

# The Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations



## ***NEWSLETTER***

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## **SOCIETY FOR HISTORIANS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS**

Founded in 1967. Chartered in 1972.

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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, one of them shall be one-half that of the regular price.

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

**PRIZES:** The Society administers three awards 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.

# Foreign Policy Research in Ottawa

by  
William Stueck (University of Georgia)

Ottawa is beautiful in summertime—clean, cool in mornings and evenings, and even picturesque. The views from the Public Archives and the Department of External Affairs, if not spectacular, certainly win hands down over those from the PRO at Kew, the National Archives in Washington, and the Washington National Records Center at Suitland. If pressed to choose between Ottawa and Palo Alto, I would have little difficulty in selecting the latter, provided that money—and perhaps sobriety—was no object, but short of that enviable choice, Ottawa should compete well for the hearts of historians not immune to pleasant surroundings. Forced to find fault with the place, I would concede the absence of an adequate newspaper, though the really important stuff—the World Cup, Wimbledon, and both the American and National Leagues—is covered extensively.

Most important, the archives are rich in materials pertinent to American diplomatic historians. The United Kingdom may well be the United States' most important ally in the twentieth century, yet Canada's position of geographical proximity and traditional distance from global affairs often gives it a unique perspective on American foreign policy and international events in general. (Anyone who needs convincing on this point ought to read the first volume of Lester Pearson's memoirs.) Although I cannot speak from direct experience in all these cases, a list of topics in which use of Canadian manuscripts should pay dividends includes, among others, League of Nations activities during the 1930's (most notably the Abyssinian crisis), United Nations affairs, the evolution of NATO, Commonwealth relations, and the Korean war. Canadian materials are particularly strong on India's relationship with the West—an area which historians of American foreign relations have hardly exhausted.

What are the logistics of doing research in Ottawa? A bit of advance preparation will pay handsome rewards. Most diplomatic historians will want to spend time at both the Public Archives and the Department of External Affairs. It is a good idea in both cases to write well ahead of your planned arrival. In the first instance, the address is Prime Ministers' Archives, Manuscript Division, Public Archives Canada, 395 Wellington Street, Ottawa K1A0N3. Informed of your topic of interest, the Chief will assign an archivist to comb the finding aids of various collections in search of appropriate records. The archivist will then compile a list and send it to you. In some cases, the use of material will require special permission from a government agency. In requesting access in such instances, be sure to ask for permission both to use and to photocopy materials. I did **not** do so and on one occasion it caused some unnecessary complications after my arrival. Scholars interested in military planning should also write to the Directorate of History,

Department of National Defense, 101 Colonel By Drive, Ottawa, Canada. The Public Archives does have some military records, but they are primarily related to field operations. A final place to write about manuscripts is the Historical Division, Department of External Affairs, 125 Sussex Drive, Ottawa. As England, Canada now possesses a 30-year rule (although a "Freedom of Information Act" is now before the legislature). A large portion of the records of the Department of External Affairs remains in its possession, so scholars will want to visit that institution early in their stay in Ottawa.

What are the working arrangements in the Public Archives and the Department of External Affairs? Researchers seeking the ultimate test of endurance will be delighted to discover that the Public Archives is open 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. Those figures are somewhat misleading, however, as one can order materials only from 8:30 A.M. to 4:20 P.M., Monday through Friday. People working outside those hours or using individual volumes for more than one day may obtain a locker, which will hold several boxes. Those intent on working full weekends will be disappointed unless they can identify a compact body of records which will take considerable time to go through.

The Xeroxing arrangements here mix the sublime with the asinine. On the positive side, the cost at this writing is a mere 10¢ per page in Canadian currency, which is less than 8¢ in American money. On the negative side, only twenty-five pages may be copied per day over-the-counter and a mere 250 pages, in addition to the daily allotment, may be ordered over one quarter. Materials ordered on the quarter system must be mailed to the researcher, and the delay in such cases may be as much as two months. Thus in particularly rich volumes, you may find yourself turning in the same volume for several days consecutively under the 25 page-per-day limit. Be sure in such cases to make clear to the archivist that you want the volume returned to you. Otherwise it will wind up back in the stacks, and you will be forced to reorder.

The Department of External Affairs is another operation altogether. The 10¢ per page fee applies here as well, but that is the only similarity. You do the copying yourself there, which testifies to the low level of traffic to the Historical Division. Furthermore, unlike at the Public Archives, which does have a separate room for scholars with typewriters, the tiny room available to researchers at the Historical Division possesses an electric typewriter. Visitors there abide by 8:30 to 5:00 hours (Mon. through Friday), but the fortunate solitary researcher, as I was in late June, has little in the way of institutional roadblocks to the efficient use of time. One word of caution: materials do have to be retrieved from another building, so it is essential to make your orders a day in advance.

Where does one stay in Ottawa? The University of Ottawa, of course. The current price for a dormitory room, usually available during the summer, is less than \$10 (American) per day. The university is readily accessible to the airport shuttle service and it is about a 25 minute walk from the Department of External Affairs and a 20 minute walk from the

Public Archives. Buses are available to both locations. The place to write for dormitory reservations is Housing Services, University of Ottawa, 85 Hostey, Ottawa, K1N6N5. There is a kitchenette on each floor in the dormitory and an IGA supermarket within five blocks, so the truly pecunious may choose to eat a good deal in the dorm. Food in restaurants is relatively inexpensive, but alcoholic beverages are outrageous.

So a typical day will begin with breakfast in the dorm, the university cafeteria, or the conveniently-located cafeteria in the bank building at the corner of Cumberland and Rideau Streets. The day will continue with a sprightly walk in the invigorating Ottawa morning air to the Department of External Affairs, then break for lunch at the department's cafeteria at about 2:00 P.M., recharge with a 25 minute walk to the Public Archives, break at 7 for a quick dinner at the Brokerage—only 4 blocks away—and resume until writer's cramp or weariness set in around 10. One is saved from exhaustion on the walk back to campus by the inspiring jaunt past the parliamentary grounds and over the famous Rideau Canal, "the world's longest skating ring," which the prudent will observe only in its liquid state.

For recreation, bicycling is a popular and relatively inexpensive option. Bicycles may be rented by the hour or day at the Chateau Laurier Hotel, a 10 minute walk from campus. For the timid, there are many miles of bike-paths along the south side of the Ottawa River. The more adventurous may want to cross over into the province of Quebec and take on the hilly terrain of Gatineau Park. If you choose that route, however, be prepared to endure a sore buttocks and many tired muscles at the end of the day. Be sure to pack a lunch. The park is notably lacking in all facilities except picnic benches and outhouses.

Don't forget to pack your umbrella on your trip to Ottawa. London it is not, but neither is it Palo Alto!

## **SHAFR ELECTION RETURNS**

- For President: Ernest R. May, Harvard University.
- For Vice-President: Warren I. Cohen, Michigan State University.
- For Council: Charles DeBenedetti (1983-1986) University of Toledo & Mr. Geoffrey Smith (1983-86) Queens University.
- For Nominating Committee Chairperson: Thomas M. Leonard, University of North Florida.

## **Researching American Foreign Relations Abroad: Canberra**

by

Roger Dingman (University of Southern California)

The greater part of American diplomatic history has been written solely from United States sources. While doing so may seem both logical and natural, in fact it limits our understanding of American diplomacy. Relying exclusively on domestic sources narrows one's perspective. Waiting for long-delayed openings of Department of State records also postpones critical analysis of events important to our understanding of contemporary foreign policy problems.

A growing number of historians of American foreign relations have tried to transcend these limitations by using British records housed in the Public Record Office in London. But almost no one has turned to other sources of increasing significance and availability located in the capital cities of other British Commonwealth nations. Canberra provides the historian of American diplomacy during the 1940's and 1950's with an especially rich body of material, for it was during those two decades that the United States became of the greatest importance to Australia. Fledgling Australian diplomats cut their professional teeth by reporting on American politics and policies from Washington and New York. Their masters, both professional and political, frequently travelled to the United States in search of diplomatic support, arms, and money. As a result, Australian archives hold a wealth of unique commentary and analysis of American foreign policy.

This data is to be found in the three major archival repositories in Canberra: the Australian Archives at Mitchell; the Australian War Memorial at the foot of Mount Ainslie; and the National Library of Australia which graces the shores of Lake Burley Griffin. The first of these contains Prime Ministerial, Cabinet, External (Foreign) Affairs, and Defense Ministry materials useful for the study of American foreign relations. Prime Ministerial and Cabinet records do not approximate their British counterparts either in form or in volume. Rarely do verbatim minutes of discussions appear, and submissions (cabinet papers) pertinent to foreign affairs crop up only occasionally. Nonetheless, careful searching of Commonwealth Records Series A 2703, an indexed collection of minutes for governments between 1941 through 1949, and the corresponding records of its successors through 1955 (Series A4639, A4931, A4638, and A4933) will yield useful commentary on American politics and diplomacy. Additional reports and cables of diplomatic importance can be found in records of the Prime Minister's Department in Series A461, A462, and A463.

Records of the Ministry of External (later Foreign) Affairs, by contrast, are most extensive and detailed in their treatment of American affairs. They can be approached initially by consulting indexes to Commonwealth Records Series A 1838, a collection roughly

comparable in breadth and volume to Record Group 59 in the U.S. National Archives. The J.S. Cumston Collection, Series A 4311, brings together materials for an unpublished history of the Ministry of External Affairs which includes significant collections of United States-related data. Of even more specific importance are the collections of reportage from America: A3300, the "post" records of the Australian legation and later embassy in Washington for 1938-1958; A 5460, the secret and top secret correspondence from the same source; and sub-files A 3094 for 1949-1951 and A 3092 for the period from 1958 onward. One can approach these collections with the aid of contents lists; with indexes in some cases; and in other instances with Source Analyses prepared by the archives staff for topics of special importance.

Defense-related records provide yet another rich source of material on American foreign policy. The most important single collection is the papers of Sir Frederick Shedden, who served as Secretary of the Ministry of Defense from 1937 through 1956. Commonwealth Records Series MP1217 contains records of his journeys to Washington; minutes and drafts of papers prepared for the Defense Committee, the official professional advisory body to the Minister of Defense; and an extensive press cuttings collection which documents Australian reactions to American policies and actions. Series A816 is the official Ministry of Defense record for the 1935-1956 period; its successor, Series A 1945, contains documents from the still closed 1956-1966 decade. The official records of the Defense Committee are to be found in Series A 2031. Pungent commentary on American strategy and diplomacy can also be seen in Series A 1971, records of the Council of Defense established by the Labor Government and continued until mid-1950 by its Liberal successor.

