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MEETINGS: The annual meeting of the Socoety is held in August. The Society also meets with the American Historical Association in December, and with the Organization of American Historians in April.

PRIZES: The Society administers three awards per year, all of them in honor of the late Stuart L. Bernath and all of them financed through the generosity of his parents, Dr. and Mrs. Gerald J. Bernath of Laguna Hills, California. The details of each of these awards are given in under the appropriate headings of each issue of the Newsletter.

PUBLICATIONS: The Society sponsors two printed works of a quarterly nature, the Newsletter, and Diplomatic History, a journal; a Membership Roster and List of Current Research Projects is published occasionally.

AMERICAN DIPLOMATS AS AUTHORS

by

Elmer Plischke

The degree to which American diplomats[1] have been moved to write for publication during the past two centuries is surprising, and the quality of many of their publications is impressive. Diplomats are expected to be masters of prose, and in the course of their careers they employ this gift almost daily in their official communications and reports. The quantity and quality of their unofficial publication, however, is less well known and appreciated. Commemorating the bicentennial of the United States Department of State, celebrated in 1981, it seems appropriate to review and savor some of the extracurricular as well as the traditional achievements of its diplomatic emissaries.

A survey of the publications of members of the American diplomatic establishment over the past two hundred years reveals that they published as widely as other professional groups except, perhaps, for journalists, novelists, and those others whose careers rely primarily on writing. They produced a

[1]Except where specifically qualified, the term "diplomat" is used in the broad sense of those who represented the Department of State overseas and in other diplomatic missions (such as the U.S. Mission to the United Nations), together with those who served in the upper echelons of the Department of State, as presidential special emissaries, as ambassadors at large, and in other diplomatic and consular assignments.

This survey is an augmentation and updating of this author's earlier commentary on this subject appearing in his U.S. Diplomats and Their Missions: A Profile of American Diplomatic Emissaries since 1778 (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1975), pp. 117-130, which deals solely with chiefs of mission and ranking members of the Department of State.

comprehensive library of publications, and their literary tastes and interests are virtually boundless.

Hundreds of career diplomats have turned to authorship, both during their careers and after retirement, not only to produce their memoirs, but also to write a variety of biographies, commentaries, histories, poems, and other works. Some publications of these "diplomat-authors" have become widely known, including certain writings of careerists James Rives Childs, Hugh S. Gibson, Joseph C. Grew, George F. Kennan, Dana G. Munro, Charles W. Thayer, (George) Post Wheeler, and others. As a group they published a broad spectum of materials, often as representative of their extraprofessional interests as of the diplomatic process.

On the other hand, throughout our history a substantial number of academicians, dramatists, essayists, historians, journalists, novelists, and other exponents of culture and the literary arts have been appointed for short periods to American diplomatic service who, if they publish, therefore become "author-diplomats." Prior to the specialization of the diplomatic profession, such widely heralded men of letters as Washington Irving, James Russell Lowell, and Bayard Taylor, as well as other productive writers like John Bigelow, Ephraim G. Squire, and Lew Wallace served as accredited United States emissaries, as did historians George Bancroft and John Lothrop Motley. Other well known writers who served in lesser diplomatic capacities include James Fenimore Cooper, Francis Brett Harte, and Nathaniel Hawthorne. Not to be overlooked are some early American statesmen, including John Quincy Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and Thomas Jefferson.

More recently, in the 20th century, such well-known authors as Hamilton Fish Armstrong, Ray Stannard Baker, Stephen Vincent Benet, William D. Howells, John Howard Payne, and James G. Thurber, together with such educators as Cyril E. Black, James B. Conant, David Jayne Hill, Arthur C. Millspaugh, Edwin O. Reischauer, and Graham H. Stuart, economist John Kenneth Galbraith, historian Herbert Feis, international lawyers Philip C. Jessup and Ellery C. Stowell, and clergymen William H. Armstrong, William A. Nighswonger, and others also held appointments in our diplomatic and consular services.

The degree to which American diplomats undertake literary ventures--both as diplomat-authors and as author-diplomats--is noteworthy in several respects--the number involved, the quantity of their production, and the breadth of their interests.

Over the years approximately one of every five chiefs of mission and ranking officers of the Department of State have published, producing a library of more than 1,800 major publications. As of 1973, some 760 of our diplomats of all ranks who served abroad under the aegis of the Department of State (together with their wives) published approximately 3,850 books, monographs, and compendia. Overall, including ranking officers of the Department of State, presidential special emissaries, and a few other Department of State officers writing about American foreign relations, it is not difficult to identify some 850 diplomats who published more than 4,000 volumes--for an average of nearly five volumes per author.[2]

In our early history the ratio of diplomats as authors to the total number of ranking diplomatic appointments amounted to roughly one in three, but this ratio declined somewhat after 1840. While many diplomats have written only a single volume or two, at least 50 published ten or more. James Fenimore Cooper, John

[2]The principal sources used for this survey include Richard Fyfe Boyce and Katherine Randall Boyce, American Foreign Service Authors: A Bibliography (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1973) and this author's American Diplomacy: A Bibliography of Biographies, Autobiographices, and Commentaries (College Park, Md.: Bureau of Governmental Research, University of Maryland, 1957; "Bibliography on United States Diplomacy: Autobiographies, Biographies, Commentaries, and Memoirs" in Instruction in Diplomacy: The Liberal Arts Approach, edited by Smith Simpson, Monograph No. 13 of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (Philadelphia: 1972), pp. 299-342; and U.S. Foreign Relations: A Guide to Information Sources, Chapter 23 entitled "Autobiographies, Biographies, Commentaries, Diaries, and Memoirs," pp. 613-670 (Detroit: Gale Research Co., 1980).

In our early history the ratio of diplomats as authors to the total number of ranking diplomatic appointments amounted to roughly one in three, but this ratio declined somewhat after 1840. While many diplomats have written only a single volume or two, at least 50 published ten or more. James Fenimore Cooper, John Russell Coryell, Maurice Francis Egan, Brett Harte, William D. Howells, Washington Irving, Meredith Nicholson, Bayard Taylor, James G. Thurber, and Henry Van Dyke are among the most prolific of our author-diplomats. Of those who served in the career Foreign Service, some have published 15 volumes or more including novelist George Agnew Chamberlain, James Rives Childs, George Horton, and George Kennan.

Equally impressive is the breadth of literary interests of American diplomats during the past two centuries. It is natural that a good many practitioners who take up the pen should write their memoirs and publish their papers, or concern themselves with diplomatic history and foreign policy. However, the range of their literary endeavors is surprising. Their collective pen has produced poetry, drama, and fiction, treatises on such varied subjects as creative cookery and exotic recipes, parliamentary procedure, and geographical nomenclature, as well as commentaries not only on geopolitics and international relations, but also on art, boating, and polo. Included also are collections of childrens' stories, fairy tales, sermons, and sonnets, together with analyses of such disparate subjects as ceramics, geneology, printing, religion, and prison affairs.

A sampling of their publications includes: Alvey A. Adee's twenty-two volume limited edition of commentary on and comparative texts of the plays of William Shakespeare (1888-1906), William H. Attwood's The Decline of the American Male (co-authored, 1958), Benjamin Franklin's Poor Richard's Almanac. . . (1732-1757), John Kenneth Galbraith's The Affluent Society (1958), Washington Irving's Legend of Sleepy Hollow (1864), Post Wheeler's Hathoo of the Elephants (1943), and Samuel S. Cox's nearly 400 pages on Why We Laugh (1876). Other titles should also whet the literary appetite, such as William Livingston Alden's The Comic Liar: A Book Not Commonly Found in Sunday Schools (1883), Richard Washburn Child's Bodbank (1916), Philip K. Crowe's Sport is Where You Find It (1953), Henry W. Ellsworth's The American Swine

Breeder...(1840), Paul Chapin Squire's Fit to Print? (1965), Frederic Jesup Stimson's Jethro Bacon of Sandwich (1902), and Henry S. Villard's The Great Road Races, 1894-1914 (1972).

So far as substance is concerned, it is not surprising that autobiographies and compilations of letters, addresses, and other professional and personal papers have constituted one of the popular literary fields of American diplomats. It was not uncommon for the reminiscences and papers of our early statesmen-diplomats to be published--those of John Adams, John Quincy Adams, Albert Gallatin, John Jay, Thomas Jefferson, Rufus King, Henry Laurens, James Monroe, and Gouverneur Morris, for example.

These were followed by dozens of memoirs, diaries, journals, and volumes of correspondence and addresses, such as those of William C. Bullitt, Joseph H. Choate, Thomas Jefferson Coolidge, Charles Gates Dawes, Frederick Douglass, John W. Foster, James W. Gerard, Lloyd C. Griscom, Townsend Harris, Lee Meriwether, Henry Morganthau, Walter Hines Page, Henry Lane Wilson, and careerists George Horton, Hugh Gibson, Joseph C. Grew, and William Phillips. Since World War II, this catalogue of memoirs encompasses the contributions of an increasing number of widely known professinal diplomats, including Jacob D. Beam, Willard L. Beaulac, Charles E. Bohlen, Ellis O. Briggs, George F. Kennan, Robert D. Murphy, Hugh R. Wilson, and others. These have been supplemented by the reminiscences of such non-careerists as Dean G. Acheson, Claude G. Bowers, Zbigniew Brzezinski, James F. Byrnes, Alexander Haig, Christian A. Herter, Chester Bowles, Spruille Braden, Cyrus R. Vance, Cordell Hull, Henry A. Kissinger, Francis B. Sayre, Walter Bedell Smith, and John G. Winant.

Also worthy of mention are the many contributions of those who have not served as chiefs of mission or ranking members of the Department of State, such as G. Henry Horstmann (Consular Reminiscences, 1886), Henry Wikoff (The Adventures of a Roving Diplomatist, 1857), and Eric Fisher Wood (The Note-Book of an Attache...,1915). More recent examples include: Emily Bax (Miss Bax of the [London] Embassy, 1939), Donald C. Dunham (Envoy Unextraordinary, 1944), John Kenneth Emmerson (The Japanese Thread: A Life in the Foreign Service, 1978), Hallett Johnson (Diplomatic

Memoirs--Serious and Frivolous, 1963), Hank and Dot Kelly (Dancing Diplomats, 1950), and William Russell (Berlin Embassy, 1941).

Some diplomatic memoirs and reminiscences bear engaging titles--illustrated by John Murray Allison, Ambassador from the Prairie--Or, Allison Wonderland (1973), Josephus Daniels, Shirt-Sleeve Diplomat (1947), John Paton Davies, Foreign and Other Affairs (1964), Stanton Griffis, Lying in State (1952), Carlton Bailey Hurst, The Arms Above the Door (1932), William F. Sands, Undiplomatic Memories (1930), Edwin F. Stanton, Brief Authority: Excursions of a Common Man in an Uncommon World (1956), and Daniele Vare, The Laughing Diplomat (1938).

A related category comprises various types of documentary materials--correspondence, lectures, and speeches. Although the publication of "papers" was common for our early statesmen and diplomats, in more recent decades they have been published only on an occasional basis. Examples include the letters and papers of Adolf A. Berle (1973), Cassius M. Clay (1848), John Hay (several vols., 1915), Jay Pierrepont Moffat (1956), and Walter Hines Page (3 vols., 1923-1926), and the speeches of Thomas Corwin (1859), Charles G. Dawes (1915), John Adams Dix (1864), Henry W. Hilliard (1855), Edward J. Phelps (1881), Lincoln MacVeagh (Ambassador MacVeagh Reports: Greece, 1933-1947, published in 1980), and others.

