# The Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations

# NEWSLETTER

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MEMBERSHIP: Anyone interested in U.S. diplomatic history is invited to become a member of SHAFR. Annual dues are \$12.50, payable at the office of the Executive Secretary-Treasurer. Fees for students are \$6.00, for retired members are \$8.00, and institutional affiliations are \$30.00. Life memberships are \$175.00. In the case of membership by a husband-wife team, dues for one of them shall be one-half of the regular price.

The annual meeting of the Society is held MEETINGS: 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 a 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 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.

## FDR'S Dead Letter Diplomacy: or, The Medium Was the Message

Raymond J. Raymond and J. Garry Clifford (University of Connecticut)

President Franklin D. Roosevelt was notorious for operating outside orthodox diplomatic channels and obtaining intelligence about international affairs from myriad sources. Memoirists of the Roosevelt years have recounted numerous occasions when the President circumvented normal procedures and used journalists, Supreme Court Justices, old family friends, and even foreigners to gather information and do his bidding. Such eclectic habits have made it possible for secret agents like Lanny Budd and Captain Victor Henry to carry out missions for FDR in novels by Upton Sinclair and Herman Wouk, among others.1 Historians also know that the smiling squire of Hyde Park was wont to conjure up mythical Dutchess County farmers to give pithy diplomatic advice when it suited his purposes. It would seem, however, that only a fiction writer's imagination could suggest a scenario whereby FDR received a series of messages, transmitted by a psychic medium through an officially accredited American envoy abroad, in which persons no longer living offered counsel on how best to conduct American policy in the early months of World War II. It would be even more fantastic to suppose that one such message, dealing with negotiations with Japan and Germany just before Pearl Harbor, purportedly came from FDR's distant cousin and predecessor, Theodore Roosevelt, deceased since 1919.

Nevertheless, such unlikely events did indeed occur. In the early spring of 1942, just as the Japanese were completing their conquest of the Philippines, President Roosevelt received two long personal letters from the American Minister to Ireland, David Gray. One of FDR's more eccentric diplomatic appointments, the septuagenarian Gray was Eleanor Roosevelt's uncle by marriage, and usually at least once a week since accepting the Dublin post in the spring of 1940, Gray personally typed lengthy, gossipy "Dear Franklin" letters and sent them directly to the White

House by diplomatic pouch.<sup>4</sup> Although the correspondence usually reflected creditably on Gray's diplomatic efforts to modify Irish neutrality in favor of the Allies, the letters of February 15 and March 16, 1942, are different. Enclosed with these two letters are transcriptions by Gray of several seances conducted in the Dublin Legation during the previous months by a certain Geraldine Cummins, a famous medium and practitioner of "automatic writing." The Minister, who professed to have an open mind about life after death, had first met Miss Cummins in Dublin in 1933 and had been visiting her off and on ever since. Gray was sending the President some excerpts because "I know you have an open mind about conditions after death" and because there were some communications from FDR's mother Sara, who had died in September 1941, as well as messages from Theodore Roosevelt and former British Prime Minister Arthur Balfour. Gray found the messages from Balfour especially impressive because "some time before the Russians began their winter offensive he spoke of the possibility of their reacting and thrusting the Germans back." He ended by noting that "if these comments do come from friends who have passed on, I think they should be treated exactly as advice from friends who are still here."

Just what FDR thought about all this is difficult to determine. His four-sentence reply to Gray suggested that "those are real contributions and I hope you will continue. . . I rather like your thought of treating these communications as advice from friends who are still here." But David Gray's subsequent letters to the President contain no further references to seances, no more automatic messages from friends who had passed on. Although he continued to serve as Minister to Ireland through the spring of 1947, there is no indication that Gray ever showed FDR the "whole file /and/ Mss" of Geraldine Cummins, as he had promised. Roosevelt, of course, had more important matters on his mind and can be forgiven for not pressing Uncle David for more letters from the dead.

Historians should not, however, merely dismiss this bizarre episode as the result of too much consumption of good Irish whiskey. Just as he tolerated and encouraged David Gray's fascination with automatic writing, so too did the President accept Henry Wallace's mystical involvement with his famous "Guru," Nicholas Roerich. FDR's mother Sara had a long in-

terest in mysticism and often visited the Roerich Museum on Riverside Drive, and the President himself continued to see members of Roerich's circle until after Pearl Harbor. It is equally intriguing that one of FDR's favorite statesmen, Canadian Prime Minister Mackenzie King, was a dedicated mystic who also participated in seances with the same Geraldine Cummins after World War II. Although no one is suggesting that Roosevelt consulted astrologers and ouija boards in the conduct of his diplomacy, his interest in spiritualism remains a part of his multifaceted personality that deserves more serious study.

Excerpts from Gray's transcription of the seances:

(November 7, 1941)...Sara -- Oh David this is fine. I have been waiting around for weeks to speak to you about my boy....But he is working too far too hard at present. Can any one induce him to lay off -- relax? the next two months....I want him to throw down the gauntlet....my boy must let no one know before hand and spring his surprise on the world....

(November 8, 1941)...A.B....The invasion of Ireland was timed for last September but Russia stopped that. It is now timed for the spring. That is a plan I see that was stopped at Bereschgarten [sic]. I am no prophet. I merely can see into the minds of certain leaders. I presume you cannot change the attitude of the U.S.A. Government. If only your people would occupy the island before the blow falls -- ruin, death, and disaster of a very horrible kind would be averted. I don't say it will fall for circumstances may yet save this poor ignorant people. But H.Q. have planned the coup for next spring. I believe De Valera [Irish Prime Minister] will go down on his knees and thank God if U.S.A. takes forcible possession of this country. There will be no resistance only welcome, and it will be a sound strategic stroke in the war. Are the Allies always going to be late in moving. That is what you have got to ask Washington.

(December 2, 1941)...Theodore R. This is a new game to me. Driving a pen. Say David I have often seen you at what was my official house and now you are sitting in a key position at the borders of Europe. I want to tell you that I think Franklin will hold the

Japs for a while; at any rate from our country's point of view. I see no immediate Armageddon for young America. Possibly not at all. But what is clear is America will be thinking of another movement in Europe. You be ready or getting ready for that. It seems as if Russia gets her toes in and Hitler may turn like a rat in a trap and start biting in the West. So we see it. I mean the seed of a western offensive in his mind. Go ahead then, build up confidence with the Eire authorities. But keep back your shot for the President [presumably FDR] alone. Any offers made now should be privately to him. For there is leakage in his government. There is indeed at least one if not two huckstering friends of the German minister U.S.A. They might easily spill the beans too early about any renewed offer on our part. But De Valera is likely to keep his own counsel. He is in his heart anxious to keep in with the allies, so be friendly to his Cabinet but keep the essential moves concentrated on De Valera....10

(March 14, 1942) ... A.B....We, Theodore and I, feel that you should continue on the same lines....I have one rather interesting piece of information. Though we are no prophets we can see into certain of the minds of men. The German spies in this country have conveyed to the German authorities the information that some time ago Fianna Fail | De Valera's party party officials in the inner circle urged an agreement with the U.S.A. [for] the handing over of our bases in June and it is held in German H.Q. that there have been negotiations to this effect and that on conditions of delivery of supplies De Valera will come in with the U.S.A. or is inclined to do so. The German minister has therefore been directed to put on the psychological screw and threaten again. It seems therefore that ... De Valera's mind is like a see-saw, up and down. One moment he is prepared to throw his weight once more into the neutrality side and another he is ready to go ahead and do the only wise and honorable thing for his country, accept U.S.A. You have been very useful because you were so blunt in the past. You have now merely to be as helpful and suave when approached as possible. The fact that De Valera asked some time ago for your removal from Eire was the highest compliment any American diplomat in this country has ever been paid. There is undoubtedly going to be trouble among the civilian population soon in this country .... What we counsel therefore is a friendly attitude but firmness all the time when there is any discussion. Sudden developments may lead to a crisis. For there is one school of German thought still favouring a western offensive, but the issue is not yet quite decided owing to the other school holding that Russia requires all the offensive strength of the Reich. We can see no more at present except that if America does come here this summer or make the attempt later in the year, the Germans will make at least a thrust in the air beforehand. They are almost too well informed. They believe that De Valera is now beginning to double cross them.

#### NOTES

lwouk's Winds of War and War and Remembrance and Sinclair's World's End series are only two examples of the genre. Interestingly, Sinclair's Lanny Budd had psychic powers, thus gaining him entree in the 1930s to Rudolph Hess, Hitler, and other Nazis interested in mysticism. In O Shepherd, Speak!, the tenth novel in the series covering the years 1945-46, Budd actually has a conversation with the recently deceased FDR on how best to deal with the Soviet Union in the postwar world.

<sup>2</sup>For example: "Here is the real meat in the coconut as expressed to me by a Dutchess County farmer yesterday morning. I told him the gist of the proposal, which is, in effect, to buy ninety-nine year leases from Great Britain for at least seven naval and air bases in British Colonial possessions.... The farmer replied somewhat as follows:

'Say, ain't you the Commander-in-Chief? If you are and you own fifty muzzle-loadin' rifles of the Civil War period, you would be a chump if you declined to exchange them for seven modern machine guns --wouldn't you?" Roosevelt to Senator David Walsh, August 22, 1940, PSF Senate, Box 62, Roosevelt Library.

<sup>3</sup>Gray to FDR, February 15 and March 16, 1942, PSF: Ireland, 1942, Box 56.

4Gray's letters abound in typographical errors and misspellings. David Gray was also an extremely close friend of President Roosevelt. Between 1934 and 1939, Gray and his wife Maud, were constant visitors at Hyde Park and at the White House. It should be noted.

however, that Gray was appointed as Minister to Ireland only at the insistence of Eleanor Roosevelt who kept up continuous pressure on FDR throughout the winter of 1939-40. Eleanor Roosevelt to Maud Gray, 23 January 1940, Gray papers, Box 10, FDRL.

<sup>5</sup>For the origins of Gray's interest in "automatic writing," see Gray to Jim and Anna Halstead, November 5, 1962, Box 22, file "G," Anna Roosevelt Halstead MSS, Roosevelt Library. Gray later wrote a foreword to Cummins' book <u>Unseen Adventures</u> (London, 1951).

<sup>6</sup>Roosevelt to Gray, April 9, 1942, PSF: Ireland, 1942, Box 56.

7Gray to Roosevelt, February 16, 1942, Ibid. None of the three known collections of Gray's papers-at the Roosevelt Library, the University of Wyoming, and in family hands-show that Gray had further correspondence or conversations with the President about Miss Cummins' seances. There is some evidence to suggest that Gray continued his interest in spiritualism. His correspondence with Eleanor Roosevelt in the 1950s and early 1960s abounds with references to Miss Cummins and messages from the dead. See: Gray to Eleanor Roosevelt, 9 April 1956, Eleanor Roosevelt papers, Box 4225; Eleanor Roosevelt to Gray, 3 July 1956, Eleanor Roosevelt, 15 March 1957, Eleanor Roosevelt papers, Box 4356; Gray to Eleanor Roosevelt Papers, Box 4356; Gray to Eleanor Roosevelt Papers, Box 4408, FDRL.

