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The Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations

Founded in 1967

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 American Historical Association in December, and with the Organization of American Historians in March or April.

PRIZES: The Society administers several awards. Four of them honor the late Stuart L. Bernath and two others honor the late Myrna L. Bernath; these are financed through the generosity of Dr. Gerald J. Bernath. Awards also honor Laura and Norman Graebner, the late W. Stull Holt, the late Warren Kuehl, Robert Ferrell, and Arthur Link. Details of each of these awards are to be found under the appropriate headings in June and December *Newsletters*.

PUBLICATIONS: The Society sponsors a quarterly *Newsletter*; *Diplomatic History*, a journal; and the occasional *Membership Roster and List of Current Research Projects*.

OBITUARIES

Dr. Dorothy Borg, Columbia University historian of United States-East Asian relations, died October 25 at her home in Manhattan after a brief illness. She was 91.

From 1966 until her retirement several years ago, Dr. Borg was a senior research associate at Columbia's East Asian Institute, lecturing and directing academic conferences. She served as a mentor to generations of scholars since the 1940's when she was associated with the American Institute of Pacific Relations.

She was the author or editor of a number of books, including *Historians and American Far Eastern Policy* (Columbia) and *American Policy and the Chinese Revolution, 1925-1928* (Macmillan). She co-edited *Pearl Harbor as History: Japanese-American Relations, 1931-1941* with Shumpei Okamoto (Columbia) and *Uncertain Years: Chinese-American Relations, 1947-1950* (Columbia) with Waldo Heinrichs. In 1965 she published *The United States and the Far Eastern Crisis, 1933-1938* (Harvard) for which Columbia awarded her its Bancroft Prize in American History.

A native of Elberon, N.J., she graduated from Wellesley College and earned master's and doctoral degrees at Columbia University. She spent two years in Beijing and Shanghai in the 1940's as a staff member of the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations. She was associated with the Institute at Columbia for most of her career. When the Institute became a target of a campaign by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy to find out "who lost China" to the Communists. Dr. Borg helped defend Owen Lattimore and other colleagues who came under fire from the Senator.

In 1986 Professor Borg received SHAFR's first Norman and Laura Graebner Award for outstanding achievement in American diplomatic history.

Dr. Borg is survived by two nephews, John Loengard of New York City and Richard Loengard of Basking Ridge, N.J.

(adapted from the *New York Times*, October 28, 1993)

* * * * *

Thomas M. Campbell, historian of American foreign relations and professor of history at Florida State University, died on July 11, 1993, in Tallahassee.

Born in Evanston, Illinois, Tom Campbell was educated at Randolph-Macon College in Virginia, and earned M.A. and Ph.D. degrees at the University of Virginia. He was one of a number of students who worked under the late Edward E. Younger in the 1960s in the rapidly expanding field of U.S. diplomatic history. While studying for the doctorate, he was the first holder of the Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., Fellowship, which gave the recipient access to the massive and important Stettinius Papers in the University of Virginia Library. In that capacity, he began the arduous and invaluable task of cataloging and indexing a major source for the period of World War II and the early Cold War.

Work on the Stettinius papers launched him on a life-long study of recent American diplomacy. His dissertation focussed on the role of Stettinius in the founding of the United Nations. It was subsequently published in revised form by the University Presses of Florida as *Masquerade Peace: America's U.N. Policy, 1944-1945* (1973). He collaborated with George

C. Herring in editing *The Diaries of Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., 1943-1946*, published by Franklin-Watts in 1974. At his death, he was working on a biography of Stettinius, the industrialist and statesman who served as Lend-Lease Administrator, Undersecretary of State, Secretary of State, and first American delegate to the United Nations.

Campbell joined the Florida State faculty in 1963 as instructor and was promoted to professor in 1977. During his thirty years on the FSU faculty, he served in the Faculty Senate, as vice-president of the Phi Beta Kappa chapter, and as assistant dean of the Graduate School. He was named an Outstanding Young Man of America in 1971, and was a National Endowment for the Humanities Fellow in 1973-1974. He was especially active in and especially committed to the Florida College Teachers of History Association, serving as its president in 1988 and organizing several of its conferences.

My friendship and collaboration with Tom Campbell spanned the thirty years from our time as graduate students at UVA until his death this past summer. We took classes together. We worked closely with each other in indexing and cataloging the Stettinius Papers. From 1971 to 1974, we prepared the Stettinius diaries for publication, the sort of collaboration that can test — and reinforce — a friendship as perhaps nothing else. I knew Tom as a dedicated teacher and scholar, a thoughtful, kind, and gentle person with a keen sense of humor and a twinkle in his eye. Although he was troubled by chronic illness in recent years, I never heard him complain or saw him become self-absorbed. He always retained a keen interest in what other diplomatic historians were doing. We had coffee together at the SHAFR meeting in Charlottesville in June, shortly before his untimely death, and he spoke enthusiastically of his work on the Stettinius biography and of a paper he hoped to give during the coming year. He was

especially intrigued by the revival of the United Nations and its recent, belated efforts to assume the role its founders envisioned for it. He will be missed by those who worked with him and enjoyed his friendship.

George Herring

EISENHOWER, EXPORT CONTROLS, AND
THE PAROCHIALISM OF HISTORIANS OF
AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS

by
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One of the most encouraging trends in recent US diplomatic history is self-criticism. Intellectual self-flagellation has taken off after Sally Marks in her 1987 essay "The World According to Washington" charged her American colleagues with being preoccupied with U.S. archives, U.S. policymakers, and U.S. perceptions of the world. In short, Marks accused compatriot scholars of seeing the world through the eyes of their study objects and mistaking it for the real world.¹ Hardly a volume of *Diplomatic History* goes

¹Sally Marks, "The World According to Washington," *Diplomatic History* 11 (Summer 1987): 265-82. Marks was not the first to criticize U.S. diplomatic historians for myopia. In 1980 Charles S. Maier, "Marking Time: The Historiography of International Relations," in *The Past Before Us: Contemporary Historical Writing in the United States*, ed. Michael G. Kammen (Ithaca, 1980), 355-87, provoked "Symposium: Responses to Charles S. Maier," *Diplomatic History* 5 (Fall 1981): 353-82. See also

without one or more article, by Americans and Europeans, assessing the health of the profession. U.S. diplomatic historians have been found wanting in language skills and familiarity with foreign countries, foreign archives, and foreign cultures; they have been charged with "moralism, presentism, exceptionalism, and other extravagances." Their myopia is said to limit their understanding of the world beyond the water's edge — and of other social sciences and their methods and insights, too.²

According to Michael Hunt's recent assessment, the exorcizing of parochialism has to a certain extent succeeded:

Those focused on the American state must now think twice before positing the existence of some "international reality" to serve as an interpretative anchor for the accounts of U.S. policy, and eyebrows are sure to go up if their notion of that reality is

Lawrence S. Kaplan, "The Cold War and European Revisionism," *Diplomatic History* 11 (Spring 1987): 143-56.

²The quotation is from Geir Lundestad, "Moralism, Presentism, Exceptionalism, Provincialism, and Other Extravagances in American Writings on the Early Cold War Years," *Diplomatic History* 13 (Fall 1989): 527-46. Christopher Thorne, "After the Europeans: American Designs for the Remaking of Southeast Asia," *ibid.*, 12 (Spring 1988): 201-8, triggered "Writing the History of U.S. Foreign Relations: A Symposium," *ibid.*, 14 (Fall 1990): 554-606. John Lewis Gaddis, "New Conceptual Approaches to the Study of American Foreign Relations: Interdisciplinary Perspectives," *ibid.*, 14 (Summer 1990): 405-24, stressed the need for closer contact with other fields of international relations. These are but a sample of the "long crisis of confidence" of which Michael H. Hunt gives an excellent overview in "The Long Crisis in U.S. Diplomatic History: Coming to Closure," *ibid.*, 16 (Winter 1992): 115-40.

extracted from and bears an unnerving resemblance to the evidence in the American archives.³

I possess no knowledge of Michael Hunt's eyebrow movements, but reading Robert Spaulding's article on Eisenhower and export control policy in the spring 1993 issue of *Diplomatic History* surely raised mine.⁴ I consider myself belonging to the "internationalist" group of Professor Hunt's threefold typology of diplomatic historians (the other two being "realists" and "progressives"); I have spent some years doing multi-archival export control research and in 1991 published an article in *Diplomatic History* on just Eisenhower's CoCom policy based on the same sources utilized by Spaulding. Hence I cannot resist the temptation to engage in the activity referred to by Hunt as "vigorously holding to account those with limited Washington perspectives or narrow diplomatic concerns who intrude on their [internationalists'] turf."⁵

Spaulding presents President Eisenhower's role in the 1953-54 revision of the embargo conducted by the Western strategic export organization CoCom. This revision reduced by approximately one-third the number of items for which there was a complete embargo to the Soviet bloc; the list of items to be exported in limited amounts was cut by about 75 percent

³Hunt, "Long Crisis," 132.

⁴Robert Mark Spaulding, Jr., "A Gradual and Moderate Relaxation: Eisenhower and the Revision of American Export Control Policy, 1953-1955," *Diplomatic History* 17 (Spring 1993): 223-49.