A number of American diplomats also have been invited to present named lecture series that are published. These include Henry Van Dyke's Lyman Bucher Foundation Lectures at Yale University (The Gospel for an Age of Doubt, 1896) and the Hyde Foundation Lectures at the University of Paris (The Spirit of America, 1887). More recent illustrations include Charles Bohlen's Blaustein Lectures at Columbia University (The Transformation of American Foreign Policy, 1969), George Kennan's Walgreen Lectures at the University of Chicago (American Diplomacy: 1900-1950, 1951), and the Stafford Little Lectures at Princeton University (Realities of American Foreign Policy, 1954), and John J. McCloy's Godkin Lectures at Harvard University (The Challenge to American Foreign Policy, 1953) and the Fairless Memorial Lectures at Carnegie-Mellon University (The Atlantic Alliance. . ., 1969).

While American diplomats file hundreds of official reports each year, and the archives and Foreign Relations series contain thousands of them, they are generally excluded from this survey, although some were published or issued separately and need to be noted. Several focus on the Department of State and the Foreign Service, such as O. L. Nelson's Report on the Organization of the Department of State (1946) and the reports of committees chaired by Henry M. Wriston (Toward a Stronger Foreign Service, GPO, 1954), Christian A. Herter (Personnel for the New Diplomacy, 1962), and Robert D. Murphy (Commission on the Organization of the Government for the Conduct of Foreign Policy (with 7 vols. of appendices, GPO, 1975).

The following are representative of earlier ad hoc reports concerned with diverse subjects: Edwin de Leon's The Purchase of Camels (for the War Department, 1850s), Edmund Flagg's four reports on commerce, trade commodities, and immigration (1854-1857), Henry S. Sanford's The Different Systems of Penal Codes in Europe. . .(1854), and James Wickes Taylor's Report on the Mineral Resources of the United States (GPO, 1867). In the twentieth century these have been supplemented by such official publications as Henry F. Grady's A Survey of India's Industrial Production for War Purposes (1942), Charles E. Magoon's Laws Against Treason, Sedition, Etc. (GPO, 1902), William L. Schurz's Rubber Production in the Amazon Valley (GPO, 1925), a report on National Socialism: Basic Principles. . .(3 Foreign Service Officers as co-authors, 1943), and Howard H. Tewksbury's analyses of the automotive markets in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Peru (1929, 1930).

Such post-World War II ad hoc official reports as Postwar Foreign Policy Preparation, 1939-1945 (written by Harley A. Notter, GPO, 1949), Charter of the United Nations. . .(report of Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius, GPO, 1945), and the historical report on the negotiation of the World War II peace treaty with Japan (submitted by John Foster Dulles, GPO, 1951), together with other individual international conference reports, constitute a rich reservoir of diplomatic reportage. Among the most memorable reports, perhaps, is J. Reuben Clark's 238-page Memorandum on the Monroe Doctrine (GPO, 1930) which, after a century of interpretation, reinterpretation,

and confusion, redefined the official meaning of the Monroe Doctrine at the beginning of the very decade during which the United States undertook to commence negotiating its adoption by other Western Hemisphere countries, culminating in the Rio Pact (Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, 1947).

A third category consists of a great many volumes on the diplomatic process, the conduct of foreign relations, and foreign policy, some of which, together with certain memoirs, provide a substantial and useful contribution to the literature on these subjects. These range from such earlier writings as John W. Foster's A Century of American Diplomacy (1900) and The Practice of Diplomacy as Illustrated in the Foreign Relations of the United States (1906) and Frederick Van Dyne's Our Foreign Service: The "ABC" of American Diplomacy (1909) to a profusion of more recent analyses of American foreign affairs and our diplomatic and consular services, prepared by both Foreign Service Officers and non-careerists in the Department of State and the diplomatic service.

Some of this literature deals specifically with the Foreign Service, such as William Barnes and John Heath Morgan, The Foreign Service of the United States: Origins, Development, and Functions (GPO, 1961); W. Wendell Blancke, The Foreign Service of the United States (1969); James Rives Childs, American Foreign Service (1948); Robert F. Delaney, Your Future in the Foreign Service (1961); John Ensor Harr, The Anatomy of the Foreign Service: A Statistical Profile (1965); Ralph Hilton, Worldwide Mission: The Story of the United States Foreign Service (1970); Tracy H. Lay, Foreign Service of the United States (1925); Henry S. Villard, Affairs at State: A Career Diplomat's Candid Appraisal of the United States Foreign Service (1965); and Robert W. Rinden and Seymour I. Nadler, Life and Love in the Foreign Service (spoof providing series of photographs with humorous captions, 1969)--all authored by Foreign Service appointees.

Other volumes concern the Department of State and the administration of foreign relations. In addition to William H. Michael, History of the Department of State of the United States. . . (GPO, 1901); Gaillard Hunt, The Department of State of the United States: Its History and Functions (1914); and Graham H. Stuart, The Department of State: A History of Its

Organization, Procedure, and Personnel (1949), these include the more recent studies of John Franklin Campbell, The Foreign Affairs Fudge Factory (1971); Richard A. Johnson, The Administration of United States Foreign Policy (1971); James L. McCamy, The Administration of American Foreign Affairs (1950) and Conduct of the New Diplomacy (1964); Smith Simpson, The Anatomy of the State Department (1967); and Charles W. Yost, The Conduct and Misconduct of Foreign Affairs (1972).

Still others deal more with foreign policy making and analysis, such as Andrew H. Berding's The Making of Foreign Policy (1956) and Foreign Affairs and You: How American Foreign Policy Is Made and What It Means to You (1962), Robert R. Bowie's Shaping the Future: Foreign Policy in an Age of Transition (1964), Ellis O. Briggs's Anatomy of Diplomacy: The Origin and Execution of American Foreign Policy (1968), Lewis Einstein's American Foreign Policy by a Diplomatist (1909), and Thomas K. Finletter's Power and Policy: U.S. Foreign Policy and Military Power in the Hydrogen Age (1954).

Some publications naturally are more concerned with diplomacy and American diplomats in general. These include, for example, such works as Ambassadors and Other Public Ministers of the United States: Opinion of the Honorable Caleb Cushing, Attorney General, May 25, 1855 (GPO, 1907) and his separate opinions on the diplomatic and consular services (1855), together with the more recent studies of John Ensor Harr, The Professional Diplomat (1969); William B. Macomber, The Angels' Game: A Handbook of Modern Diplomacy (1975); Smith Simpson, The Crisis in American Diplomacy...(1980); and the many shorter essays of George Kennan, Henry Kissinger, Dean Rusk, and others.

Special mention may be made of three volumes. Charles W. Thayer's general treatise entitled Diplomat (1959) was characterized by Sir Harold Nicolson as "the first comprehensive report written by a professional United States diplomat and from the American point of view." The second, Ambassadors Ordinary and Extraordinary (1961), by E. Wilder Spaulding, is a revealing survey of selected American diplomats over a century and three-quarters, in which they are analyzed by broad categories ranging from the "old masters" to "the female of the species" and from journalists,

academicians, and "men of letters" to "the pros." The third is a comprehensive study of American Diplomatic and Consular Practice (2nd ed, 1952), by Graham H. Stuart, which served as a standard text and reference guide for several decades.

As might be anticipated, some 15 to 20 authors have written specifically about consular affairs. Half of these are reminiscences including those of George Horton and Bartley F. Yost, and a number of others deal with consular jurisdiction and conduct, such as Clarence E. Gauss, A Notarial Manual for Consular Officers (GPO, 1921), George M. Murphy, Digest of Circular Instructions to Consular Officers (2 vols., GPO, 1904-1906), and Ellery C. Stowell's more general Consular Cases and Opinions (1909).

A good many other studies dealing with diplomatic affairs are more limited in scope. Some, such as Wiley T. Buchanan's Red Carpet at the White House...(1964), James W. Symington's The Stately Game (1971), and John R. Wood's Diplomatic Ceremonial and Protocol. . .(co-authored, 1970) emphasize precedence and procedure. A few recent studies are concerned more with analytical and pragmatic methodology, including Glen H. Fisher's Public Diplomacy and the Behavioral Sciences (1972) and Fisher Howe's The Computer and Foreign Affairs. . .(1964).

Still other volumes focus upon selected issues and practices in foreign relations: Lee H. Burke, Ambassador at Large: Diplomat Extraordinary (1972); Homer L. Calkin, Women in the Department of State: Their Role in American Foreign Affairs (GPO, 1978); William M. Franklin, Protection of Foreign Interests...(GPO, 1947); Andor C. Klay, Daring Diplomacy: The Case of the First American Ultimatum (1957); Howard L. Nostrand, The Cultural Attache (n.d.); Richard S. Patterson and Richardson Dougall, The Eagle and the Shield: A History of the Great Seal of the United States (GPO, 1976); Cromwell A. Riches, Majority Rule in International Organization (1940); Franklin Roudybush, Diplomatic Language (1972); William F. Sands, Our Jungle Diplomacy (1944); and many others. Also worthy of note are Stanley K. Hornbeck's The Most Favored Nations Clause in Commercial Treaties. . .(1910), and two volumes contributed by Paul S. Reinsch--Secret Diplomacy: How Far Can It Be Eliminated? (1922) and his pioneering

survey of Public International Unions. . .(1911, rev. ed., 1916).

If one includes such varied commentaries on aspects of American foreign relations as Willard F. Barber's Internal Security and Military Power. . .(1966), Adolf A. Berle's Tides of Crisis (1957), Claude A. Buss' The Art of Crisis (1961), Martin F. Herz's Beginnings of the Cold War (1966), Roger Hilsman's To Move a Nation (1967), Robert McClintock's The Meaning of Limited War (1967), John C. Dreier's The Alliance for Progress (1962), Durward V. Sandifer's Evidence Before International Tribunals (rev. ed., 1975), John Stewart Service's Amerasia Papers. . .(1971), Myron C. Taylor's Wartime Correspondence Between Roosevelt and Pope Pius XII (1947), James J. Wadsworth's The Glass House: The United Nations in Action (1966), and Charles W. Yost's The Insecurity of Nations (1968), the list and the variety are nearly endless.

Approximately one in every five diplomats who publish have devoted some attention to the writing of history. A few were acknowledged historians appointed to diplomatic missions, such as George Bancroft, Claude G. Bowers, and William E. Dodd, who wrote primarily about the United States, and Carlton J. H. Hayes and John Lothrop Motley, who concentrated more on the history of other countries. Some of their publications are well known and have been widely used, such as Bancroft's ten-volume History of the United States from the Discovery of the American Continent (many editions and translations) and Hayes's historical texts on Europe, modern civilization, and nationalism. Others, though less prolific, such as Charles Edward Lester and Andrew D. White, first president of the American Historical Association, also belong to this category of historian-diplomats. Far more numerous as a group, however, are those who, serving in a diplomatic capacity, tried their hand at the writing of history. This group consists of both noncareerists such as David K. E. Bruce, Revolution to Reconstruction (1939) and Jacob G. Schurman, Philippine Affairs: A Retrospect and Outlook (1902) and The Balkan Wars, 1912-1913 (1914), and a number of careerists including Herman F. Eilts, George F. Kennan, Dana G. Munro, and Sumner Welles, as well as Foreign Service Reservist Herbert Feis. In addition, Edgar E. Noel, also a member of the Reserve, produced Heritage of Freedom: A Brief History of the United

States (4 vols., published by USIA, 1970-1971), and David Baille Warden published several Chronologies of the United States and Latin America (3 compilations of 20 vols., 1826-1844).