The Australian Archives are located about six miles from Canberra's City Centre. They may be reached by infrequent but fast bus service, or by taxi. They are currently open from 9-12:30 and 1:30-4:30 Monday through Friday, with additional evening reading hours on Tuesday. Prospective users should write the Senior Archivist, User Services, Australian Archives, Box 447, Belconnen, ACT 2617 well in advance of a visit. The letter should describe fully the subject of one's research and include a recent **curriculum vitae**. It will be used to start an individual researcher file, which in turn will speed access to materials. In addition, one should ask if files pertinent to one's topic have been transferred from their respective originating agencies to the Australian Archives. While Canberra operates under a general "thirty year rule," all records are not automatically shifted to the Archives. Transfers may take anywhere from days to months to complete. Early identification of pertinent files and request for their movement will avoid frustration once the researcher has arrived in Canberra.

The Australian War Memorial collections constitute a second major source of importance to American diplomatic historians. The Memorial is open, Monday through Friday, from 9 through 4:30. Its collections document Australia's participation in conflicts from World War I

through Vietnam, with the greatest volume of material focusing on World War II. Records of individual units which fought alongside Americans in various campaigns as well as personal papers for ranking officers whose principal service occurred before 1946 are extensively indexed at the memorial. A brief guide which introduces its collections may be obtained for two dollars, plus postage, by writing to the Director, Australian War Memorial, Canberra, ACT 2600. The prospective visitor would also do well to write to the Director, explaining one's topic, so as to enable the Memorial to alert the appropriate research advisory official.

The National Library of Australia, across Lake Burley Griffin from the other two repositories, houses the most extensive collection of manuscripts of individuals concerned with American diplomacy. Here the researchers will find the papers of Robert Gordon Menzies, Prime Minister from 1949 through 1965; the personal correspondence of Ministers and Ambassadors to the United States such as Sir Frederic Eggleston, Norman J.O. Makin, and Sir Percy Spender; and the records of ranking diplomats Sir Alan Watt; Sir W.E. Dunk; and Sir Keith Officer. In addition, the Rare Books and Manuscripts Room holds oral histories which include information pertinent to the study of American affairs. In 1978, the Library published **Principal Manuscript Collections in the National Library of Australia**, a brief guide which enumerated its holdings. This has since been supplemented by C.A. Bermester's three volume **National Library of Australia: A Guide to the Collections**. The Library's **A Guide to Manuscripts in Australia** is published with periodic supplements in the fashion of our own National Union manuscripts Catalog.

The Manuscripts and Rare Book Room of the National Library is open Monday through Friday from 9:30 to 4:45, with additional hours for limited use of manuscripts on Monday and Wednesday evenings. Before using the collections, one should write to Mrs. Pam Ray, Acting Manuscripts Librarian, National Library of Australia, Canberra ACT 2600, describing topic and probable collections of interest. It would also be advisable to ask for the names and addresses of persons holding the literary rights to manuscript and oral history collections. Australian copyright law differs substantially from that of the United States. In many cases one must first obtain permission from literary heirs or copyright holders before being allowed access to manuscripts and indexes to them.

Only a few historians of American foreign relations are likely to be as fortunate as I was in going to Canberra. But the foregoing information about archives half a world away from the United States need not be pertinent only for those few. It is possible to obtain copies of material from each of the major repositories I have described. By providing a thorough description of one's topic; by consulting portions of the appropriate indexes or asking archivists' assistance in doing so; and by ordering Xerox copies (currently ten cents per page), one can overcome the obstacles imposed by distance. More than that, by looking at



American politics and diplomacy through trained Australian eyes, one can gain an additional perspective of great value in the writing of American diplomatic history.

## **An Unsuccessful Quest**

by  
**Lawrence E. Gelfand (University of Iowa)**

At the recent summer meeting of SHAFR, a speaker declared that, unlike many foreign governments, the United States makes available the personnel records of its former diplomatic officials. Because this statement struck me as a distortion of the true, existing situation regarding the State Department's policy of granting access, I thought I would share my experience in trying to gain access to personnel files for American diplomatic officers during the years, 1890-1930.

Back in the mid-1970's, I sent a rather casual request to the Personnel Records Center of the National Archives located in St. Louis. I briefly summarized my project, but I was mainly inquiring about the hours when the Center would be open. In the late 1960's, a graduate student had been given access to certain personnel records housed at the repository in St. Louis, so I had no reason to expect that my request would encounter special difficulties. To my dismay, I soon learned that my request was forwarded to the State Department's FOI office in Washington, and in due course, I received notice that my request was turned down. Then, I filed an appeal, which took about thirteen months before I was notified that it too was rejected for the same reasons.

As set forth in the correspondence, the State Department refused to grant access because of its interpretation of Section 612 of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended (P.L. 97-924), which states:

Sec. 612. The correspondence and records of the Department relating to the officers and employees of the Service, including records as defined in Section 601 (1) but not including records pertaining to the receipt, disbursement, and accounting for public funds, shall be confidential and subject to inspection only by the President, the Secretary, the Undersecretary, the Counselor of the Department, the legislative and appropriations committees of the Congress charged with considering legislation and appropriations for the Service or representatives duly authorized by such committees, the members of the Board of the Foreign Service, the Director General, and such officers and employees of the Government as may be assigned by the Secretary to work on such records.

Of course, the main issue subject to interpretation is whether Section 612 is to apply to all personnel records of diplomatic officers dead and alive, retired and still active, or whether the legislative intent was the

more restrictive application to protect the active and/or still living diplomatic officers. The response I received indicated that the State Department was applying the broad interpretation, one that would apply to personnel records presumably extending back to the beginnings of the national republic.

To make sure that I understood this ruling correctly and on the advice of an officer in the State Department, I filed another application in 1977. This time, I tried to make my application as specific as possible, for I requested access to the personnel records of some 300 diplomatic officers, all of whom had served during the years 1890-1930, all of whom had retired by 1930, and to the best of my knowledge all were deceased as of 1975. In other words, I made it plain that I was not seeking access to files of anyone still alive or whose career continued beyond 1930. Again, I was turned down on the same grounds as before. In this later request, I had pointed out that I had used the 123 file of personnel records housed in the National Archives at Washington, pertaining to American diplomats 1910-1930.

In a later letter sent me by Mr. Lawrence D. Russell, Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary for Personnel, under date of October 14, 1977, responding to my questions seeking further clarification, I was advised of the following:

As stated in my letter to you of August 9, Section 612 of the Foreign Service Act of 1946 as amended (P.L. 97-925), restricts the release of records relating to employees of the Foreign Service. You will note that this section, which was quoted in our last letter to you, contains no qualification regarding (1) whether the individual to whom the record pertains is deceased, or (2) the age of the record itself. We must assume, therefore, that this section is as applicable to the personnel records of deceased former employees as it is to current employees, and that the restriction has no time limit.

The 123 files which contain personnel-related records on diplomatic officers have been released to you because they are in the custody of the National Archives which has final jurisdiction over their disclosures. They were placed in the Archives at a time when the Department's record-keeping practices had not been formalized; the same material would not be transferred to the Archives today. Records in the custody of the Archives dated prior to 1927 are considered by the Archives to be releasable to the public at the discretion of the Archivists.

The question of historians' access to personnel records of American diplomatic officials extending back to the beginning of the republic may be of such importance to our Society that it would be worthy of our bringing a case into the federal courts to test the State Department's interpretation and that of the Interagency Classification Review Committee. At the very least, I thought that this account may be of some interest to the membership of SHAFR.

# NATO AFTER 33 YEARS: RECORDS AND THEIR CLASSIFICATION

by

Lawrence Kaplan (Kent State University)

On October 14-15, 1982, a Conference on Leadership in NATO: Past and Present, was held at the Dwight D. Eisenhower Library, Abilene, Kansas. SHAFR members Thomas H. Etzold of the Naval War College and Lawrence S. Kaplan of Kent State University served as commentators for presentations offered by General Bernard W. Rogers, current SACEUR and former SACEURS Generals Lauris Norstad and Lyman L. Lemnitzer. Deputy SHAPE Historian Morris Honick and Stephen Ambrose of the University of New Orleans were also members on the panel on "Military Leadership in NATO." The observations below were made in response to comments of Robert S. Jordan of the University of New Orleans, S.I.P. Van Campen, Director of the Private Office of the NATO Secretary General, William Tapley Bennett, Jr., U.S. Ambassador to NATO, and George S. Vest, U.S. Ambassador to the European Communities. Each of the speakers addressed problems of "Political Leadership in NATO."

\* \* \*

With all due respect to the important understandings which our panelists have supplied us about the complicated and delicate role of the Council of Permanent Representatives and the functions of the Secretary General and the International Staff, we capture only an outline of the record. Fifteen years ago, in an important study of the workings of the NATO International Staff/Secretariat in the Lord Ismay years, Dr. Jordan rightly observed the unique position of the Secretary General as both servant of the Council through his function as Head of the International Staff and as presiding officer of the Council by virtue of his place as chairman. NATO evolved differently from such models as the League of Nations or the United Nations. But the dynamics of its evolution, the positions taken over the years, the battles won or lost are not to be found in his fine book. The historical record is missing despite skillful use of interviews, memoirs, newspapers, and occasional NATO documents. Parenthetically it may be said that if his book had been published in 1982 instead of 1967 the results would not have been noticeably different.

The problem lies with the unavailability of documents, both military and political, then and now. They are highly classified, with little prospect for release in the immediate future. Even such a modest background paper on the history of the first year of SHAPE, with a low order of classification cannot be examined by an independent scholar. Such a study would tell the reader something about the trials of the early SHAPE, now over thirty years in the past, and would probably offer no security problems of any kind. Yet the obstacles to release of data are formidable; it would require the clearance of all fifteen (now sixteen) member nations. Presumably officers in charge regard such action

either as too time consuming or too hopeless. Or, perhaps, as Dr. Van Campen has suggested privately to me, scholars may not have been sufficiently enterprising in their searches.

These comments are not intended to be a bill of indictment against SHAPE or the ISS or the Secretary General. They can only reflect a pattern set out for them by the member nations themselves. On paper the United States opens its archives twenty years after the events; the United Kingdom thirty years; and, according to a recent survey of research conditions in Europe conducted by the European Community, there seems to be serious movement to open diplomatic records to inspection throughout the major continental NATO countries. France, for example, will permit examination of documents through the 1940s and is preparing access to the early 1950s.

The reality, however, is somewhat different. To use the United States as a primary example, diplomatic records are fully open only through 1949. The 1950s remain closed even though some of the Foreign Relations volumes for the early 1950s have been published. Much of the difficulty rests with the demands on manpower which declassification requires, at a time when layoffs in the National Archives have been occurring. Another part of the problem stems from the Iranian crisis of a few years ago which coincided with plans to declassify papers referring to another Iranian crisis of the early 1950s. Given the very real physical danger facing Americans abroad, it was not unreasonable that the files remained closed for the duration of the crisis. As one State Department official observed to assembled diplomatic historians two years ago, the department's purpose is not to serve the research interests of American scholars. He was right, of course.

