site, in the Newsletter, in *Diplomatic History*, over H-diplo, at the 2003 annual meeting, and in as many other venues as feasible. The 2003 annual meeting will be advertised as the "last chance" to buy at pre-publication rates (provided that volumes remain available at that time).

C) Purchasers will be directed to send payments (checks only) to the SHAFR Business Office, which will deposit the checks and provide names and addresses of purchasers to ABC-Clio, on a schedule to be negotiated with the publisher. The publisher will ship copies of the book directly to the purchasers. ABC-Clio is contractually obligated to pay shipping costs in such distribution. The SHAFR Business office will pay ABC-Clio the amount due for the books shipped.

D) Contributing editors (list attached) are entitled to free copies of the Guide. The SHAFR Business Office will secure 50 copies of the Guide for distribution to contributing editors, holding any remaining copies in reserve for future distribution as directed by Council. ABC-Clio is contractually obligated to provide an additional 15 copies of the Guide to Bob Beisner.

E) SHAFR is obligated to purchase 600 copies of the Guide at \$50 each, within 18 months of publication, and it has the option to order additional volumes at the same price before ABC-Clio's print run (deadline: 5 May 2003). Should early sales indicate sufficient demand, the Business Office will exercise this option and commit to additional copies at the \$50 price.

F) Every effort will be made to sell (or distribute free to contributors) the 600 obligatory copies as soon as possible. If copies remain unsold (or undistributed) at the end of the 18-month time frame, the SHAFR Business Office will accept such copies from ABC-Clio and continue to market them to SHAFR members until supplies are exhausted. Once the Business Office exhausts its supply of copies obtained at \$50, it will market copies to members at the cost of \$135 each (the \$225 list price less 40% "author's" discount offered by ABC-Clio).

The motion passed.

2. Council discussed maintaining an electronic version of the *Guide*.

Merrill, Pach, and Hahn presented a motion as follows:

The SHAFR Council authorizes the appointment of a search committee to search for a successor to Bob Beisner as editor-in-chief of the continuing SHAFR bibliographic project. That editor's responsibilities will include working with chapter/subject editors to produce supplements

to the revised, printed Guide and making plans for the electronic publication of those supplements and/or the entire revised Guide.

The motion carried.

3. Beisner announced that the *SHAFR Newsletter* will be moved from Tennessee Tech to Ohio State University after publication of the March, 2003 issue. Peter Hahn and Mitch Lerner will assume the editorial duties. In so doing the content, frequency, and format of the newsletter will be altered. Some information currently found in the newsletter will be maintained online thereby keeping the members better informed. A motion to commend the current (out-going) editor was made and adopted by Council.

4. Council approved changing the term Executive Secretary-Treasurer to Executive Director to be effective immediately. Peter Hahn, the first Executive Director, plans to assume additional responsibilities for the organization. He is already involved in new "outreach" activities and plans for more. Hahn hopes for increased members from government officials, high school teachers, and from related associations both inside and outside the field of History. The goal is to reach growth in membership, in stature, and influence. Council members strongly endorsed the goals.

5. David Schmitz reported for the 2003 SHAFR annual meeting planners. As Program Chair, Schmitz confirmed the dates June 6-8, 2003. The George Washington program will include a 4 pm reception at the State Department on Thursday. Further details will be mailed to the members.

6. Mark Lawrence reported preliminary and tentative news of the 2004 meeting to be held at the LBJ Library and the University of Texas, Austin on June 24-27, 2004.

7. Phyllis Soybel reported for the Georgetown Travel Grant Committee. After some discussion concerning the amounts of the grants, Council approved granting \$1500 to Adam Howard (Florida) and \$500 to Tammy Nemeth (British Columbia).

8. Peter Hahn presented details of SHAFR's finances. His report of the 2002 (actual) expenditures and revenues and the 2003 (estimated)

expenditures and revenues clearly portrayed the financial health of the organization.

9. Jim Matray, serving a five year term as liaison between SHAFR and its investment managers (Schafer Cullen), reported that in these times of financial uncertainty SHAFR's endowment funds were being invested soundly.

10. Malcolm Crystal from Blackwell Publishers discussed various services that are being currently utilized and that are becoming available to SHAFR.

OBITUARY

Kinley J. Brauer, 1935-2003

We are saddened to announce the passing of Dr. Kinley J. Brauer on February 12 at Duke University Hospice in Meadowlands, North Carolina. Professor Brauer taught the history of American foreign relations at the University of Minnesota from 1965 until his retirement in 2000.