<sup>8</sup>Theodore A. Wilson, "Henry Wallace as Parsifal," unpublished paper in author's possession.

9 Ibid. See C.P. Stacey, A Very Double Life: The Private World of Mackenzie King (Toronto, 1976), pp. 209-14.

10 Gray commented: "It would seem that the huck-stering friends of the German Minister U.S.A. must be in your government. Four days after this communication the Japs attacked Pearl Harbor. They had T.R. fooled. I suspect that if these communications come through pretty much as given our friends on the other side don't know very much more than they did on this side."

#### Researching American Foreign Relations Abroad: Wellington, New Zealand

by
Roger Dingman (University of Southern California)

From the researcher's point of view, Wellington, New Zealand is one of the world's most compact cities. Its major archives and libraries are all within walking distance of one another--provided one is willing to hike up or scramble down the steep hills that surround the downtown area. Covered sidewalks and numerous arcades provide protection from the "Southers" which regularly deluge the city and from the "Roaring Forties" which have given it a most apt nickname, "Windy Welly." Those unwilling to brave the elements can use busses or a charming crimson cable car to reach their destinations.

Wellington's compactness mirrors those features of New Zealand's diplomatic history and governmental organization with which the researcher should be familiar. Although an Imperial Affairs Section of the Prime Minister's Department was established in 1926, not until World War II did New Zealand begin to manage her own foreign relations. The first High Commission-er arrived from London in 1939; a year later a War Cabinet was formed; and in 1942 New Zealand opened her first diplomatic relations outside the British Empire by sending a representative to Washington. A Department of External (later Foreign) Affairs was created in 1943, but not until 1955 was a separate Department of Defense established. World War II spawned Chiefs of Staff, a Defense Council, and a plethora of other committees. In 1947, a foreign affairs committee was formed within the unicameral Parliament. These committees were not used in the Whitehall manner and appear to have had relatively little policy-shaping influence. Indeed, they were overshadowed by powerful senior civil servants, one of whom was not only the secretary for defense but also the principal secretary to the prime minister and the second most senior civil servant within the Department of External Affairs. Interlocking relationships of this sort, together with remarkably long tenure of office made the secretary of external affairs (of whom three of four former incumbents are still living) unusually influential.

These historical and administrative facts explain why the historian of American foreign relations who goes to Wellington will find most of what he wants in the files of the Department of External Affairs in the National Archives. While some Cabinet files, notably CAB 33/552/1/1 deal with the United States and its Pacific policies, there are no minutes of Cabinet discussions for years other than 1950. A subject index to papers submitted to the Cabinet provides entre for a very few American-related topics. Chiefs of Staff and Defense Council minutes are not sufficiently detailed to provide much information not found within the two enormous collections of External Affairs papers. These have been indexed, by topic, event, and date. The series most likely to yield data of interest to the historian of American diplomacy include EA 1/206/15/1 USA: foreign policy - general, 1946-1953; EA 1/206/3/12 USA: foreign policy - Pacific, 1944-1956; EA 1/206/12/1 USA: defense - general, 1945-1953. In addition, the researcher will find the EA 2 series, which arranges materials in chronological and topical fashion, useful for particular conferences or diplomatic events in which the United States took part.

To gain access to these resources, one should write two letters. The first should go to Michael D.W. Hodder, Senior Archivist, National Archives, Department of Internal Affairs, Air New Zealand Building, 129-141 Vivian Street, Box 6148, Wellington. It should state one's purpose, include a curriculum vitae, and define as clearly as possible the subject of one's research. It should ask if files pertinent to one's topic have been transferred to the Archives and request copies of pertinent pages of the External Affairs index so as to narrow further the scope of a prospective search. A second letter should be addressed to the Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Wellington, requesting permission to examine departmental documents. This will facilitate access to restricted materials in the Archives and help initiate declassification of those still held within the departmental library.

Preparation of this sort will enable one to make the best use of limited National Archives' open hours - currently from 9 to 5, Monday through Friday. For the researcher who cannot go to Wellington, such effort will speed the receipt of Xerox copies of pertinent materials. Xerox copies at 20 cents NZ (about 15 cents US) per page, are readily obtainable. If one needs more than three hundred pages, special arrangements for their copying must be made.

The National Archives also hold the papers of Walter Nash, New Zealand's World War II Foreign Minister. But most personal manuscript collections likely to be useful to the historian of American foreign relations are housed in the orange art deco Alexander Turnbull Library. The landscapes and portraits that grace its walls reflect the library's principal focus - the history and ethnography of New Zealand and the Pacific Islands. The Turnbull, however, is also the manuscript repository of the National Library of New Zealand. Its holding of the papers of prime ministers and politicians are listed in the three part National Register of Archives and Manuscripts in New Zealand, available in major American university libraries or by purchase from the Turnbull, at a cost of \$26.50, NZ. Because many of the collections require prior permission for use, one would do well to write Mr. J.E. Traue, The Librarian, Alexander Turnbull Library, 44 The Terrace, Private Bag Wellington, explaining one's interests and requesting assistance. The Turnbull is open daily, 10:30-5 and on Saturday from 9-12; its manuscripts reading room can also be used on Monday through Thursday evenings by prior arrangement.

The visitor to Wellington should not overlook two other sources of information useful to the study of American foreign relations. The Parliamentary Library, located barely three blocks from the Turnbull, just behind the old Parliament Buildings, contains a wealth of legislative documentation and press materials unavailable elsewhere. In the opposite direction, best reached by the Kelburn cable car, one will find the Library of the Victoria University of Wellington. While its manuscript collections relate primarily to academic and literary figures, its collection of New Zealand publications, including periodicals and indexes to them, is of great importance to anyone interested in foreign images and impressions of the United States. The Library is open from 8:30-11, Monday to Thursday during term, with shorter hours on weekends.

Unlike many capital cities, Wellington is not an expensive place in which to live and work. Accomodations range from luxury hotels to restored turn-of-

the-century boarding houses, now run as bed and breakfast establishments. By writing to the Chairman of
the Department of History at Victoria University, I
was able to obtain a study-bedroom at the university's
Weir House. Perched just opposite the Kelburn cable
car stop, with a commanding view of the city and its
magnificent harbor, Weir House was ideally located.
In the morning I could descend to the city along any
one of several wooded paths. At noon, if I preferred
not to return to the House, restaurants to please
every palate or pocketbook were nearby. For a special
meal, I could walk up the hill to the gourmet restaurant and cluster of shops nearby. In the evening, if
I wanted to browse in the University Library or visit
a pub, both were only a short walk across Kelburn Park.

Few capitals are more distant from Washington than Wellington. Yet the documents available there are important to the historian of American foreign relations. They provide a unique insight, from the perspective of a small and friendly power, into the choices American statesmen made. The commentary they provide, sometimes commendatory, sometimes caustic, adds a dimension to the story of recent American foreign relations that should not be overlooked.

#### SHAFR COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT RELATIONS

The SHAFR Committee on Government Relations met at the Sheraton Hotel in Washington on December 27,1982. Committee members present were Milton Gustafson (Chairman), Wayne Cole, Betty Unterberger, and Ronald Spector. Also present were a new committee member for 1983, Waldo Heinrichs, and the incoming and outgoing presidents of SHAFR, Ernest May and Lawrence Gelfand. Others present included Bob Gelman, staff of the House Subcommittee on Government Information and Privacy; Alan Adler, attorney for the Center for National Security Studies; Anna Nelson, representing the OAH Access Committee; and Basil Rauch, Barnard College.

Acting on a request from Council, the Committee decided to recommend continued financial support for the National Coordinating Committee for the Promotion of History (NCC). The agenda for discussion included the following items: the National Archives and Records Service, its budget, limitations on personnel,

and possible independence from the General Services Administration; the Office of the Historian of the Department of State; Executive order 12356 on national security information; possible amendments to the Freedom of Information Act; and the opening of the 1950-54 records of the Department of State in the National Archives.

Last year the National Archives was faced with a 16% cut in its budget for FY 1982. After well-publicized House hearings in March, GSA decided to reduce the amount of rent that NARS must transfer to the Public Buildings Service to maintain the Archives Building and the Presidential Libraries; later in the year Congress voted additional funds for the National Archives. All of that came too late to save the jobs of 175 NARS employees (everyone with less than three years of service), and other NARS employees resigned, transferred, or retired. This year the problem is personnel, not funds. GSA wants NARS to reduce its staff by an additional 6%, and hiring new employees to fill vacancies has been suspended until a final decision has been made. Although there was legislation introduced in 1982 to establish a National Archives and Records Administration independent from GSA (the National Archives was an independent agency from 1934 to 1949), no action was taken before Congress adjourned. No one knows what will happen in the 98th Congress.

The State Department's Advisory Committee on Historical Diplomatic Documentation meets in November each year. There was discussion about the report of the 1981 meeting, prepared by Professor Arnold Taylor of Howard University, and the agenda and other materials prepared by the Office of the Historian for the 1982 meeting. There are three SHAFR members on the Advisory Committee--Gary Hess of Bowling Green State University(Chairman), Ernest May of Harvard, and Gaddis Smith of Yale.

The new Executive order on declassification of national security information took effect on August 1, 1982. In general, it continues and extends the trend since 1978 of keeping more documents closed longer. The Committee decided to draft a statement on this subject for submission to the SHAFR Council.

Despite the desires of the Administration and the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee to revise and tighten the Freedom of Information Act, nothing was done in the 97th Congress. It is presumed that new legislation will be introduced in the 98th Congress.

Certain files of the Department of State for the 1950-54 period are now available for research at the National Archives. More information is printed in the January 1983 issue of AHA Perspectives (page 6). A list of the specific decimal files and post files available for research can be obtained from the Legislative and Diplomatic Branch, National Archives, Washington, DC 20408.

Milton O. Gustafson, Chair SHAFR Committee on Government Relations

### REPORT: ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON HISTORICAL DIPLOMATIC DOCUMENTATION

The Advisory Committee on Historical Diplomatic Documentation held its twenty-sixth annual meeting at the Department of State on Friday, November 5, 1982.

Committee members present included: John L. Gaddis, Ohio University; Gary R. Hess, Bowling Green State University; Ernest R. May, Harvard University; Richard N. Rosecrance, Cornell University; Seymour Rubin, American Society of International Law; Gaddis Smith, Yale University. Enid Curtis Bok Schoettle was absent. All members of the Committee concur in the report.

At the opening meeting which was attended by about forty persons, John Kelly, Senior Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, welcomed the Committee and underscored the importance which John V. Hughes, Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, and other members of that Office attach to the work of the Office of the Historian (HO). Following the committee's election of a chairman for 1982-83, William Z. Slany, The Historian, reported on the operations, accomplishments, and problems of the Historical Office.