But are American or NATO interests genuinely served by the continued closure of archives, at least those over a generation old? There are exceptions, but should they be the reasons for blanket withholding of records? In asking these rhetorical questions, I recognize that historians can go to private archives where many NATO records may be found which are officially closed. In the Dulles collection both at Princeton and here in Abilene the reader can find a complete account of Secretary Dulles' review of the international situation at the opening session of the Council's meeting of 15 December 1955. This could not be found in Brussels. Similarly, Lord Ismay's progress report of December 1952, which I cited a few moments ago, is taken not from the Evere headquarters but from the Ismay papers located at the Liddell Hart Center for Military History at the University of London's King's College. It is still listed as "NATO Confidential," and I have no idea whether the document had been officially cleared before Lord Ismay photocopied it and brought it home with him. Incidentally, I am not even clear about the details of publishing a reference to the document in the future. The Ismay papers I do possess are considered a loan, although they were purchased legitimately and will not be published without approval of the Center.

My purpose in going on at such length over what may be considered a

minor NATO issue is to relate that some documents over the past generation are available in circuitous fashions, and that they are not adequate. The reader catches only a glimmer of the problems at hand, since he sees only fragments of the whole. Neither Dulles nor Ismay provides a full picture partly because they were not privy to the entire story and partly because some materials are considered too sensitive to be released. The result is inevitably excessive distortion of NATO's history, no matter how carefully the researcher seeks to reconstruct the past.

A potential guideline to future policy may be found in the action taken by the Western European Union with respect to the archives of the old Brussels Pact organization. It was only in recent years, after considerable effort on the part of European scholars working under the auspices of the European Community, that those archives were located. They had been seemingly lost or mislaid. As late as 1977 NATO officials thought they may have been stored in Brussels. Ultimately they turned up at the Grosvenor Place headquarters of the WEU in London. After considerable reflection and consultation the seven-member organization agreed last year to declassify the records of the sessions of the Consultative Council and the minutes of the meetings of the Permanent Commission of the Brussels Treaty Organization for the years 1948 through 1950. Could not the NATO archives of 1949 and 1950, at least, be open to similar treatment?

It is my contention, based on considerable self-interest, that a history of NATO, written from the records of the Secretary General's SACEUR's headquarters, is worth relating. As our speakers have suggested, they would reveal a new chapter in international organization, which, with all its blemishes, may explain the continuing vigor of NATO after more than thirty-three years of existence.

It is a happy coincidence that this conference has been the occasion for an announcement by our hosts that 2500 pages of previously classified documents in the Dwight D. Eisenhower Pre-Presidential papers have been opened for research this summer. Most of this material pertains to Eisenhower's activities at SHAPE. Such important steps in the opening of archives—governmental and private—will not only make future interpretation of scholars and officials fuller and more effective; they would also uncover a record of achievements that NATO hitherto has been unable to present.

## A Poem

This anonymous diatribe against Senator Henry Cabot Lodge was found by Professor Kendrick A. Clements of the University of South Carolina among the George Barr Baker Papers in the Archives of the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace at Stanford University. Baker was a devoted follower of Herbert Hoover, and the poem expressed the feelings of many of Hoover's circle about the man they regarded as chiefly responsible for the Senate's refusal to approve the Treaty of Versailles. A note signed "GGB" attached to the poem says, "I don't know who wrote it. . .," but there can be no question that Baker and his friends enjoyed its vindictive nastiness. The poem offers an interesting sidelight on the personal passions that swirled about the great issue of the treaty and the League of Nations.

### HENRY CABOT LODGE

What does he think of, when alone, this man  
With shrivelled face and crafty little eyes,  
Whose selfish wrecking of a noble plan  
Spread through the world its myriad miseries?

This scion of a cultured house, prepared  
For life with all that wealth and learning give,  
Made prostitute his soul, when tested, bared  
That he, the least of all, had learned to live.

Twas he who, jealous of another's fame,  
For spite and party gain, betrayed the good,  
Who schemed to balk humanity's high aim  
And crush the hope of human brotherhood.

Through him, have millions suffered by the spread  
Of ruin and disease where hope should thrive;  
Through him, are countless human beings dead  
Who might today be joyfully alive.

Through him and through the virus of his work,  
The fleurs-de-lys of France bedraggled are;  
Through him, in costly strife, the Greek and Turk,  
Exhausted, drain the sordid dregs of war.

Within his poisoned mind what visions play  
Of war and famine needlessly prolonged,  
Of resurrected hates that cause delay  
In healing both the wronger and the wronged?

He cannot be alone! If he would close  
Men and the city out, the whisper comes  
Of rioters half-maddened by their woes.  
Bred in the frenzy of Vienna's slums.

Shut in his costly home, within his mind  
He sees wan babies try the empty breast  
Of mothers who discover Death unkind,  
In filthy tenements of Buda-Pest.

And, one by one, the leprous ills of earth  
Go stumbling past him in a sick parade  
Pointing their sores and mentioning their death  
Accusingly, as if he still might aid.

One wonders if he sometimes seeks a crowd,  
Hoping its noise and laughter, rudely spilt,  
May drown the whisper and its colors cloud  
The bright, recurrent visions of his guilt.

Ah, he may join the thickest gathered mass  
Of fellow-beings that the world has seen,  
And, still alone, observe they let him pass,  
Shrinking to give him room as one unclean.

Ah, he may pen his memoirs or indite  
A tale to justify his conduct in,  
And find, no matter what or how he write,  
No ink so black as to obscure his sin!

The recent pictures of the Kaiser show  
A face like his of whom I write; what more  
Appropriate than this, for truth will know  
These two the chiefest sinners of the war!

"The evil than men do lives after them,"  
And his for decades will impede the path  
Of man in struggling upward, will condemn  
Uncounted hosts to hate's destructive wrath.

Yet one descries, at length, a happy end  
Of evil wrought by this so-twisted man  
And sees the day when, meeting, friend with friend,  
Nations will realize that noble plan.

One sees, despite his puny, wasted soul,  
In truer years, the victory supreme.  
The splendid winning of that destined goal,  
The triumph of the world's exalted dream!

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**Annotated Bibliography of German Language Dissertations and  
"Habilitationsschriften" on U.S. Foreign Relations Accepted between  
1946 and 1981.**

by

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This bibliography is a by-product of my research into United States, British, French, and German involvement in Central America from 1821 until 1929, and several longer visits to Germany, including a three month grant (summer 1975) from the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) and a year as a Fulbright Lecturer at the University of Bielefeld (1981-1982). Rather than merely extracting the dissertation titles from the German publications on advanced research degrees which bore upon my personal research interest, I decided (after reading works by Hans-Ulrich Wehler, Klaus Schwabe, Werner Link, and others) that German scholarship deserved more attention in the United States and that preparing an annotated bibliography on modern German dissertations treating U.S. foreign relations would be useful to other scholars. I began gathering titles in 1975, continued the work in 1977-1978, and finally finished it in 1982 with help from the History Department and the Interlibrary Loan Department (Fernleihe) of Bielefeld University, the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, University of Frankfurt Library, and the Fritz-Thyssen-Stiftung.

The principal sources for locating dissertations and Habilitationsschriften (the so-called second doctorate, normally required to obtain a permanent, professoral position at a German University—called a B-Thesis in the German Democratic Republic—are **Jahresverzeichnis der deutschen Hochschulschriften** (Leipzig: Börsenverein der Deutschen Buchhändler (later VEB), 1949--), **Deutsche Nationalbibliographie** (Leipzig: VEB, 1968---), **Deutsche Bibliographie: Hochschulschriften-Verzeichnis** (Frankfurt: Buchhändler-Vereinigung, 1972---). The list includes 108 titles. Of the 108 dissertation-habilitation works, 89 are from the Federal Republic, 16 from the Democratic Republic, 2 from Austria, and 1 from Switzerland. Just over one-half, 55, were published in the 1970s, 29 in the 1950s, 14 in the 1960s, 6 between 1946-1949, and 4 so far in the 1980s. Certainly some dissertations have escaped my eye. I would appreciate any information regarding titles missed. Several items listed in the reference works were difficult to locate, and I discovered several titles too late to search for them. There are no annotations for these few. Moreover, the German Democratic Republic (GDR) often delayed listing dissertation titles for several years, so quite likely several recent GDR dissertations are not included.

The bibliography is intended as a brief, useful, rough tool for other scholars, hence the annotations are reduced to very brief summaries or thesis statements, with even briefer observation on sources in order to hold the bibliography within reasonable limits. Since the use of U.S. and German language printed primary and secondary sources is assumed



for each entry, only supplementary observations seemed appropriate. I have also translated each title.

In one case a title could not be located, even at the university where it was allegedly done. The title was: Wilhelm Clement, "Die Entwicklung des Gedankens der friedlichen Beilegung zwischenstaatlicher Streitigkeiten, insbesondere der internationalen Schiedsgerichtsbarkeit in den Vereinigten Staaten" (Habilitationsschrift, Marburg, 1955). Conceivably, this work was never completed.

Often German dissertations and Habilitationsschriften were published in book form. When available, the publication data (merely place, publisher, and date) follows immediately after the information regarding where the dissertation was accepted.

#### Annotated Bibliography:

Adolph, Wolfram. "Zur Wirkung des Verhältnisses zwischen der Volksrepublik China und den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika in Südostasien (1969-1979)" (To the Working of the Relations between the People's Republic of China and the United States in Southeast Asia, 1969-1979). 3 vols. Diss., Humboldt Univ. Berlin (GDR), 1980. The rapprochement between the People's Republic of China and the U.S. represents a bilateral relationship with the greatest influence upon the important questions confronting the contemporary world. Two states forced into the defensive are seeking a strategic form to improve their position and to hinder the worldwide revolutionary process. Sources: extensive socialist and non-socialist printed primary and secondary.

Au-Du'o'ng, Thê. "Die Vietnampolitik der USA, von der Johnson-zur Nixon-Kissinger-Doktrin oder die Neuorientierung der amerikanischen Aussenpolitik" (The Vietnam Policy of the USA from the Johnson Doctrine to the Nixon-Kissinger Doctrine, or the New Orientation of the American Foreign Policy). Diss., Freie Univ. Berlin, 1978. (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1979). The second Vietnam War, which brought the United States into its most serious internal crisis since the Civil War era, represented the last high point of the Cold War. It prompted the reestablishment of relations between the People's Republic of China and the U.S. after a twenty year pause and forced the U.S. and the Soviet Union into a period of worldwide détente.

Bailey, Paul J. "Möglichkeiten der Kontrolle multinationaler Konzerne: die Rolle internationaler Organisationen" (Possibilities of Controlling Multinational Firms: the Role of International Organizations). Diss., München, 1979. (München: tuduv, 1979). Almost every international organization seeks to resolve its problems, its operations' spheres, or its legitimization in response to the activity of multinational firms. Cooperative action is difficult since most states welcome and compete with each other for investments.