Professor Brauer received his PhD from the University of California, Berkeley in 1963, where he specialized in nineteenth-century diplomatic history, but his research and teaching were truly global. Kinley lectured and conducted research in Austria, England, Finland, France, Germany, Norway, Spain, and the Soviet Union. Most notably, he was a Fulbright Professor at the University of Graz in Austria (1994-1995) and lectured at the Diplomatic Academy in Vienna. Dr. Brauer was an active member of the diplomatic history community and was enthusiastically involved in both the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations (SHAFR) and the Society for the History of the Early American Republic (SHEAR).

Dr. Brauer served two terms as chair of the Department of History from 1994 until his retirement, providing continuity and leadership during a time of tremendous change in the department's faculty. He also administered a number of academic programs, serving as the Interim Director of the Center for Austrian Studies (1988-1989) and Director of the International Relations Program (1993-1994).

For the past three years, Professor Brauer and his wife, Dr. Barbara Brauer (known to most of us as "Sue"), have resided in Pittsboro, North Carolina where Kinley continued to teach, research, and edit while enjoying his retirement.

It would be impossible to list all of Kinley's research contributions. He was, however, attempting to develop more innovative and relevant synthesis for nineteenth-century foreign relations — a synthesis that included more global relationships, as well as domestic associations and interactions. A partial list of his publications includes:

Cotton versus Conscience: Massachusetts Whig Politics and Southwestern Expansion, 1843-1848 (1967)

"1821-1860: Economics and the Diplomacy of American Expansionism" in *Economics and World Power* by William Becker and Samuel Wells (1984)

"The Great American Desert Revisited: Recent Literature and Prospects for the Study of American Foreign Relations, 1815-1861," *Diplomatic History* (Summer 1989)

Austria in the Age of the French Revolution, 1789-1815 (editor, 1990)

"The Need for a Synthesis of American Foreign Relations, 1815-1861," *Journal of the Early Republic* (Winter 1994)

As his final group of doctoral advisees, we have lost a mentor and a friend. Kinley was generous and supportive in our preparation as scholars: he graciously took us to conferences and introduced us to other historians; encouraged us to write and publish, and he offered patient and kind support while we wrote our dissertations — but also never failed to ask for our best. Most importantly, Kinley trained

us as professional historians through his graduate seminars and informal forums that profoundly influenced our approaches to historical analysis, teaching, and interaction with colleagues. And he also taught all of us the importance of domestic factors in America's diplomacy. Kinley was always accessible and even after his retirement, continued to guide us in our professional development. We never failed to leave Kinley without feeling excited about ideas and inspired by his passion for the history of American foreign relations.

Kinley Brauer was a skilled researcher and author, an outstanding mentor, and a fine person. We miss him very much and hope that we can do justice to his memory through our future efforts.

David E. Woodard, Concordia University, St. Paul; J. Wendel Cox, University of Minnesota, Morris; Kenneth Steuer, Indiana University; Jeffrey Pilz, North Iowa Area Community College

PUBLICATIONS

Tim Borstelmann (Cornell) and Jacqueline Jones, Peter Wood, Elaine Tyler May, and Vicki Ruiz, *Created Equal: A Social and Political History of the American People*. Longman, 2003. Cloth: ISBN 0-321-05296-x, \$88.00; Paper: ISBN 0-321-05298-6 (Volume 1) and 0-321-05300-1 (Volume 2), each \$71.67.

H.W. Brands (Texas A&M), *The Age of Gold, The California Gold Rush and the New American Dream*. Doubleday, 2002. ISBN 0-385-50216-8, \$29.95.

Lester H. Brune (Bradley, emeritus) and Richard Dean Burns, consulting editor, *Chronological History of U.S. Foreign Relations*, Second edition, Three volumes. Routledge, 2002. ISBN 0415939143, \$295.00.

James Carafano (NDU), *Waltzing into the Cold War: The Struggle for Occupied Austria*. Texas A&M, 2002. ISBN 1-58544-213-5, \$44.95.

Noam Chomsky (MIT), *Problems of Knowledge and Freedom, The Russell Lectures*. New Press, 2003. Paper: ISBN 1-56584-809-8, \$14.95.

-----, *For Reasons of State*. New Press, 2003. Paper: ISBN 1-56584-794-6, \$19.95.

Saki Dockrill (King's College, London), *Britain's Retreat from East of Suez: The Choice between Europe and the World?* Palgrave, 2002. Cloth: ISBN 0-333-73236-7, £31.50.

Justus D. Doenecke (New College of Florida) and John E. Wilz, *From Isolation to War, 1931-1941*. Harlan Davidson, 2002. Paper: ISBN 0-88295-992-1, \$14.95.

James N. Giglio and Stephen G. Rabe (Texas at Dallas). *Debating the Kennedy Presidency*. Rowman & Littlefield, 2003. Cloth: ISBN 0-7425-0833-1, \$65.00; Paper: ISBN 0-7425-0834-x, \$17.95.