⁵Hunt, "Long Crisis," 132; Tor Egil Førland, "'Selling Firearms to the Indians': Eisenhower's Export Control Policy, 1953-54," *Diplomatic History* 15 (Spring 1991): 221-44; *idem*, *Cold Economic Warfare: The Creation and Prime of CoCom, 1948-1954*, forthcoming.

and the list of items exported freely but for which limitations could be introduced if shipments surged was cut by some 40 percent.⁶ Changes in definitions made the real reductions somewhat greater than numbers alone can account for. The list reductions removed a considerable source of intra-alliance irritation, since the West Europeans, eager to pursue export opportunities in Eastern Europe and to escape accusations of economic warfare, had only reluctantly accepted U.S. insistence on a comprehensive embargo and were eager to cut the export control lists. Whereas the 1953-54 reductions did not go as far as European CoCom members had wanted, the tensions created by the embargo eased significantly.

Spaulding credits Eisenhower with reducing the export controls. Ike "adjusted Western export control policy."⁷ First he "decisively altered the thrust of American embargo policy," substituting a policy of a "gradual and moderate relaxation" for the Truman administration's consistent pressure for ever expanding controls, so irritating to Europeans.⁸ Then he closely monitored the ensuing negotiations with the British, who were "eager to help bend this new policy twig in the direction of a far-reaching reduction in export controls." The negotiations "were based

⁶For the lists before the reductions, see Hughes to Dulles, 9 June 1954, Record Group 59: General Records of the Department of State, National Archives, Washington, DC, 460.509/6-954, (hereafter RG 59 with filing information); for the lists after the reductions, see memoranda of discussion at 207th and 210th NSC meetings, 22 July and 12 August 1954, *Foreign Relations of the United States* 1954-52 1: 1232-39 (hereafter FRUS, with year and volume).

⁷Spaulding, "Gradual and Moderate Relaxation," 224.

⁸*Ibid.*, 239.

on Eisenhower's new embargo policy."⁹ This policy sprang out of the new president's long-held views on the European economy, alliance politics, and modern statecraft; although the negotiations were smoothed by the cold-war thaw following Stalin's death and the Korean armistice they were not precipitated by international events. Nor did the British idea of large-scale reductions arise independently of Eisenhower's embargo initiative; it "could have been proposed only in conjunction with the shift in emphasis in American policy brought about by Eisenhower." Britain's proposals "surfaced only after the Americans had already informed their ally that a major policy revision was under way and after they had asked the British for an opinion on the future of export controls." Spaulding "know[s] that the British waited for an explicit request for recommendations before daring to suggest radical reductions in export controls."¹⁰ All honor, in short, goes to Ike. Spaulding comes across as a gung ho Eisenhower revisionist, describing the president as "active, involved, and effective."¹¹

Thus the world according to Spaulding. His sources are *Foreign Relations of the United States*.¹² His basic questions appear to have been the following: first, what did Eisenhower

⁹Ibid., 240.

¹⁰Ibid., 246.

¹¹Ibid., 224. Two good overviews of Eisenhower foreign policy revisionism are Richard H. Immerman, "Confessions of an Eisenhower Revisionist: A Reappraisal," *Diplomatic History* 14 (Summer 1990): 319-42; and Stephen G. Rabe, "Eisenhower Revisionism: A Decade of Scholarship," *ibid.*, 97-116. Rabe also covers the incipient Eisenhower post-revisionism, a strand which appears to have eluded Spaulding.

¹²On two minor accounts (footnotes 86 and 87) he has used German archival sources.

want in the field of export controls and, second, how closely did the outcome of the 1953-54 revision dovetail with the president's wishes. Finding close correspondence, Spaulding pronounces Eisenhower God. The historian-cum-evangelist ignores the devil lurching in *FRUS* documents he does not quote, in archives he has not consulted, in questions he has not asked. The result is a gospel of dubious value.

Spaulding's research is both methodologically and empirically flawed. Methodology first. To establish identity between an actor's objectives and the actual outcome differs from establishing a casual relationship: for example, no-one in his sound mind would claim that Poland and Norway caused the allied victory in World War II. It is beyond doubt that Eisenhower wanted a drastic curtailment of the CoCom embargo. In order to give the president the honor for having achieved the eventual reductions, however, his contribution has to be identified and weighted against the contributions of other actors and factors.

Eisenhower's objectives, expressed most succinctly in July 1954 but held consistently since before coming to office, was to "pare this strategic list down to its fundamentals" in order to avoid intra-alliance friction.¹³ I have no quarrels with Spaulding on this point. I could also accept that by the way of a very liberal interpretation of "fundamentals," the outcome might be said to correspond to the president's wishes. How important Ike was to the reductions, however, is another question. It can be subdivided into three. First, how successful was Eisenhower in making his administration adhere to his wishes? Second, what would have been US

¹³Memorandum of discussion at 205th NSC meeting, 1 July 1954, *FRUS*, 1952-1954 1: 1218-21.

policy under another president? Third, to what degree were the list reductions eventually achieved due to US policy or to the policy of other CoCom countries, meaning Britain? This last question triggers a fourth, touched by Spaulding: how far was British policy determined by London's knowledge of what Washington wanted? The first two of these questions can be answered within the limits of US sources — to the extent that the second can be answered at all. In order to answer the last two questions — and particularly the fourth — non US sources are needed. Spaulding's failure to consult foreign sources creates empirical flaws in his article to compound its methodological weakness.

Eisenhower was wise — this is a judgment which I fully share with Spaulding and the Eisenhower revisionists. The president knew that over the long haul, the allies would not accept comprehensive export controls. He told his administration as much. The president's men, however, would not implement Ike's policy. Since I have shown this in my 1991 article, I need not repeat it here but to refer to that work.¹⁴ The effect of the bureaucratic export control politics within the Eisenhower administration was to dilute the president's desire for a radical curtailment of controls and substitute for it the policy of "a gradual and moderate relaxation." What Spaulding overlooks — Eisenhower saw it but chose not to spend political capital in order to change it — is that the embargo policy of the new administration thus fell far short of what the new president had wanted. Hence Ike's announcement at the beginning of the NSC meeting on 1 July 1954, after more than a year of presidential prodding, that "he might just as well sit back and listen to what the members of

¹⁴Førland, "Selling Firearms to the Indians"; see also Rabe, "Eisenhower Revisionism," esp. pp. 102-3 and 113-14.

the Council had to say on these problems of East-West trade because, as the members of the Council well knew, he thought they were all wrong on the subject.”¹⁵ The president of the Eisenhower revisionists does not behave like this. When the US Economic Defense Advisory Committee in March 1954 was screening the CoCom lists against the new criteria designed by the Eisenhower administration, it foresaw cuts by 10-20% in the embargo list, 20-30% in the list of items quantitatively controlled, and more than 50% in the list of items to be kept on watch.¹⁶ Moderate, yes. In accordance with Eisenhower’s wishes, no.

What would have happened to US embargo policy if Eisenhower had not been president? Of course we cannot know — which ought to make us cautious of making unqualified statements about his import. While this general point is somewhat banal, it is not banal to note that the general, albeit not dramatic, improvement in East-West relations following the death of Stalin and the Korean armistice probably would have made any US administration more ready to accept a relaxation of export controls. There is not doubt that Eisenhower’s initiative for list reductions predated the changes in the international environment. The *impact* of that initiative, however, was greatly magnified by events outside the United States: in Moscow, Korea — and London.

¹⁵Memorandum of discussion at 205th NSC meeting, 1 July 1954, *FRUS*, 1952-1954 1: 1218-21.

¹⁶Memorandum by the EDAC for the NSC Planning Board, 9 March 1954, *FRUS*, 1952-1954 1: 1103-7. For the Eisenhower administration’s export control criteria compared with those of the Truman administration, see Førland, “Selling Firearms to the Indians,” 231-32.

In November 1953 Great Britain gave Eisenhower's export decontrol initiative the momentum the president himself had been unable or unwilling to provide. The British proposed to replace the three CoCom lists with one single "short list" for embargo only, excluding all items "which are not of a military or near-military character, and in which the Soviet Bloc can before long make themselves virtually self-sufficient."¹⁷ At that time Whitehall was internally divided over just how short this short list was to be, but eventually, on 1 March, the US embassy was handed a list of about half the length of the previous embargo list. The list of items for quantitative control the British wanted to abolish, and apparently the watch list, too.¹⁸ A few days earlier in Parliament Prime Minister Churchill, who during the internal Whitehall debate had tipped the scales in favor of the economic departments who demanded a shorter short list than the foreign and defense departments thought diplomatically or strategically sound, had put his weight behind the movement for substantial list reductions.¹⁹ The ensuing bilateral and trilateral negotiations between the United States, Britain, and France, featuring

¹⁷Despatch 1855 London Embassy to State Department, 23 Nov. 1953, Record Group 469: Records of the U.S. Foreign Assistance Agencies, Washington National Records Center, Suitland, MD, Mission to France, box 206, folder "Trade: East-West, Nov. 1-Dec. 31, 1953."

¹⁸"Memorandum handed to the Americans by Mr. Coulson on 1 March 1954," General Records of the Foreign Office, Public Record Office, London, FO 371/111293/M3412/24 (hereafter cited as FO, with filing designation). The memorandum (without the enclosed list of items) is printed cable style in Aldrich to Dulles, 1 March 1954, *FRUS*, 1952-1954 1: 1082-84.