Basler, Gerhard. "Imperialistische Gemeinsamkeiten und Widersprüche im Beziehungsverhältnis BRD — USA in den siebziger Jahren," (Imperialistic Community and Contradictions in the German Federal Republic-U.S. Relationship in the 1970s). 2 vols. Diss., Institute

für International-Politik und Wirtschaft der DDR, Berlin (GDR), 1978. Despite the interlacing of external economic goals and the political, military, and ideological interests of the two countries, they confront the world economic crisis with differing goal orientations, for example, in the rivalry of western Europe and the U.S. as centers of imperialist power. Sources: extensive socialist and capitalist printed primary and secondary.

Bauer, Manfred. "Herbert Hoovers Verhältnis zu Sowjet-Russland von der Pariser Friedenskonferenz (1919) bis zum Ende seiner Präsidentschaft (1933)" (Herbert Hoover's Relations with Soviet Russia from the Paris Peace Conference (1919) until the End of his Presidency (1933)). Diss., München, 1954. Recognized Hoover's dilemma in the 1920s and the persisting problem of historical justification for Hoover, long a bad name in U.S. history. Sources: some in Russian.

Belstler, Wolfgang. "Die Politik des amerikanischen Kongresses zu Beginn des ersten Weltkrieges" (The Policy of the American Congress at the Beginning of the First World War). Diss., München, 1955. Neither political party pursued a consistent course, both reacting to events according to specific legislative proposals. The war surprised Congress, but did not alter its evaluation of Europe. Congress took the war seriously only as the economic effects of the war became evident. Nevertheless, foreign policy remained a necessary evil. Sources: principally the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, only modest printed materials.

Berg, Peter. "Deutschland und Amerika 1918-1929: Über das deutsche Amerikabild der Zwanziger Jahre" (Germany and America, 1918-1929: Regarding Germany's Image of America in the 1920s). Diss., Freie Univ. Berlin, 1962. (Lübeck and Hamburg: Matthiesen Verlag, 1963.) Three broad German reactions during three overlapping time periods: first, the end of the war saw a continuation of the German viewpoint of an Anglo-Saxon world imperialism, then a period until the Dawes Plan of German preoccupation with the need to obtain U.S. financial support for its recovery, and finally an increasing concern with the danger of Germany's growing dependence upon U.S. economic ties. Sources: extensive and varied, but few mss.

Bickel, Wolf-Heinrich. "Die anglo-amerikanischen Beziehungen 1927-1930 im Licht der Flottenfrage. Das Problem des Machtausgleichs zwischen Grossbritannien und den Vereinigten Staaten in der Zwischenkriegszeit und seine Lösung" (Anglo-American Relations, 1927-1930, in Light of the Fleet Question. The Problem of Balancing Power between Great Britain and the U.S. in the Inter-war Period and its Solution). Diss., Zürich, 1970. Without a National Security Council to define national goals of security and alliance, considerable interdepartmental conflict existed in Washington after the Washington Naval Disarmament Treaty. The London Treaty ended the competition between U.S. and British naval advocates. The London Treaty did not end the U.S. isolationist era, but it contributed toward strengthening good relations between the two countries. Sources: British mss

materials, extensive printed primary and secondary.

Bickelmann, Hartmut. "Deutsche Überseewanderung in der Weimarer Zeit" (German Emigration in the Weimar Era). Diss., Hamburg, 1978. (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1980). The U.S. remained a major goal for German emigrants in the 1920s, but Brazil, Argentina, and Canada also became major emigrant goals. Germans wanted a large national umbrella organization to supervise emigration and closed German colonies in order better to preserve Germanism and for the aid such colonies were expected to lend German economic recovery. Sources: extensive statistical materials.

Böge, Wolfgang. "Die USA und der Kampf um die Unabhängigkeit Angolas, 1940-1964" (The U.S. and the Struggle for Angola's Independence, 1940-1964). Diss., Hamburg, 1978. (Hamburg: Lüdke, 1978). The U.S. did not set its priorities in Angola with regard to moral-idealistic categories because the pressure from short-term political, strategic, and economic interests was too great. Unable to establish and pursue long-term diplomatic strategy based upon decolonization, the U.S. had to watch its policy fail. Sources: in English, Portuguese, French, and German languages.

Borst, Manfred. "Die wirtschaftlichen Aspekte amerikanischer Deutschlandpolitik während des Zweiten Weltkrieges und nachher" (The Economic Aspects of America's Policy toward Germany during and after the Second World War). Diss., Tübingen, 1951.

Brettauer, Alfred E/rwin/. "Amerikanische Geschichte in der Sicht deutscher Historiker der zweiten Hälfte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts" (American History in the View of German Historians of the Second half of the 19th Century). Diss., München, 1962. The views of about forty German historians, but principally Hermann von Holst, Ernst Otto Hopp, Friedrich Kapp, and Karl Friedrich Neumann, on various aspects of U.S. history, particularly the constitution, formation of the nation, slavery, Jacksonian era, Mexican war, and Civil War.

Brownawell, Eva Maria. "Die Amerikaner und ihr Krieg: Analyse der Jahrhundertfeier des Civil War in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika 1861-1865" (The Americans and Their War: Analysis of the Centennial Celebration of the Civil War in the U.S., 1861-1865). Diss., Hamburg, 1978. (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1978). Although principally treating an internal aspect of the U.S., recognizes the link between the Civil War as a reaffirmation of "manifest destiny" and the struggle against communism. Sources: U.S. National Archives.

Buchwald, Manfred. "Das Kulturbild Amerikas im Spiegel deutscher Zeitungen und Zeitschriften 1919-1932" (America's Cultural Image as Reflected in German Newspapers and Magazines, 1919-1932). Diss., Kiel, 1964. German evaluation and examination of America--image building--was a political process. Even the rather negative cultural image of the U.S. was used by the German intellectuals to seek their own cultural and political self-image and role. Sources: about 150 periodicals, modest additional printed material, mostly in German.

Busch, Wolfgang. "Die Entwicklung eines Annexionsverbots auf dem

amerikanischen Kontinent seit der internationalen Amerikanischen Konferenz von Washington (1889/90)" (The Development of an Annexation Prohibition on the American Continent since the International American Conference at Washington (1889-1890). Diss., Marburg, 1973. In international common law one can observe an absolute prohibition against annexation in the American region. Whether international law allows such a prohibition is not clear. In fact, at least since the foundation of the OAS annexation on the American continents has become impossible. Sources: legal.

Buschmann, Klaus. "United States Army Special Forces, 1952-1974: untersucht im Licht der verfügbaren Literatur und Quellen" (U.S. Army Special Forces, 1952-1974: Examined in Light of the Available Literature and Sources). Diss., Münster, 1978. (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1978). Despite a training and education program in social, cultural, and administrative areas, the force remains essentially orientated toward military conceptualisation. Ethnic, cultural, and racial aspects of the problem area where the U.S. Special Forces are operating remain in the background. Thus, the Special Forces remain merely a well and specially trained military unit. Sources: interviews and correspondence, extensive printed primary and secondary.

Byung-ung, Kim. "Nationalismus und Grossmachtspolitik: das Dilemma des Nationalismus in Korea unter der US-Militär-besetzung 1945-1948" (Nationalism and Great Power Policy: the Dilemma of Nationalism in Korea under the U.S. Military Occupation, 1945-1948). Diss., München, 1980. U.S. sought to construct quickly an independent Korea, but only had a military force at hand. Aware that a military force was not the proper instrument for building the desired civil government, the U.S. went ahead anyway. Grounds for failure were always sought among the Korean people. Very conservative, right-wing orientated, Rhee Syng-man became U.S. agent in Korea, which coincided with U.S. containment, anti-communist policy. Rhee supported capitalism in Korea and won support of the bureaucracy.

Clement, Wilhelm. "Die amerikanische Samoapolitik und die Idee des Manifest Destiny" (America's Samoa Policy and the Idea of Manifest Destiny). Diss., Marburg, 1949. The U.S. certainly assumed a place among the European Great Powers in the decades after the Civil War. The driving force behind this role as a great power is complex, but a broad, multi-faceted interpretation of the doctrine of "manifest destiny" best explains U.S. growth. Unlike the Monroe Doctrine, "manifest destiny" knows no limits and has remained alive into the present. Sources: largely secondary, in English.

Clement, Wilhelm. "Die Entwicklung des Gedankens der friedlichen Beilegung zwischenstaatlicher Streitigkeiten, insbesondere der internationalen Schiedsgerichtsbarkeit in den Vereinigten Staaten" (The Development of the Thought of Peaceful Resolution of Inter-state Disputes, especially by International Arbitration in the U.S.). Habilitationsschrift, Marburg, 1955.

Czalla, Erika. "Die Auswanderung aus Mecklenburg nach

Nordamerika in der 2. Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts: ein Beitrag zur Darstellung ihrer historischen und politisch-ökonomischen Ursachen" (Emigration from Mecklenburg to North America in the second half of the 19th century: a contribution to the presentation of its historical and politico-economic causes). Diss., Rostock (GDR), 1974. Developing capitalist production relations produced various changes in the industrial and agricultural systems. Industry regions needed work force, while the agrarian sectors' use of machines gave it a surplus labor force. Mecklenburg demonstrated this process. Emigration stronger, for example, after the planting and harvesting periods. Sources: extensive archival and printed materials divided into socialist and bourgeoisie sections.

Dederke, Karlheinz. "Die Politik der Vereinigten Staaten gegenüber Russland 1917-1919" (U.S. Policy toward Russia, 1917-1919). Diss., Technische Univ. Berlin, 1953. Woodrow Wilson central to the formation of U.S. policy toward Russia between 1917 and 1919. Wilson did not operate in the areas of power politics nor of pure interest politics, but rather assumed that all countries were linked to the democratic ideals of the U.S. Thus, Wilson's Russia policy sought to determine world policy according to a U.S. measuring rod. Critique of nine works which interpret U.S.-Russian relations from 1917-1919. Sources: extensive printed primary and secondary.

Deicke, Gertrud. "Das Amerikabild der deutschen öffentlichen Meinung von 1898-1914" (The Image of America in German Public Opinion from 1898-1914). Diss., Hamburg, 1956. German perception concentrated on U.S. economic tendencies, hence failed to understand the variety in U.S. society. Both sides revealed lack of knowledge of the other. Germany did not understand why it must lose to Great Britain in competition for U.S. favor. Germany assigned major role to U.S. public opinion in disputes with Japan and Great Britain, but judged U.S. public opinion insignificant in German-U.S. relations. Sources: Some periodicals, mostly in German.