The Historian noted that the Bureau of Public Affairs has strongly supported the budgetary requests

of HC. In line with cuts throughout the Department. the Office faces a reduction from 35 to 29 permanent personnel by September, 1983. This reduction will be reached by attrition. While the losses will place some additional burdens on the staff, no serious difficulties in fulfilling the Office's missions are foreseen. The Office has been able to hire two historians during 1982, and permission for another replacement of another vacancy is being sought. Two key leadership vacancies are Deputy Historian and General Editor, both of which have been filled on an interim basis during the past year by Neal H. Peterson and John P. Glennon respectively.

The major difficulty facing the Office is the protracted process of publication through the Government Printing Office (GPO). The conversion of GPO from traditional "hot metal" linotype operations to computerized, photocomposition has had a serious impact upon the publication schedule of the nearly twenty volumes in the Foreign Relations volumes for the years 1951 and 1952-54. Beyond the problem of transition to the new printing methods, HO is also concerned about the ability of GPO to meet deadlines and expectations. Accordingly, HO may seek permission to have the Foreign Relations volumes published by a private or university publishing house. This would require a waiver from the requirement that government agencies publish through the GPO. Exemptions require the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing of the Congress and of the GPO.

During the last year, HO has virtually suspended the compiling of the Foreign Relations volumes. resulted from several factors, including:

1) the necessity to concentrate on the backlogged volumes of the 1951-54 period, accelerating their declassification and publication;

2) the need to demonstrate the relevance and utility of the Office within the Department by giving increased attention to its policy-related research program and by resuming publication of the American Foreign Policy: Current Documents series;

3) the desirability of reviewing the purposes, scope, and format of the Foreign Relations volumes before compiling the 1961-63 and subsequent volumes.

HO has worked closely with the National Archives to effect the transfer and opening to research of the Department records of the 1950-54 period. The Department of State has provided a subvention to support twenty-two persons who have been reviewing and declassifying documents at the Archives. Certain groups of records will be open before all of the Foreign Relations volumes for 1950-54 are released. Records will be opened as files are cleared, meaning that not all records for the period will be opened at the same time. An announcement is anticipated shortly on the opening of the 1950-54 files which have been reviewed and declassified, and the entire 1950-52 records should be opened no later than 1986. [On November 23,1982, the Department of State issued a press release on the opening of a portion of the 1950-54 files.]

HO is also planning microfiche supplements for the Foreign Relations volumes of the 1945 to 1954 period, which will include such materials as White House and Department of State daily summaries, the Secretary's meeting files, and memoranda to the President and the Secretary of State. The Office may also publish documents which have been declassified since the Foreign Relations volumes were compiled.

Also, it was noted that the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations (SHAFR) has proposed the establishment of internships for recent Ph.D.'s in diplomatic history. This suggestion interests HO and the Bureau of Public Affairs, and it will be explored more fully with SHAFR officers. Funding might be a major problem.

Finally, the Historian shared some preliminary observations on the User's Survey which the Office conducted recently. Its results will be useful in planning future Foreign Relations volumes.

John Glennon reported on the publication of the Foreign Relations of the United States. Three volumes (1951, Vols. III and V and 1952-54, Vol. XIII) will be published in 1982. In 1983, the Office expects six volumes, all of which have been fully cleared and are at various stages of the GPO printing process, to be published; these include:

1951, VII, Korea and China

1952-54, I, General

1952-54, IV, American Republics 1952-54, V, Western European Security 1952-54, XI, African and South Asia

1952-54, XV, Korea

Three volumes are currently at NSC, which is the last stop in the clearance process, and their projected publication is twelve months following NSC action; these are:

1952-54, II, National Security

1952-54, XIV, China and Japan 1952-54, XII, Pt.1, East Asian Regional Security

Examining the various cycles of the volumes:

1) Of the seven volumes for 1951, four have been released, two others are cleared and are at the end of the printing process, and the remaining volume (IV Europe: Political and Economic Relations) is at the last stage of negotiation between the Office and the Classification/Declassification Center (CDC). must be submitted to NSC for final clearance.

2) Of the sixteen volumes in the 1952-54 cycle, three have been released, five others are scheduled for 1983 release, three others are at the NSC clearance stage. The five remaining volumes have a considerable dis-

tance to go in the clearance process.

3) Of the 12 volumes in the 1955-57 cycle, none have been declassified in full and publication of the first

volume is unlikely before 1984.

4) Of the sixteen projected volumes for the 1958-60 period, approximately half are compiled and completion of the remaining volumes is anticipated by the end of 1984.

5) The Office plans 16 volumes for the 1961-63 cycle, and has begun some preliminary research. HO is considering several proposals for changes in the 1955-57

and subsequent volumes, including:

1) microfiche supplements to be released simultaneously with the publication of the volumes;

2) narrative summaries at the beginning of each volume:

3) lists of purports for each document printed,

also at the beginning of each volume;
4) changes in format, incorporating technological advances and innovations in design.

The afternoon meeting, which was closed, began with comments by Ambassador John R. Burke, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Classification/Declassification, on the CDC review of the Foreign Relations volumes; the relationship between CDC and HO, and the effect of Executive Order 1235 issued in April 1982. In addition, the Committee received reports on policy-related research and the resumption of the American Foreign Policy series. The policy-related research program, which absorbed about forty percent of the resources of HO during the past year, has resulted in some forty-five research projects and memoranda, with an additional twelve in preparation. The Adviser on Research coordinates Office priorities and evaluates the projects; Neal H. Peterson served as Adviser until August 1982, and since then Nina J. Noring has been Acting Adviser.

The American Foreign Policy: Current Documents series has been firmly reestablished during the past year. This publication of unclassified documents was temporarily suspended in 1967 as a consequence of a decision to concentrate on the preparation of the Foreign Relations volumes. Earlier volumes had been published annually for the years 1956-1957; these were preceded by two cumulative documentary anthologies: A Decade of American Foreign Policy: Basic Documents, 1941-49, and the two-volume American Foreign Policy, 1950-1955: Basic Documents. Under Paul Claussen as editor-in-chief, the first volume in the resumed series, American Foreign Policy, 1977-80, is being readied for publication in early 1983. The annual volume for 1981, American Foreign Policy: Current Documents, 1981, is substantially completed; it will be accompanied by a microfiche Supplement. Planning and research for cumulative Basic Documents volumes covering the 1968-1972 and 1973-1976 periods are advancing. Gathering of material for the 1982 Current Documents volume and Supplement is underway. It is anticipated that the two cumulative volumes and the 1982 volume will be published in 1983.

The new Current Documents volumes will differ from the earlier volumes in some important respects. Between seventy-five and ninety percent of the documents will not have been previously published in the Department of State Bulletin, as compared to about fifty percent in the earlier volumes. Also, an increased proportion of documents will come from non-State Department sources. Finally, the microfiche Supplement to each annual volume will provide fuller coverage, by including full texts of documents ex-

tracted in the published volumes, texts of documents of secondary importance but of interest to specialized audiences, and other forms of detailed documentation.

Having reviewed and discussed the reports on the various aspects of HO, the Advisory Committee agreed to the following recommendations:

1) HO should seek approval of the Joint Committee on Printing for a waiver of the GPO printing requirement. The prolonged delay in the publication of the volumes for 1952-54 and 1955-57 means that a decade will have elapsed between compilation and publication. The revised declassification procedures have been largely responsible for that delay, but once volumes have been cleared, they should be published promptly and not delayed further as a consequence of GPO changes in printing or general inability to meet anti-cipated deadlines. Publication by a private or university house would be less costly and would be more widely publicized and distributed.

2) HO should consider an oral history program for Foreign Service Offices and high officials at the Department as they leave positions or are rotated. Retired personnel who held high level positions ought

to be also included in such a program.

3) In filling the position of General Editor of the Foreign Relations series, consideration should be given to the possibility of hiring an established scholar who would be thoroughly familiar with the major historiographical trends and research problems

for the period after 1961.

4) HO should make efforts to publicize more widely the publication of Foreign Relations volumes. The 1952-54 volumes pertaining to Indochina did attract attention, and given the continuing relevance of many of the materials which will be included in the forthcoming volumes, public interest might well be stimulated as a result of a more aggressive publicity program.

5) HO should work with the appropriate offices in the Department and with SHAFR to implement the proposed program of internships for recent recipients of the Ph.D. in diplomatic history. The Committee believes that this proposal has considerable merit as a means of demonstrating the utility of historical training, providing opportunities in government service, and improving relations between universities and the government.

6) With respect to editorial aspects of the

future Foreign Relations volumes, a complete list of names mentioned in the documents and identification of the drafting officers of documents would be of special value for scholars. It is believed that such information would be more useful than the preparation of introductory narratives and inclusion of purport lists of documents.

In addition, the Committee believed it appropriate to commend HO in several respects:

1) The reestablishment of the American Foreign Policy series, which the Committee has recommended several times in the past, is an important contribution to the work of all persons interested in American

diplomacy.

2) The persistent efforts to secure clearance for the Foreign Relations volumes has continued along the lines of previous Committee recommendations. HO's decision to delay publication of volumes, which have lost much substance as a result of extensive deletions in the review process, is important to the preserva-

tion of the integrity of the Foreign Relations series.

3) The channeling of more resources into policy-making research should help to enhance HO's usefulness within the Department. The value of historical perspective in the policy-making process can be enhanced

through this program.

4) The User's Survey is an important effort to establish communication between HO and the principal Foreign Relations clientele. The results should be carefully considered in preparing the post-1961 volumes.

Finally, the Committee agreed to offer two general reservations on the future of HO and its

mission.

1) The direction of resources into the American Foreign Policy and policy-related research programs ought not detract from the continued planning for and preparation of the Foreign Relations series. At present, this does not seem to be a problem, but in view of staff reductions, it is conceivable that the resources of HO could be seriously strained in a few years when the Foreign Relations volumes for the 1960s should be moving ahead. The Committee does not question the dedication of the HO staff to the Foreign Relations series, and it can understand the reasons for the changing emphasis in the past year. The Committee nonetheless believes it important that the

Bureau of Public Affairs and other offices be reminded that compilation of the Foreign Relations volumes must remain a central mission of HO.

2) While relations between HO and CDC have evidently improved in the last year, the Committee must again note, with much regret, that the publication of the Foreign Relations volumes remains slowed, in large part, by the process of declassification. Volumes are appearing in which documents have been deleted as a result of the review process. HO has been prepared to publish those volumes in which it considers the deletions not to have been excessive, nor detrimental to understanding the over-all documentary process. least one volume has been cleared, but will not be published because the clearance effectively diminished its usefulness. Scholarship on American foreign policy in the 1950s is suffering from this situation. The Committee again urges the CDC, NSC, intelligence agencies and other offices to recognize the importance of access to documentary records in a democratic society, and to accelerate and liberalize the declassification process.