Marc Jason Gilbert (North Georgia), *Why the North Won the Vietnam War*. Palgrave, 2002. Cloth: ISBN 0-312-29526-x, \$69.95; Paper: ISBN 0-312-29527-8, \$22.95.

Jonathan Goldstein (West Georgia), *Peoples of an Almighty God, Competing Religions in the Ancient World*. Anchor, 2002. ISBN 0-385-42347-0, \$36.95.

Lyn Gorman and David McLean (Charles Sturt University, Australia), *Media and Society in the Twentieth Century: A Historical Introduction*. Blackwell, 2003. Cloth: ISBN 0631222340, \$595.95; Paper: ISBN 0631222359, \$26.95.

Robert Hannigan (Lexington, Mass), *The New World Power: American Foreign Policy, 1898-1917*. U. of Pennsylvania, 2002. ISBN 0-8122-3666-1, \$49.95.

Rhodri Jeffrey-Jones (Edinburgh), *The CIA and American Democracy*. Third Edition. Yale, 2003. Paper: ISBN 09948-7, \$18.95.

-----, *Cloak and Dollar, A History of American Secret Intelligence*. Yale, 2002. Cloth: ISBN 07474-3, \$29.95.

William R. Keylor (Boston), *A World of Nations, The International Order Since 1945*. Oxford, 2002. Cloth: ISBN 0-19-510601-6, \$44.00; Paper: ISBN 0-19-510602-4, \$26.40.

Edward J. Marolda's (Naval History Center) *By Sea, Air, and Land: An Illustrated History of the U.S. Navy and the War in Southeast Asia*, published by the Naval Historical Center in 1994, has been reissued under the new title *The U.S. Navy in the Vietnam War: An Illustrated History*, Brassey's, 2003. ISBN 1-57488-437-9, \$34.95.

Robert J. McMahon (Florida), *Cold War: A Short Introduction*. Oxford, 2003. ISBN 0-19-280178-3, \$8.00.

Allan R. Millett (Ohio State), *Their War for Korea, American, Asian, and European Combatants and Civilians, 1945-1953*. Brassey's, Inc., 2003. Cloth: ISBN 1-57488-434-4, \$25.95; Paper: ISBN 1-57488-534-0, \$18.95.

James A. Nathan (Auburn), *Soldiers, Statecraft, and History, Coercive Diplomacy and International Order*. Praeger, 2002. Cloth: ISBN 0-275-97635-1, \$69.95; Paper: ISBN 0-275-97641-6, \$26.95.

Brenda Gayle Plummer (Wisconsin), *Window on Freedom: Race, Civil Rights, and Foreign Affairs, 1945-1988*. North Carolina, 2003. Cloth: ISBN 0-8078-2761-4, \$45.00, Paper: ISBN 0-8078-5428-x, \$18.95.

Michael Schaller (Arizona) and George Rising, *The Republican Ascendancy: American Politics, 1968-2001*. Harlan Davidson, 2002. Paper: ISBN 0-88295-970-0, \$13.95.

Charlie Whitham (King's College, London), *Bitter Rehearsal: British and American Planning for a Post-War West Indies*. Praeger, 2002. ISBN 0-275-97487-1, \$69.95.

Cees Wiebes (Netherlands), *Intelligence and War in Bosnia 1992-1995. The Role of the Intelligence and Security Services*. LIT Verlag, 2003. ISBN 3825863476, \$40.00.

Personals

The following SHAFR members have been appointed to various AHA committees: Ernest May (Harvard), Carolyn Eisenberg (Hofstra), Stephen A. Schuker (Virginia), Diane Clemens (California at Berkeley), and Richard Immerman (Temple).

Darlene Rivas (Pepperdine) has received tenure as an associate professor.

Wilton Fowler has retired from the University of Washington.

CALENDAR

- 2003
- | | |
|---------------|--|
| April 3-6 | The 96th meeting of the OAH will take place at the Memphis Cook Convention Center. |
| April 15 | Applications for the W. Stull Holt dissertation fellowship are due. |
| May 1 | Deadline, materials for the June <i>Newsletter</i> . |
| June 6-8 | The 29th SHAFR annual meeting will be held at George Washington University. David F. Schmitz is Program Chair, Peter Hill is Local Arrangements Chair. |
| August 1 | Deadline, materials for the Sept. <i>Newsletter</i> . |
| November 1 | Deadline, materials for Dec. <i>Newsletter</i> . |
| 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. |

2004

- January 1 Membership fees in all categories are due, payable at Blackwell Publishers, 350 Main St., Malden MA 02148.
- January 8-11 118th annual meeting of the AHA in Washington DC. 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.