DeZayas, Alfred M. "Die Anglo-Amerikaner und die Vertreibung der Deutschen: Vorgeschichte, Verlauf, Folgen" (The Anglo-Americans and the Expulsion of the Germans: Precedence, Course, and Consequences). Diss., Göttingen, 1977. (München: C.H. Beck, 1978). The German expulsion from their eastern areas was inhuman and brutal. Few personalities in either Great Britain or the U.S. protested against the expulsion. Willy Brandt's "eastern policy" and the 1975 Helsinki Agreement, the so-called second Potsdam, both permit the peaceful revision of eastern boundaries. Sources: Public Record Office, International Red Cross, League of Nations, and German archives in Bonn, Koblenz, Freiburg, and interviews and correspondence with refugees.

Dippel, Horst, "Deutschland und die amerikanische Revolution: Sozialgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum politischen Bewusstsein im ausgehenden 18. Jahrhundert" (Germany and the American Revolution, 1770-1800: A Socio-Historical Investigation of Late

Eighteenth Century Political Thinking). Diss., Köln, 1972. (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1978). The bourgeoisie ideology in the Age of Enlightenment elevated the U.S. and its revolution to a perfect ideal. This utopian image foundered in France with the failure of Jacobin rule, but in Germany the image survived well beyond the 1790s. When the German bourgeoisie began to shed its image, it did so because of changes in its political consciousness. Sources: extensive manuscript and printed primary and secondary.

Dürking, Irene. "Der amerikanische Senat und der Friede mit Deutschland, 1916-1921: Eine Untersuchung an Hand amerikanischer Akten" (The American Senate and Peace with Germany, 1916-1921: An Investigation Based upon American Documents). Diss., München, 1963. The debate over peace with Germany in the U.S. awoke tension on three levels: Woodrow Wilson and Henry Cabot Lodge shared a mutual hate; a power conflict between the President and Senate over control of foreign relations; and a struggle between internationalists and isolationists. Sources: principally the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and other congressional documents, modest printed primary and secondary.

Eichholz, Anita. "Die Rolle der USA im Vietnamkrieg in der Darstellung des Nachrichtenmagazins 'Der Spiegel'" (The U.S. role in the Vietnam War as Presented in the Newsmagazine DER SPIEGEL). Diss., München, 1979. (Berlin: Volker Spiess, 1979). DER SPIEGEL long remained pretty much a prisoner of the Pentagon "Propaganda Machine." With the exception of editor Augstein's commentaries, the legitimacy of the U.S. action in Vietnam not questioned. Above all, there was little tendency to make observations critical of the system. For example, as instances of American war crimes became known, DER SPIEGEL made no effort to use German war guilt as a measuring rod for American action.

Erich, Wolfgang. "Die amerikanische Chinapolitik von 1911-1918" (America's China Policy, 1911-1918). Diss., Kiel, 1961. U.S. sought to preserve the "open door" in China, but without playing a major, active role in the negotiations. Woodrow Wilson had obligated himself toward the reestablishment of peace and security in China at various times in public pronouncements. U.S.'s chief problem in Asia lay in China, not Japan, and its roots lay in the past relations with China. Sources: printed official U.S., British, Russian, and French documents, mostly in German translation, extensive secondary works in German and English.

Frisch, Harald. "Das deutsche Rooseveltbild (1933-1941)" (The German Image of Roosevelt (1933-1941)). Diss., Freie Univ. Berlin, 1968. No effort to manipulate German press reporting on Roosevelt until after his reelection in late 1936. Only beginning in late 1937 did the Propaganda Minister attempt to create a controlled image of Roosevelt which only achieved success with the outbreak of war in September, 1939. Sources: German Foreign Ministry in Bonn, German National Archives in Koblenz and Freiburg, extensive printed primary and secondary.

Gasser, Albert. "Die Rolle der Amerikaner bei der Entscheidung über die deutsche Ostgrenze im Jahre 1919: Dargestellt nach den amtlichen amerikanischen Quellen-veröffentlichungen in den **Foreign Relations of the United States**" (America's Role in the Decision Regarding the German Eastern Boundary in 1919: Presented According to Official, Published American Sources in the FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES). Diss., Freiburg, 1952. The anti-German atmosphere among the American agents determining foreign policy was as intensive as among the French and British. Rejects claim that Wilson returned to U.S. from Versailles a broken, disappointed man; the opposite is closer to the truth. Wilson's sympathy for Poland questionable.

Gerhards, Josef Werner. "Theodore Roosevelt im Urteil der deutschen öffentlichen Meinung" (Theodore Roosevelt in the Judgment of German Public Opinion). Diss., Mainz, 1962. German public opinion and the German government evaluated Teddy Roosevelt incorrectly. Because of his personal favorable disposal to German culture and occasional agreement with the Emperor's policies, the Germans believed in the possibility of a German-U.S. agreement aimed at Britain. The German view of Roosevelt was a fateful error which produced difficult consequences for Germany in the First World War. Sources: modest printed, mostly in German.

Gescher, Dieter Bruno. "Amerika und die Reparationen, 1920-1924: Eine Untersuchung der Reparationsfrage auf der Grundlage amerikanischer Akten" (America and Reparations, 1920-1924: An Investigation of the Reparations' Question Based upon American Documents). Diss., Bonn, 1955. The claim that U.S. participation in the reparations meetings would have produced a different result is supported in the U.S. archival sources. While the London payment plan of May, 1921, may have taken a similar form despite U.S. participation, already by the fall of 1921, the American observers wanted to revise the London reparations' payment plan. Sources: U.S. National Archives, Library of Congress, much in English.

Gold-Pfuhl, Gisela. "Die amerikanischen Bombardierungen des Ho-Chi-Minh-Pfads im neutralen Laos" (American Bombing of the Ho-Chi-Minh Trail in Neutral Laos). Diss., Köln, 1978. Concludes that U.S. emergency aid for Laos in the form of bombing was justified and that U.S. aid in the Laos civil war was also justified. Sources: legal.

Gottwald, Robert. "Die deutsch-amerikanischen Beziehungen in der Ära Stresemann" (German-American Relations in the Stresemann Era). Diss., Freie Univ. Berlin, 1963. (Berlin: Colloquium Verlag, 1965.) Stresemann was simultaneously the representative of Germany's middle class and of German's republican forces. Stresemann's image lacked concern with the limits of his success and the linkage of his internal and external policy. Political trust between the two states reached a peak in the Kellogg-Pact negotiations. U.S. lacked sensitivity for Germany's position in central Europe and thus a sense of Europe's internal structure. Sources: U.S. State Department and German Foreign Ministry archives.

Graessner, Gernot Heinrich Willy. "Deutschland und die Nationalsozialisten in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika, 1933-1945: Ein Beitrag zur Finanz- und Aussenhandelpolitik Preussens" (Germany and the Nationalsocialists in the U.S., 1933-1945: A Contribution to the Finance and Foreign Trade Policy of Prussia). Diss., Göttingen, 1973. (Göttingen: Schwartz, 1973.) German goal was the complete inclosure of all Germans within the Nationalsocialist world view. Given the elitist concept of the Nationalsocialists, they wanted the German American Bund and related groups to assume a dominant role in the U.S. The role of German NS leadership behind the U.S. leaders of the American NS proved a difficulty, as did the fact that the upper political elite, including Hitler, had little interest in sustaining the NS groups in the U.S. Sources: Germ. Foreign Ministry in Bonn, Germ. National Archive in Koblenz, other archives.

Graf, Helga. "Die Aussenpolitik der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika in Ostasien von 1905-1914" (U.S. Foreign Policy in East Asia, 1905-1914). Diss., München, 1956. Herbert Hoover judged Russian Revolution as deception by a clique of professional revolutionaries to exploit disorder in Russia for their benefit, the creation of a 'red tyranny.' Hoover supported the "cold shoulder" policy to deny the Soviet Union the foreign prestige it needed to secure its internal authority. As this policy appeared unrealistic, Hoover denied its unreality and retained this policy to the end of his presidency. Sources: chiefly FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES, some Russian-language material.

Gruchmann, Lothar. "Die Monroedoktrin von 1823 als Modell der Nationalsozialistischen Theorie der Grossraumordnung" (The Monroe Doctrine of 1823 as Model for the Nationalsocialist Theory of Geopolitical Living Space). Diss., Freie Univ. Berlin, 1959. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1862). Nationalsocialist Germany recognized the imperialistic altered nature of Monroe Doctrine resting upon President James Polk's version, the Olney and the Theodore Roosevelt-corollary. Even then, this altered doctrine (at least in its Roosevelt form) never served as justification for forceful territorial annexation. This false view of the Monroe Doctrine permitted Germany to attempt to exclude the U.S. from its "Grossraumpolitik" in Europe, since the U.S. had its area of expansion and since German sought its own Monroe Doctrine for Europe. Sources: extensive, varied printed primary and secondary, in various languages.

Hamacher, Paul. "Woodrow Wilsons Idee 'Selbstbestimmungs-recht der Völker'" (Woodrow Wilson's Idea of "National Self-determination"). Diss., Köln, 1955. Woodrow Wilson developed the principal of national self-determination from his idea of democracy which also contained the concept of consent. Wilson's experience in Mexico taught him that the U.S. had the right to intervene in other lands in favor of a democratic governmental reform. Wilson's self-determination was evolutionary, the Soviet Union advocated a revolutionary self-determination. In contrast to the Soviets,



Wilson denied the idea of a plebiscite to implement the self-determination. Agents of the nation, sensing the public opinion, embodied the self-determination of the nation.

Hammerstein, Notker. "Deutschland und die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika im Spiegel der führenden politischen Presse Deutschlands, 1889-1906" (Germany and the U.S. Reflected in Germany's Leading Political Press, 1889-1906). Diss., Frankfurt, 1956. Long frustrated by Britain's giant empire, Germany believed itself confronted with a new Anglo-Saxon hegemony as the U.S. sought its place in the sun. German support for an open door policy and for a balance of power at the turn of the century found a positive echo in the U.S., but could not entirely negate U.S. attitudes derived from Manila, Samoa, and elsewhere. U.S. open door represented a wish for freedom in trade policy, not in power politics.

Hartmann, Wulf. "Die Vietnam-Generation und das amerikanische Parteiensystem: das Wahlverhalten der akademischen Jugend Kaliforniens unter der USA in den Wahlen 1972 and 1974" (The Vietnam Generation and the American Party System: Election Behavior of the Academic Youth in California and the U.S. in the Elections of 1972 and 1974). Diss., Kiel, 1977. (Frankfurt: Peter D. Lang, 1980). Tests V.O. Key's theory of critical elections and party realignment. An inter- and intra-generational transformation occurred in the Vietnam generation of the 1960s in which the academic youth and the whole electorate realigned from a traditional, party-linked "cleavage-system" to a new, issue-orientated, ideological "cleavage-system."