¹⁹*Parliamentary Debates (Hansard)* 524 H.C. Deb. 5s., pp. 582-91. For the tug-of-war in Whitehall, see Førlund, *Cold Economic Warfare*, ch. 17.

effective shuttle diplomacy by U.S. Director of Foreign Operations Harold Stassen, led to the cuts outlined above.²⁰

To imagine equally far-reaching reductions without the British short-list initiative requires more imagination than either U.S. or British sources permit. Spaulding's argument for giving Eisenhower all the honor is more subtle: the president's initiative induced Britain to launch its short list. Ike opened the doorway through which the British tossed their short-list grenade. The main problem with this interpretation, so smug seen from Washington, is that it is contradicted by documents easily accessible in British archives. The short list was not triggered by Eisenhower's new export control policy. It arose independently. With Washington as vantage point one sees only the short list surfacing after Britain was informed of the U.S. policy revision. Delving into British archives, however, one discovers its antecedents *before* surfacing. One finds it not being hauled up by President Eisenhower's hidden hand but driven by forces outside America.

The short-list idea originated on 2 September 1953 at a meeting of Whitehall's Economic Steering Committee, composed of top officials from ministries relating to the British economy, including Defence and the Foreign Office. The committee discussed a study of measures to combat a possible U.S. recession and strengthen the British economy. The study had concluded that no great increase in East-West trade could be expected and advised against seeking "sweeping changes" in existing export controls. The top officials, however, were impressed by the mounting pressures on the Cabinet for increasing East-West trade. These were partly of

²⁰For a report of the negotiations based on both U.S. and British sources, see Førlund, *Cold Economic Warfare*, ch. 18.

political origin — the enhanced East-West climate following the change of leadership in the Kremlin and the armistice in Korea — and partly economic: the end of the war in Korea and the reemergence of Germany and Japan as exporters of manufactured goods had put an end to the sellers' market so beneficial to British exporters. Possibly partly in desperation, the Economic Steering Committee suggested that Whitehall draw up "a shorter list of items, about the [strategic] importance of which there could be no doubt," to be presented to the United States "at an appropriate moment."²¹ In October the officials' report was endorsed "in principle" by ministers.²² The criteria on which the short list was to be based, its detailed composition, and the timing of the presentation to the Americans, was left for further Whitehall discussion.

The British short-list proposal, then, arose independently of Eisenhower's export control policy revision. Indeed it may be argued that Ike contributed more to the conception of the short list through his tenure as supreme commander of the NATO forces in Europe in 1951-52 than as president, since in the former capacity he was crucial to stabilizing Western Europe and thus preparing the ground for West Germany's integration into Western Europe and for its commercial success. Eisenhower, the president, was not essential to the British initiative, because he was unable to get his administration to adopt or even accept his views on export controls. The

²¹Economic Steering Committee minutes ES(53)7th meeting, 2 Sept. 1953, Cabinet Committees: General Series, Public Record Office, London, CAB 134/885 (hereafter cited as CAB 134, with filing designation).

²²Economic Policy Committee paper EA(53)114, 1 Oct. 1953, CAB 134/848; Economic Policy Committee minutes EA(53)24th meeting, 12 Oct. 1953, CAB 134/846.

Foreign Office reaction when U.S. diplomats in October and November 1953 informed the British of the content of the new administration's embargo policy is revealing. The Americans despatched to London were keen to stress that although the main theme of their new policy was a shift "away from pre-occupation with commodity listings to the development and enforcement of more effective controls," and although the administration's list review was still in process, they envisaged no major list reductions.²³ The British were less than enthused. They figured the eventual list reductions would be of little commercial significance and were full of apprehension about the prospects of CoCom empowered to ensure implementation of controls. In late October the British CoCom delegation speculated that the main motive behind the new U.S. policy was to increase the effectiveness of CoCom controls and to reduce misgivings against the United States by putting a CoCom stamp on U.S. efforts to prevent diversion. A Foreign Office official minuted, "The cloven hoof is now beginning to become visible. I think we should be fooling ourselves if we believed that there would really be a 'new look'."²⁴ Eisenhower had been blocked by his own administration. The British, unaware they had an ally in the White House, decided they had to make the running themselves if they were to get substantial export control reductions.

²³Despatches 1678 and 1714 London Embassy to State Department, 5 and 10 November 1953, RG 59, 460.509/11-553 and *FRUS, 1952-1954* 1: 1039-49.

²⁴Longhand minute by Christofas on letter Dunnett to Crawford, 26 Oct. 1953, FO 371/105867/M345/49; see also record of conversation by Arculus, 9 Oct. 1953, and minute by Crawford, 10 Oct 1953, FO 371/105867/M345/45; draft memorandum by Foreign Office to Mutual Aid Committee, MAC(53)248, [10] Nov. 1953, FO 371/105/868/M345/62.

It is time to return to the four questions mentioned above, and to sum up Eisenhower's role in the process leading to the export control reductions in CoCom in the summer of 1954. First, Eisenhower managed to induce more flexibility in U.S. embargo policy, but less than he had wanted; his administration undermined the president's efforts in the implementation phase. Second, following the death of Stalin and the Korean armistice probably any administration would have adjusted export control policy, making it more flexible than under Truman. Third, the list reductions were the result of a compromise between the U.S. preference for a "gradual and moderate relaxation" and Britain's "short list" approach; Eisenhower's personal views were closer to the British, and by asking — pleading with — his administration to accommodate British views he made a compromise easier to reach. Fourth, the British short-list idea emerged independently of Eisenhower's attempt to revise U.S. embargo policy; the background to the short list is found in changes in international politics and economics outside of both Washington's and London's control.

The most interesting aspect of Robert Spaulding's article on Eisenhower and export controls is not his conclusions which, methodologically flawed, based solely on *FRUS*, and without due regard to recent nuances in Eisenhower revisionism fail to stand up to closer scrutiny.²⁵ What is arresting is that an essay, originally written in 1987 but in its 1993 version still

²⁵The article's account of Western export controls under Truman suffers from the same myopia, being based on nothing but *FRUS*. Besides, like most CoCom literature it relies solely on the number of listings in estimating the comprehensiveness of the controls, thereby overlooking the extent to which European CoCom members were able to water down U.S. demands for list expansion in 1950-51. On this point, see Førland, *Cold Economical Warfare*, ch. 3 and 11.

exuding myopia, is published in *Diplomatic History*, widely and in my opinion rightly considered a most prestigious journal at the cutting edge of scholarship. It indicates that there are still some miles to go and some articles like the present one to be written before we can celebrate the exorcism of parochialism from the center of American diplomatic history.

REVISITING THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS

by
Samuel Halpern

The following article was submitted to the Central Intelligence Agency's Publication Review Board for security review. Such review does not mean approval or verification by the CIA of the text. The views in it are my own.

The June 1993 issue of the *SHAFR Newsletter* contains an interesting article by Mary S. McAuliffe, Deputy Chief of the History Staff of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Because of her position and the fact that she was the editor of a selection of 112 previously highly-classified CIA documents on the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis, which were published by CIA in October 1992, her article most probably will be accepted as authoritative about events involving the CIA. Unfortunately there are several errors of fact and interpretation. In the interest of correcting the historical

McAuliffe may be right¹ that Director of Central Intelligence (DCI) McCone's position in late September and early October 1962 may have made possible the discovery of the Medium Range Ballistic Missiles (MRBMs) in Cuba by his urging that flights *over* Cuba be resumed. That alone does not take into consideration the efforts of TFW² and TFW's MONGOOSE counterpart in Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA). Both TFW and DIA took action on a CIA report disseminated on 18 September 1962 to customers in the intelligence community. A human agent told about strange activity in a large area of Pinar del Rio province in western Cuba.³

On receipt of the report, Col. John Wright of DIA met with TFW to discuss the meaning of the report and what possible courses of action might be taken. It was agreed that DIA would request an overflight *over* the area described in the agent report. As the collectors of the report it would have been inappropriate for TFW to request the overflight, particularly in view of the "Headquarters Comment" denigrating the report that McAuliffe describes. (A "Headquarters Comment" was placed in reports, to help the customer better understand them, by Reports Officers in the

¹June 1993 SHAFR *Newsletter*, pp. 11-12.

²Task Force W, the CIA component charged with clandestine and covert operations against Cuba as part of the government-wide Operation MONGOOSE under General Edward Lansdale. Lansdale was Chief of Operations of MONGOOSE, under the direction of the Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy.

³Central Intelligence Agency. History Staff. *CIA Documents on the Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962*, Mary S. McAuliffe, ed. Washington, D.C.: Central Intelligence Agency, October, 1962. pp. 103-104. Hereafter cited as *CIA Documents*.

Clandestine Service of CIA, who processed the dissemination of the reports from clandestine sources.)

Col. Wright took on the task of submitting the overflight request to the Committee on Overhead Reconnaissance (COMOR), a committee of the United States Intelligence Board, for approval. It was during this process that the target area came to be called the trapezoidal area.⁴ By the time McCone pressed for the U-2 flights *over* Cuba in early October 1962, as opposed to previous peripheral or limited missions, COMOR had already been considering DIA's request and faced the stubborn resistance of the Department of State, which did want to risk direct U-2 flights *over* Cuba.

While McCone gets full credit for pressing for more flights *over* Cuba in general, the targetting for the discovery flight was clearly based on the human agent report about the trapezoidal area.⁵ Col. Wright deserves credit for pushing for a flight over the specific area reported by the agent. Further evidence is to be noted in Brugioni, p. 166, which states:

On October 9, the COMOR committee met and again discussed all the possibilities for reconnaissance of Cuba. Agreement was reached that the best results, following McCone's recommendations, could be obtained from a U-2 overflight from south to north. The highest priority was accorded the western portion of the island, *especially over the trapezoidal area*

⁴Brugioni, Dino. *Eyeball to Eyeball: The Inside Story of the Cuban Missile Crisis*. New York: Random House, 1991. See caption on photo No. 12 between p. 368 and p. 369, and pp. 164-165. See also *CIA Documents*, p. 4.