Gary R. Hess Chairman February 1, 1983

#### Minutes of the SHAFR Council Meeting April 6, 1983

Commodore Room of the Stouffer's Towers Hotel, Cincinnati, Ohio In attendance were Council members Lawrence S. Wittner, Charles DeBenedetti, Sandra K. Taylor, Geoffrey S. Smith, Walter LaFeber, Warren I. Cohen, Lawrence S. Gelfand, David M. Pletcher, and Ernest R. May. Also in attendance were Harold D. Langley, Thomas Buckley, Gary Hess, William Brinker, Alan K. Henrikson, George C. Herring, Sr. Rachel West, Ralph E. Weber, Robert Seager, Daniel Helmstadter, Warren Kuehl, Richard W. Welch Jr., Marvin R. Zahniser.

Ernest R. May called the meeting to order at 8:05 p.m. He first called for a report of the Bernath Committees. On behalf of Mr. Stinchcombe, Mr. Zahniser reported that Dr. Richard Immerman of the University of Hawaii, author of The CIA in Guatemala, is the

Bernath Book Prize winner for 1982. Sr. Rachel West stated that Dr. Chester Pach of Texas Technological University is the Bernath Article Prize winner for 1982. Richard E. Welch Jr. reported that Dr. Michael Hogan of Miami University of Ohio will be the Bernath Lecturer for 1984. All chairs of the Bernath committees stated that the competition was rigorous for their particular award.

Mr. May next read a report from Warren Kimball, Chairman of the Government Relations Committee. The report is as follows:

The main work since the new committee took office has been to become familiar with the current problems that come under the committee's purview. To date, the National Coordinating Committee (NCC) has provided the only information received by the committee. According to the materials received, the major problems we have to deal with are:

- 1. whether or not National Archives and Records Service (NARS) will be separated from the General Services Administration.
- the appointment of a professionally qualified Archivist of the U.S.
- 3. the politicization of the Fulbright and other academic exchange programs.
- 4. the lagging publication schedule for Foreign Relations of the U.S. (FRUS).
- 5. declassification of documents, particularly as it relates to NARS custody of materials.
- 6. the continuing trend towards an American version of an "Official Secrets" Act, and movement away from the idea of open access to archives, including increased interference/lack of cooperation by various government agencies in the preparation of FRUS.

Unfortunately, the NCC Policy Board meeting will be held after the SHAFR Council meeting, but the information put out at the NCC meeting will be passed on at a later date to the SHAFR president.

The committee welcomes any guidance the SHAFR Council

can offer, and solicits information on whether or not the Council has taken an official position on any of the issues before the Government Relations committee.

Discussion following the report centered on how we might best expedite publication of volumes in the Foreign Relations series. Mr. May saw little that could be done at present. Mr. Kimball is interested in learning the position of SHAFR members on the issues raised in his report.

Alan K. Henrikson then reported for the Program Committee concerning the SHAFR summer program at Catholic University. This meeting will have unique features in that there will be joint sessions with the Conference on Peace Research in History (CPRH), the American Military Institute (AMI), and the East Asian Relations Committee of the AHA. Mr. Henrikson next spoke about the various sessions that are planned. Materials advertising the conference will be mailed to the membership during the latter part of May.

Harold D. Langley, chair of the Local Arrangements Committee for the summer meeting, briefed Council on the physical setting for the meeting. Mr. Gelfand asked that a tour of the Catholic University campus be arranged if at all possible. Mr. Langley readily concurred to the suggestion. Room rates, it was emphasized, will be most reasonable (17.50 per night, single).

Ralph Weber, on behalf of the Membership Committee, reported the need for membership chairpersons for Virginia, Washington DC, and the Delaware-Maryland zone. He next presented a summary of SHAFR membership by state and country.

| Alabama     | 11 | Alaska        | 3  | Arizona       | 4  |
|-------------|----|---------------|----|---------------|----|
| Arkansas    | 2  | California    | 57 | Colorado      | 9  |
| Connecticut | 15 | Delaware      | 2  | Florida       | 20 |
| Georgia     | 10 | Hawaii        | 4  | Idaho         | 4  |
| Illinois    | 20 | Indiana       | 20 | Iowa          | 17 |
| Kansas      | 7  | Kentucky      | 10 | Louisiana     | 8  |
| Maine       | 3  | Maryland      | 40 | Massachusetts | 25 |
| Michigan    | 17 | Minnesota     | 5  | Mississippi   | 3  |
| Missouri    | 12 | Montana       | 3  | Nebraska      | 3  |
| Nevada      | 1  | New Hampshire | 4  | New Jersey    | 19 |
|             |    |               |    |               |    |

| New Mexico 4<br>North Dakota 1   |         | New York<br>Ohio             | 70<br>40 | North Carolina19<br>Oklahoma 8                                    |     |
|--|---------|------------------------------|----------|---|-----|
| Oregon 7   |         | Pennsylvania                 | 36       | Rhode Island  | 11  |
| South Carol  |         | South Dakota                 |          | Tennessee   | 20  |
| Texas  | 43      | Utah                         | 3        | Vermont   | 5   |
| Virginia   | 73      | Washington                   | 11       | West Virginia   | 6   |
| Wisconsin  | 20      | Wyoming                      | 3        | District of   | 0   |
| WISCOUSIN  | 20      | wyoming                      |          | Columbia  | 50  |
|  |         |                              |          | COLUMBIA  |     |
| Motol  | 792     |                              |          |   |     |
| Total  | 192     |                              |          |   |     |
| A  | 0       | Canada                       | 10       | Dan of Obina  | 1 1 |
| Australia  | 9       | Canada                       | 19       | 이 그는 그 아니라 아이들이 아니다. 그래요? 아니는 | 14  |
| Eng1 and   | 14      | France                       | 2        | Germany   | 6   |
| Guam   | 1       | Holland                      | 3        | Israel  | 3   |
| Japan  | 8       | Korea                        | 1        | New Zealand   | 1   |
| Norway   | 1       | Qatar                        | 1        | Scotland  | 2   |
| Spain  | 1       | Sweden                       | 2        | Switzerland   | 1   |
| A THE PARTY OF THE | and the | k bi a bi di a di manana ban |          |   |     |
| Total  | 80      |                              |          |   |     |

Mr. Weber then made several suggestions for how the organization might build its membership. Various incentives for joining and the value of exchange ads in appropriate journals were considered. Mr. Smith related certain ways to encourage graduate students to join SHAFR. Mr. Weber asked Council to appropriate a sum of money for purposes of advertising, but Council decided to defer action until it had a clearer picture of SHAFR's financial situation.

He first reported that SHAFR's operating budget will be in deficit this year for about \$2,400.00. Reserves from previous years will carry us through 1983. He asked Council to consider SHAFR's finances and how to correct the deficit situation.

Some discussion followed the report. Mr. DeBenedetti asked if we should consider holding our summer meeting every other year as a way to reduce expenses. After further discussion it was decided that Mr. May should appoint a Special Committee to consider the priority activities of SHAFR and to explore the cost of supporting those activities: The Committee will then make recommendations at the Council meeting in August 1983.

Zahniser related that all contributors to the <u>Guide to American Foreign Relations Since 1700</u> have received their complimentary copy. Also, he has purchased a

three-year "Dishonesty Bond" in the amount of \$50,000 from Marsh & McLennan of Akron, Ohio, to cover the Executive Secretary-Treasurer, Mrs. Elsbeth Connaughton, his administrative Associate, Mr. Kuehl, who chairs the Endowments Committee, and Mr. Lawrence Kaplan who is cosigner of several endowment accounts at Akron. The bond costs \$110.00 per year. Finally, Mr. Zahniser stated that his term as Secretary-Treasurer will terminate at the end of spring quarter 1985. He suggested that Council start now to search for his successor so that the individual chosen could attend Council meetings for at least a year before beginning his term in office. No action was taken.

George Herring cheered council with the news that Diplomatic History is "alive and well." In the eleven months he and Robert Seager have edited the journal, 65 articles have been submitted, seven have been accepted, 34 rejected, 10 returned for revision, and 14 are at some state in the consideration process. By time periods, they have received 7 articles on the period before 1900, 20 on the 1900-1941 period, and 38 post 1941.

Robert Seager and Mr. Herring urged Council to consider the value of indexing Diplomatic History. Mr. Seager thought each volume would take about 30 hours of labor. The costs of indexing were discussed in light of Secretary-Treasurer's report. It was decided that Mr. Herring and Mr. Seager will proceed to index volume 7, without cost to the SHAFR treasury. Consideration of indexing the other volumes will be considered at the summer meeting.

William Brinker reported that the Newsletter will henceforth have a different physical appearance. Tennessee Technological University has provided him a computer terminal so that he can type the newsletter materials himself and have them reproduced, all at considerable savings. He encouraged the use of advertisements in the Newsletter. Mr. Smith congratulated Mr. Brinker on producing an interesting and informative publication.

Thomas Buckley, Roster and Research List editor, reported delaying publication of a 1982 edition until autumn since so few persons have taken time to update their research field interests. He will solicit profile revision in the June Newsletter.

Warren Kuehl, on behalf of the Finance and Endowments Committee, urged that SHAFR sort out its priorities at an early moment. He believes that SHAFR must make increasing efforts to increase its general endowment fund but that our task will be difficult until we can tell potential donors the priorities of SHAFR. The Holt Fellowship Fund, he also reported, has grown very rapidly.

Charles DeBenedetti gave Council some background on the proposed Norman Graebner Award. Several of Mr. Graebner's students have been exploring the terms of the award. Should it be given for a book published on the pre-1900 period? Should it be awarded for the best book published on American foreign relations in a given year regardless of time period? Should the award focus on a person's contribution to teaching? Discussion followed. Mr. May wondered if the award should be based upon a person's "career contribution to the field of American foreign relations." It was decided that Mr. DeBenedetti will continue to explore the terms of the award and report to Council at the summer meeting.

Warren Cohen, on behalf of the Holt Fellowship Fund, moved that we announce the terms of the award at the earliest possible moment and that we award a \$1,000 fellowship in August. The motion was supported by Mr. Gelfand. Discussion followed concerning terms of the award and how it will be advertised. The motion passed unanimously.

David Pletcher, for the <u>ad hoc</u> Committee on Revision of the By-Laws, reported that the Committee is now getting into its work and hopes to have its recommendations ready for the Council meeting in August.

Gary Hess asked that Council consider the following Resolution: "The SHAFR Council, in recognition of his outstanding contribution to the <u>Guide to American Foreign Relations Since 1700</u>, expressed its <u>profound gratitude to Richard Dean Burns</u>. This work, which has been a major project of the Society, is a singularly important contribution to the profession and Professor Burns is deserving of special recognition for his work as the general editor." It was moved and seconded that this resolution be adopted and was passed unanimously and with enthusiasm.

Mr. May announced the composition of the Special Committee to consider SHAFR's priorities in tandem with its financial resources. Committee members are Warren Cohen, Marvin Zahniser, Lawrence Gelfand, Warren Kuehl, George Herring, Walter LaFeber, Ernest May.