Another popular field of literary interest encompasses a broad spectrum of biographical studies. These embrace works on the founding fathers, early political and intellectual leaders, and later secretaries of state. Examples include William P. Cresson on Francis Dana and James Monroe, Josephus Daniels on the Wilson era, William E. Dodd on Chief Justice John Marshall and Jefferson Davis, John H. Eaton on Andrew Jackson, Norman Hapgood on both George Washington and Daniel Webster, John George Nicolay and John Hay on Abraham Lincoln (10 volumes), Carl Schurz on Henry Clay, Edward H. Strobel on James G. Blaine, and Charlemagne Tower on Lafayette. Biographies also were written on other Americans, including Washington Irving and William Cullen Bryant (by David Jayne Hill), Admiral Perry (by Samuel Wells Williams), baseball player Jackie Robinson (by Carl T. Rowan), and Robert Toombs (by Pleasant A. Stovall).

Other biographical studies were published on such foreign political figures as Gustavus Adolphus (by John L. Stevens), Bismark and Mussolini (by Charles H. Sherrill), Francesco Crispi (by William J. Stillman), Gladstone (by Jabez L. M. Curry), Juarez (by W. Wendell Blancke), Napoleon (by Henry Wikoff), Peter the Great (by John Lothrop Motley and also by Eugene Schuyler), and Count Sforza (by William Waldorf Astor). Biographical works also have been produced on Columbus (by William L. Alden), Beethoven (by Alexander Wheelock Thayer), Mahomet (by Washington Irving), and seven volumes on the romantic Giacomo Casanova (by James Rives Childs). Worthy of separate mention, perhaps, are Hugh S. Gibson's publication of The Ciano Diaries (1947), Philip C. Jessup's two-volume biography of Elihu Root (1938), and the account of Edward R. Stettinius on Roosevelt and the Russians: The Yalta Conference (1949).

Other American diplomats have written about their travels and the distant lands they visited. They produced a potpourri of travelogues, recounted "adventures," and sketches of or guides to foreign places. Their journeying took them to many corners of the globe at a time when information concerning them

was relished. Aside from the contributions to this category by Washington Irving and James Russell Lowell, the following illustrates this extensive body of literature: John Ross Browne, A Peep at Washoe (article in Harper's, republished in 1959); William Jennings Bryan, Under Other Flags. . .(1904); James Rives Childs, The Pageant of Persia (under pseudonym Henry Filmer, 1936); Samuel S. Cox, Arctic Sunbeams...(1882); Joseph C. Grew, Sport and Travel in the Far East (1910); Ruth Bryan Owen, Caribbean Caravel (1949) and Leaves from a Greenland Diary (1935); Nicholas Pike, Subtropical Rambles in the Land of Aphanapterix. . .(Mauritius, 1873); William W. Rockhill, Diary of a Journey Through Mongolia and Thibet. . .(1894); and Bartlett Tripp, My Trip to Samoa (1911). In addition, William E. Curtis wrote some 15 volumes belonging to this category, Ephraim George Squire produced a series of studies on Central American countries and Peru, and Bayard Taylor published a dozen and a half, even including a fifty-year history of nearly a thousand pages on travel and adventure entitled Cyclopedia of Modern Travel: A Record of Adventure, Exploration, and Discovery...(1856).

In recent years a series of Area Handbooks on individual countries were compiled by William Giloane (10 volumes on Eastern European and Middle East countries) and Thomas E. Weil (6 volumes on Latin American countries). In a similar vein, John Cope Caldwell authored more than 30 volumes in his Let's Visit.....series (each 96 pages) and 12 in his Our Neighbors in .....series (each 48 pages), and Carl Taylor wrote two Getting to Know .....volumes (each 64 pages).

Several diplomats applied their literary talents to matters of religion, morals, and missionary activities. A few, such as Horace Newton Allen, Joseph W. Ballantine, Chester Holcombe, Jonas King, Peter Parker, John Leighton Stuart, and Samuel Wells Williams, had a missionary background. In addition to Stuart's Essentials of New Testament Greek (1916) and Commentary on the Apocalypse (1922), both of which were published in Chinese, the following, largely nineteenth century publications, illustrate this category of publications: John Bigelow, The Bible That Was Lost and Is Found (1912); Charles Denby, American Missionaries in China (1888); Jonas King,

Hermaneutics of the Sacred Scriptures (2 vols., 1857); George P. Marsh, Medieval and Modern Saints and Miracles (1875); Selah Merrill, several volumes including A New Comprehensive Dictionary of the Bible (1922); Jacob Gould Schurman, Agnosticism and Religion (1896); Henry Van Dyke, The Christ Child in Art (1894), The Childhood of Jesus Christ (1905), and others; and Andrew D. White, A History of the Warfare of Science With Theology in Christendom (2 vols., 1896). Some diplomats also published their sermons, such as J. Reuben Clark's Behold the Lamb of God...(1962) and Henry Van Dyke's Sermons to Young Men. . .(1898).

One of the most common categories of the publications of American diplomats, for want of a better disignation, may simply be called commentaries. Including those concerned with practices and problems in the conduct of foreign relations, noted earlier, approximately half of the diplomats have contributed to this field. The subjects they treat cover a broad array of intellectual interests, ranging from serious tomes on citizenship, commercial relations, economics, genetics, international organization, philosophy, population, poverty, and science, to volumes on bull fighting, flying, golf, road races, yachting, and monuments, old pewter, tropical fibers, and other diverse subjects, including Charles H. Sherrill's five studies on mosaics and stained glass. This category also includes commentaries on Irish orators, the American University Club in Shanghai, the Metropolitan Club of Washington, D. C., the Red Cross, the Townsend Plan, conservation, wildlife, and a great many other matters as well as John Bigelow's The Mystery of Sleep (1897), Lewis Heck's Delaware Place Names (GPO, 1966), Howard S. Levy's Chinese Footbinding. . .(1967); and William W. Sikes's Studies of Assassination (1881).

Another substantial category of writings consists of technical handbooks, guides, and textual literature. These have been written primarily by educators, lawyers, military officers, a few medical practitioners, and others appointed to diplomatic assignments. At least 40 American diplomats have engaged in this type of writing. Their subjects vary, resulting in volumes on agriculture, mineral ores, and Greek pottery, together with a commercial handbook on Yugoslavia and Admiral Arthur A. Ageton's widely used The Naval Officer's Guide (1943). Other illustrative

examples include: James Rives Childs, German Military Ciphers. . .1918 (1935); Howard L. Nostrand, Research on Language Teaching: An Annotated International Bibliography (co-authored, 1965); John D. Ruffin, The Rhetorlogue: Or, Study of the Rhetor or Orator (1922, and several other studies on oratory); William J. Stillman, The Amateur's Photographic Guidebook...(1874); Robert Walsh, Didactics: Social, Literary, and Political (2 vols., 1836); Edwin Wildman, Writing to Sell: A Textbook of Literary Craftmanship (1914); and Herbert O. Yardley, The American Black Chamber (on Department of State code and deciphering work during World War I, 1931).

Also included are textbooks and readers on celestial navigation, chemistry, education, economics, government, mathematics, physics, and psychology, as well as Joseph C. Hart's half dozen geography textbooks and atlases (1824 to 1851) and Theodore S. Fay's atlases (1860s). To these may be added some half dozen authors who published volumes on grammar and rhetoric, supplemented with the readers produced by Meredith Nicholson, and others, as well as John Leighton Stuart's Greek-Chinese-English Dictionary of the New Testament (Shanghai, 1918).

More than half of the contributors to this category of technical publications have written in the field of law and jurisprudence. These include, for example, volumes of cases and materials on corporations and business law, a code of Michigan territorial law by Lewis Cass, William J. Sebald's translation of five codes of Japanese civil and criminal law (in English), and Charles E. Magoon's reports on the legal status of the territory and inhabitants of the islands acquired by the United States during the Spanish-American War and on the law of civil government in territory under American military occupation.

Understandably, a number have addressed themselves to questions of international and admiralty law, which are closely related to diplomatic and consular functions. Early treatises include: Herbert Wolcott Bowen, International Law: A Simple Statement of Its Principles (1896); Ellery C. Stowell, International Cases. . .(2 vols., 1916); and Hannis Taylor, A Treatise on International Public Law (1901). A few

also published compilations of treaties, such as John Van Antwerp MacMurray and William W. Rockhill.

Among the best known author-diplomats in this field are Henry Wheaton, John Bassett Moore, Green H. Hackworth, Marjorie M. Whiteman, and Philip C. Jessup. Wheaton contributed more than half a dozen volumes in this field, including Elements of International Law (1836) and several legal digests. Moore was remarkably productive, publishing nearly sixty volumes, including a History and Digest of International Arbitrations (6 vols., 1889), International Adjudications. . .(8 vols., 1929), and his classic A Digest of International Law (8 vols., 1906). Hackworth continued the latter as Digest of International Law, covering the period from the early twentieth century to World War II (8 vols., 1940-1944), which was further continued by Whiteman's Digest of International Law (15 vols., 1963-1973). Jessup published some dozen and a half volumes, largely on selected international and transnational law issues. Moore, Hackworth, and Jessup also served as American Judges on the World Court.

Somewhat surprising, perhaps, is the number of diplomats who write poetry, plays, and fiction. Some 50 to 60 have published more than 135 volumes of poetry, verse, sonnets, and songs. Many of these diplomat-poets published their works before the turn of the twentieth century. In addition to John Quincy Adams, James Russell Lowell, and Bayard Taylor, they include largely noncareerist diplomats, such as Secretary of State John Hay and chiefs of mission Joel Barlow, Maurice Francis Egan, Arthur S. Hardy, Robert Underwood Johnson, Meredith Nicholson, Thomas Nelson Page, and Henry Van Dyke. Other authors of note who composed poetry and songs include Brett Harte and William D. Howells.

Several career and reserve officers also have turned their talents to composing verse. Niles W. Bond, John Lackey Brown, George Lewis Jones, Ralph J. Totten, and Post Wheeler are representative of this literary elite. Others include Nathaniel P. Davis, Internment Interludes (24 poems of life in a Japanese prison camp) and George Horton, Aphroesa (1897) and Poems of an Exile (1931). Occasionally a diplomat has also undertaken poetry analysis, such as William T. Coggeshall, The Poets and Poetry of the West (1860),

and James Russell Lowell, Conversations on Some of the Old Poets (1845).

Preferring prose to rhyme, a good many American diplomats have written an impressive quantity of fiction and short stories. These include such classics as The Last of the Mohicans, Legend of Sleepy Hollow, and The House of Seven Gables, an occasional best seller--epitomized by Lew Wallace's Ben Hur (1892), and other widely read volumes represented by Henry Van Dyke's The Story of the Other Wise Man (1892) and William P. Blatty's The Exorcist (1971). In addition to Hawthorne's Twice Told Tales (1837), this catalogue of fiction includes Van Dyke's Half Told Tales (1925), Stephen Vincent Benet's Tales Before Midnight (1919), and Brett Harte's Tales of Trail and Town (1898). There also are James G. Thurber's Secret Life of Walter Mitty (1942), the short stories of Richard Washburn Child and others, the collection of fairy tales by Ruth Bryan Owen, and the dozens of novels by such prolific authors as James Fenimore Cooper, Maurice Francis Egan, Brett Harte, Nathaniel Hawthorne, William D. Howells, Washington Irving, Thomas Nelson Page, and Brand Whitlock, as well as the fiction produced by a good many others, like Theodore S. Fay, Gideon H. Hollister, and Charles A. Washburn--all noncareerists. A few also wrote children's stories, such as Howells, Christmas Every Day and Other Stories Told For Children (1893).