⁵Brugioni, *ibid.*, p. 164 and *CIA Documents*, *ibid.*, map p. 4.

(emphasis added), and the mission was to be afforded full elint and tracking support.

It should be noted that the time taken up with overcoming State's objections, the bad weather, plus the change of command for U-2 flights from CIA to the U.S. Air Force Strategic Air Command may have been a blessing in disguise. It is possible that if the U-2 had flown over the trapezoidal area before October 14, the pictures brought back might not have been as revealing as they turned out to be. It could be said that we lucked out.

Perhaps in trying to compress too much history into one short paragraph on p. 16 of the *Newsletter*, McAuliffe gives an incorrect cast to MONGOOSE and the Missile Crisis. Several commentators on the crisis, including Raymond Garthoff, cited as one of McAuliffe's sources, have been confused about the types of teams that William K. Harvey, Chief of TFW, sent and planned to send into Cuba before and during the missile crisis.

One type was comprised of sabotage teams sent out at the increasing insistence of the Attorney General as expressed in Special Group Augmented (SGA)⁶ meetings of October 4 and October 14, 1962. There was a separate meeting on the afternoon of October 16 in the Attorney General's office. This latter meeting was attended by General Lansdale and Col. Patchell, General Johnson of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS), Robert Hurwitch of State, Hewson Ryan of USIA, and Richard Helms of CIA. The Attorney General expressed "the 'general dissatisfaction of the President' with Operation

⁶A committee of the National Security Council charged with authority over Operation MONGOOSE.

MONGOOSE.” The Attorney General also stated “he was going to give Operation MONGOOSE more personal attention” and would “hold a meeting every morning at 0930 with the MONGOOSE operational representatives from the various agencies.”⁷

It must be noted that the October 16, 1962 meeting was held *after* the Attorney General had been briefed by the President that morning about the discovery of the Soviet MRBMs in Cuba and after the creation of the Executive Committee of the National Security Council (EXCOMM). Not once during the missile crisis did MONGOOSE receive any change of orders about intensifying sabotage operations. Attorney General Kennedy’s admonitions at the October 16 meeting served as a spur enough to increase sabotage operations. An early report of the Church Committee of the U.S. Senate states simply “During the Missile Crisis in the fall of 1962, sabotage was increasingly urged.”⁸ There can be no question that sabotage was the administration’s order of the day *during* the missile crisis. In other words, McAuliffe’s statement that “the White House appears to have forgotten about it [sabotage efforts]” is not in keeping with what actually happened. The pressure was continuously there, even though the results were meager.

It was not until the crisis was effectively over on October 28, 1962, when Khrushchev announced the cessation of further

⁷*CIA Documents*, pp. 153-154.

⁸U.S. Congress. Senate. Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities. [The Church Committee.] *An Interim Report of the Committee entitled Alleged Assassination Plots Involving Foreign Leaders*, 94th Congress, 1st Session, November 1975. (Senate Report No. 94-465), p. 147.

work on the missile sites, the dismantling of the weapons, and their crating and return to the USSR, that President Kennedy and the SGA on October 30, 1962 halted all sabotage operations of Operation MONGOOSE and TFW.

The other types of teams Harvey and TFW planned to send into Cuba had two purposes: a) they were to be intelligence collection teams, and b) they were to establish intelligence assets in place in the event of military hostilities. (Such teams were referred to as "pathfinder" teams in World War II.) These teams were closely coordinated by Harvey with the JCS Planning Staff. McAuliffe misreads the documents when she refers to this as "inter-agency politics" with Harvey trying "to go around Lansdale and work with the Joint Chiefs of Staff."

The JCS and Harvey were simply implementing a long-standing agreement on command relationship between CIA and the U.S. military which stated that in times of hostilities, CIA organization and personnel in the field would report through the U.S. military theater commander. CIA would, in effect, become a sort of fourth force for the theater commander. McAuliffe, however, is to be complimented for selecting and getting declassified three documents on this subject, only two of which she cites in her article.

One is a memorandum, dated October 25, 1962 from Deputy Director of Central Intelligence, General Marshall S. Carter, to DCI McCone explaining why in the situation at the time it was necessary to have JCS-CIA coordinated liaison and control rather than the cumbersome MONGOOSE Special Group Augmented mechanism.⁹

⁹*CIA Documents*, pp. 311-312.

A second memorandum, dated October 26, 1962 by DCI McCone shows that the “plans to have ten teams go into Cuba by submarines to gather intelligence on missile bases and other points of interest...” as part of an effort “to secure intelligence in support of possible military activities...” was discussed at the morning EXCOMM meeting of October 26, 1962.¹⁰ The fact that submarines were involved should have put to rest the story that Harvey ordered teams into Cuba on his own authority. CIA had no submarines of its own; CIA had to depend on the U.S. Navy.

The last memorandum, for which McAuliffe deserves praise for achieving declassification, is dated October 29, 1962 by DCI McCone concerning a MONGOOSE meeting in the JCS Operations Room on October 26, 1962 in the afternoon. The meeting made clear that while MONGOOSE was one type of operation, it was separate from the fact that “CIA, by longstanding arrangements, details of which were most recently confirmed, are [sic] obligated to support the military to the extent desired by the JCS in any combat theatre....”¹¹ Harvey was arranging for about 50 Cubans in small teams to be transported by submarines to Cuba. It is these intelligence collection teams that have led to charges that Harvey ordered teams of agents into Cuba on his own authority to support any military operations that might occur.

The three memorandums cited above, for which we are indebted to McAuliffe, show precisely that the teams were fulfilling CIA’s obligations to the U.S. military. They had nothing to do with Harvey trying “to go around Lansdale” or to dispatch teams on his own authority.

¹⁰*CIA Documents*, pp. 317-318.

¹¹*CIA Documents*, pp. 319-321.

In sum, the sabotage teams were sent because of the persistent vigorous pressing of, and at the direction of, the Attorney General as late as the afternoon of October 16, 1962, *after* the crisis had begun, and the intelligence reconnaissance teams were planned because of the activation of the U.S. military-CIA agreement concerning activities in the event of hostilities. In neither case did Harvey or TFW or CIA act on their own authority.

While it may not have mattered to the Cubans or to the Soviets what type of team was involved, it should matter to American historians, officials, and others who comment on them; they should recognize the difference and not confuse them.

One additional correction. McAuliffe states that "by Christmas eve of that year [1962] *all* the Cuban Bay of Pigs prisoners had been released (emphasis added)." In fact, *all* prisoners were *not* released then. Castro kept back several, charging them with "crimes" against Cuba before they escaped from Cuba earlier, alleged "crimes" which were not related to the Bay of Pigs invasion. Of those held back and imprisoned, one died in prison, others were released from time to time, but the last two were not released until June and October 1986.¹² Not quite *all* the Bay of Pigs prisoners were released in 1962.

McAuliffe is certainly correct in stating that "MONGOOSE continued to operate against Cuba throughout the crisis." The record shows that CIA and MONGOOSE had been on the receiving end of unmitigated pressure from the President and

¹²The Washington Post. June 8, 1986, A21; June 10, 1986, A24; October 12, 1986, A16; October 19, 1986, A11.

October 1986.¹² Not quite *all* the Bay of Pigs prisoners were released in 1962.

McAuliffe is certainly correct in stating that "MONGOOSE continued to operate against Cuba throughout the crisis." The record shows that CIA and MONGOOSE had been on the receiving end of unmitigated pressure from the President and the Attorney General to do more against Cuba. The pressure was briefly reduced after October 30 and after MONGOOSE was ended. The pressure on CIA about Cuba, however, instead of decreasing after the Missile Crisis, was intensified even more in 1963. But that is another story.

(Samuel Halpern was Executive Assistant to William K. Harvey, Chief, TFW, before, during, and after the Cuban Missile Crisis. — editor)

SHAFR COUNCIL MINUTES

June 19, 1993 - University of Virginia
Newcomb Hall, Commonwealth Room
Warren Kimball, presiding

The meeting opened at 8 a.m. Council members present were Lloyd Ambrosius, Warren Kimball, Mel Leffler, Allan Spetter, Linda Killen, Bob McMahon, Emily Rosenberg, Joyce Goldberg, and Michael Hunt. Others present William Brinker, Mary Giunta, Peter Hahn, Dennis Kux, Tim Maga, and Betty Unterberger.

The Holt Fellowship Committee reported the selection of Darlene Rivas of Vanderbilt as the 1993 winner.

¹²The Washington Post. June 8, 1986, A21; June 10, 1986, A24; October 12, 1986, A16; October 19, 1986, A11.

The Kuehl Prize Committee reported Tom Knock of Southern Methodist as the 1993 winner.

Tim Maga reported that the 1994 summer conference will be held June 23-26 in Waltham, Mass., in association with the JFK Library. Tom Schwartz is program Committee Chair. Dormitory and hotel accommodations (\$79 suites at Guest Quarters) are set, shuttle bus service has been arranged, and the registration fee for graduate students should remain low. No one suggested a theme for the conference, but a prominent member of the Kennedy family has been contacted as luncheon speaker. The U.S. Naval Academy has offered to host the 1995 meeting.