On motion, the meeting adjourned at 10:00.

Marvin Zahniser

#### ABSTRACTS OF ARTICLES PUBLISHED, OR SCHOLARLY PAPERS DELIVERED BY MEMBERS OF SHAFR

(Please limit abstracts to a total of twenty (20) lines of Newsletter space, or approximately two hundred (200) words. The desire to accommodate as many contributors as possible, plus the overriding problem of space, makes this restriction necessary. Double space all abstracts, and send them as you would have them appear in print. For abstracts of articles, please supply the date, the volume, the number within the volume, and the pages. It would be appreciated if abstracts were not sent until after a paper has been delivered, or an article has been printed. Also, please do not send abstracts which have appeared in Diplomatic History, since all SHAFR members already receive the latter publication).

Thomas Leonard (University of North Florida), "The United States and Central America: The Questions of Non-Intervention and Non-Recognition," paper read at the Southern Historical Association, Memphis. From the start of the twentieth century, the United States attempted to impose constitutional order upon Central America, as best illustrated by the 1907 and 1923 Central American conferences, and interventions in Nicaragua, Honduras, and diplomatic efforts in Guatemala and El Salvador. By 1933 these efforts failed to provide the desired political stability.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Good Neighbor policy, initiated in 1933, permitted dictators to come to power in all Central American countries, except Costa Rica, during the 1930s. When these dictators were pressured to resign at the end of World War II, the United States was again forced to re-examine its policy. Should it intervene or not recognize dictators and governments brought to power by illegal

means?

At the same time Latin American governments were pressuring the United States not to intervene directly or indirectly in the internal affairs of Central America. The United States gave the appearance of acceding to Latin American pressure at the 1948 Bogota Conference, by accepting the principle of non-intervention, directly or indirectly. The United States position was innocuous, however, because the United States maintained the right to pursue policies of self-interest.

William Kamman (North Texas State University), "United States Recognition Policy and the Rise of Anastasio Somoza," paper read at the Southern Historical Association meeting, Memphis, 1982.

For many years in the early twentieth century the

Central American treaty systems of 1907 and 1923, providing for non-recognition of governments coming to power through a coup d'etat or revolution, influenced United States foreign policy in that area. When the principle did not work and was frequently honored in the breach and when the Central American states divided on continuation of the 1923 treaty the United States reviewed its own policy. Washington's review came during evolution of the Good Neighbor Policy and its early emphasis on non-intervention. Events sur-rounding Anastasio Somoza's rise to power in 1936 provided opportunity for the United States to demonstrate quietly its non-support for the treaty and confirm its support for nonintervention. At the same time Washington moved to restrict the interferencerole of U.S. ministers in Central America. Although these changes were consistent with the Good Neighbor Policy, the Somoza family's rule in Nicaragua suggests that non-recognition had some commendable features.

Joseph M. Siracusa (University of Queensland), "The Australian-American Relationship: An Historical and Security Problem," paper read at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Medford, Massachusetts,

February. 1983.

This paper dealt at length with the various Australian and American security approaches to defense problems in the Indian and the Pacific Oceans in the 1980s. Essentially, the author found the policies of Washington and Canberra to be complementary and mutually beneficial in this area, with each making special use of its strategic assets. Finally, the study of this subject offered a model laboratory to anyone who would understand the interweave and dynamics of a middle ranking power on the one hand and

a superpower on the other.

,"A View of the Nuclear Arms Race, from Truman to Reagan," a paper read at the Pennsylvania State University, January, 1983.

This paper suggests that despite the growth and apparent influence of the anti-nuclear movement in the United States, little is known of the historical obstacles that lay across the path of the resolution of nuclear arms control. The evidence indicates that the key to the problem is, in the first instance, to understand the nature of the rivalry that has animated Soviet-American relations since the waning days of World War II. For as the United States and the Soviet Union move into the 1980s, their fourth decade of nuclear rivalry, their adversarial relationship remains essentially unchanged. Each, it seems, is still beset with fears and suspicions of the other.

Raymond James Raymond (University of Connecticut), "Irish Neutrality: Past, Present, and Future," paper presented at the History Faculty/Strategic Studies Seminar, Cambridge University, January, 1983.

This paper argues that recent equivocal statements on neutrality by successive Irish governments are consistent with the past. Contemporary observers should not accept the assumption that before 1961 Ireland adhered rigidly to neutrality. A careful examination of the historical record demonstrates that there was no consistent set of principles governing Ireland's attitude towards neutrality between 1935 and 1961; that Irish neutrality was never more than an ad hoc policy hastily cobbled together after 1938 and almost abandoned in 1949. Historically, therefore, Ireland's claim to be a "traditional" neutral is very dubious indeed.

, "Eamon DeValera and the Conduct of Irish Neutrality 1939-1945," paper read at the Duquesne History Forum, October, 1982. Political attitudes have powerfully influenced

the historical interpretation of Ireland's neutrality to such a degree that in explaining the diplomatic "success" of Irish neutrality factors other than Irish Prime Minister Eamon DeValera's diplomatic genius have not only been ignored but have often been assumed not to exist.

This paper suggests that before historians laud DeValera's "achievement" we have to realize that Ireland was never sufficiently important to the belligerents to warrant invasion. I do not try to suggest that Ireland's decision to remain neutral was morally wrong or militarily unwise; quite the contrary. Neutrality was the right of an independent Irish state, irrespective of the particular diplomatic or strategic circumstances which might prevail. My objection is to giving DeValera credit for saving Irish neutrality when this must be attributed to British and American forbearance.

Michael G. Fry (University of Southern California), "The Occupation of Japan: The MacArthur-Norman Years." A paper presented at the symposium on the Occupation of Japan, Old Dominion University,

October, 1982.

Canadian policy toward the occupation of Japan reflected a high degree of activism in international affairs and the constraints of her modest role in the Pacific war, her close cooperation with the United States and her desire for influence on and effective distance from America, her especial concern for Atlantic issues and the need to work alongside Britain and the Commonwealth, and her desire to influence the future of Asian and Pacific Affairs while not supporting the goals of the Pacific Dominions. Policy was formulated out of bureaucratic not Cabinet politics; the Department of External Affairs, practicing quiet diplomacy, dominated. Herbert Norman, Canada's most celebrated Japanologist and head of the Liaison Mission in Tokyo until October 1950, provided the intellectual unity for policy formulation. Norman's tenure in Toyko thus matched the period of the SCAP's rule.

The goals of Canadian policy were to help establish a disarmed, demilitarized, democratic, economically viable, and reformed Japan which would pay very limited reparations and participate in the revival of Asian and trans-Pacific trade, but not plunder Pacific fisheries. To pursue those goals was to manage relations with the United States and with General MacArthur, and Norman's MacArthur was as fascinating a figure as Washington's bureaucracy was inscrutible. Canada's views of the occupation up to 1950 were, however, unequivocal. In the military, political, social and legal realms as much as possible had been accomplished from outside by the occupying powers,

especially with regard to disarmament. The future lay with the Japanese themselves. In the economic sphere, however, much still remained to be accomplished and, significantly, a revival of Canada-Japan trade had not occurred. What the SCAP and the Japanese government failed to do for the Japanese economy, the Korean War accomplished. On balance, in their assessment of MacArthur, Canadian officials found wisdom in the Russian aphorism, "Never pray for a better Tsar."

Fred Harvey Harrington (University of Wisconsin), "Korean-American Relations 1882-1905: A Case Study in American Imperialism," paper presented at the American Historical Association meeting, December, 1982.

It began when a blundering Navy-State Department expedition slaughtered 200 Koreans (1871), the largest body count of Asians killed by Americans before the Filipino insurrection. Later there were other signs that we might pursue an "active" Korean policy. Secretary Blaine sent a Navy man, not a civilian, to negotiate a trade treaty. We were the first Western nation to establish a legation in Seoul; considered acquiring a naval base; supported a missionary thrust in violation of Korean law.

Then, overnight, we shifted to a do-nothing policy (1880s to 1905). State Department instructions to the field were to stay out of Korean politics, not

to support Korea against potential aggressors.
Given divisions within the United States, and Korea's limited importance to us, the hands-off approach was understandable. But we had been active there. King Kojong hoped we would be again, help him hold back his aggressive neighbors. Americans in Korea--diplomats, missionaries, business-men--also wanted more American activity, to support their projects and, incidentally, to help Korea. In their enthusiasm and desire for favors, they misled Koreans into thinking that aid might be forthcoming. But of course it never came.

Charles M. Dobbs (Metropolitan State College), "Towards a Reconsideration of the Tet Offensive, 1968," a paper delivered at the Missouri Valley

History Conference, Omaha, March, 1983.

In the fifteen years since the communist surprise attack caught the American military unaware and shocked the American domestic scene, two reasonably static, well-developed, and mutually contradictory conservative and liberal viewpoints have evolved to explain Tet, the reaction at home, and the meaning of the event for America's involvement in Vietnam. These value systems unfortunately overlook some recent revelations that have an impact far beyond that which many might perceive. Specifically, it seems we should reemphasize the American victory at Tet, consider the gross errors in intelligence, praise even more strongly field commanders, NCO's, and the fighting men, and make an attempt to deal with the strong argument that the enemy was at least twice as numerous (perhaps more) than hitherto commonly accepted.

Robert J. McMahon (University of Florida), "The Evolution of the United States-Pakistan Alliance," a paper delivered at the Organization of American Historians, Cincinnati, 1983.

This paper argues that Washington's decision to align Pakistan with the West grew out of plans for defense of the Middle East that were first formulated during the Truman administration and reached fruition during the Eisenhower years as part of Secretary of State John Foster Dulles' "northern tier" concept. Yet it was clear from the inception of the alliance that American and Pakistani interests diverged fundamentally: while the United States sought to include Pakistan in its developing stratgey for containing the Soviet Union, Pakistan sought arms and alignment primarily to defend itself against its chief rival on the subcontinent, India. The alignment with Pakiston, the paper concludes, was a major politico-strategic blunder. Not only did it alienate India and Afghanistan and foster closer Soviet ties with those two states, but rather than contributing to the global balance of power it wound up seriously distorting the regional balance in South Asia.

Alan K. Henrikson (Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy), "The Archimedes of Diplomacy: Henry Kissinger and the Foreign Policy of Watergate America." International Journal, Special Issue on "Leaders and Leadership." XXXVII, 4 (Autumn 1982), 606-612. A review essay, based on Henry A. Kissinger's Years of Upheaval (1982), that analyzes the intimate relationship between the progressive decline of the Nixon Administration's "executive authority" over Watergate and the extraordinary diplomatic exertion and sophistication of Kissinger as Secretary of State, particularly in regard to the Middle East. What could not be done with national

strength and unity had to be done with "mirrors" and other Archimedean devices. The result, however, was less a permanent institutional "legacy," which had been Kissinger's hope, than a brief, individual "tour de force."