It appears to have been somewhat rare for careerists, exemplified by George Agnew Chamberlain, James Rives Childs, Charles Frederick Knox, John Stewart Mosher, and Charles W. Thayer, to undertake the writing of fiction. But this list also includes a number of members of the Foreign Service Reserve--Donald R. Barton, Paul H. Bonner, and Alice Rogers Hager.

Little of this fiction concerns diplomats and foreign affairs, although Paul H. Bonner wrote Ambassador Extraordinary (1962) and SPQR: A Romance (1952), John Kenneth Galbraith produced The Triumph: A Novel of Modern Diplomacy (1968), Charles W. Thayer published Checkpoint (1964) and Moscow Interlude (1962), and Herbert O. Yardley authored Red Sun of Nippon (involving diplomatic action to avert the outbreak of war, 1934).

A number of diplomats have published fiction under pseudonyms. These include Frederic J. Stimson, using the name of J.S. Dale for some half dozen novels, and John Kenneth Galbraith, writing as Mark Epernay and Julian K. Prescott. Most prolific was John Russell Coryell (vice consul in China in the 1870s) who published more than 30 volumes including the Nick Carter detective stories and more than a dozen others under such pseudonyms as Julia Edwards, Geraldine Fleming, and Margaret Grant. John Franklin Carter (who served in Rome and Constantinople) published a dozen volumes under the pen names Jay Franklin and "Diplomat," including Murder in the Embassy and Murder in the State Department (both, 1930).

A small number of American diplomats also wrote ballads and composed music. For example, William Henry Fry composed some 20 operas and several symphonies, including "Leonara" and "Santa Claus--Or the Christmas Symphony" and Leland L. Smith wrote an opera called "Waveland" (performed in 1913). Aside from all his other literary accomplishments, Bayard Taylor published Home Ballads (1882), Home Pastorals: Ballads and Lyrics (1875), and Melodies of Verse (1884).

Finally, more than a dozen, largely author-diplomats, including several acknowledged playrights, wrote more than three dozen plays. A few of these, such as Clare Boothe Luce's Kiss the Boys Goodbye (1939) and The Women (1937) achieved considerable popularity. Examples of other playwright-diplomats include George Boker (Galaynos, 1849), Samuel Byers (Allatoona, 1905, and Pocahontas, 1875), Gideon H. Hollister (Thomas A. Becket, 1866), William D. Howells (The Parlor Car, 1876, and Room 45, 1900), and James G. Thurber (The Male Animal, 1940). Other noncareerists who tried their hand at writing drama include gifted authors like Brett Harte, Meredith Nicholson, Bayard Taylor, Henry Van Dyke, and Lew Wallace. John Howard Payne also wrote a number of plays, including Clari--Or the Maid of Milan, which contains "Home Sweet Home."

Occasionally members of the career service also produce dramatic works, such as Erich Kocher's short dramas and radio plays, and Donald Hannibal Robinson's plays, including Most Likely to Succeed, which was sold to Paramount Pictures.

This survey would be incomplete without mentioning the many literary contributions of the wives of American diplomats. More than 50 produced approximately 250 volumes over the years. Among the more prolific are Isabel Weld Anderson (some 40 volumes of fiction, plays, poetry, travelogues, and children's stories), novelist Mary Andrews Denison (more than 50 novels, some under the pseudonyms N. I. Edson and Clara Vance), Maude Parker Child (10 volumes, mostly fiction, including several mysteries), Jessie Bancroft Lancaster (15 novels), Edith Louise O'Shaugnessy (9 volumes), Halle Ermine Rives (wife of Post Wheeler--15 volumes, largely novels), and Alexandra Roudybush (6 Crime Club mysteries).

Aside from fiction, most of the writings of these diplomatic wives are memoirs and diaries, travelogues, and commentaries on foreign lands and life abroad. For example, Maude Parker Child published The Social Side of Diplomatic Life (1926) and Louise Winfield wrote Living Overseas (advice for families, 1962). But these publications also involve such varied matters as Leslie Ballantine's 3 volumes of children's stories, Rosemary Benet's compilation of 15 songs of Americans, Jo Wasson Hoyt's For the Love of Mike (1966), Elizabeth C. Kinney's plays and poems, Fanny Davenport MacVeagh's Fountains of Papal Rome (1915), Halle Ermine Rives's The Complete Book of Etiquette...(1922), Beatrice Russell's Living in State (1959), and Eleanor Swann Mitchell's Seven Homes Had I; Experiences of a Foreign Service Wife (1955) and Postscript to Seven Homes (1960). Several others focused on culinary affairs, including Alice K. Kuppinger, Smakelijk Etan (Surinam cookbook, in Dutch and English, 1969); Dorothy Short, Camel Land Cookery (1964); Yvonne Jordan, Culinary Gleanings from Here, There, and Everywhere (1938), and half a dozen other volumes on exotic cookery and recipes.

In retrospect it is clear that, despite certain constraints upon publication by diplomatic practitioners, as a group those who engage in American diplomatic and consular service manifest an impressive array of literary competence and achievement. This sampling of their publications reveals not only a collective universality of intellectual interests and literary pursuits, but also occasional appointment of American literati to diplomatic posts and a growing involvement of career diplomats.

While it may be that future appointment of proven "persons of letters" and accomplished novelists and poets may be proportionately less frequent than was the case in our earlier history, with the increase in the quantity of careerists and the number and size of our diplomatic missions overseas, the quantity of literary productivity of American diplomats may very well exceed that of the past. The focus of their literary interests, however, is likely to change. Certain types of publications--such as compilations of individual's "papers," travelogues, and technical materials unrelated to foreign affairs--may decline. On the basis of recent experience, others--including diplomatic memoirs, foreign relations and policy analyses, and commentaries on the diplomatic art and its artisans--are likely to increase.

But whatever the future in this regard, Americans in general and especially the diplomatic and consular service of the United States can take pride in the literary record of those who served in it during the past two centuries. Hopefully that record will presage like achievements by those appointed to it in the future.

*The principal sources used for this survey include Richard Fyfe Boyce and Katherine Randall Boyce, American Foreign Service Authors: A Bibliography (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1973) and this author's American Diplomacy: A Bibliography of Biographies, Autobiographices, and Commentaries (College Park, Md.: Bureau of Governmental Research, University of Maryland, 1957; "Bibliography on United States Diplomacy: Autobiographies, Biographies, Commentaries, and Memoirs" in Instruction in Diplomacy: The Liberal Arts Approach, edited by Smith Simpson, Monograph No. 13 of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (Philadelphia: 1972), pp. 299-342; and U.S. Foreign Relations: A Guide to Information Sources, Chapter 23 entitled "Autobiographies, Biographies, Commentaries, Diaries, and Memoirs," pp. 613-670 (Detroit: Gale Research Co., 1980).

Kennedy the Diplomatist: A Historiographical Appraisal

by
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To judge John Kennedy as a diplomatist is to judge his foreign policy record. For historians, this has proved a difficult task. In assessing his performance as president, scholars have been hindered by two events--one which ended his administration and the Vietnam War. Kennedy's untimely death transformed much intellectual debate into mythmaking--a discussion of what Kennedy represented and what he might have done, rather than what he believed and what he did. The Vietnam War, in turn, provoked interpretation of his presidency based on circumstances which he may have influenced, but on which he did not, ultimately, decide.

Because so many judgments of Kennedy the diplomatist have been determined by writers' expectations of his unfulfilled tenure in office and by their attitudes toward a war which outlived him, the historiographical literature largely radiates a conjectural, rather than an interpretive, tone. Whether sympathetic or critical, their findings reflect a tentativeness commensurate to Kennedy's own unfinished watch. One may wish that he had served until 1969, if only to yield a more thorough, exacting verdict.

But John Kennedy did not complete even his first term, and historians must not judge him--for better or worse--as if Lyndon Johnson completed his second. His record should stand, and be decided, on its own.

To the extent that events in Dallas and Southeast Asia clouded a reasoned appraisal of Kennedy the diplomatist, one must often turn, ironically, to contemporary observers for balanced assessments. Prominent among early accounts is James MacGregor Burns's John Kennedy: A Political Profile (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1960). Originally commissioned as a campaign biography, Burns's work proved remarkably candid. Based upon the author's unlimited access to Kennedy's personal and professional papers, as well as

interviews with family, friends, and, one suspects, enemies, Burns's study reveals an active and ambitious politician, eagerly embracing responsibility and power. In the realm of leadership, the author applauds Kennedy's force and charisma, while doubting his creative ability and moral commitment. Burns displays a curious combination of sympathy for, yet doubt about, his subject.

As an evaluation of Kennedy's early diplomacy, Hans J. Morgenthau's, "Kennedy's Foreign Policy: Failure and Challenge," New Leader, July 3, 1961, pp. 3-5, stands out for its penetrating insight. It is, in many ways, the best contemporary analysis of Kennedy's foreign policy method and objectives. Though critical of popular illusions regarding the Cold War, Morgenthau chastizes an administration which, he says, perceives opportunities and new directions in world affairs, but fails to exploit them because of uncertainty or timidity.

Another astute observer, Richard H. Rovere, published his reflections on Kennedy's diplomactic legacy in his "Letter From Washington," New Yorker, November 30, 1963, pp. 51-53. Rovere describes a president more critical than speculative in his judgment. Kennedy's administration, he adds, reflected a vast potential which bred large thoughts and intentions, if not thorough plans. Interestingly, Rovere suggests that many of JFK's efforts were deliberately prospective--geared to later fulfillment rather than to immediate gain.

If these writers were scarcely reluctant to criticize Kennedy, the judgments of his closest aides were more approving, if unrestrained. As a scholar and adviser to the president, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., commanded the talent and position to provide a comprehensive history of the Kennedy administration, from an internal vantage point. His personal memoirs, A Thousand Days: John F. Kennedy in the White House (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1965), remains the fullest account of Kennedy's foreign policy written by a participant. Because of its exhaustive scope and sympathetic tone, it has been labeled the premier "court history" which, in many ways, it is. Schlesinger's palpable affinity for JFK is the book's greatest strength and weakness, yielding uncommon insight without the benefit of perspective. The

author sheds considerable light on Kennedy's character and temperament as a world leader--portraying him as a remarkably detached, albeit concerned, diplomatist.

Schlesinger elaborated these thoughts on the twentieth anniversary of Kennedy's death in his article, "What the Thousand Days Wrought," New Republic, November 21, 1983, pp. 20-30. Enduringly responsive to the Kennedy record and its legacy, Schlesinger recounts the president's many accomplishments, while chiding his specific shortcomings, among them an infrequently extravagent rhetoric and destructive devotion to counterinsurgency.

As a companion to Schlesinger's administrative history, Theodore C. Sorensen's Kennedy (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), approximates the autobiography JFK likely would have written. A political aide to Kennedy since his days in the Senate, Sorensen achieved a familiarity with the president's attitudes and method unsurpassed by other participants. His work is a sober, frank, yet sympathetic account of the Kennedy Administration, which develops the theme of a president learning and growing during his years in office. Sorensen presents Kennedy as a realist in foreign affairs, who eschewed rigid and anachronistic conceptions of the Cold War in light of evolution in the geopolitical order. The president, argues Sorensen, anticipated and embraced a world of diversity.