Warren Kimball proposed a resolution thanking Mel Leffler and his staff for efficiently coordinating and administering the 1993 summer conference. The resolution passed unanimously.

Warren Kimball introduced the subject of management of SHAFR funds. Apart from knowing that there are two portfolios totaling around \$400,000 with approximately \$250,000 in the Bernath portfolio and \$150,000 split between endowment and prize funds, there seems to be little understanding of what monies are held in what accounts, why, and what is happening to each. Kimball noted that while it was not realistic to discuss specific strategies or alternatives for dealing with SHAFR funds before the January meeting, there are important questions to consider.

Michael Hunt moved that Council support an investment strategy that is conservative and aims at preservation of capital. The motion was seconded, and after some discussion of the meaning of the word "conservative," the motion passed unanimously.

W. Kimball introduced the subject of SHAFR officers' personal liability for damages in case of law suits. He noted that AHA officers have liability coverage, while SHAFR officers have none. Everyone agreed it was disconcerting to be financially vulnerable — in case of a suit SHAFR officers would have to ask SHAFR to pay

for legal representation or hire lawyers at their own expense. Kimball informed Council that he had spoken informally with insurance adjusters who estimate that for \$1,500 a year, SHAFR can buy one million dollars worth of insurance. To get a firm estimate, Kimball needs authority from Council to provide insurance adjusters with a SHAFR tax statement.

Mel Leffler moved to give W. Kimball authority to secure data from insurance adjusters, so Council members can make an informed decision in regard to liability coverage for SHAFR officers. The motion was seconded and passed unanimously.

Dennis Kux, Executive Director of the Association for Diplomatic Studies, a private, non-profit organization, spoke briefly about his organization's oral history project, which includes over 600 transcribed oral history interviews with former Foreign Service Officers.

Discussion followed about the organization's relationship to the federal government, who sat on the association's Board of Directors, and whether all files were unclassified and available to all without restriction. When Council was satisfied with the accessibility question, there was consensus that in principle SHAFR would like to cooperate with ADS and could endorse collaboration on an ad hoc basis.

Mary Giunta presented the issues involved in revising the *Guide* and informed Council of the tracks taken to date, which included efforts to find out who owns the rights to the tapes for the first *Guide* (Richard Burns, ABC-Clio, SHAFR?) and using the \$25,000 grant from the Bernath family for the revision. The important issues for Council concern advising Giunta about the direction her committee should be taking: 1) revising the old *Guide* and publishing the complete new *Guide*; 2) revising the old *Guide* and putting the revision on CD-ROM; 3) creating just a paper supplement with only the original on CD-ROM. These questions about the format,

Giunta explained, have to be decided and all are viable ways of proceeding.

Kimball summarized the important issues: 1) Council has already taken a stand about the need for a hard copy of any revisions for teaching purposes. That remains a good idea; 2) Do we want to assure the original is generally available and do we have to do CD-ROM for the original and supplement? 3) Should the new edition be comprehensive — a completely new edition — or just include a supplement attached to the end of the current *Guide*?

Emily Rosenberg moved that Council pursue the basic questions concerning the *Guide*, that SHAFR engage in detailed conversations with R. Burns and ABC-Clio concerning rights to the original *Guide* tapes, and that information be put together so that a cost estimate can be made. In addition, Council endorses CD-ROM or equivalent technology. The motion was seconded and passed unanimously.

Joan Hoff reported via E-mail that the Publications Committee was actively seeking bids to publish *Diplomatic History*. No action by Council is required at this time, but new bids should be available for the January meeting.

After a discussion of current nominating procedures, Mel Leffler moved that the nominating committee be instructed each year to generate candidates who are competitive and who are people of status in the profession, and that recommendations for candidates be solicited from the SHAFR membership at large. The motion was seconded and passed unanimously.

M. Leffler proposed deferring discussion of the Minority Access report until the next meeting so that each Council member can receive a copy of the letter with all its recommendations. To deal with the report in good faith, he said, each Council member must be able to read the report and reflect on it.

Kimball stated that Arnita Jones had sent him a letter asking for a SHAFR resolution to be sent to Senator Frank Lautenberg regarding NHPRC budget cuts.

Linda Killen moved that Warren Kimball be authorized to compose a letter to be sent to Frank Lautenberg in support of better treatment for NHPRC. The motion was seconded and passed unanimously.

Kimball noted that in some areas the SHAFR bylaws were not working well. Council agreed upon the following changes: a) The Vice President of SHAFR will serve as ex officio member of the Finance Committee; b) All terms of office will expire in conjunction with the AHA meeting, now held in January; c) No mail ballot will be necessary to implement these changes.

The meeting was adjourned around 10:15 a.m.

Submitted by
Joyce S. Goldberg

ANNOUNCEMENTS

SHAFR Guide Still Available

The Executive Secretary-Treasurer reports that a few copies of the *SHAFR Guide* are available at \$30.00. For copies write: Allan Spetter, History Dept., Wright State University, Dayton, OH 45435.

SHAFR Activities at the AHA

Friday:	Cash bar reception — 5pm,	Continental Parlor 1
Saturday:	Council Meeting — 7:30am,	Van Ness Room
Saturday:	Luncheon — 12:15-1:45pm,	Continental Parlor 8

The Society of the Cincinnati Prize

The Society of the Cincinnati has established a triennial prize of \$5,000 to be awarded to the author of a distinguished work on any aspect of American history from the outset of the Revolutionary struggle through the end of the Washington presidency. Submissions are particularly welcome in military, political, diplomatic, and economic history. The 1995 award is to be for a book first published during the period November 1, 1992 to November 1, 1994. The deadline for submitting nominated works is November 1. For further information contact: The Society of the Cincinnati, Anderson House, 2118 Massachusetts Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20008.

Fellowships in Military History

The United States Army Center of Military History offers two fellowships each academic year to civilian graduate students

preparing dissertations on subjects relating to the history of warfare on land, especially the history of the U.S. Army. Possible topics include military biography, campaigns, military organization and administration, policy, strategy, tactics, training, technology, logistics, and civil-military-social relations. Each fellow receives an \$8,000 stipend and access to the Center's facilities and technical expertise. Applicants must be American citizens and have completed by September 1993, all requirements for the Ph.D. except the dissertation. Interested candidates should contact Dr. Clayton Laurie, Executive Secretary, CMH Dissertation Fellowship Committee, U.S. Army Center of Military History, Franklin Court Building, 1099 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005-3402, tel., (202) 504-5364, fax (202) 504-5390. The deadline for applications and supporting documents is February 1, 1994.

Historical Editing Institute

The twenty-third annual Institute for the Editing of Historical Documents is scheduled for June 19-30, 1994, in Madison, Wisconsin. Jointly sponsored by the National Historical Publications and Records Commission (NHPRC), the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, and the University of Wisconsin, the institute will provide detailed theoretical and practical instruction in documentary editing and publication. Further information and application forms are available from the NHPRC (NP), National Archives Building, Washington, DC 20408 (phone 202/501-5610). Application deadline is March 15, 1994.

Historical Editing Fellowship

The National Historical Publications and Records Commission (NHPRC) will offer three historical editing fellowships in 1994. Partial funding will be provided by The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. Successful candidates will receive a stipend of \$27,500 and spend 10 months at a documentary publication project beginning

in the summer of 1994. Participating projects are *The Adams Family Papers* (Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston), *The Correspondence of James K. Polk* (University of Tennessee, Knoxville), and *The Emma Goldman Papers* (University of California, Berkeley). Applicants should hold a Ph.D. or have completed all requirements for the doctorate except the dissertation. Further information and application forms are available from the NHRPC (NP), National Archives Building, Washington, DC 20408 (Phone 202/501-5610). Application deadline is March 1, 1994.

Call for Papers

The New England American Studies Association (NEASA) annual conference on "American Popular Cultures: At Home and Abroad" will be held at Brown University on May 7-9, 1994. Contact Fritz Fleischmann, Babson College, Babson Park, MA 02157-0310; (617) 239-4400; Fax (617) 239-4312, by February 15.

Call for Papers

Proposals for individual papers, complete panels, session chairpersons and commentators in all fields of study are sought for an inter-disciplinary conference on inter-American relations. Conference Dates: September 22-24, 1994; Location: Jacksonville, Florida; Submission Deadline: April 1, 1994. Send Proposals to Tom Leonard, Conference Coordinator, Department of History, University of North Florida, Jacksonville, Florida 32224, Telephone (904) 646-2886, Fax (904) 646-2703.

Call for Papers

Old Dominion University, the General Douglas MacArthur Foundation, and the Douglas MacArthur memorial are co-sponsoring a special symposium on the fiftieth anniversary of

General Douglas MacArthur's return to the Philippines in 1944. This symposium on World War II will be held at the MacArthur Memorial Museum in Norfolk, VA, 20-22 October 1994. The conference will focus on such topics as: Strategic Decisions; FDR, King, and MacArthur; Japanese Occupation of the Philippines; SWPA Intelligence Activities; and the Effects of MacArthur's Return.

The deadline for proposal submission with current c.v. is February 1, 1994. For further information contact: Dr. W. Preston Burton, MacArthur Memorial, MacArthur Square, Norfolk, VA 23510, tel. (804) 441-2965; fax. (804) 441-5389.

Naval Historical Center Fellowship, Grant, and Internship Opportunities

The Naval Historical Center, Department of the Navy, offers research support for established scholars, doctoral candidates, and undergraduate history majors.