"The Creation of the North Atlantic Alliance," in John F. Reichart and Steven R. Sturm, eds., American Defense Policy (5th edition; Baltimore and London: the Johns Hopkins Press, 1982), 296-320.

A comprehensive historical account of the origins of NATO--the treaty itself, the organizational structure, and the military assistance program. Stress is given the progenitorial role of Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin, as well as certain American officials-notably, John D. Hickerson, Theodore C. Achilles, and, at a later stage only, Dean Acheson. Article 2, concerning social and economic cooperation, was nearly a dead letter, owing in part to Southern conservative--and Secretary Acheson's--opposition to international welfarism. Domestic politics--this time, in Norway--are also a key to understanding how what otherwise might have been a unilateral U.S. pledge to Europe or an American-European treaty loosely linked to the Brussels Pact became instead a broad, multilateral "North Atlantic" alliance.

, "'A Small, Cozy Town, Global in Scope': Washington, D.C.," EKISTICS: The Science and Study of Human Settlements, 50, 299 (April 1983), 123-145.

A phrase of Alice Roosevelt Longworth's captures the paradoxial quality—the mixture of provincialism and cosmopolitanism—that is the hallmark of the U.S. federal capital, the modern world's first "artificial" capital and a prototype for capitals of many other "new" countries. Presented originally at an International Political Science Association comparative session on Capital Cities, the article traces the historical evolution of Washington, D.C., in its changing national and international contexts. Particular attention is given to the significance of Washington—its location, size, and social character—for American foreign policy, once again (as in the 1890s) increasingly oriented toward the Pacific and East Asia. The author does not join in recurrent proposals that the U.S. capital be relocated to St. Louis, Denver, Los Angeles, or San Francisco.

Richard L. Lael (Westminster College) and Linda Killen (Radford University), "The Pressure of Short-

age: Platinum Policy and the Wilson Administration During World War I," <u>Business History Review.</u> 56 (Winter 1982), 545-558. <u>Mobilization for World War I</u> carried the United States government into an unprecedented role in the American economy. Entire industries came under the regulation, if not outright control, of new federal boards and bureaucracies. In this study, professors Lael and Killen examine the impact of an expected shortage of the strategic metal platinum on domestic and international policies. While the federal government very reluctantly decided to exert control over domestic supplies, it also began considering new policies relating to Russia and Colombia where additional sources could be obtained in case of a prolonged war in Europe. With obvious relief, federal officials abandoned all efforts to regulate or acquire platinum shortly after the signing of the armistice.

#### ANNOUNCEMENTS

#### FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES VOLUMES

The Department of State recently released two volumes in the series Foreign Relations of the United States for the year 1951: Volume V, The Near East and Africa, and Volume VII, Korea and China (in two parts). Six of the seven scheduled volumes covering the year 1951 have now been published. Three of sixteen scheduled volumes recording the years 1952-1954 have also been released.

Copies may be ordered from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. Copies of Volume V (Department of State publication 9114; GPO Stock No. 004-00-01914-1) may be purchased for \$21.00 and copies of Volume VII (Department of State publication Nos. 9270 and 9271; GPO Stock No. 044-000-01931-1) may be purchased for \$30.00 (domestic postpaid). Checks or money orders should be made out to the Superintendent of Documents.

#### "THE WORK OF PEACE" SYMPOSIUM, September 29-30, 1983

The symposium will be sponsored by the National Committee for the Bicentennial of the Treaty of Paris, the Smithsonian Institution, and The American University. Papers will cover the subjects of peace settlements, maintaining and keeping peace, and the cultural consequences of peace. September 29 at Nebraska Hall, 3700 Nebraska Avenue, across Massachusetts Avenue from the main campus of The American University (parking in the Nebraska Avenue lot); September 30 at the Carmichael Auditorium of the National Museum of American History. Sessions beginning each day at 9:30 a.m., lasting to 4:00 p.m. Delivering papers will be Reginald C. Stuart; Michael Lutzker (New York University); Russell F. Weigley (Temple University); John Keegan; James A. Field (Swarthmore); Harold Langley (National Museum of American History); Linda Kerber, and David Musto.

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(202) 686-2401

#### MacARTHUR MEMORIAL FOUNDATION GRANTS

The MacArthur Foundation offers a limited number of grants to support graduate, doctoral, and post-doctoral research in the archives of the MacArthur Memorial in Norfolk, Virginia.

Grants may be used for travel, per diem, and copying expenses. Use of a personal car will be reimbursed at a rate of 20 cents per mile. Grants will not exceed \$400. They are made in the form of reimbursement for documented expenditures after the authorized travel is completed and a report on activities is submitted. No applications will be considered for work already completed.

Applications may be submitted to the Archivist, MacArthur Memorial, MacArthur Square, Norfolk, Virginia 23510. Applications, not to exceed three single-spaced pages in length, must include a research prospectus, a statement of the intended use of the

research, a list of the archival materials to be utilized, a summary of the scholar's special qualifications for the proposed research, an explanation of financial need, an estimate of expenses and the dates of the proposed research.

#### THE 1983 GILBERT CHINARD PRIZES

The Gilbert Chinard awards are made jointly by the Institut Francais de Washington and the Society for French Historical Studies for distinguished scholarly books or manuscripts in the history of Franco-American relations by Canadian or American authors published during 1983. Historical studies in any area or period are acceptable, including critical editions of significant source materials. The Gilbert Chinard Prize of \$750 is awarded annually for a book or manuscript in page-proof, the Incentive Award of \$250 for an unpublished book-length manuscript, generally by a younger scholar. The Institut Francais de Washington funds the Prize; a committee of the Society for French Historical Studies determines the winners.

Deadline for the 1983 award is December 1, and five copies of each entrant should be sent to:

Professor John McV. Haight Jr. Chairman, Chinard Prize Committee Department of History, Maginnes #9 Lehigh University
Bethlehem, PA 18015

The winners will be announced at the annual conference of the Society for French Historical Studies in the spring of 1984.

#### MEMBERS TAKE SPECIAL NOTICE !!!

The SHAFR Membership Roster and List of Current Research Projects is now being revised for publication in the fall of 1983. Would all members check their listing in the last edition (December 1980). If your address has changed, your topic of research has been completed or changed, or there is an error, please send a note to:

Thomas Buckley
Department of History
University of Tulsa
Tulsa, OK 74104

### RESEARCH AID

Bradley F. Smith has recently moved to London on a semi-permanent basis and has started a research and freelance writing service. He is offering research help to American scholars. He has researched and written on a number of aspects of American foreign relations and has made much use of the Public Record Office and other British archives during the last ten years. He can handle German as well as English materials; his specialization is in the 20th century but has done projects as far removed in time and space as mid-19th century Iraq.

He can be reached at:
104 Regents Park Rd.
London, NW 1
England
01-722-6722

\* manufacture \* Address \* manufacture \*

(Eugene Trani believed that the following obituary would be of interest to SHAFR members.

-- editor).

### IN MEMORIAM

Nikolai V. Sivachev, Professor of the Chair of European and American History, Chairman of the United States Studies Council, and Head of the Laboratory for American History at Moscow State University in the U.S.S.R., died on March 4, 1983, at the age of 48.

Born on April 26, 1934, in the Mordovskaya Autonomous Republic of the U.S.S.R., Sivachev did his undergraduate and graduate work at Moscow State University, and then joined the faculty there. He also did graduate work at Columbia University under Richard Hofstadter and, during that time, spent several weeks as a guest of Eleanor Roosevelt at the Hyde Park mansion while doing research at the FDR Library.

A specialist in American history, he had major research interests in the social and political history of the United States, the American labor movement, Soviet-American relations, and more recently in the two-party system of the United States, and published more than 60 articles and six books on American history. The books were Political Struggle in the USA

in the Mid-1930's (1966); Government Regulation of Labor Relations in the USA (1972); History of the USA Since World War I (1972); History of the USA Since World War I (1972); Government and Labor in the USA During World War II (1974); Russia and the United States, published in 1979 by the University of Chicago Press; and Modern History of the USA (1980).

But it was not his many publications which made him one of the leading American specialists in the Soviet Union, or his frequent trips to the United States, the last one in 1981, when in Los Angeles he became the first Soviet historian ever to present a paper at an annual meeting of the American Historical Association. that made Sivachev so special and his death such an enormous loss. His lasting legacy will be the American Studies Program at Moscow State University. In concert with his senior American history colleagues, Eugene Yazkov and Igor Dementyev, Sivachev made Moscow State University's American Studies Program a place of serious study and international goodwill in a troubled time between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. His favorite project, and one to which he devoted considerable attention, brought a American historian to his University every spring semester beginning in 1974, under the auspices of the Fulbright Lectureship Program. George Frederickson of Northwestern University is the current incumbent of that lectureship. The undersigned have all participated in the program and were recipients of the goodwill of Sivachev and his colleagues. Sivachev's program was effective and widely known in the U.S.S.R., with Sivachev himself describing the program in an article entitled "The Benefit is Mutual" in Komsomol'skaia Pravda on August 31,1978.

All of the Americans who are "alumni" of Sivachev's program mourn his passing deeply and all have their own special memories of him and his lovely wife Ina. One special memory is of Nebraska Governor Charles Thone commissioning Sivachev an "Admiral of the Nebraska Navy" in 1980 in Lincoln. Imagine the surprise on seeing that Commission proudly displayed on the wall of Sivachev's apartment in Moscow!

Nikolai Sivachev's legacy will be the continuation of the American Studies Program at Moscow State University, especially the Fulbright lecturehsip, and the exchanges such as that between the University of Missouri and Moscow State University that he brought about. He will be missed by specialists in American history in both the United States and the Soviet Union.

David Brody, University of California-Davis

E. David Cronon, University of Wisconsin-Madison
Robert Kelley, University of California-Santa Barbara
Leon Litwack, University of California-Berkeley
E.B. Smith, University of Maryland-College Park
Winton Solberg, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Eugene Trani, University of Missouri-Kansas City Peter Walker, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill

# NINTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY FOR HISTORIANS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS

in conjunction with the NCE ON PEACE RESEARCH IN HI

CONFERENCE ON PEACE RESEARCH IN HISTORY and AMERICAN MILITARY INSTITUTE

Catholic University of America
Washington, D.C., August 4-6, 1983

Thursday, August 4

Breakfast (University Center Dining Hall)

8:30-10:00 a.m. SHAFR Council Meeting

9:00-10:00 a.m. CPRH-AMI/SHAFR registration Check-in at Monroe Hall

- 10:00-11:45 a.m.: THE HISTORIOGRAPHY AND METHODOLOGY

  OF PEACE RESEARCH AND MITITARY HISTORY

  Warren F. Kuehl (Akron) chair, papers by

  Charles DeBenedetti (Toledo), Edward M.