Another comprehensive account of administration activities, Hugh Sidey's John F. Kennedy: President (New York: Atheneum, 1964), is a contemporary assessment by a journalist familiar with JFK and sympathetic to his decisions. Admittedly narrative in scope, Sidey's study frequently incorporates anecdotes in place of analysis. With a sharp eye for detail, the author records Kennedy's foreign policy actions from an internal, largely uncritical perspective.

JFK's national security adviser, McGeorge Bundy, summarizes his views of Kennedy's diplomacy in an essay, "The Presidency and the Peace," Foreign Affairs, April 1964, pp. 353-365, published shortly after the assassination. Bundy analyzes the purpose and results of Kennedy's foreign policy through a case method, emphasizing the president's handling of the Cuban Missile Crisis and limited test-ban negotiations

to demonstrate his remarkable combination of firmness and restraint. Kennedy, says Bundy, harbored few illusions about Soviet aggressiveness yet sought, nevertheless, to achieve an understanding with Russia based on mutual respect. Bundy's work, while exceedingly generous, admirably addresses the substance of Kennedy's record.

Like Bundy's effort, Richard Neustadt's "Kennedy in the Presidency: A Premature Appraisal," Political Science Quarterly, September 1964, pp. 321-334, is a commendable, yet strained, attempt to place Kennedy's record in historical perspective. Neustadt praises JFK's formidable intellect and presidential style, while detailing, but not exploring, his self-imposed limitations as a public leader.

Arguably the most reflective and instructive account by a government participant is Roger Hilsman's To Move A Nation: The Politics of Foreign Policy in the Administration of John F. Kennedy (Garden City: Doubleday, 1967). Hilsman, Director of the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research and, later, Assistant Secretary for Far Eastern Affairs, analyzes Kennedy's diplomacy through a theoretical perspective, stressing the conflicting, and often contradictory, nature of decision-making. Though sympathetic to the president's basic course in world affairs, Hilsman scarcely hesitates to fault JFK's decisions--as at the Bay of Pigs--or the advice which he received--as to Vietnam. Too often, says the author, military considerations were advocated more forcefully and effectively throughout executive departments than were political and diplomatic ones. In spite of these institutional limitations, Hilsman considers Kennedy's overall record in foreign policy a success, due, in large measure, to the president's own remarkable wisdom.

Another policy adviser to Kennedy and his successor, W. W. Rostow, in his Diffusion of Power: An Essay in Recent History (New York: Macmillan, 1972), sketches the portrait of a statesman liberal in his vision, but conservative in his method. The Kennedy who emerges in Rostow's pages is remarkably complex--desiring change while fearing crises, soliciting ideas and accepting them cautiously, aspiring to greatness through gradual, not dramatic, accomplishment. Though Rostow's estimation of particular events (e.g. the

Cuban Missile Crisis as the "Gettysburg of the Cold War") strains credibility, his assessment of Kennedy's temperament does not.

As a body of historical literature, these works reflect an appreciation of, as well as commitment to, Kennedy's foreign policy record. Yet other authors, also writing in the wake of JFK's presidency, shared neither their judgments nor their assumptions. This group, commonly referred to as Kennedy "revisionists," criticize, to varying degrees, the president's intentions and results in the realm of diplomacy. These writers reprove the sum and purpose of his foreign policy with as much gusto as the Kennedy supporters approve it. They are singularly unforgiving, though as frequently short-sighted.

Victor Lasky's J.F.K.: The Man and the Myth (New Rochelle: Arlington House, 1966), began the revisionist attack with vigor. Yet the Kennedy charm exerts a real, if imperceptible, sway over Lasky's polemic. His book is a curious blend of unmasked criticism and unintended condolence. Lasky describes JFK as an inexperienced and shallow president fumbling through his early months in office, but slowly, surely, gaining depth and wisdom. His insights are always biting, usually acerbic, sometimes revealing and, infrequently, ironic testimony to Kennedy's commitment and purpose. Though hypercritical and impressionistic, this work cannot be wholly ignored or dismissed.

Lasky, it may be argued, writes as a "pre-Vietnam" revisionist. He attacks Kennedy's training and qualification for high office, not the objectives and legacy of his foreign policy. The reverse, however, is true of those revisionists writing in the early 1970s, among them, Ronald Steel, in his essay, "The Kennedy Fantasy," New York Review of Books, November 19, 1970, pp. 3-12. Steel sketches the contradictory portrait of a president pledged to coexistence with the Russians, who nevertheless, considered capitalism and communism incompatible ideologies in the international arena. By equating Kennedy's opposition to communism with a steadfast opposition to revolution, the author misjudges his commitment to diversity and change in the world. At heart, argues Steel, JFK was a "romantic imperialist" who sought to expand America's informal empire through economic

development and counterinsurgency in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Only a premature death, the author suggests, precluded Kennedy from the tragic fate which befell Lyndon Johnson in Vietnam. While this remains a speculative issue, Steel's contention that JFK's assassination also stunted his administrations' place in history does not.

Louise FitzSimons's Kennedy Doctrine (New York: Random House, 1972), is less subtle, though no less critical of the president's diplomacy. FitzSimons denounces Kennedy as an ideological crusader who sought to reshape the world in America's image. Her assessment of JFK's leadership is more astute and convincing. Kennedy's greatest flaw as president, says FitzSimons,

was his inclination to command the public, rather than to lead and to educate it. He enjoyed the ability and popularity to move the country--and the world--beyond the Cold War, but failed to do so.

Bruce Miroff's Pragmatic Illusions: The Presidential Politics of John F. Kennedy (New York: David McKay, 1976), elaborates many of these themes. Miroff chides JFK for reinforcing Cold War orthodoxies under the guise of pragmatic statesmanship. The president, he argues, was an ordinary diplomatist with extraordinary ambitions, who pursued his goal of greatness through the management of global crises. While remarkably shrewd in his assessment of Kennedy's temperament, Miroff exaggerates Kennedy's reach in foreign affairs, which contradicts the author's image of an innately cautious and decidedly conventional politician.

Richard J. Walton's Cold War and Counterrevolution: The Foreign Policy of John F. Kennedy (New York: Viking, 1972), also denounces Kennedy's foreign policy, but with clearer force and in greater depth. Although Walton recognizes a certain ambivalence in JFK's approach to the world--his conflicting impulses toward confrontation and conciliation--the author judges Kennedy a diplomatic reactionary who misconstrued and, therefore, opposed the forces of post-colonial nationalism. Kennedy, says Walton, transformed prevalent anti-communist rhetoric into an active crusade. In support of his thesis, Walton exaggerates both Kennedy's bellicosity and Khrushchev's passivity. The author concedes, however, that mutual misunderstanding frequently prevented desired agreement between the two leaders.

Perhaps the most thoughtful, incisive critique of the Kennedy method and record based on the circumstances and suppositions of post-Vietnam America is Henry Fairlie's Kennedy Promise: The Politics of Expectation (New York: Doubleday, 1973). Persistently cogent, yet unyieldingly acidulous, the author drives home the image of a politician lacking any fundamental values or interests, who raised the public's anticipation of political change to unrealizeable limits. Kennedy appears abundantly skilled in the art of popular politics, while awkwardly void of depth and complexity. Fairlie's strength lies more in his analysis of bureaucratic processes than in his interpretation of personalities.

Fairlie's argument, though not his conclusion, was envisioned more than a decade earlier by James MacGregor Burns, in his essay, "John Kennedy and his Spectators," New Republic, April 3, 1961, p. 7. Assessing JFK's early popularity, Burns describes an adoring press and public, which attributes to Kennedy an ability and power of fantastic proportions--thus creating a presidential image which could not be fulfilled by any person. Although Burns divines Fairlie's indictment, he does not identify the same suspect. To him, an initially uncritical public also meant, ultimately, an overly-embittered public.

Revisionist criticism of JFK's leadership, largely based on Fairlie's criteria, has continued into the 1980s. The latest summary of Kennedy's administration, Herbert S. Parmet's JFK: The Presidency of John F. Kennedy (New York: Dial, 1983), includes a detailed and comprehensive narrative of the president's diplomatic accomplishments and failures. While praising Kennedy's political acumen, the author finds it seriously flawed by ambition and inexperience. Like Fairlie, Parmet concludes that Kennedy's record reflects the triumph of style over substance.

The Kennedy Imprisonment: A Meditation on Power (Boston: Little, Brown, 1982), by Garry Wills, also echoes this sentiment in language of barely disguised contempt. Wills's book is a sustained critique of Kennedy's assumptions and policy decisions. In many ways, it is a culmination of the revisionist impulse--a repudiation of Kennedy's intentions and Kennedy's legacy. The president emerges as an unsympathetic

prisoner of his own rhetoric, whose ruthless pursuit and exercise of power yielded immediate danger and inevitable tragedy for the country. Wills finds little, if anything, to praise in the Kennedy character and record.

Other recent scholarship, however, has moved in a different, more temperate, direction. Sensitive to Kennedy's limitations and critical of many Kennedy decisions, it seeks, nevertheless, to explain his record and understand its meaning by placing it in a broader historical context. John Lewis Gaddis's Strategies of Containment: A Critical Appraisal of Postwar American National Security Policy (New York: Oxford, 1982), is one such attempt. His chapter pertaining to these years includes a detailed analysis of JFK's world view based upon close examination of archival material, particularly policy memoranda, in the Kennedy Library. Though mindful of Kennedy's underlying realism, Gaddis stresses the expansive nature of his diplomacy which, he argues, valued action over inaction and defined interests in terms of means. Gaddis's conclusions reflect his greater emphasis on Kennedy's defense, as opposed to foreign, policy.

Robert Dallek also assesses Kennedy's diplomacy in a larger perspective in his interpretive study, American Style of Foreign Policy: Cultural Politics and Foreign Affairs (New York: Knopf, 1983). The author describes JFK as an intelligent and thoughtful president who recognized the complexities of international relations, yet failed to harness them in a new, more constructive direction. Though Kennedy frequently preached an imaginative rhetoric, his actions usually contradicted it. The president, says Dallek, was a captive of Cold War orthodoxies who misjudged the very forces of change in the world which he had anticipated. In foreign affairs, Dallek concludes, the Kennedy administration reinforced conventional truths more often than it challenged them.

Perhaps the best example of contemporary scholarship which mediates between the early support of Kennedy's diplomacy and the subsequent disapproval of it by employing a wider perspective is Lewis J. Paper's John F. Kennedy: The Promise and the Performance (New York: Da Capo, 1975). Paper constructs the image of

a president, ranging in his vision of politics and office, who was severely limited by institutional forces and practical considerations. Kennedy's rhetoric implied action and progress, suggests the author, but his record proved remarkably cautious and conventional. As a self-styled respondent to the "mythologists" and "revisionists," Paper provides a thorough, reflective summary of JFK's administrative performance, without deviating substantively from the Kennedy critics. By placing Kennedy's record in the light of twentieth century presidential history, Paper illuminates the complexities and demands of that office, without excusing what he perceives as JFK's failure to move the nation and the world in the direction he wished.

Paper's effort to penetrate beyond the common depictions of Kennedy as either hero or villain in pursuit of a more balanced, reasonable portrait is admirable and, altogether, too uncommon. Impaired, on the one hand, by emotional attachment to the leader they served or, on the other, by circumstances produced by a war in which they lived and wrote, chroniclers of the Kennedy diplomacy have, quite often, been limited by their immediacy to the events concerned. As the distance from these years accumulates and the archival record of Kennedy's administration unfolds in greater depth, a more exacting--and complex--judgment of Kennedy's foreign policy will doubtlessly emerge. Intimations of this movement are implicit in recent commentary and may, even, be approximated from the existing literature.