ESTABLISHED SCHOLARS. The Center will make two **Research Grants**, named in the honor of Vice Admiral Edwin B. Hooper, of up to \$2,500 each to individuals undertaking research and writing in the field of U.S. naval history. Applicants should have either the Ph.D. or equivalent credentials, and they must be U.S. citizens. The deadline for submitting applications is February 28, 1994.

DOCTORAL CANDIDATES. The Center will award the Rear Admiral John D. Hayes fellowship of \$8,000 to a pre-doctoral candidate who is undertaking research and writing on a dissertation in the field of U.S. naval history. Applicants must be U.S. citizens enrolled in an accredited graduate school who will have completed all requirements for the Ph.D. except the Dissertation by June 30, 1994. The deadline for applications is February 28, 1994.

NOTE CONCERNING HOOPER GRANTS AND HAYES FELLOWSHIPS: While proposals relating to any aspect of the history of the U.S. Navy are welcome, in view of the upcoming bicentennials of the USS *Constitution* (authorized 1794, launched 1797, sailed on first cruise 1798) and of the founding of the Department of the Navy (1798), proposals relating to the history of the USS *Constitution* in any time period, or to the history of the Federal Navy, ca. 1789-1801, are particularly invited.

HISTORY MAJORS. The Center welcomes internship applications from undergraduate history majors who wish to spend four weeks engaged in applied history projects in the Washington Navy Yard. Limited funds are available to support living expenses. Historical research, archival, museum, and curatorial assignments are available. Applications should be filed at least two months before the desired beginning date of the internship.

Application forms for the research grant, pre-doctoral fellowship, and internships may be obtained by writing to:

Senior Historian, Naval Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard,
901 M Street SE, Washington, DC 20374-5060

Naval Historical Center Bicentennial Award Competition

To mark the bicentennial of USS *Constitution*, the Naval Historical Center plans to make an award of \$750 for an article and an award of \$2,500 for a book, related to the bicentennial theme and based on original research, published or accepted for publication between 1994 and 1998. Articles and books whose subject relates to any aspect of the History of USS *Constitution* in any time period, or to any aspect of the history of the Federal Navy, ca. 1789-1801 are eligible. Nominations should be made by June 30, 1998 and must include one copy of the article or book, or, if the work is not yet in print, of the manuscript along with the evidence that the work has

been accepted for the publication. Announcement of the awards will be in December 1998. Nominations should be made to the Senior Historian (address in above notice).

A New Journal: War in History

War in History takes it as a guiding premise that military history should be integrated into a broader definition of history. Recognizing that the study of war is more than simply the study of combat, the journal will publish articles concerning war in all its aspects: economic, social, and political as much as purely military.

Hew Strachan and Dennis E. Showalter, joint editors, have assembled an international Editorial and Editorial Advisory Board whose wide range of interests demonstrates that *War in History* is committed to interpreting war as broadly as possible.

The editors ask that you will join in making *War in History* a success by considering it for yourself and your institution's library. To order your sample copy, write: Helen Arnold, Promotions; Edward Arnold, Hodder, & Stoughton, Publ.; Dunton Green, Sevenoaks; Kent TN13 2YA; United Kingdom.

League of Nations Symposium

The Woodrow Wilson House Museum in Washington, DC will be sponsoring a symposium commemorating "The 75th Anniversary of the League of Nations and its Legacy," to be held on March 5, 1994 at the Women's National Democratic Club in Washington. The symposium will begin with a reception in honor of Arthur S. Link. There will be an opportunity to view the exhibit, "A World Made Safe: Woodrow Wilson, Peace and the League of Nations" and to tour Wilson's retirement home. Contact: Sina Dubovoj, Symposium Coordinator, Woodrow Wilson Museum, 2340 S St.

NW, Washington, DC 20008. Tel: (202) 387-4062; fax: (202) 483-1466.

Call for Papers

The New England Historical Association (NEHA) Spring Conference will meet at Bentley College in Waltham, Massachusetts, April 23, 1994. Proposals dealing with any period, geographical area, or theme may be submitted by January 15. For information, contact Bruce M. Stave, Department of History, The University of Connecticut, Storrs, CT 06269-2103.

New clearinghouse *CONNECTIONS*

The Organization of American Historians, the European Association for American Studies, and others are establishing an international clearinghouse newsletter — *CONNECTIONS* — for Americanists. In the clearinghouse newsletter individual scholars of the American past will post descriptions of their needs, offerings, and interests and learn about the needs, offerings, and interests of their peers around the world.

CONNECTIONS will list notices of a wide variety of opportunities: for exchanges of housing and teaching responsibilities between scholars; for collaborative research projects; for graduate study abroad; for sharing of books, ideas, exhibition materials, and course syllabi; for exchanges of positions by public historians, museum scholars, archivists, teachers, or others involved with the study of American history and culture.

We invite individuals to send "postings" of their needs and interests for the first issue, which is scheduled for the spring of 1994. There is ***no charge*** for submitting an item to the clearinghouse, but submissions must be limited to **100** words.

Individuals posting notices to the clearinghouse ***must*** include their names and mailing addresses and are encouraged to also include their telephone numbers, fax numbers, and/or e-mail addresses. Submissions should be sent to the clearinghouse coordinator in Bloomington:

Michael Schreiner, Clearinghouse Coordinator
***CONNECTIONS: American History and Culture in an
International Perspective***
Organization of American Historians
112 North Bryan Street
Bloomington, IN 47408-4199
Phone: 812-855-8726 Fax: 812-855-0696
E-mail: mschrein@ucs.indiana.edu

Examples:

WANTED: COLLEAGUE TO SHARE IDEAS: I am a scholar of 20th-century U.S. political history researching the status of constitutional government in multicultural societies. I am searching for new ideas to enrich my work and may want to add a comparative dimension to my study. If anyone is interested in beginning a conversation on this topic, please respond to...

EXCHANGE HOMES FOR SUMMER 1994: University of Iowa scholar and family interested in exchanging homes for the summer of 1994 with scholar in Eastern Europe. Our two-bedroom home is close to campus, and I may be able to arrange temporary library privileges for visitor. University collections are especially good in U.S. 19th-century political, sectionalism, and the Civil War as well as American literature. Your home will need to accommodate my husband and small child. Write to...

WANTED: COLLABORATIVE RESEARCH PARTNER: I am a scholar of 20th-century U.S. and Argentine labor currently working in Argentina. I wish to identify a U.S.-based labor historian interested in working in collaboration on a comparative study of U.S. and Argentine labor, with emphasis on heavy-industry union formation and oral history methodology. Reply to...

WANTED: RESEARCH MATERIAL: I am a graduate student at Seoul National University studying colonial America. I want to do research in the United States at a university with a strong collection in colonial America. I will need housing accommodations close to campus and library privileges. Please respond to...

PERSONALS

Harriet H. Alonso (Brooklyn, NY) and Geoff Smith (Queen's) are serving as CPRH vice president and secretary-treasurer respectively. SHAFR members Scott Bills (Stephen Austin State), Charles Chatfield (Wittenberg), Mitchell Hall (St. Anselm's Academy), William Hoover (Toledo), Michael Lutzker (NYU), David Patterson (Chevy Chase), Martin Sherwin (Tufts), Sandra Taylor (Utah), and Lawrence Wittner (SUNY-Albany) serve on the Executive Board.

Thom Armstrong (formerly at El Camino) has become associate dean for the social sciences at Mt. Hood C.C. in Gresham, Oregon.

Larry Berman (UC-Davis) has been awarded a Gerald Ford Foundation grant for research on "Disengaging From Vietnam."

Scott Bills (Stephen Austin State) is a new co-editor of *Peace and Change*.

James Chace (Bard), Walter Hixson (Akron), Michaela Honicke (North Carolina), Michael Krenn (U. of Miami), Charles Pennacchio (Colorado), Tracy Lee Steele, (Sam Houston State), Mark E. Young (Texas-Austin), and Steven Schwartzberg (Yale) have received research grants from the Harry S. Truman Library Institute.

George Herring (Kentucky) is spending the 1993-94 Academic year as a Senior Visiting Professor at the U.S. Military Academy, West Point.

Jeffrey Kimball (Ohio), president of the CPRH for 1993-1995, has received a senior fellowship from the Norwegian Nobel Institute for the spring term, 1995.

Darlene Rivas (Vanderbilt) has received a grant from the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute for research on Nelson Rockefeller and U.S. foreign assistance for economic development in Venezuela.

Nick Sarantakes (USC) spent the summer of 1993 as a Junior Fellow at the Library of Congress.

John C. Stagg (Virginia) was recently promoted to full professor.

Charles J. Tull (Indiana-South Bend) has been awarded a Gerald Ford Foundation grant for research on "Graham Martin in Saigon, 1973-75."

CALENDAR

1994

- January 1 Membership fees in all categories are due, payable at the national office of SHAFR.
- January 6-9 The 108th annual meeting of the AHA will take place in San Francisco. Deadline for proposals has passed.
- January 15 Deadline for the 1993 Bernath article award.
- February 1 Deadline for the 1993 Bernath book award.
- February 1 Deadline, materials for the March *Newsletter*.
- February 15 Deadline for the 1994 Bernath lecture prize.
- April 1 Applications for the W. Stull Holt dissertation fellowship are due.
- April 15-18 The 87th meeting of the OAH will take place in Atlanta with headquarters at the Atlanta Hilton and Towers.
- May 1 Deadline, materials for the June *Newsletter*.
- June 23-26 The 20th annual meeting of SHAFR will take place at Bentley College, Waltham, MA.
- August 1 Deadline, materials for the September *Newsletter*.
- November 1 Deadline, materials for the December *Newsletter*.
- November 1-15 Annual election for SHAFR officers.
- November 1 Applications for Bernath dissertation fund awards are due.
- November 15 Deadline for SHAFR summer conference proposals.