  Coffman (Wisconsin-Madison), and Jeffrey

  Kimball (Miami). Comment by the audience.
- 12:00-1:30 p.m. CPRH-AMI Luncheon
- 1:30-3:00 p.m. THE PROBLEM OF LIMITED WAR Col. Roy K. Flint (Military Academy) chair, papers by Robin Higham (Kansas State) and John E. Wilz (Indiana). Comment by Lt. Col. Don Bittner (Quantico).
- 3:15-4:45 p.m. CASE STUDIES IN THE EVOLUTION OF ANTI-WAR VIEWS Brig. Gen. E.H. Simmons (U.S. Marine Corps History and Museums) chair, papers by Mark

A. Stoler (Vermont) and William C. Berman (Toronto). Comment by David F. Trask (Center for Military History) and Sandra Taylor (Utah).

5:00-6:30 p.m. Reception for CPRH-AMI and SHAFR (hosted by Catholic University)

SHAFR Registration

6:30-7:45 p.m. Supper

8:00-10:00 p.m. RETROSPECTIVE ON THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS
Introduction by Arthur L. Singer, Jr. (Sloan Foundation) and Ernest R. May (Harvard).
Film: Video-History Recording of Discussion with Members of the "ExCom." Comment by the audience.

Friday, August 5
Breakfast (University Center Dining Hall)

8:30-9:30 a.m. SHAFR Registration (Seton Wing, Cald-well Hall)

9:30-11:45 a.m. CONCURRENT SESSIONS (Seton Wing, Caldwell Hall)

GREAT BRITAIN, IRELAND, THE UNITED STATES AND THE COMING OF WORLD WAR II Warren F. Kimball (Rutgers University-Newark) chair, papers by Harry Dahlheimer (SUNY-Cortland), Timothy P. Maga (University of Maryland-Far Eastern Division) and Frederick W. Marks. Comment by Geoffrey S. Smith (Queens, Canada) and Warren F. Kimball.

AMERICAN FOREIGN ECONOMIC POLICY IN THE EARLY COLD WAR: RECONSIDERATIONS
William H. Becker (George Washington) chair, papers by David S. Painter (Office of the Historian, Dept. of State), Robert M. Hathaway (History Staff, CIA), and Robert A. Pollard (The Wilson Quarterly). Comment by Alfred E. Eckes (U.S. International Trade Commission) and I.M. Destler (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace).

"GEOPOLITICS" RE-EXAMINED: POLITICAL GEO-GRAPHY AND AMERICAN DIPLOMATIC HISTORY Charles Vevier (U of Medicine and Dentistry of NJ) chair, papers by Bernard V. Burke (Portland State), Kinley J. Brauer (Minnesota), and Neil Smith (Columbia). Comment by Lawrence E. Gelfand (Iowa) and George W. Hoffman (University of Texas-Austin).

- 12:00-1:45 p.m. SHAFR Luncheon (Caldwell Hall Faculty Club)
  Presiding: Alan K. Henrikson (Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts)
  Main Address: "NEGOTIATING WORLD ORDER: THE HISTORICAL CASE OF THE LAW OF THE SEA CONFERENCE," Elliot L. Richardson.
- 2:00-3:30 p.m. CONCURRENT SESSIONS (Seton Wing, Cald-well Hall)

THE MONROE DOCTRINE: REINTERPRETATIONS

David M. Pletcher (Indiana) chair, papers by Harold E. Bergquist, Jr. and N.N. Bolkhovitinov (Institute of General History, U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences). Comment by Lloyd C. Gardner (Rutgers) and David M. Pletcher.

### ARMS CONTROL IN PERSPECTIVE

Roger R. Trask (Historical Office, U.S. Department of Defense) chair, papers by Joseph B. Baratta (Boston U) and Thomas A. Julian (BDM Corporation). Comment by David MacIsaac (Air Power Research Institute) and Roger R. Trask.

3:45-5:15 p.m. CONCURRENT SESSIONS (Seton Wing, Caldwell Hall)
ANTEBELLUM NAVAL DIPLOMACY

Harold D. Langley (Smithsonian Institution and Catholic University) chair, papers by Judd Scott Harmon (U.S. Park Service--Harpers Ferry Center) and Robert William Love, Jr. United States Naval Academy). Comment by Richard W. Turk (Allegheny College) and Robert Seager II (Kentucky).

ANGLO-AMERICAN FINANCIAL DIPLOMACY DURING AND AFTER WORLD WAR I

Melvyn P. Leffler (Vanderbilt) chair, papers by Kathleen Burk (Imperial College of Science and Technology) and Philip A. Grant, Jr. (Pace U). Comment by Mark T. Gilderhus (Colorado State) and Melvyn P. Leffler.

2:30-5:00 p.m. VISIT TO THE OFFICE OF THE HISTORIAN, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

William Z. Slany, (The Historian, Office of the Historian) will give an introduction preceding the tour. (Please note that preregistration is required with the Office of the Historian because space is limited.)

6:00-7:30 p.m. Supper

7:30-9:30 p.m. Symposium of American East-Asian Relations Committee (Seton Wing, Caldwell Hall)

CHINESE HISTORIANS AND AMERICAN POLICY IN THE 1940s: A VIEW FROM TWO SIDES

Warren I. Cohen (Michigan State) chair, speakers are Wu Jiajing (Michigan State) and Chang Chung-tung (National Taiwan University). The panel consists of James A. Fetzer (SUNY-Maritime Academy) and Robert M. Blum (CIA).

9:30-10:30 p.m. Reception for participants in CPRH-AMI/SHAFR Conference (hosted by Committee on American-East Asian Relations)

Saturday, August 6

Breakfast (University Center Dining Hall)

9:30-11:45 a.m. CONCURRENT SESSIONS (Seton Wing, Caldwell Hall)

BRITAIN, AMERICA, AND THE ORIENT

Gary R. Hess (Bowling Green State) chair, papers by Roberta Allbert Dayer (SUNY-Buffa-

lo), John J. Sbrega (Tidewater State CC-Virginia Beach) and Andrew J. Rotter (Saint Mary's College of California). Comment by Waldo H. Heinrichs (Temple) and Gary R. Hess.

THE HISTORICAL STUDY OF INTELLIGENCE

Jeffrey M. Dorwart (Rutgers-Camden) chair, papers by Reinhard R. Doerries (U of Hamburg) and Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones (Edinburgh). Comment by George C. Constantinides and Jeffrey M. Dorwart.

"WORK IN PROGRESS" SESSION

Robert L. Beisner (American) chair, papers by Michael L. Krenn (Rutgers), David F. Schmitz (Rutgers), John P. Rossi (Rutgers), Thomas Schwartz (Harvard), and Thomas Zoumaras (Connecticut). Comment by the audience.

12:00-2:00 p.m. SHAFR Luncheon

Presiding: Ernest R. May (Harvard)
Address: "REAGAN, CHINA, AND THE PRESENT
DANGER," Warren I. Cohen (Michigan State).

### PERSONALS

Joseph M. Siracusa (University of Queensland) has been granted a Study Leave in the US for 1984 to complete a manuscript on "The Changing of America: 1945-1982," an interpretive history of postwar America.

Richard L. Lael (Westminster College) has been awarded the Missouri Conference on History Distinguished Book Award for 1983. His book is entitled The Yamashita Precedent: War Crimes and Command Responsibility. 1982. Scholarly Resources.

CONGRATULATIONS!!!

William H. Becker (George Washington University) has been awarded the 1983 Thomas Newcomen Award for his book The Dynamics of Business-Government Relations: Industry and Exports, 1893-1921. The prize

is given once every three years for the best book on the history of business published in the United States. The book traced the development of the relationship among industry, the Congress, and the federal bureaucracy in the promotion of American industrial exports.

CONGRATULATIONS!!!

Osamu Ishii (Hiroshima University) has been awarded a grant from the American Council of Learned Societies for 1983-84 for research in American policy toward Asia (especially Japan) in the 1950s.

These SHAFR members have recently been awarded research grants from the Lyndon Baines Johnson Foundation. Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones (University of Edinburgh); Priscilla M. Roberts (Silver Springs, MD); and Melvin Small (Wayne State University).

Michael H. Ebner (Lake Forest College) has been awarded a Fellowship for College Teachers by NIH. He will devote the 1983-1984 academic year to research on the social history of Chicago's North Shore suburbs 1855-1980.

David Reynolds (Caius College, Cambridge) will be spending September as an International Scholar-in-Residence at the University of Nebraska at Lincoln, where he will be teaching a course on "The West, the Far East, and World War II."

Thomas A. Bailey (Stanford) has been awarded a 1983 OAH distinguished Service Award. Our heartiest

congratulations!!!

(Incidentally, SHAFR's first president has recently published his professional autobiography, The American Pageant Revisited: Recollections of a Stanford Historian. Hoover Press. \$19.95. See note in the March Newsletter).

### PUBLICATIONS

Paul S. Holbo (Oregon University), <u>Tarnished</u> Expansion: The Alaska Scandal, the Press, and Congress, 1867-1871. 1983. The University of Tennessee Press. \$12.95.

Kendrick A. Clements (University of South Carolina), William Jennings Bryan, Missionary Isolationist. 1983. The University of Tennessee Press. \$19.95.

Thomas H. Buckley (University of Tulsa), The United States and the Washington Conference, 1921-1922. The University of Tennessee Press. \$13.50.

Gary May (University of Delaware), China Scapegoat: The Diplomatic Ordeal of John Carter Vincent. 1983. Waveland Press. Paperback \$8.95.

Kendrick A. Clements (University of South Carolina), editor, James F. Byrnes and the Origins of the Cold War. 1982. Carolina Academic Press. \$13.95.

William H. Becker (George Washington University), The Dynamics of Business-Government Relations: Industry and Exports, 1893-1921. 1982. University of Chicago Press.

Robert Seager III (Lexington, Kentucky), editor, The Papers of Henry Clay Volume 7: Secretary of State 1828-1829. 1983. The University Press of Kentucky. \$35.00. (Contains a subject index of Volumes 1-7.)

Robert Freeman Smith (Toledo University), editor, The United States and the Latin American Sphere of Influence. Volume 2: The Era of Good Neighbors, Cold Warriors, and Hairshirts, 1930-1982. 1983. Krieger Publishing Company, Inc. Paperback \$5.50.

Wayne S. Cole (University of Maryland), Roosevelt and the Isolationists, 1932-1945. University of Nebraska Press. \$26.50.

Robert H. Ferrell (Indiana University), The Diary of James C. Hagerty: Eisenhower in Mid-Course, 1954-1955. 1983. Indiana University Press. \$17.50.

Presidency. Harry S. Truman and the Modern American Little, Brown, and Company. \$13.00.

Clifford L. Egan (University of Houston), Neither Peace Nor War: Franco-American Relations, 1803-1812.

1983. Louisiana State University Press. \$30.00.

Nancy Bernkopf Tucker (Gaithersburg, Maryland), Patterns in the Dust: Chinese-American Relations and the Recognition Controversy, 1949-1950. 1983. Columbia University Press. \$15.00.