Kennedy's intellect informed his diplomacy. He was, above all else, a pragmatist, concerned about the outcome, rather than with the means to achieve it. Kennedy applied himself to those tangibles which could be understood and explained. His was an open and expansive mind which eschewed dogma in pursuit of reason and, more importantly, results.

Kennedy valued ideas, in as much as they were useful. He implemented, rather than created, them. Those who did, the intellectuals, were viewed skeptically by the politician in Kennedy who doubted their judgment. He believed intellectuals could understand only part of any issue because they lacked the politician's competing interests and responsibility to the electorate. Kennedy valued their usefulness while

recognizing their limitations. He used experience as his political guidepost, tempered by intuitive confidence. This assurance, in turn, fostered a detachment in him--the remarkable ability to stand outside himself and view a problem from another's perspective.

Kennedy's world view was a product of his intellect. A tendency to face facts and, more significantly, a commitment to practicality guided his foreign policy decisions. He brought a realist's attitudes about power and diplomacy to the White House. Kennedy believed that prestige based on moral strength influenced America's position in the world while remaining convinced that power was the source of that prestige.

Yet Kennedy's realism was laced with apprehension. He viewed world affairs in balance-of-power terms, but that balance, he felt, was fragile--a hostage to the flux of history. His sensitivity to the political, as well as the strategic, dimension of international affairs deepened his awareness of change; new forces and personalities, themselves the product of evolving circumstnaces, could disrupt the precarious equilibrium.

Kennedy's method in foreign affairs bespoke little of this anxiety. It was persistently assertive and intensely personal. Kennedy took an expansive view of presidential authority. "I believe," he wrote prior to his inauguration, "that the President should use whatever power is necessary to do the job unless it is expressly forbidden by the Constitution."[1]

Kennedy felt the American people wanted bold leadership in foreign policy. He also assumed, with less certainty, that they would reward such action. As a result, Kennedy articulated a positive, constructive role for the United States in world affairs, convinced that this country should influence events, rather than simply react to them.

The president's management of foreign policy reflected these attitudes. Impatient with established institutions and their procedures, Kennedy created an informal advisory system whereby ideas were debated before him, rather than presented to him as options to be decided. He sought divergence in his

administration, but not conflict, however creative, as Franklin Roosevelt had.

Kennedy also pursued a personal diplomacy, often acting as his own Secretary of State. He relished direct contact with other world leaders as a way to clarify positions and to identify mutual interests. Kennedy's posture toward the Soviet premier, Nikita Khrushchev, illustrates the point. In his discussions with Khrushchev--first at Vienna, in June, 1961, and later through private correspondence--Kennedy sought to explain America's diplomatic objectives clearly and, equally, to understand Russia's. This was necessary, Kennedy felt, in order to avoid the specter of miscalculation which so disturbed him. In addition, Kennedy repeatedly emphasized to Khrushchev the dangers of brinkmanship, where both nations disputed an issue through direct confrontation in a nuclear age. Ironically, the president, who is usually remembered for his management of crises, sought restraint and avoidance of crisis as important objectives.

As a realist, Kennedy was not predisposed against compromise with the Soviet Union, yet he considered firmness a prerequisite to such compromise. To Kennedy, power was the wellspring of successful diplomacy; Churchill's phrase, "We arm to parley," was his favorite expression.[2] From a position of strength, he was willing to exercise flexibility. In his conduct of American-Russian relations, Kennedy pursued--when deemed appropriate--a common ground, where mutual interest could be exploited in search of detente.

Kennedy's movement toward detente, which gained momentum following the Cuban Missile Crisis, answered contemporary exigencies. As president, Kennedy presided over a crucial transition in post-World War II international affairs--a time when circumstances challenged the logic of prevailing rhetoric. Post-colonial nationalism had begun to disrupt the image of a bi-polar world. Cognizant of these changes, Kennedy was, nevertheless, slow to educate the American people to them, reluctant to offer popular illusions on the alter of the truth.

Kennedy's reticence as a public educator reflected his skeptical view of popular awareness and concern. He

hesitated to instruct a constituency which he considered an unwilling pupil. "The nation," Kennedy confided to an aide, "will listen only if it is a moment of great urgency. . .But they don't listen to things which bore them. "That," he concluded, "is the great trouble."[3] Because Kennedy doubted the people's receptiveness to new policies precipitated by changing conditions, he was reluctant to communicate a more imaginative and provocative vision of American diplomacy.

To fault Kennedy's leadership is not to fault his vision, as have the revisionists, who often write more as respondents to the president's admirers than as detached critics. Yet their effort is understandable. The excitement surrounding Kennedy's ascension to the presidency fostered expectations which, almost inevitably, invited reaction, once Kennedy was proven, as he surely would be, neither omniscient nor omnipotent. Historians must, however, move toward a more balanced assessment of Kennedy's record--one which encompasses his successes as well as his shortcomings.

In retrospect, Kennedy's rhetoric appears wanting. Kennedy held a progressive vision of diplomacy. He understood the changing forces in a complex world, but failed to educate the public adequately to them. Too often, Kennedy commanded the American people on foreign policy, rather than leading them to greater understanding of it.

Kennedy's foreign policy pronouncements, which frequently lacked consistency, reflect this tendency. His speeches and written statements oscillated between alarmism and prudence, from warnings about America's burden against the monolithic communist menace to reasoned appeals for a world of diversity and coexistence.[4] As a result, the tone of Kennedy's rhetoric repeatedly contradicted the purpose of his diplomacy.

The president's conduct of foreign policy seems equally ambiguous. At times, Kennedy would react to events vigorously, choosing forceful expression as his reply. Kennedy's actions during the Berlin and Cuban Missile Crises, as well as his program of counterinsurgency and covert war against Castro, illustrate this point. On other occasions, such as

Laos, Kennedy proceeded cautiously, with an intention to avoid American involvement in dangerously complicated, if not insoluable, situations. These episodes, and Kennedy's reaction to them, highlight a recurring tension in his approach to international affairs: Kennedy recognized, even valued, force in diplomacy and yet doubted the efficacy of a military solution to many problems, partly because, as he realized, such a policy required a most difficult achievement--domestic consensus.

Kennedy's restraint symbolized his innate caution. Despite much of his oratory, Kennedy was a wary leader, sensitive to the public mood when deciding most issues. Kennedy proceeded deliberately in foreign affairs, judging issues carefully and practically. In action, he behaved, more often than not, as an "Old World" diplomatist, regardless of his "New World" rhetoric.

Kennedy's pragmatic approach to foreign policy was both his strength and his weakness. It encouraged an application of knowledge to useful ends, while limiting speculation on longer-range issues. Yet the realism which bound Kennedy to immediate concerns also aroused him to the growing spirit of divergence in the world. To this extent, Kennedy deviated from post-war American diplomacy in an important respect: he cast the United States as a supporter of change, not its enemy.

NOTES

[1]Kennedy to James MacGregor Burns, July 17, 1959, quoted in James MacGregor Burns, John Kennedy: A Political Profile (New York: Avon, 1960), p. 255.

[2]Cited in Theodore C. Sorensen, Kennedy (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), p. 602.

[3]Kennedy to Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., quoted in Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. A Thousand Days: John F. Kennedy in the White House (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1965), p. 722.

[4]See, for example, Kennedy's State of the Union Message, January 30, 1961, in Public Papers of the Presidents, 1961 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961), pp. 19-28, as compared to his commencement speech at American University, June 10, 1963, in Public Papers of the Presidents, 1963 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964), pp. 459-464.

ABSTRACTS

Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones (University of Edinburgh), "American Neo-Conservatism and Foreign Policy," in Rob Kroes, ed., Neo-Conservatism: Its Emergence in the USA and Europe, European Contributions to American Studies VII (Amsterdam: Free University Press, 1984), pp. 63-80. The essay attempts a definition of neo-conservatism in regard to foreign policy, and offers a pluralistic explanation of the emergence of neo-conservative foreign-policy viewpoints and decisions. It examines the proposition, among others, that the processes of social mobility abnd democratization in America, as for example in the case of the blacks, produce periodic reaffirmations of conservative foreign-policy values.

-----,"The Inestimable Advantage of Not Being English: Lord Lothian's American Ambassadorship, 1939-40," The Scottish Historical Review, Special Issue on "Scotland and America: Studies Illustrative of the Scots in the United States and Canada," LXIII, 175 (April 1984), 105-110. This review article based on Lord Lothian and Anglo-American Relations, 1939-1940 (1983) describes the strengths of its Bernath Prize-winning author, David Reynolds. But it takes issue with Reynolds' acceptance of Lothian's assumption he could temper American public opnion. While Reynolds successfully discredits disparagement of Lothian's capabilities emanating from a minority of officials in the Foreign Office, he does not consider adverse press reaction in the United States, or reservations expressed in the Henry Dexter White wing of the Treasury Department. Attention is drawn to the probably insignificant fact that Scots played a prominent role in "Anglo"-American relations in 1939-

40 (Buchan/Tweedsmuir, Purvis, Stephenson/INTREPID, Lothian). The title of the article is ironic.

F.J. McEvoy (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ottawa), "Religion and Politics in Foreign Policy: Canadian Government Relations with the Vatican." A paper read at the Canadian Catholic Historical Association, June 1984. Throughout Canadian history religious issues have posed delicate problems for governments. In the 1930s the question of accepting a papal nuncio in Ottawa was raised by the apostolic delegates, primarily because they were dissatisfied with their status and access to the Canadian government. Both Conservative and Liberal governments in that decade contemplated how they could use the Catholic Church as a means of pacifying French Canadian opinion in the province of Quebec and as a buttress to the social order in English Canada. Fear of a Protestant backlash left the question unresolved. Following World War II howoever, it bacame a matter of public debate. The Department of External Affairs regarded the Vatican as a valuable source of information and an important western ally in the cold war. A mission to the Holy See was strongly supported in Quebec and by a few newspapers in English Canada but was vociferously opposed in general by Protestant opinion which not only stressed such principles as separation of church and state and equal treatment for all churches, but in its most extreme manifestation viewed the Catholic Church as an authoritarian body that differed little in nature from the Soviet Union. Faced with a dichotomy along religious lines, the government allowed the issue to lapse until the changed atmosphere of the sixties and the determination of Prime Minister Trudeau led to the establishment of relations in 1969.

David L. Anderson (Indiana Central University), "'No More Koreas': Eisenhower and Vietnam," a paper read at the Dwight D. Eisenhower Conference, Hofstra University, March 29, 1984. Both at the time and later in his memoirs, President Eisenhower gave Congress considerable credit for keeping the United States out of the Indochina conflict in 1954. In reality Eisenhower was cleverly attempting to maneuver Congress into supporting an interventionist course. Despite his later disclaimers, the President was prepared to commit American air power to support the French at Dienbienphu in the spring of 1954. He was

aware, however, of Congressional sentiment against another unilateral U.S. military intervention such as President Turman had ordered in Korea in 1950. Therefore, Ike proceeded cautiously. Through a series of private gambits with key Congressmen, Eisenhower sought support for an intervention decision without running the gauntlet of a formal Congressional vote. Hew was still maneuvering when battlefield conditions at Dienbienphu collapsed beyond any hope of a U.S. air strike rescuing the French. Eisenhower, though, continued to lay the groundwork with Congress for a U.S. role in Indochina. With the signing of the so-called SEATO treaty in September 1954, Ike successfully neutralized Congressional concerns about the essentially unilateral American burden in the Korean War but simultaneously created the legal rationale for America's war in Vietnam.