The AHA will meet in Cincinnati, Jan. 5-8, 1995.

The OAH will meet at the Washington Hilton and Towers in Washington, March 30-April 2, 1995; and at the Palmer House Hilton in Chicago, March 28-31, 1996.

PUBLICATIONS

Isaac Alteras (Queens), *Eisenhower and Israel: U.S.-Israeli Relations, 1953-1960*. U. Press of Florida, 1993. Cloth ISBN 0-8130-1205-8, \$44.95; paper ISBN 0-8130-1206-6, \$19.95.

H.W. Brands (Texas-Austin), *The Devil We Knew: Americans and the Cold War*. Oxford, 1993. Cloth ISBN 0-07-007188-8, \$45; Paper ISBN 0-19-507499-8, \$25.

Frederick S. Calhoun (Centreville, VA), *Uses of Force and Wilsonian Foreign Policy*. Kent, 1993. Paper ISBN 0-873-38464-4, \$15.00.

Melvyn Leffler (Virginia), *A Preponderance of Power: National Security, The Truman Administration, and the Cold War*. Stanford, 1993. Paper \$19.95; ISBN 0-80-472218-8.

Timothy P. Maga (Bentley), *John F. Kennedy and New Frontier Diplomacy, 1961-1963*. Krieger Publishing Company, 1993. ISBN 0-89464-829-2, \$18.50.

Thomas McCormick (Wisconsin) and Walter LaFeber (Cornell) eds., *Behind the Throne: Servants of Power to*

Imperial Presidents, 1898-1968. Wisconsin, 1993. ISBN 0-29-913740-6, \$45.50.

James A. Nathan (Auburn) ed., *The Cuban Missile Crisis Revisited.* St. Martin's, 1993. ISBN 0-312-0972505, \$17.95.

Robert D. Schulzinger (Colorado), *American Diplomacy in the Twentieth Century*, Third edition. Oxford, 1993. Paper ISBN 0-19-508061-0, \$16.95.

Jack Shulimson (Bowie, MD), *The Marine Corps' Search for a Mission 1880-1898.* University Press of Kansas, 1993. ISBN 0-70-060608-4, \$35.00.

Sandra C. Taylor, *Jewel of the Desert: Japanese American Internment at Topaz.* California, 1993. ISBN 0-52-008004-1, \$35.00.

David F. Trask (Washington, DC), *The AEF and Coalition Warmaking, 1917-1918.* University Press of Kansas, 1993. ISBN 0-70-060619-X, \$29.95.

Sam Walker (Nuclear Regulatory Commission), *Containing the Atom: Nuclear Regulation in a Changing Environment, 1963-1971.* California, 1993. ISBN 0-520-07913-2, \$50.00.

W. Michael Weis (Illinois Wesleyan), *Cold Warriors and Coups d'Etat: Brazilian-American Relations, 1945-1964.* New Mexico, 1993. ISBN 0-82-631400-7, \$37.50.

AWARDS, PRIZES, AND FUNDS

THE STUART L. BERNATH MEMORIAL PRIZES

The Stuart L. Bernath Memorial Lectureship, the Memorial Book Competition, and the Memorial Lecture Prize were established in 1976, 1972, and 1976, respectively, through the generosity of Dr. Gerald J. and Myrna F. Bernath, in memory of their son, and are administered by special committees of SHAFR.

The Stuart L. Bernath Book Prize

DESCRIPTION: This is a competition for a book dealing with any aspect of the history of American foreign relations. The purpose of the award is to recognize and encourage distinguished research and writing by scholars of American foreign relations.

ELIGIBILITY: The prize is to be awarded for a first book. The book must be a history of international relations. Biographies of statesmen and diplomats are included. General surveys, autobiographies, editions of essays and documents, and works which are representative of social science disciplines other than history are *not* eligible.

PROCEDURES: Books may be nominated by the author, the publisher, or by any member of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations. A nominating letter explaining why the book deserves consideration must accompany each entry in the competition. Books will be judged primarily in regard to their contribution to scholarship. Winning books should have interpretative and analytical qualities of high levels. They should demonstrate mastery of primary material and relevant secondary works, and they should be examples of careful organization and distinguished writing. Five (5) copies of each book must be submitted with the nomination and should be sent to: Frank Ninkovich, Department of History, St. John's University, Grand Central and Utopia Parkways, Jamaica, NY 11439.

Books may be sent at any time during 1993, but should not arrive later than February 1, 1994.

The prize will be divided only when two superior books are so evenly matched that any other decision seems unsatisfactory to the committee. The committee will not award the prize if there is no book in the competition which meets the standards of excellence established for the

prize. The 1993 award of \$2,000.00 will be announced at the annual luncheon of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations held in conjunction with the Organization of American Historians' annual meeting in April, 1994.

PREVIOUS WINNERS:

1972 Joan Hoff Wilson
Kenneth E. Shewmaker
1973 John L. Gaddis
1974 Michael H. Hunt
1975 Frank D. McCann, Jr.
Stephen E. Pelz
1976 Martin J. Sherwin
1977 Roger V. Dingman
1978 James R. Leutze
1979 Phillip J. Baram
1980 Michael Schaller
1981 Bruce R. Kuniholm
Hugh DeSantis
1982 David Reynolds

1983 Richard Immerman
1984 Michael H. Hunt
1985 David Wyman
1986 Thomas J. Noer
1987 Fraser J. Harbutt
James Edward Miller
1988 Michael Hogan
1989 Stephen G. Rabe
1990 Walter Hixson
Anders Stephanson
1991 Gordon H. Chang
1992 Thomas Schwartz
1993 Elizabeth Cobbs

The Stuart L. Bernath Lecture Prize

ELIGIBILITY: 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 annual meetings of the American Historical Association, but will be restricted to younger scholars with excellent reputations for research and teaching. Each lecturer will address not specifically his/her own research interests, but broad issues of concern to students of American foreign policy.

PROCEDURES: The Bernath Lecture Committee is soliciting nominations for the lecture from members of the Society. Nominations, in the form of a short letter and *curriculum vita*, if available, should reach the Committee no later than February 15, 1994. The chairperson of the committee to whom nominations should be sent is: Lorraine Lees, Department of History, Old Dominion University, Norfolk, VA 23508.

The award is \$500.00, with publication in *Diplomatic History*.

PREVIOUS WINNERS:

1977 Joan Hoff Wilson
1978 David S. Patterson
1979 Marilyn B. Young
1980 John L. Gaddis
1981 Burton Spivak
1982 Charles DeBenedetti
1983 Melvyn P. Leffler
1984 Michael J. Hogan
1985 Michael Schaller

1986 William Stueck
1987 Nancy Bernkopf Tucker
1988 William O. Walker III
1989 Stephen G. Rabe
1990 Richard Immerman
1991 Robert McMahon
1992 H.W. Brands
1993 Larry Berman

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 1993. The author must not be over 40 years of age, or, if more than 40 years of age, must be within ten years of receiving the Ph.D. at the time of acceptance for publication. The article or essay must be among the first six publications by the author. Previous winners of the Stuart L. Bernath Book Award are excluded.

PROCEDURES: All articles appearing in *Diplomatic History* shall be automatically considered without nomination. Other nominations shall be submitted by the author or by any member of SHAFR by January 15, 1994. Three (3) copies of the article shall be submitted to the chairperson of the committee: Diane Kunz, Department of History, Yale University, New Haven, CT 06520.

The next award will be announced at the SHAFR luncheon held in conjunction with the annual meeting of the OAH in April, 1994.

PREVIOUS WINNERS:

1977 John C.A. Stagg
1978 Michael H. Hunt
1979 Brian L. Villa
1980 James I. Matray
David A. Rosenberg
1981 Douglas Little
1982 Fred Pollock
1983 Chester Pach

1985 Melvyn Leffler
1986 Duane Tananbaum
1987 David McLean
1988 Dennis Merrill
1989 Robert J. McMahon
1990 Lester Foltos
1991 William Earl Weeks
1992 Marc Gallicchio
1993 Daniel P. O'C. Greene

The Stuart L. Bernath Dissertation Grant

This grant has been established to help doctoral students who are members of SHAFR defray some of the expenses encountered in the writing of their dissertations.

Requirements are as follows:

1. The dissertation must deal with some aspect of United States foreign relations.
2. Awards are given to help defray costs for dissertation research.
3. Applicants must have satisfactorily completed all other requirements for the doctoral degree.
4. Applications must include:
 - (a) a one-page curriculum vitae of the applicant and a dissertation prospectus;
 - (b) a paragraph regarding the sources to be consulted and their value to the study;
 - (c) an explanation of why the money is needed and how, specifically, it will be used; and
 - (d) a letter from the applicant's supervising professor commenting upon the appropriateness of the applicant's request. (This should be sent separately.)
5. One or more awards may be given. Generally awards will not exceed \$1000.
6. The successful applicant must file a brief report on how the funds were spent not later than eight months following the presentation of the award (i.e., normally by the following September).

Applications should be sent to: Walter Hixson, Department of History, University of Akron, Akron, OH 44324. The deadline is November 1, 1993.