Heindl, Josef Engelbert. "Die diplomatischen Beziehungen zwischen Deutschland und den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika von 1933 bis 1939" (The Diplomatic Relations between Germany and the U.S. from 1933 to 1939). Diss., Würzburg, 1964. After a decade of developing understanding between the U.S. and Germany in the 1920s, Hitler's lack of moral inhibition in his struggle for power destroyed the improved relations. The U.S. could permit neither a Germany ruling over Europe, nor its equivalent, an Asia under Japan. Sources: Germ. Foreign Ministry in Bonn, extensive printed primary and secondary.

Heydenreich, Horst Dieter. "Problembereiche ausländischer privater Direktinvestitionen in Lateinamerika: Eine empirische Untersuchung" (Problem Areas of Foreign Private Direct Investments in Latin America: an Empirical Investigation). Diss., Göttingen, 1974. (Göttingen: Schwartz, 1974.) Finds some variation of the "joint-venture" form of investment the best possibility. Considerable attention to U.S. enterprises, including license and management-fee forms of modern investment-profit taking. Sources: statistical.

Hubrich, Erich-Wolfgang. "Neutralität und Intervention der Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika, 1914-1917" (U.S. Neutrality and Intervention, 1914-1917). Diss., Kiel, 1956. Concerned with immediate impact of submarine warfare upon U.S. and with Woodrow Wilson's personality and power. Wilson was simultaneously a doctrinaire idealist, reformer, and restorer. Still, the war declaration resulted from mutual interaction of Wilsonian and European politics.

Hubner, Christoph. "Zur Stellung Westeuropas in der politischen Strategie des USA-Imperialismus" (Western Europe's Position in the Political Strategy of U.S. Imperialism). Diss., Halle (GDR), 1974. Since World War II U.S. policy not only directed against the Soviet Union, but also the socialist countries of Europe. Current U.S. policy seeks an aggressive solution, "a reunification of Europe" related to the "liberation" concept of the 1950s. For the U.S., Western Europe represents the core area to which the Eastern European lands should be united. Sources: extensive primary and secondary, both socialist and bourgeoisie.

Idhe, Horst. "Zur Entwicklung der Kultur und des Befreiungskampfes der Afroamerikaner" (To the Development of Culture and of the Struggle for Liberation of the Afro-Americans). Diss., Humboldt Univ. Berlin (GDR), 1974. Black art and culture generally found encouraging models in the Soviet Union's cultural awakening during the rising danger of the fascist movement. Linked the black movement with the worldwide nationalist movement through the "Nation of Islam." The black movement revealed some progressive signs, but its economic and ethical goals are middle class.

Junker, Detlef. "Der unteilbare Weltmarkt: Das ökonomische Interesse in der Aussenpolitik der USA 1933-1941" (The Indivisible World Market: Economic Interest in U.S. Foreign Policy, 1933-1941). Habilitationsschrift, Stuttgart, 1974. (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag, 1975.) William A. Williams' school looks too much at external aspects of U.S. trade-commercial policy. Thus it does not acknowledge and treat the contradiction within the U.S. system of protective tariffs. "Isolationists" denied the need for a world economic system to protect U.S. economic system (liberal capitalism). Biggest weakness of Williams' school is its monocausal explanation based upon failure to use contrary sources and its ability to rationalize away reality. Sources: extensive manuscripts and printed primary and secondary.

Karg, Herma. "Die Einwanderung der Heimatvertriebenen als Problem der amerikanischen Innenpolitik 1945 bis 1952" (The Immigration of European Refugees as a Problem of American Internal Politics, 1945 to 1953). Diss., Konstanz, 1981. U.S. accepted less than 10% of the 12,000,000 emigrants from Europe between 1945-1955. Congress was the source of this restrictive policy and continually moved to tighten restrictions despite presidential vetoes and public opinion makers from liberal and church circles. People like Senator McCarran considered the refugees a threat to the "American way of life."

Kauffelt, Hannelore. "Der Sieg des vietnamesischen Volkes über die USA-Aggression und seine Auswirkung auf das Kräfteverhältnis in Südostasien" (The Victory of the Vietnamese People over U.S. Aggression and the Impact of this Victory upon Power Relations in South-East Asia). 2 vols. Diss., Akademie für Staats- und Rechtswissenschaft der DDR, Potsdam (GDR), 1978. Defeat of the U.S. in South—East Asia favorable to forces of peace, national independence, and socialism. The war had threatened peace and security in the whole world. Expansion of socialism into Laos and

Vietnam, active cooperative policy of these two states and other related developments have basic meaning for SE Asia, but also for other parts of Asia and other continents. Sources: socialist and bourgeoisie.

Kaufmann, Bernd. "Die aussenpolitische Strategie und Taktik der Volksrepublik China gegenüber den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika in der Periode der Entwicklung des Grossmachtpolitischen Kurses der chinesischen Führung (1957/58 bis 1972-73)" (The Foreign Policy Strategy and Tactic of the People's Republic of China toward the U.S. in the Period of the Development of Great Power Course of the Chinese Leadership, 1957/58 to 1972/73). 5 vols. Diss., Humboldt Univ. Berlin (GDR), 1978. Despite appearances, the relations between the U.S. and the Soviet Union remain the center of U.S. foreign policy. The People's Republic of China and the U.S. both strive for predominance, hence their relations are always shrouded in rivalry and have definite limits. Sources: both socialist and bourgeoisie in German, Russian, and English.

Kerz, Heinz. "Die Handelspolitik der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika von Hamilton bis zum Ausbruch des zweiten Weltkrieges unter besonderer Berücksichtigung ihrer Wirtschaftsbeziehungen zu Deutschland" ((U.S. Trade Policy from Hamilton until the Outbreak of World War II with Special Consideration of U.S. Economic Relations to Germany). Diss., Köln, 1947. Interest in several specific problems, capital transfers, active and passive trade balances, with discussion of trade policy. No broad themes and few clear generalizations. Recognition that the economy is positively linked to healthy political and peaceful relations. Sources: quite limited, mostly German.

Kilian, Martin. "Die Genesis des Amerikanismus: zum Verhältnis von amerikanischer Ideologie und amerikanischer Praxis, 1630-1789" (The Genesis of Americanism: Regarding the Relationship between American Ideology and Practice, 1630-1789). Diss., Konstanz, 1979. Nothing directly upon U.S. foreign relations, but chapter IV relates the U.S. revolution and republican ideology to the matters of national sovereignty and the legitimacy of political rule.

Kipphan, Klaus. "Deutsche Propaganda in den Vereinigten Staaten: 1933-1945" (German Propaganda in the U.S., 1933-1945). Diss., Heidelberg, 1971. (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1971.) Because of organizational and content weakness, German propaganda failed to achieve a long-lasting impression upon U.S. public opinion. After 1935, the German Foreign Ministry sought to avoid endangering legal U.S. neutrality through unwise propaganda. Many Americans recognized the difference between their political-social system and Germany after 1933. Sources: Germ. Foreign Ministry in Bonn, U.S. National Archives, and Library of Congress, correspondence and interviews, and a large body of published propaganda.

Knapp, Manfred. "Der US-Informationsdienst als Instrument der amerikanischen Aussenpolitik während der Präsidentschaft J.F. Kennedy" (The U.S.-Information Service as an Instrument of American Foreign Policy during the Presidency of J.F. Kennedy). Diss., Marburg, 1971. U.S. propaganda organization still in the Cold War mentality as

the 1960s began. Coexistence required its own propaganda because propaganda had become an unavoidable aspect of foreign relations. Coexistence did not liberate U.S. from compulsion to explain its social principles and its foreign policy goals. However, the claim that the best propaganda is the example and model which a society can offer, leaves the U.S. with a need to explain away or alter its oppressive poverty among about 20% of the population, racial problems, and decay of the cities.

Knipping, Franz. "Die amerikanische Russlandpolitik in der Zeit des Hitler-Stalin-Pakts: 1939-1941" (America's Russian Policy in the Period of the Hitler-Stalin Pact: 1939-1941). Diss., Tübingen, 1974. (Tübingen: Mohr, 1974.) The Soviet Union was not the most important element in Washington's foreign policy from 1939-1941. More central was the Axis threat to security in the western hemisphere. The U.S. evaluated the Soviet Union according to its perceived ability to decrease or to increase this threat from the Axis powers to the U.S.

Köppen, Heinrich Ernst. "Die Handelsbeziehungen Hamburgs zu den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts" (Hamburg's Trade Relations to the U.S. until the Middle of the 19th Century). Diss., Köln, 1973. Focus upon the commercial and shipping links between Hamburg and the U.S. and upon the policies related to commerce, shipping, and consulate service. Special attention given to the "Acting and creating people, the entrepreneurs." Sources: German, U.S., and Danish archives, extensive published primary and secondary.

Köppl, J. Bruno. "Probleme des multinationalen Rüstungsmanagements und deren Auswirkungen auf die Verteidigungsfähigkeit der NATO-Staaten unter dem Aspekt der wachsenden sowjetischen Bedrohung: eine Problemanalyse unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des trilateralen europäischen NATO-Programms, MRCA-TORNADO" (Problems of Multinational Management of Armaments and its Impact upon the Defense Capability of the NATO-States from the Perspective of a Growing Soviet Threat: A Problem Analysis with Special Consideration of the Trilateral European NATO-Programs MRCA-TORNADO). Diss., München, 1979. Common to western defense policy is the high degree of inefficiency widely evident in the acquisition as well as production of military material. This inefficiency is linked to competitive forces in western society which are not found in the east. One sign of this inefficiency is NATO's well known weakness in conventional weapons. One source of competition, for example, rests between economic interests which have principally defense policy concerns, while other specific interests respond to total societal influences.

Konitzer, Ulrich. "Die Herkunft der Monroedoktrin: Studien zur Idee des Manifest Destiny" (The Origins of the Monroe Doctrine: Studies on the Idea of Manifest Destiny). Diss., Marburg, 1953. The Monroe Doctrine has roots in the Puritan foundations of New England. Clearly expansive in its central nature, the Monroe Doctrine's expansionism was linked to the Manifest Destiny and "Erwähltheit" ["chosen people"] aspects of Puritanism.

Krack, Gerhard. "Untersuchungen zur Anpassungsstrategie des USA-Imperialismus" (Investigations Relative to the Strategy of Adjustment of U.S. Imperialism). Diss., Halle. (GDR), 1975. Although the age of American Imperialism goes back to the turn of the century and took new forms after the successful socialist Revolution in 1917, this study focuses upon the "cold war" years. In total U.S. strategy, the military factor plays a very major role, as does the use of Western Europe to sustain U.S. accommodation strategy vis-à-vis the world systems.