Chance brought the two following abstracts to my office: would that I had planned it that way! --editor

Thomas A. Schwartz (Harvard University), "The Case of German Rearmament: Alliance Crisis in the 'Golden Age'," The Fletcher Forum, Vol. 8, No. 2, Summer 1984, 295-309. Based on newly available material from the United States, Great Britain, France, and the Federal Republic of Germany, this article is an investigation of the first, and perhaps, most profound NATO crisis--the rearmament of West Germany. The German problem was--and still is--central to the future of the Alliance. This essay argues that the crisis of 1950 must be understood within the multi-national framework of NATO, and that the solution devised, the ill-fated European Defense Community, arose out of a cross-national coalition within the Alliance. But it was American leadership and commitment to NATO which served as the main incentive to proposals of European integration and the acceptance of Germany in the European community. This historical legacy still plays a role today. It should caution policymakers that measures to reform the Alliance should not be based on the threat of the United States to withdraw from Europe. The American presence in Europe remains central to the stability of the international system, and serves American as well as European interests.

Ted Galen Carpenter (Arlington, Texas), "Standing Guard Over Europe," Reason (August 1984), 43-47. Based on materials in the Truman and Eisenhower libraries, this article contends that the United States never intended to station troops in Europe as part of a NATO army except on a strictly temporary basis. When the NATO pact was negotiated in 1949, no American ground forces were contemplated at all; proponents portrayed the treaty solely as a mutual promise of assistance in case of aggression. Although the Truman administration modified that position following the onset of the Korean crisis, it did so reluctantly and with a proviso that U.S. troops would be withdrawn as soon as the European nations rearmed sufficiently. The allies, viewing those forces as a permanent, tangible linkage of American and European security interests, gradually undermined that objective, and a succession of U.S. administrations refused to implement the original withdrawal goal lest such action disrupt NATO unity. Consequently, the American troop commitment undertaken "temporarily" in 1950-1951 remains a central feature of alliance policy more than three decades later.

CORRESPONDENCE

This office received the following letter from Olav Riste (Research Center for Defence History, National Defence College, Oslo, Norway).

As a foreign member of SHAFR I was somewht perturbed by the information - in the March 1984 Newsletter - that the Senate Judiciary Committee by approving S.774 wishes to prohibit FOIA requests by foreign nationals. You also request SHAFR members to support this legislation.

While there may be other resons for supporting this compromise bill, I submit that any measure which might result in a kind of research "protectionism" ought to be opposed. In fact, one of the more important tasks for historians of international relations today is that of combating ethnocentricity and encouraging a truly international research.

In my own case, working on U.S.-Norwegian relations after World War Ii, a prohibition on requests under

FOIA - of which I have several pending - would have disastrous results, since no U.S. historian will have made requests for documents on such an esoteric subject. But such a ban would force also non-U.S. historians working in more congested fields to follow in the footsteps of their more privileged U.S. colleagues. Given the importance of U.S. foreign policy in the contemporary period, can it really be in the true interest of U.S. historians to have a "first call" on the source material for studies of those policies?

Yours sincerely

Olav Riste

ANNOUNCEMENTS

ORAL HISTORY MEETING

The Oral History Association will meet in Pensacola, Florida on October 31 through November 2, 1985. The deadline for submission of proposals has passed.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES -FREE AT LAST

Page Putnam Miller of the National Coordinating Committee for the Promotion of History sends word that the Joint Senate/House Conference Committee met and worked out the major differences between S. 905 and H.R. 3987. The House and Senate subsequently voted favorably on the issue, and the President signed the bill on October 19, 1984. The Archives has achieved Independence from GSA. The legislation calls for the National Archives and Records Administration to be established on April 1, 1985.

MORE ON KIEV MEETING

In the September issue of the Newsletter brief mention was made regarding the Vth Colloquium of Soviet and American Historians held in Kiev June 10-14. Participation by several SHAFR members was not mentioned. John Gaddis (Ohio University) was one of the co-organizers of the U.S. delegation and in working out the topics to be treated at the meeting. In addition to Gaddis, Betty Unterberger (Texas A &

M), Joan Hoff-Wilson (Indiana), and Hugh deSantis (State) participated in the conference.

The latest issue of Diplomatic History Volume VIII, No. 4 repeated on the front cover the table of contents from Volume VIII, No. 3. Scholarly Resources regrets this error and is having printed, peel-off labels with the correct table of contents mailed to all subscribers.

Berlin Seminar

Bradley University's Berlin Seminar has been enlarged to include East Berlin, Potsdam, Bonn and Munich. The programs are assisted by grants from the Federal Republic of Germany, the Democratic Republic of Germany and the Europaische Akademie of West Berlin. The principal expense to participants is travel fare to and from Berlin. The 1985 seminar dates are:

June 12-17 - East Berlin and one night at the Cecilienhof in Potsdam.
June 17-22 - West Berlin - Europaische Akademie in Grunewald.
June 22-27 - Bonn and Munich.

Seminar sessions are with German faculty in history and international relations, political leaders, newsmen and special spokespersons such as those in the peace movement. Meetings in Bonn include Foreign Service Office briefings and sessions with parliamentary leaders and at the Cologne Institute of Eastern and International Relations.

For application forms and further details of the Seminar write to:

Lester H. Brune
Department of History
Bradley University
Peoria, Illinois 61625

Harry S. Truman Centennial Symposium

The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and The National Museum of American History: Smithsonian Institution sponsored a centennial symposium honoring President Harry Truman. Numerous SHAFR members participated in the two day meeting. Among

them were Alonzo Hamby (Ohio U), Ronald Steel (Princeton),David A. Rosenberg (National Defense University), Martin J. Sherwin (Tufts), Bruce Kuniholm (Duke), Aaron D. Miller (State), Robert J. McMahon (Florida), Gary R. Hess (Bowling Green), John Lewis Gaddis (Ohio), Charles Maier (Harvard), Michael Hogan (Miami), Samuel Wells (Wilson Center), Nancy B. Tucker (Colgate), Howard Schonberger (Maine), Barton Bernstein (Stanford), and Bruce Cumings (Washington). The editor hopes to include abstract of papers presented in a future issue of the Newsletter.

SHAFR CONVENTION SCHEDULE

(The dates on the notice mailed from the Executive Secretary's office were in error. The corrected dates are listed below.)

Council Meeting	Thurs.	Dec. 27,	8:00 - 11:00 p.m.
Cash Bar Reception	Fri.	Dec. 28,	5:00 - 7:00 p.m.
Luncheon	Sat.	Dec. 29,	12:00 - 2.00 p.m.

Warren I. Cohen will speak on "The History of American East-Asian Relations: Cutting Edge of the Historical Profession."

PERSONALS

Timothy P. Maga (University of Maryland-Asian Division) was one of three historians awarded a 1984-85 Congressional Fellowship. These fellowships were eatablished in 1980 funded by a grant from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. Support for the program has also come from the Rockefeller Foundation.
(Deadline for the 1985-86 competiton is February 1, 1985.)
Congratulations to Dr. Maga!

Howard Jones (University of Alabama) has been awarded a grant from the American Philosophical Society for research on "Republicanism on Trial: The Amistad Mutiny of 1839."

Thomas M. Leonard (University of North Florida) was a Fulbright Lecturer at the Instituto Juan XIII in Bahia Blanca, Argentina during the summer of 1984.

PUBLICATIONS

Michael M. Boll (San Jose State), Cold War in the Balkans: American Foreign Policy and the Emergence of Communist Bulgaria, 1943-1947. U of Kentucky Press. 1984. ISBN 0813115272. $25.00.

Lawrence Kaplan (Kent State), The United States and NATO: The Formative Years. U of Kentucky Press. 1984. Cloth ISBN 081311516 $30.00; paper ISBN 081310159X $12.00.

Allan R. Millett (Ohio State), and Peter Maslowski, For The Common Defence: The Military History of the United States 1607-1983. The Free Press. 1984. ISBN 0-02-921580-3 $24.95.

William Stueck (Georgia), The Wedemeyer Mission: American Politics and Foreign Policy during the Cold War. U of Georgia Press. 1984. ISBN 0820307173. $18.00.

Norman A. Graebner (Virginia), America As a World Power: A Realist Appraisal from Wilson to Reagan. Scholarly Resources. 1984. ISBN 0-8420-2232-5. $11.95.

Ronald Spector (U.S. Army Center for Military History), The American War With Japan. The Free Press. 1984. ISBN 0-02-930360-5. $24.95.

Lloyd C. Gardner (Rutgers), Safe for Democracy: The Anglo-American Response to Revolution, 1913-1923. Oxford U Press. 1984. ISBN 0195034295. $25.00.

Thomas M. Leonard (North Florida), The United States and Central America, 1944-1949: Perceptions of Political Dynamics. U of Alabama Press. 1984. ISBN 0-8173-0190-9. $20.00.

Robert Seager II, Ed., (Kentucky), The Papers of Henry Clay, Volume 8 Candidate, Compromiser, Whig: 1829-1836. U of Kentucky Press. 1984. $40.00.

Gary May (Delaware), China Scapegoat: The Diplomatic Ordeal of John Carter Vincent. Now available in paper. Waveland Press. 1982. ISBN 0-917974-98-0. $9.95

CALENDAR

December 27-30	The 99th annual meeting of the AHA will be held in Chicago. The headquarters hotel is the Hyatt Regency Chicago. (The deadline for proposals has passed.)
January 1, 1985	Membership fees in all categories are due, payable at the national office of SHAFR.
January 15	Deadline, nominations for the 1984 Bernath article award.
February 1	Deadline, materials for the March Newsletter.
February 1	Deadline, nominations for the 1984 Bernath book award.
March 1	Deadline, nominations for the 1986 Bernath Memorial Lectureship.
April 18-21	The 78th annual meeting of the OAH will be held in Minneapolis with the headquarters at the Hyatt Regency and Holiday Inn Hotels.
May 1	Deadline, materials for the June Newsletter.
June 26-28	The 11th annual conference of SHAFR will be held at Stanford University. Program chair is Roger Dingman, Department of History, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, CA 90089-0034. The deadline for proposals is December 27, 1984.
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 13-16	The 51st annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association will be held in Houston. The Shamrock Hilton will be the headquarters hotel.
November 20	Deadline, nominations for the Bernath Disseration Support Awards.
December 27-30	The 100th annual meeting of the AHA will be held in New York. The headquarters hotel is yet to be announced. (The deadline for proposals has passed.)

(The 1985 OAH will meet in Minneapolis, April 17-20, deadline for proposals has passed.)

(The 1986 OAH will meet in New York. The program chair is Kenneth T. Jackson, Columbia University, 610 Fayerweather Hall, New York, NY 10027. Deadline for proposals is March 1, 1985.)

THE STUART L. BERNATH MEMORIAL BOOK PRIZE

The Stuart L. Bernath Memorial Book Prize was established in 1972 by Dr. and Mrs. Gerald J. Bernath, Laguna Hills, California, in memory of their late son, and is administered by SHAFR. This is a prize for a book dealing with any aspect of American foreign relations. The purpose of the award is to recognize and to encourage distinguished research and writing by scholars of American foreign relations.

Eligibility: The prize competition is open to any book on any aspect of American foreign relations, published during 1984. It must be the author's first or second book.