Warren I. Cohen (Michigan State University), editor, New Frontiers in American-East Asian Relations: Essays Presented to Dorothy Borg. 1983. Columbia University Press. \$15.00.

Jules R. Benjamin (University of Rochester), A Student's Guide to History. Third Edition. 1983. St. Martin's Press. \$5.95.

Kenneth Paul Jones (University of Tennessee at Martin), U.S. Diplomats in Europe, 1919-1941. Reprint edition. 1983. ABC-Clio. Paperback \$12.95.

David Reynolds (Caius College, <u>Cambridge University</u>), Lord Lothian and <u>Anglo-American Relations</u>, 1939-1940. 1983. American Philosophical Society. \$8.00.

### CONFERENCES PAST

On March 17 and 18 the United States Capitol Historical Society sponsored a symposium on the Treaty of 1783. Among the participants were the following SHAFR members: James H. Hutson (Library of Congress), Jonathan R. Dull (Benjamin Franklin Papers), Bradford Perkins (University of Michigan) and Lawrence S. Kaplan (Kent State University).

On April 16 and 17 the Institut fuer Geschichte at the University of Salzburg sponsored a symposium on "Reconstruction and the Restoration of Democracy: U.S.-European Relations, 1945-1952." Among the participants were SHAFR members: John L. Gaddis (Ohio University), Lawrence S. Kaplan (Kent State University), and Bruce R. Kuniholm (Duke).

"NATO and the Mediterranean" was the theme for an international conference at the Rockefeller Foundation Bellagio Study and Conference Center at the Villa Serbelloni in Bellagio, Italy on March 28-April 1, 1983. SHAFR members participating were: Lawrence S. Kaplan (Kent State University), Thomas H. Etzold (Naval War College), E. Timothy Smith (Wesleyan College) and Bruce R. Kuniholm (Duke).

| SHAFR'S CALENDAR |  |  |  |  |
|------------------|--|--|--|--|
| July 22-23       | The 5th annual SHEAR Conference will be held at Bentley College, Waltham, Massachusetts.   |  |  |  |
| August 1         | Deadline, materials for the September Newsletter   |  |  |  |
| August 4-6       | The 9th annual conference of SHAFR will be held at Catholic University. (The program is printed elsewhere in this issue).            |  |  |  |
| August           | The 76th annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the AHA will be held at San Diego State University.                           |  |  |  |
| November 1       | Deadline, materials for the December<br>Newsletter   |  |  |  |
| November 1-15    | Annual elections for officers of SHAFR   |  |  |  |
| November 9-12    | The 49th annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association will meet at Charleston with headquarters at the Sheraton Charleston. |  |  |  |
| December 1       | Deadline, nominations for the 1984 Bernath Memorial lectureship.   |  |  |  |
| December 27-30   | The 98th annual convention of the AHA will be held in San Francisco with headquarters at the Hyatt-Regency Embarcadero Hotel.        |  |  |  |
| January 1, 1984  | Membership fees in all categories are due, payable at the national office of SHAFR.  |  |  |  |
| January 15       | Deadline, nominations for the 1983 Bernath article award.  |  |  |  |
| February 1       | Deadline, nominations for the 1983<br>Bernath book prize.  |  |  |  |
| February 1       | Deadline, materials for the March Newsletter.  |  |  |  |

April 4-7

The 77th annual meeting of the OAH will be held in Los Angeles with head-quarters at the Biltmore Hotel.

May 1

Deadline, materials for the June Newsletter

The 99th meeting of the AHA will be in Chicago. The Program Chair is C. Warren Hollister, Department of History, University of California-Santa Barbara, CA

The 78th annual meeting of the OAH will be held in Minneapolis on April 17-20,1985. The Program chair

Gerald N. Grob
Department of History
Rutgers U
New Brunswick, NJ 03903

### STUDENT BONERS

Destroyer-Bases Deal: "This was a deal with the Philippines that they got their independence if the U.S. got a base at Guantamo [sic] Bay."

"Stalin's main objective during the Cold War was..used by people invading Russia for centuries."

-- James I. Matray (New Mexico)

"Dean Acheson who wanted to prove he was tough (so he could shed the spreading rumors about him as being a homosexual) used this opportunity [support for the Truman Doctrine] to do so."

-- Howard Jones (Alabama)

"Jefferson was born an aristocrat but lived between dirty farmers."

"most favored nation claws"
-- Robert W. Sellen (Georgia State)

## THE STUART L.BERNATH MEMORIAL PRIZE FOR THE BEST SCHOLARLY ARTICLE IN U.S. DIPLOMATIC HISTORY

The Stuart L. Bernath Memorial Award for scholarly articles in American foreign affairs was set up in 1976 through the kindness of the young Bernath's parents, Dr. and Mrs. Gerald J. Bernath, Beverly Hills, California, and it is administered through selected personnel of SHAFR. The objective of the award is to identify and to reward outstanding research and writing by the younger scholars in the area of U.S. diplomatic relations.

### CONDITIONS OF THE AWARD

Eligibility: Prize competition is open to the author of any article upon any topic in American foreign relations that is published during 1983. The article must be among the author's first five (5) which have seen publication. Membership in SHAFR or upon a college/university faculty is not a prerequisite for entering the competiton. Authors must be under thirty-five (35) years of age, or within five (5) years after receiving the doctorate, at the time the article was published. Previous winners of the S.L. Bernath book award are ineligible.

Procedures: Articles shall be submitted by the author or by any member of SHAFR. Five (5) copies of each article (preferably reprints) should be sent to the chairman of the Stuart L. Bernath Article Prize Committee by January 15,1984. The Chairman of the Committee for 1983 is Harry Stegmaier, Department of History, Frostburg State University, Frostburg, Mary-

land 21532.

Amount of Award: \$300.00. If two (2) or more authors are considered winners, the prize will be shared. The name of the successful writer(s) will be announced, along with the name of the victor in the Bernath book prize competition, during the luncheon for members of SHAFR, to be held at the annual OAH Convention, meeting in 1984, at Los Angeles.

AWARD WINNERS

John C.A. Stagg (U of Auckland, N.Z.)
Michael H. Hunt (Yale)
Brian L. Villa (U of Ottawa, Canada)

James I. Matray (New Mexico State U)
David A. Rosenberg (U of Chicago)

1981 Douglas Little (Clark U)

1982 Fred Pollock (Cedar Knolls, N.J.)

1983 Chester Pach (Texas Tech)

### THE STUART L. BERNATH MEMORIAL LECTURE IN AMERICAN DIPLOMATIC HISTORY

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

Description and Eligibility: The lecture should be comparable in style and scope to the yearly SHAFR presidential address, delivered at the annual meeting with the AHA, but is restricted to younger scholars with excellent reputations for teaching and research. Each lecturer is expected to concern himself/herself not specifically with his/her own research interests, but with broad issues of importance to students of American foreign relations. The award winner must be under forty-one (41) years of age.

Procedures: The Bernath lectureship Committee is now soliciting nominations for the 1985 award from members of the Society, agents, publishers, or members of any established history, political science, or journalism organization. Nominations, in the form of a short letter and curriculum vitae, if available, should reach the Committee no later than December 1, 1983. The Chairman of the Committee, and the person to whom nominations should be sent, is Harriet D. Schwar, Office of the Historian, Bureau of Public Affairs, Department of State, Washington, D.C. 20520.

Honorarium: \$500.00 with publication of the lecture assured in Diplomatic History.

### AWARD WINNERS

| 1977 | Joan Hoff Wilson (Fellow, Radcliffe Instit | tute) |
|------|--|-------|
| 1978 | David S. Patterson (Colgate)               | TTOTO |
| 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)                   |       |

### THE STUART L. BERNATH MEMORIAL BOOK COMPETITON

The Stuart L. Bernath memorial Book Competition was initiated in 1972 by Dr. and Mrs. Gerald J. Bernath, Beverly Hills, California, in memory of their late son. Administered by SHAFR, the purpose of the competiton and the award is to recognize and encourage distinguished research and writing of a lengthy nature by young scholars in the field of U.S. diplomacy.

### CONDITIONS OF THE AWARD

Eligibility: The prize competition is open to any book on any aspect of American foreign relations that is published during 1983. It must be the author's first or second book. Authors are not required to be members of SHAFR, nor do they have to be professional academicians.

Procedures: Books may be nominated by the author, the publisher, or by any member of SHAFR. Five (5) copies of each book must be submitted with the nomination. The books should be sent to: Dr. William Stinchcombe, Department of History, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N.Y. 13210. The works must be received no later than February 1, 1984.

Amount of Award: \$1,000.00. If two (2) or more writers are deemed winners, the amount will be shared. The award will be announced at the luncheon for members of SHAFR, held in conjunction with the annual meeting of the OAH.

AWADD WINNEDS

| HWHUD | MINIUIN                                      |
|-------|--|
| 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 J. Baram (Program Manager, Boston)   |
| 1980  | Michael Schaller (U of Arizona)              |
| 1981  | Bruce R. Kuniholm (Duke)                     |
|       | Hugh DeSantis (Department of State)          |
| 1982  | David Reynolds (Cambridge U)                 |
| 1983  | Richard Immerman (U of Hawaii)               |
|       |  |

#### THE SHAFR NEWSLETTER

SPONSOR: Tennessee Technological University, Cookeville, Tennessee. DR: William J. Brinker, Department of History,

Tennessee Tech.

EDITORIAL ASSOCIATE: John W. Winters, Tennessee Tech. EDITORIAL ASSISTANTS: Anita J. Flowers and Scott

Hickman, Tennessee Tech.

ISSUES: The Newsletter is published on the 1st of
March, June, September, and December. All members receive the publication.

DEADLINES: All material must be in the office of the editor not later than four (4) weeks prior to the date of publication.

ADDRESS CHANGES: Notification of address changes should be in the office of the editor at least

one month prior to the date of publication.

BACK ISSUES: Copies of most back numbers of the Newsletter are available and may be obtained from the editorial office upon payment of a service charge of 75 cents per number. If the purchaser lives abroad, the charge is \$1.00 per number. MATERIALS DESIRED: Personals (promotions, transfers,

obituaries, honors, awards), announcements, ab-stracts of scholarly papers and articles delivered -- or published -- upon diplomatic subjects, bibliographical or historiographical essays dealing with diplomatic topics, essays of a "how-to-do-it" nature respecting the use of diplomatic materials in various (especially foreign) depositories, biographies, autobiographies of "elder statesmen" in the field of U.S. diplomacy, and even jokes (for fillers) if upon diplomatic topics. Authors of "straight" diplomatic articles should send their opuses to Diplomatic ticles should send their opuses to Diplomatic History. Space limitations forbid the carrying of book reviews by the Newsletter.

### FORMER PRESIDENTS OF SHAFR

| 1 | 968        | Thomas A. Bailey (Stanford)                  |
|---|------------|--|
| 1 | 969        | Alexander DeConde (California-Santa Barbara) |
| 1 | 970        | Richard W. Leopold (Northwestern)            |
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