Kramer-Kaske, Lieselotte. "Der 'antisubversive Präventivkrieg' im System der USA-Globalstrategie in Lateinamerika, besonders seine Rolle in Kolumbien (1960-1970)" (The 'anti-subversive Preventive War' within the System of U.S. Global Strategy in Latin America, Particularly its Role in Colombia (1960-1970)). Diss., Akademie der Wissenschaft der DDR, Berlin (GDR), 1975. (Berlin (GDR): Akademie Verlag, 1977). U.S. policy seeks to avoid a second Cuba and hence seeks to eliminate anti-imperialistic, revolutionary movements in Latin America. U.S. reform method, which aims at removing the basis for subversion in Latin American society through such policies as the Alliance for Progress, has not only failed, but has tended to sharpen the crisis. A basic element of this strategy is the anti-subversive, preventative war, which also has sharpened rather than resolved the social crisis. Sources: socialist and bourgeoisie.

Kraus, Hannelore. "Vorstellungen von Senatoren und Repräsentanten des Amerikanischen Kongresses zur Deutschlandpolitik nach dem Zweiten Weltkriege; Kriegsprogramme, Nachkriegspolitik und ihre heutigen Aspekte" (Perceptions of Senators and Representatives of the American Congress with Regard to the Policy toward Germany after the Second World War: Wartime Programs, Post War Policies and their Contemporary Aspects) Diss., Heidelberg, 1971. Congressmen are conscious that their words merely contribute to foreign policy and do not make it, hence their openness. The range of views found among congressmen covered the whole scale from rejection of to esteem for Germany, and hence their feelings ranged from mistrust of Germany to a sense of partnership. Still, all interviews revealed at least the hint that Germany was dependent upon U.S. Sources: interviews

Kreikamp, Hans-Dieter. "Deutsches Vermögen in den Vereinigten Staaten: die Auseinandersetzung um seine Rückführung als Aspekt der deutsch-amerikanischen Beziehungen, 1952-1962" (German Property in the U.S.: the Negotiations for its Return as an Aspect of German-American Relations, 1952-1962). Diss., Bochum, 1977. Without slighting the multitudinous political and legal difficulties, the lack of consistent pressure and determination on the part of the German Federal Government, and the slighting of the problem by U.S. officials and congressional bodies explain why the efforts to obtain the return of confiscated private German property failed. Sources: extensive U.S. and German archives, interviews, and printed primary and secondary.

Krüger, Peter. "Deutschland und die Reparationen 1918/19: Die Genesis des Reparationsproblems in Deutschland zwischen Waffenstillstand und Versailler Friedensschluss" (Germany and Reparations, 1918-1919: The Genesis of the Reparations Problem in Germany between the Armistice and the Versailles Peace Settlement). Habilitationsschrift, Köln, 1972. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1973). The animosity against the victorious powers did not arise anew as a result of Versailles, but existed continuously during and after the war. The harsh armistice and the peace negotiations kept this animosity alive. The "continuity of error" meaning the following of a policy doomed to failure--at first rejection of allied terms followed by surrender to them--only made matters worse and weakened the moderate forces in Germany. The conservative, right wing forces profited from the negotiations around the reparations matter. Sources: archives in Bonn and Koblenz, quite extensive printed primary and secondary.

Lang, Reuben C. "Das Bild Deutschlands in der öffentlichen Meinung der Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika in den Jahren von 1918 bis 1923 (Germany's Image in U.S. Public Opinion from 1918 to 1923). Diss., Kiel, 1966.

Lindemann, Eva. "Versailles-Deutschland im Spiegel der liberalen Intelligenz der Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika" (Versailles-Germany as Reflected in the Liberal Intelligencia of the U.S.). Diss., Heidelberg, 1953. The image of Germany and the Germans did not hold many surprises. A hardworking, intelligent, talented people with significant intellectual, scientific, and artistic accomplishments. Next to the Americans who saw their family roots in Germany, the liberal orientated intellectuals tended to be most sympathetic to Germany and Germans although in an impassioned manner.

Link, Werner. "Die amerikanische Stabilisierungspolitik in Deutschland 1921-32" (The American Policy of Stabilization in Germany, 1921-1932). Habilitationsschrift, Mannheim, 1969. (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1970.) Sources: very extensive use of U.S., German, and British archives, and printed primary and secondary.

Lumer, Helga. "Zur Rezeption der Literature der USA in der deutschen kommunistischen Presse (1918-1933)" (About the Reception of U.S. Literature in the German Communist Press (1918-1933). 2 vols. Diss., Humboldt, Univ. Berlin (GDR), 1978. Investigates contribution made by U.S. literature to the German workers' movement as expressed through the German Communist Party. Much of the material was short stories, reports, and anecdotes of writer-workers which lent a new dimension to the literature of the working class.

Magnus, Arthur W.v. "Die neue Phase der Monroedoktrin angesichts der Bedrohung Lateinamerikas durch die totalitären Staaten (1933-1945)" (The New Phase of the Monroe Doctrine in View of the Threat to Latin America from the Totalitarian States (1933-1945). Diss., Freie Univ. Berlin, 1956. German efforts in Latin America unquestionably intensified U.S. Good Neighbor policy. Panamericanism was aimed at

tightening the unity of the American continents as the totalitarian states increased their threat to the American continents. Thus, Panamericanism edged closer to the principles of the Monroe Doctrine. The Argentina case increased the concern of most American states regarding fascism in the New World.

Marschalck, Peter. "Deutsche Überseewanderung im 19. Jahrhundert: Ein Beitrag zur soziologischen Theorie der Bevölkerung" (German Overseas Migration in the 19th Century: A Contribution to the Sociological Theory of Population). Diss., Bochum, 1970. (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag, 1973.) Clearly, the construction of numerous ships to carry the emigrants from Germany and other parts of Europe to U.S. and the subsequent use of these vessels to carry return freight were valuable assets for Germany's merchant marine. Data allows a determination that German emigrants were not inclined to return migration, but remained as settlers, even after the era of free land had ended. Emigration pattern varied according to stages of industrialization in Germany and U.S. Sources: statistical publications and extensive printed primary and secondary.

Mayer, Margit. "Die Entstehung des Nationalstaates in Nordamerika" (The Origins of the National State in North America). Diss., Frankfurt, 1977. Although mostly concerned with internal class and state building, notes that U.S. forced into capital accumulation via separation from England at a time when its internal social order had only advanced to "petite bourgeoisie" and preindustrial production relationships, which in turn influenced its state formation.

Meisels, Lucian Otto. "Die politischen Beziehungen zwischen den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika und Österreich - 1933 bis 1938" (Political Relations between the U.S. and Austria, 1933 to 1938). Diss., Wien, 1960.

Moeller, Klaus-Ulrich. "Die UNO-Politik der Sowjetunion zwischen Kriegskoalition und Kaltem Krieg 1943-1949: Eine diplomatiegeschichtliche Studie zur sowjetisch-amerikanischen Kooperation in internationalen Organisationen" (The United Nations Policy of the Soviet Union from the Wartime Alliance to the Cold War, 1943-1949: A Study of the Diplomatic History of Soviet-American Cooperation in International Organizations). Diss., Tübingen, 1980. Impact of the Soviet's United Nations policy upon the U.S. should not be undervalued, even though it was mostly a matter of reinforcing existing interpretations and presumptions. In fact, the "cold war" was in large part a matter of interpretation and mentality and security matters which rested upon uncertainty regarding the intentions of the opponent and the doubted reliability of normal foreign policy instruments to serve as checks. In this sense a more effective and trustworthy UN would have served both sides. Sources: U.S. National Archives, UN and Columbia Univ. archives, and extensive printed primary and secondary.

Morgenstern, Günther. "Die 'Fireside Chats' Franklin D. Roosevelts als politisch-publizistisches Führungsmittel: Ein Beitrag zum Problem

der Führung in der modernen Massedemokratie" (The 'Fireside Chats' of Franklin D. Roosevelt as a Politico-Publicity Means for Leadership: A contribution to the Problem of Leadership in Modern Mass Democracy). Diss., Freiburg, 1959. Franklin D. Roosevelt's "fireside chats" are not the continuation of traditional political rhetoric, but present a completely new political-publicity leadership form of rhetoric. Their study permits a contribution to the theory of communications, propaganda politics and language, and to the "Führungstechnik in Massendemokratie" [technique of leadership in a mass democracy]. Sources: recorded "fireside chats" and extensive printed primary and secondary.

Müller, Tilman. "Aus der amerikanischen Mentalität, Baukasten zum Verständnis der inneramerikanischen Situation" (From the American Mentality; Building Blocks for Understanding the Internal American Situation). Diss., Freie Univ. Berlin, 1979. German anti-American attitudes became widespread during and after the later Vietnam War days. Nevertheless, even in these critical days, some, like Theodore Adorno, warned about preserving the possibility of a non-prejudiced understanding of America in the future. Currently, U.S. influence in Europe is less open, but no less penetrating, merely more subtle.

Munford, Clarence J. " "Mare nostrum" Zur US 'Dollar Diplomatie' und Intervention im Karibischen Raum - 1898-1939 - und deren Auswirkungen auf die dortige Bevölkerung, insbesondere die Neger" ("Mare nostrum": Regarding U.S. 'Dollar Diplomacy' and Intervention in the Caribbean Area - 1898 to 1939 - and its Impact upon the Local Population, especially the Negro). Diss., Leipzig (GDR), 1962. Around 1900, the Caribbean became the central object of U.S. expansionism. Two tools used extensively: naked force via intervention and indirect political, ideological, and economic pressure via "Dollar Diplomacy." One consequence was the creation of a series of military dictatorships. Since U.S. expansionism also meant spreading a traditional Anglo-Saxon racist ruling system, the Caribbean blacks experienced racial separation, discrimination, and white chauvinism. Sources: extensive manuscript and very extensive printed primary and secondary.

Petersen, Hans. "Das Projekt eines mittelamerikanischen Kanals als Problem englisch-amerikanischer Politik um die Jahrhundertwende" (The Project of a Central American Canal as a Problem of British-American Policy around the Turn of the Century). Diss., Hamburg, 1959. The second Hay-Pauncefote treaty meant success for the U.S.'s wish to control the Middle American routes to U.S. interests in the Asian-Pacific area. For Britain the treaty was less a matter of winning U.S. friendship directly in Middle America than of implementing Lord Lansdowne's newly oriented British policy in the European and Asiatic areas. Sources: Public Record Office, Germ. Foreign Ministry in Bonn.

Pitsch, Franz Josef. "Die wirtschaftlichen Beziehungen Bremens zu den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts" (Bremen's Economic Relations with the U.S. until the Middle of the 19th Century). Diss., Köln, 1971. During the first half of the



19th century, the U.S. became Bremen's most important trading partner. Bremen's trading and shipping links to the U.S. surpassed those of its Dutch, Belgian, and Hamburg competition. About sixty pages of tables of trading and shipping data are appended to this work. Sources: Staatsarchiv Bremen, Handelskammerarchiv Bremen, U.S. National Archive, other archives, and extensive printed primary and secondary.