Procedures: Books may be nominated by the author, the publisher, or by any member of the Society. Five (5) copies of each book must be submitted with the nomination. The books should be sent directly to:

Melvyn P. Leffler, Department of History, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee 37235. (Books may be sent at any time during 1984, but should not arrive later than February 1, 1985.)

The Award: The award of $1,000.00 will be announced at the annual luncheon of the Society held in conjunction with the Organization of American Historians, in April, 1985.

Past Winners:

1972	Joan Hoff-Wilson (Sacramento)
	Kenneth E. Shewmaker (Dartmouth)
1973	John L. Gaddis (Ohio U)
1974	Michael H. Hunt (Yale)
1975	Frank D. McCann, Jr. (New Hampshire)
	Stephen E. Pelz (U of Massachusetts-Amherst)
1976	Martin J. Sherwin (Princeton)
1977	Roger V. Dingman (Southern California)
1978	James R. Leutze (North Carolina)
1979	Phillip B. Maram (Program Manager, Boston)
1980	Michael Schaller, (Arizona)
1981	Bruce R. Kuniholm (Duke)
	Hugh DeSantis (Department of State)
1982	David Reynolds (Cambridge U)
1983	Richard Immerman (Hawaii)

THE STUART L. BERNATH MEMORIAL LECTURE

The Stuart L. Bernath Memorial Lectureship was established in 1976 through the generosity of Dr. and Mrs. Gerald J. Bernath, Laguna Hills, California, in honor of their late son, and is administered by a special committee of SHAFR. The Bernath Lecture is the featured event at the official luncheon of the Society, held during the OAH convention in April of each year.

Eligibility: The lecture 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 teaching and research. Each lecturer will address

himself not specifically to his own research interests, but to broad issues of concern to students of American foreign policy.

Procedures: The Bernath Lecture Committee is soliciting nominations 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 March 1, 1985. The chariman of the committee to whom nominations should be sent is: Russell Buhite, Department of History, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma 73069.

The Award: $500.00, with publication in Diplomatic History.

Past Winners:

1977	Joan Hoff-Wilson (Radcliffe Institute)
1978	David S. Patterson (Colgate)
1979	Marilyn B. Young (Michigan)
1980	John L. Gaddis (Ohio U)
1981	Burton Spivak (Bates College)
1982	Charles DeBenedetti (Toledo)
1983	Melvyn P. Leffler (Vanderbilt)
1984	Michael J. Hogan (Miami)
1985	Michael Schaller (Arizona)

THE STUART L. BERNATH MEMORIAL ARTICLE PRIZE

The Stuart L. Bernath Memorial Prize for scholarly articles in American foreign affairs was established in 1976 through the generosity of Dr. and Mrs. Gerald J. Bernath, Laguna Hills, California, in honor of their late son, and is administered by a special committee of SHAFR. 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: The prize competition is open to any article on any topic in American foreign relations that is published during 1984. The author must be under 35 years of age, or within 5 years after receiving the Ph.D., at the time of publication. Previous winners of the Stuart L. Bernath Book Award are excluded.

Procedures: Nominations shall be submitted by the author or by any member of SHAFR by January 15, 1985. It will be helpful if the person making the nomination can supply at least one copy and if possible five (5) copies. The chairperson of the committee is: Michael Hogan, Department of History, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio 45056.

The Award: The award of $300.00 will be announced simultaneously with the Bernath Book Prize at the SHAFR luncheon during the annual meeting of the OAH.

Past Winners:

1977	John C.A. Stagg (U of Auckland, N.Z.)
1978	Michael H. Hunt (Yale)
1979	Brian L. Villa (U of Ottawa)
1980	James I. Matray (New Mexico State U)
	David A. Rosenberg (Chicago)
1981	Douglas Little (Clark)
1982	Fred Pollock (Cedar Knolls, N.J.)
1983	Chester Pach (Texas Tech)

THE STUART L. BERNATH DISSERTATION FUND

The Stuart L. Bernath Dissertation Fund was established by Dr. and Mrs. Gerald Bernath in memory of their son Stuart. The purpose of the Fund is to provide small-sum support for doctoral students in the concluding phase of writing their dissertation on some aspect of the history of American foreign relations.

Procedures: Application forms can be obtained from Geoffrey Smith, Department of History, Queens University, Kingston, Ontario K7L 3M6, Canada. Applications, together with a letter of support from the dissertation director (and certifying that the application information is correct) must be received by Professor Smith no later than November 20.

The Award: The amount of the award(s) will vary from year to year. Announcement of award winners will be made soon after the annual December meetings of the American Historical Association.

AMERICAN-EAST ASIAN RELATIONS NEWSLETTER
VOLUME 4. NUMBER 3 DECEMBER 1984

[Editor's note] American-East Asianists have over the past several years producted a prodigious number of studies about the Pacific and Vietnam Wars. Indeed, the outpouring of literature on the Vietnam War is, quite simply, overwhelming. For those who desire to find their way into that massive mountain of literature, Professor James Fetzer's bibliography will serve as an excellent compass. And Professor Michael Barnhart's fine essay guides us into a largely uncharted region of American-Japanese relations.

-- Ron Lilley

THE UNITED STATES AND THE VIETNAM WAR: A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

by
James Fetzer (SUNY-Maritime College)

This bibliography provides a list of books which are largely devoted to some aspect of the United States involvement in the Vietnam War. As such, it covers only one part of the enormous and growing body of material on the Vietnam War.

Early Involvement

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The British are Coming! Some Recent Trends in the Study of American-Japanese Relations[1]

by
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Perhaps the British have already arrived. In recent years, their scholarship on Western-East Asian

affairs, as it bears on American-Japanese relations, has been prolific and rich. Within the last half decade, major works have appeared by Christopher Thorne, William Roger Louis, Roger Buckley, and Peter Lowe.[2] And a 1979 Anglo-Japanese Conference on the history of the Second World War has resulted in a collection of first-rate essays edited by Ian Nish.[3]

Inevitably, all of these raise their own sort of challenge to existing American scholarship on American-Japanese relations. All criticize, to one degree or another, the bilateral nature of much of that scholarship. Both challenge and criticism are well founded. But have these studies provided scholars on both sides of the Atlantic a fuller framework for understanding America's relations with Japan? Perhaps not yet--but some impressive strides have been made. For example, Nish sees the nature of American power in Asia changing fundamentally after 1917 as a result of Washington's intervention in the war. This is not a date that would occur automatically to American students. Some British historians see the Washington Conference as a virtual Anglo-American tribunal compelling Japan to repudiate her policies in China while arguing that contemporary British leaders never perceived the existence of a "Washington system" as such. In contrast, recent analyses by American scholars of Washington's diplomacy toward Europe in the 1920s stress the "competitive cooperation"[4] between London and Washington. Was there no equivalent in Asia?

Hosoya Chihiro hints that there was, at least in Japanese eyes. He reports shock at the heights of Anglo-American cooperation after the war, cooperation that made Britain's abandonment of her alliance with Japan seem all the more like betrayal. This theme of Anglo-American inseparability recurs throughout the interwar years, from Konoe's oft-cited article presenting his vision of the world after World War One to Japanese readings of the Atlantic Charter. These themes are echoed in David Reynolds' The Creation of the Anglo-American Alliance 1937-1941. Given the pivotal role that Japan's belief in Anglo-American indivisibility played in the dynamics of the decision to commence the Pacific War, these findings ask for reconsideration of exactly how conscious British and American statesmen were of their (unwanted? unintended?) partnership in the Far East. If Japan's

leaders did believe that partnership was so close, how did they interpret the Tories' often unsubtle proddings for a renewed Anglo-Japanese rapproachement, or the Roosevelt administration's reluctance to adopt measures, even on the eve of Pearl Harbor, that appeared to serve British interests in Asia?

America's place in the wider Western pattern of relations with East Asia also needs reappraisal for the war and postwar years. Thorne makes clear the very limited nature of British interest in the Far East. In part this was a product of Britain's badly fragmented decision-making structure for Asian affairs, which was reflected in the competing concerns of the Foreign Office, Colonial Office, and Indian Office. One result was to stunt active planning for postwar East Asia. Moreover, although the British government, alone of the interwar colonial powers in Asia, had survived unconquered, it had little power or willingness to obstruct America's way with Japan--still the greatest potential power in that portion of the globe. Was Washington wrong in assuming that the future role of France (or Holland) in Europe could be so affected by the disposition of their past colonies in Asia?

For Japan, Buckley shows how London reconciled itself to a junior role in the making of occupation policy. His account even adds to MacArthur's stature as the occupation authority. Buckley's evidence confirms that the United States dominated occupation policy. Yet this same point highlights the role outside powers played in maneuverings within the American government over that policy. Buckley's MacArthur invites a British lead in ending that occupation sooner than Washington desired. Even opportunistic Japanese officials were not above exploring the possibilities that Anglo-American differences offered them in shaping their nation's future. These topics await further exploration by American scholars.

The rapid growth of British studies of East Asian affairs already is a boon to the examination of American-Japanese relations. Most obviously, more evidence, from a different perspective, is available. More significantly, these studies render it far more difficult to rest easy after exploring those relations from a bilateral perspective only. Long-standing cries for a broader view of the international system

in East Asia have an increasing body of work to point to for support. Perhaps future conferences will include equal representation from three continents.

Even so, there are limits to how far this widening may be pushed. Conferences may be able to accommodate three, four, or more national perspectives, but despite the overcoming of linguistic barriers in recent decades, the sheer bulk of material presents a daunting obstacle to any single scholar's attempts to achieve an Olympian view. Moreover, a great deal remains to be done in examining a second major consideration: the role of domestic forces in the shaping of any nation's foreign policies. Here a comparative approach can prove useful. There is still no study detailing the squabbles between the American State and Treasury Departments in the interwar years similar to those of Ann Trotter or Stephen Endicott for the London government.[5] Britain's delicate balancing act between her colonies' needs for inexpensive textiles and Lancashire fears of reviewed commercial competition in wider markets during the postwar years has no counterpoint in studies of American economic diplomacy. Did no one in Washington expect the makers of the Zero and Yamato to provide an eventual threat to America's preeminence in the international marketplace?

As vital, I think, is the need to supplement these multi-archival and comparative techniques with a wider chronological perspective. Several British studies define American involvement in East Asia in terms of an "Open Door imperialism," discerning a signal lack of "concrete" interests. This involvement, as John Fairbank emphasized some time ago, took place in no vacuum. If the United States was the heir to an open door empire[6] in Asia, we need to know more about the country that chiefly constructed that empire--and the roles its former colony and first Asian ally played in that construction. Much exciting work remains.

NOTES

[1]The author gratefully acknowledges help received from Gordon Daniels, Ian Nish, and Christopher Thorne in preparing this essay.

[2]These include Thorne, Allies of a Kind: the United States, Britain, and the War against Japan, 1941-1945,

which will soon be joined by a companion, The Impact of War, States, Societies, and the Coming of the Far Eastern Conflict of 1941-1945; Louis, Imperialism at Bay: The United States and the Decolonization of the British Empire, 1941-45; Buckley, Occupation Diplomacy: Britain in the Far East: A Survey from 1819 to the present.

[3]Ian Nish, ed., Anglo-Japanese Alienation, 1919-1952.

[4]To borrow a phrase from David Reynolds' The Creation of the Anglo-American Alliance 1937-1941.

[5]Ann Trotter, Britain and East Asia and Stephen Endicott, Diplomacy and Enterprise.

[6]Carl Parrini, Heir to Empire.

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