PREVIOUS WINNERS:

1985 Jon Nielson
1986 Valdinia C. Winn
Walter L. Hixson
1987 Janet M. Manson
Thomas M. Gaskin
W. Michael Weis
Michael Wala

1988 Elizabeth Cobbs
Madhu Bhalla
1989 Thomas Zeiler
Russel Van Wyk
1990 David McFadden
1991 Eileen Scully
1992 Shannon Smith

The Myrna F. Bernath Book Prize

A prize award of \$2,500.00 to be offered every two years (apply in odd-numbered years) for the best book by a woman in the areas of United States foreign relations, transnational history, international history, peace studies, cultural interchange, and defense or strategic studies. Books published in 1991-93 will be eligible next fall. Five copies of each book (or page proofs) must accompany a letter of application.

PREVIOUS WINNERS

1991 Diane Kunz
Betty Unterberger

The Myrna F. Bernath Research Fellowship

A \$2,500.00 research fellowship awarded every two years (apply in even-numbered years) for a woman to do historically-based research abroad or for a female citizen from a foreign country to do historically-based research in the United States on United States foreign relations, transnational history, international history, peace studies, cultural interchange, and defense or strategic studies. Whenever possible preference will be given to a graduate student. Three copies of each proposal, consisting of no more than fifteen double-spaced pages and three references, should be sent to: Professor Joan Hoff, Department of History, Ballantine Hall 742, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN 47405. Submission deadline is November 15, 1994.

PREVIOUS WINNER: 1992 Shannon Smith

THE W. STULL HOLT DISSERTATION FELLOWSHIP

The Society of Historians for American Foreign Relations is pleased to invite applications from qualified doctoral candidates whose dissertations are in the field of the history of American foreign relations. This fellowship is intended to help defray costs of travel, preferably foreign travel, necessary to the pursuit of research on a significant dissertation project. Qualified applicants will have satisfactorily completed comprehensive doctoral examinations before April 1994, leaving only the dissertation as the sole, remaining requirement for the doctoral degree.

Applicants should include a prospectus of the dissertation, indicating work already completed as well as contemplated research. The prospectus should describe the dissertation project as fully as possible, indicating the scope, method, and chief source materials. The applicant should indicate how the fellowship, if awarded, would be used. An academic transcript showing all graduate work taken to date should accompany the application and prospectus of the dissertation. In addition, three letters from graduate teachers familiar with the work of the applicant, including one from the director of the applicant's dissertation, are required.

Applications and supporting papers should be sent before April 1, 1994 to: Thomas Schwartz, Department of History, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, TN 37235.

The Holt Memorial Fellowship carries an award of \$1,500.00. Announcement of the recipient of the Holt Memorial Fellowship will be made at the Society's annual summer meeting. At the end of the fellowship year the recipient of the fellowship will be required to report to the Committee relating how the fellowship was used.

PREVIOUS WINNERS:

1984 Louis Gomolak
1986 Kurt Schultz
1987 David McFadden
1988 Mary Ann Heiss

1990 Katherine A.S. Siegel
1991 Kyle Longley
1992 Robert Brigham
1993 Darlene Rivas

THE NORMAN AND LAURA GRAEBNER AWARD

The Graebner Award is to be awarded every other year at SHAFR's summer conference to a senior historian of United States foreign relations whose achievements have contributed most significantly to the fuller understanding of American diplomatic history.

CONDITIONS OF THE AWARD: The Graebner prize will be awarded, beginning in 1986, to a distinguished scholar of diplomatic and international affairs. It is expected that this scholar would be 60 years of age or older. The recipient's career must demonstrate excellence in scholarship, teaching, and/or service to the profession. Although the prize is not restricted to academic historians, the recipient must have

distinguished himself or herself through the study of international affairs from a historical perspective.

Applicants, or individuals nominating a candidate, are requested to submit three (3) copies of a letter which:

- (a) provides a brief biography of the candidate, including educational background, academic or other positions held and awards and honors received;
- (b) lists the candidate's major scholarly works and discusses the nature of his or her contribution to the study of diplomatic history and international affairs;
- (c) describes the candidate's career, lists any teaching honors and awards, and comments on the candidate's classroom skills; and
- (d) details the candidate's services to the historical profession, listing specific organizations and offices, and discussing particular activities.

Chairman: Leon Boothe, 1 University Drive, Highland Hts., KY 41099-0001.

PREVIOUS WINNERS:

1986 Dorothy Borg

1988 Alexander DeConde

1990 Richard W. Leopold

1991 Bradford Perkins

THE WARREN F. KUEHL AWARD

The Society will award the Warren F. Kuehl Prize to the author or authors of an outstanding book dealing with the history of internationalism and/or the history of peace movements. The subject may include biographies of prominent internationalists or peace leaders. Also eligible are works on American foreign relations that examine United States diplomacy from a world perspective and which are in accord with Kuehl's 1985 presidential address to SHAFR. That address voiced an "appeal for scholarly breadth, for a wider perspective on how foreign relations of the United States fits into the global picture."

The award will be made every other year at the SHAFR summer conference. The next award will be for books published in 1993 and 1994. Deadline for submissions is February 1, 1995. For further information the committee chair is: Tom Knock, Dept. of History, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, TX 75275.

PREVIOUS WINNERS:

1987 Harold Josephson

1989 Melvin Small

1991 Charles DeBenedetti (deceased) and Charles Chatfield

1993 Thomas Knock

ARTHUR LINK PRIZE
FOR DOCUMENTARY EDITING

The inaugural Arthur S. Link Prize For Documentary Editing was awarded at the American Historical Association meeting in December 1991. The prize will be offered hereafter whenever appropriate but no more often than every three years. Eligibility is defined by the following excerpt from the prize rules.

The prize will recognize and encourage analytical scholarly editing of documents, in appropriate published form, relevant to the history of American foreign relations, policy, and diplomacy. By "analytical" is meant the inclusion (in headnotes, footnotes, essays, etc.) of both appropriate historical background needed to establish the context of the documents, and interpretive historical commentaries based on scholarly research. The competition is open to the editor/author(s) of any collection of documents published after 1984 that is devoted primarily to sources relating to the history of American foreign relations, policy, and/or diplomacy; and that incorporates sufficient historical analysis and interpretation of those documents to constitute a contribution to knowledge and scholarship. Nominations may be made by any person or publisher. The award is \$500 plus travel expenses to the professional meeting where the prize is presented. For all rules and details contact the committee chair. One copy of each entry should be sent directly to each member of the committee.

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

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

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

Previous Winner —
1991 Justus Doenecke

THE ARMIN RAPPAPORT FUND

The Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations established this fund in 1990 to honor Armin Rappaport, the founding editor of the Society's journal, *Diplomatic History*. The fund will support the professional work of the journal's editorial office. It was initiated by Michael J. Hogan and Thomas G. Paterson, who donated earnings from their book, *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations*, and by the authors of essays in this book, who waived fees. Further donations are invited from authors, SHAFR members, and friends. Please send contributions in any amount to Professor Allan Spetter, SHAFR Executive Secretary-Treasurer, Department of History, Wright State University, Dayton, OH 45435.

ROBERT H. FERRELL BOOK PRIZE

This is competition for a book, published in 1993, which is a history of American Foreign Relations, broadly defined, and includes biographies of statesmen and diplomats. General surveys, autobiographies, or editions of essays and documents are not eligible. The prize of \$1,000 is to be awarded as a senior book award; that is, any book beyond the first monograph by the author. The deadline for submission of books is February 1, 1994.

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

Joyce Goldberg
Department of History
U. of Texas-Arlington
Arlington, TX 76019

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

Doug Brinkley
Department of History
Hofstra University
Hempstead, NY 11550

PREVIOUS WINNERS:

1992 David Anderson and Diane Kunz
1993 Mel Leffler

The SHAFR Newsletter

SPONSOR: Tennessee Technological University, Cookeville, Tennessee.

EDITOR: William J. Brinker, Box 5154, Cookeville, TN 38505 Tel. (615) 372-3336.

EDITORIAL ASSISTANTS: Nanci Long, Dana Mason, and Jody Reecer.

Address Changes: Send changes of address to the Executive Secretary-Treasurer: Allan Spetter, Wright State University, Dayton, OH 45435.

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, abstracts of scholarly papers and articles delivered or published upon diplomatic subjects, 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 5 1/4" or 3 1/2" 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

1968 Thomas A. Bailey (Stanford)	1981 Lawrence S. Kaplan (Kent State)
1969 Alexander DeConde (CA-Santa Barbara)	1982 Lawrence E. Gelfand (Iowa)
1970 Richard W. Leopold (Northwestern)	1983 Ernest R. May (Harvard)
1971 Robert H. Ferrell (Indiana)	1984 Warren I. Cohen (Michigan State)
1972 Norman A. Graebner (Virginia)	1985 Warren F. Kuehl (Akron)
1973 Wayne S. Cole (Maryland)	1986 Betty Unterberger (Texas A&M)
1974 Bradford Perkins (Michigan)	1987 Thomas G. Paterson (Connecticut)
1975 Armin H. Rappaport (CA-San Diego)	1988 Lloyd Gardner (Rutgers)
1976 Robert A. Divine (Texas)	1989 George Herring (Kentucky)
1977 Raymond A. Esthus (Tulane)	1990 Michael Hunt (North Carolina)
1978 Akira Iriye (Chicago)	1991 Gary Hess (Bowling Green)
1979 Paul A. Varg (Michigan State)	1992 John Lewis Gaddis (Ohio)
1980 David M. Pletcher (Indiana)	