Sites for future OAH meetings are: Boston, March 25-28, 2004 (Deadline has passed), and San Francisco, March 31-April 1, 2005.

Sites for future AHA meetings are: Seattle, Jan 6-9, 2005; Philadelphia, Jan 5-8, 2006; Atlanta, Jan 4-7, 2007; Washington, Jan 3-6, 2008; and New York City, Jan 2-5, 2009.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

ASPAC Call for Papers
Asian Studies in an Internet Connected World:
Evolving an Asia-Pacific Community?

June 19-22, 2003
East-West Center
Honolulu, Hawaii

ASPAC, the Association for Asian Studies on the Pacific Coast, the Pacific rim affiliate of the Association Studies, will hold its 2003 conference at the East-West Center, Honolulu, June 19-22. The conference theme, "Asian Studies in an Internet Connected World: Building an Asia-Pacific

Community?," is meant to be all-inclusive. Scholars working in any and every field of Asian studies are invited to present their research at ASPAC 2003. For complete details, including instructions for submitting paper proposals, please visit the ASPAC website at <http://www.aspac.org>.

For information on ASPAC 2003 see: <http://www.aspac.org>

AWARDS, PRIZES, AND FUNDS

Complete details regarding SHAFR awards, prizes, and funds are found in the June and December issues of the *Newsletter*, abbreviated information in the March and September issues. Changes and updates are presented here in italics.

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: *Katherine Sibley, Department of History, St. Josephs U., 5600 City Ave., Philadelphia PA 19131-1395*. Books may be sent at any time during 2003, but should not arrive later than February 1, 2004.

Recent Winner: Mary Renda

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 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 prize is open to any person under forty-one years of age whose scholarly achievements represent excellence in teaching and research. The nominating letter requires evidence of excellence in teaching and research and must reach the Committee no later than 15 February 2004. The Chairperson of the Committee is: *William Walker, History, Florida International U., University Park, Miami FL 33199.*

Recent Winner: Jussi Hanhimaki

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 2003. 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. Nominations shall be submitted by the author or by any member of SHAFR by January 15, 2004. Three (3) copies of the article shall be submitted to the chairperson of the committee: *Walter Hixson, Dept. of History, U. of Akron, 201 Olin Hall, Akron OH 44325-1902.*

Recent Winner: Seth Jacobs

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, 2003.

Recent Winners: Hiroshi Kitamura and Clea Bunch

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.

Most 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 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: *Catherine Forslund, Dept. of History, Rockford College, 5050 E. State Street, Rockford IL 61108-2393.*

Most recent winner: Linda Mcfarland

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: *Catherine Forslund, Dept. of History, Rockford College, 5050 E. State Street, Rockford IL 61108-2393.* Submission deadline is November 15, 2003.

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. Applications and supporting papers should be sent before April 15, 2003 to: *Anne Foster, St. Anselm College, Box 1648, 100 St. Anselm Drive, Manchester NH 03102-1310.*

Most recent winners: Eriz Manela and Daniel Michael

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, 2004.

Current chairman: *Lloyd E. Ambrosius, Department of History, University of Nebraska, Lincoln NE 68588-0327. Phone: 403-472-2414, Fax: 402-47208839, E-mail: lambrosius@unl.edu*

Most recent winner: George Herring

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, 2004. Current Chairperson: *Mary Ann Heiss, History, Kent State University, Kent OH 44242-0001.*

Most recent winners:

Frances Early

Fred 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. Current Chairperson: *Milton Gustafson, 2796Shawn Ct., Ft. Washington MD 20744-2566.*

Most 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: *Peter Hahn, SHAFR Executive Secretary-Treasurer, Department of History - 106 Dulles Hall, Ohio State U., Columbus OH 43210-1361.*

ROBERT H. FERRELL BOOK PRIZE

This is competition for a book, published in 2003, 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, 2004. Current chairperson: *Roger Dingman, History, University of Southern California, Los Angeles CA, 90089-0034.*

Recent Winner: Mark Gallicchio (Villanova)

MICHAEL J. HOGAN FELLOWSHIP

This is a fellowship designed to promote research in foreign language sources by graduate student members of SHAFR. Applicants must be doctoral candidates actively working on dissertations dealing with some aspect of United States foreign relations. Each application should include a dissertation prospectus (8-12 pages, double-spaced), a statement explaining how the fellowship, if awarded, would be used, and a letter of recommendation from the doctoral advisor. Hogan Fellowships are awarded at SHAFR's annual meeting. The deadline for applications is 15 April 2003. Applications should be sent to: *Anne Foster, Saint Anselm College, Box 1648, 100 Saint Anselm Drive, Manchester NH 03102-1310.*

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*