Pourkian, Dariush. "Die militärischen Beziehungen der USA zum Iran: eine Fallstudie zur Penetration, 1942-1953" (U.S. Military Relations with Iran: A Case Study on Penetration, 1942-1953). Diss., Hamburg, 1978. U.S. created a bridgehead within Iran between 1942-1953, but Iran was not fully dependent upon the U.S. and hence could pursue independent self-interest policies. The U.S. made Iran more pliable and achieved its principal goals during the overthrow of the Mossadegh regime in 1953-1954. Iran became dependent upon the U.S., and as an important side-effect, Iran respected the 'open door' policy. Sources: about 50 periodicals and materials in Persian.

Prüfer, Karl. "Woodrow Wilsons Völkerverbundspolitik auf der Pariser Friedenskonferenz 1919" (Woodrow Wilson's League of Nations Policy at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919). Diss., Freie Univ. Berlin, 1952. Except for the first phase of the League of Nations negotiations, Woodrow Wilson generally established his ideas, although he was often forced to compromise in concrete individual cases. Wilson's name and being linked to the League of Nations. Sources: mostly in English.

Prüser, Jürgen. "Die Handelsverträge der Hansestädte Lübeck, Bremen und Hamburg mit überseeischen Staaten im 19. Jahrhundert" (Nineteenth Century Trade Treaties of the Hansa Cities Lübeck, Bremen, and Hamburg with non-Continental States). Diss., Innsbruck, 1958. (Bremen: Carl Schünemann Verlag, 1962). Sources: Staats- and Handelsarchives of Bremen, Hamburg, and Lubeck.

Radkau, Joachim. "Die deutsche Emigration in den USA: Ihr Einfluss auf die Amerikanische Europapolitik 1933-1945" (German Emigration to the U.S.: Its Influence upon America's European Policy 1933-1945). Diss., Hamburg, 1970. (Düsseldorf: Bertelsmann-Universitäts Verlag, 1971.) German emigrants represented Prussian conservatism in the United States which was evident in many areas of U.S. society and commented upon by numerous U.S. observers. In one area, liberal economic views, the emigrant conservatism was not a part of prewar Prussian conservatism, but became a part of postwar Adenauer conservatism.

Richter, Hans. "Die antisozialistische Strategie des 'Brückenschlags' des USA-Imperialismus nach Osteuropa in den sechziger Jahren" (The Anti-Socialist Strategy of the "Bridge Building" policy of the USA with Eastern Europe in the 1960s). Diss., Humboldt Univ. Berlin (GDR), 1973. The "bridge building" policy of the U.S. vis-à-vis East Europe was a transitory policy in U.S. imperialism's settlement with socialist Eastern Europe. However, the "bridge building" policy contained more animosity toward the socialist states than expected from the era of

peaceful coexistence. Only in the early 1970s did U.S. policy toward Eastern Europe take a different turn.

Ring, Johannes. "Das Bayernbild in angloamerikanischen Zeitschriften zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts (1900-1910)" (The Image of Bavaria in Anglo-American Periodicals at the Beginning of the 20th Century (1900-1910). Diss., München, 1979. (München: Stadtarchiv München, 1981.) Examines the U.S. view of Bayern through articles from 112 periodicals located in the READERS GUIDE TO PERIODICAL LITERATURE. Reconstructs an image which he then compares with the results from a questionnaire distributed among a wide variety of South Californians. Finally builds a modern image from the 1977 NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC. Compares and analyzes these three components.

Rohwer, Jürgen. "Das deutsch-amerikanische Verhältnis 1937-1941" (The German-American Relationship, 1937-1941). Diss., Hamburg, 1954.

Rose, Gunther. "Modernisierungstheorien und Modernisierungsforschung in den USA und in der BRD, eine Studie zur bürgerlichen Gesellschaftstheorie und Geschichtsideologie der Gegenwart" (Modernization Theory and Research in the U.S. and German Federal Republic, a Study of Middle Class Social Theory and the Ideology of History in the Present). Diss., Humboldt Univ. Berlin (GDR), 1979. Modernization theory began in the U.S. in the mid-1950s. First aimed at researching the developing countries, in the mid-1960s it was socio-politically reformed to include societal theory and world view conceptualization. The third phase began in the late 1960s and rested upon comparative modernization research. Model for all modernization theory remains capitalist, industrialized experience, hence no place for a prospective passage to socialism.

Rünger, Barbara. "Die Lateinamerikapolitik der USA unter der Nixon-Administration: Grundzüge der aussenpolitischen Strategie des USA-Imperialismus in Lateinamerika von 1969-1973" (U.S. Latin America Policy under the Nixon Administration: Outline of the Foreign Policy Strategy of U.S. Imperialism in Latin America, 1969-1973). Diss., Leipzig (GDR), 1979. The Richard Nixon Presidency gave more attention to U.S. business, for example, Nelson Rockefeller represented business in the State Department. Despite some gains, U.S.'s "neocolonialism" had to operate from a defensive strategic position. Still, Nixon adopted no particularly new military policy. National bourgeoisies often opted for contradictory policies vis-à-vis the U.S., pursuing their own economic or nationalistic interests, but continuing opposition to socialism and social transformation.

Schatzschneider, Helmut. "Die neue Phase der Monroedoktrin angesichts der kommunistischen Bedrohungen Lateinamerikas, dargestellt unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Entwicklung in Guatemala" (The New Phase of the Monroe Doctrine in View of the Communist Threat to Latin America, Presented with Particular Attention to Developments in Guatemala). Diss., Deutsche Hochschule für Politik, Berlin, 1955. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1957).

Original Monroe Doctrine was defensive-isolationist, but it gradually became more aggressive and imperialistic, supporting partial U.S. hegemony, at least in the Caribbean area, until it was replaced by the Good Neighbor policy and fused with a Panamerican concept.

Schmid-Bürckert, Walter. "Graf Johann Heinrich von Bernstorff als deutscher Botschafter in Washington, 1908-1917" (Count Johann Heinrich von Bernstorff as German Ambassador in Washington, 1908-1917). Diss., Tübingen, 1947. Bernstorff sought peace, did not want Germany to fight the U.S., and was a convinced democrat since his days in the U.S. He worked hard to prevent the January, 1917, unrestricted submarine warfare campaign and the April, 1917, U.S. declaration of war. However, Bernstorff had lost the Emperor's confidence because of his pronounced democratic learnings. Sources: Library of Congress and Yale archives.

Schmidt, Ingo. "US-amerikanische und deutsche Wettbewerbspolitik gegenüber Marktmacht: Eine vergleichende Untersuchung und kritische Analyse der Rechtsprechung gegenüber Tatbeständen des externen und internen Unternehmenswachstums sowie des Behinderungswettbewerbs" (U.S. and German Policies of Competition vis-à-vis Power in the Market Place; A Comparative Examination and Critical Analysis of Laws vis-à-vis the Facts of External and Internal Business Growth and of Competition to Obstruct). Habilitationsschrift, Bochum, 1972. (Berlin: Duncker & Humboldt, 1973). Study of German and U.S. laws and decision-making relative to policy of competition vis-à-vis power in the marketplace. Study revealed many holes in the existing laws and proposed closing these holes in the German legal system. Sources: legal.

Schönborn, Mathias. "Entwicklungstendenzen militärischer Abkommen: eine empirisch-analytische und historische Untersuchung am Beispile des amerikanischen militärischen Sicherheitsabkommen der Nachkriegszeit" (The Developmental Tendencies of Military Agreements: An Empirical-Analytical and Historical Investigation upon the Example of American Military Security Agreements of the Postwar Period). Diss., München, 1979. U.S. military treaties since World War II have revealed two tendencies: first, a strong trend toward concentration of military obligation among the democratic industrial states and second, the dissolution or weakening of alliances with developing lands. Transformation of the world's security and economic system from reliance upon military alliances to energy and raw materials prompts reconsideration of links to the third world.

Schottelius, Ursula. "Das Amerikabild der deutschen Regierung in der Ära Bülow, 1897-1909" (The German Government's Image of America in the Bülow Era, 1898-1909). Diss., Hamburg, 1956. Details of U.S. internal developments available in Germany, but, for example, the transformation from isolationism to expansion was not understood even during the Spanish-American war. Thus just as U.S. began to assume its place in the world state system, the German image of U.S. became unsharp and incomplete. Hence, Germany followed a policy

which did not consider the U.S. position in the western world and its expansion outward into East Asia. Sources: Germ. Foreign Ministry in Bonn.

Schünzel, Eva. "Die deutsche Auswanderung nach Nordamerika im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert" (German Emigration to North America in the 17th and 18th Centuries). Diss., Würzburg, 1960. Viewed as a whole, German emigration was predominately protestant. In the 17th and 18th centuries the German emigrants came from south, west, and northwest of Germany, while in the 19th century all of Germany supplied the emigrants for the U.S. Sources: Bavarian and Wurttembergian Staatsarchives.

Schulze, Renate. "Die Entstehung und Entwicklung der Genfer Konvention im Rahmen der internationalen Politik, 1863-1906" (The Foundation and Development of the Geneva Convention in the Context of International Politics, 1863-1906). Diss., Hamburg, 1973. In a limited form, the Geneva Convention of 1864 placed demands upon the humanity of state actions and thereby introduced a moralistic element into international relations. Since this time, no state can entirely ignore the demands of humanity upon its actions, even if it only responds for propaganda reasons, unless it is prepared to confront the critique of a large part of world public opinion. Sources: archives in Geneva, Bern, Paris, London, Berlin, Vienna, Bonn, Freiburg, and Munch; uses French, German, and English.

Seibt, Peter. "Engagement und Indifferenz. Die amerikanische Chinapolitik 1941-1950" (Engagement and Indifference: America's China Policy, 1941-1950). Diss., Tübingen, 1968. Sources: chiefly English with only modest printed primary and secondary.

Seidel, Friedrich. "Die Neue Einwanderung: Geschichte und Problematik der Überseewanderung nach den Vereinigten Staaten zwischen 1880 und 1930" (The New Immigration: History and Problems of Overseas Migration to the U.S. between 1880 and 1930). Diss., Köln, 1958. New U.S. immigration policy in the 1920s created difficulties for the over-industrialized European countries. The Latin and Slavic countries which supplied most of the "new immigration" were most seriously effected. Suggests link between new restrictive U.S. policy and European crisis of the 1920s. U.S. quota policy probably not in the best interest of the U.S.

Siedentopf, Monika. "Die Anerkennungspolitik der USA gegenüber Zentralamerika von 1907 bis 1934 unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Tobar-Doktrin" (U.S. Recognition Policy toward Central America from 1907 to 1934 under Special Consideration of the Tobar Doctrine). Diss., Köln, 1976. Since there were at least ten cases of successful forceful change of government in Central America during the era of the Tobar Doctrine, 1907-1934, and since the U.S. recognized without reservation several governments which came to power through force, the Tobar Doctrine must be viewed as an additional means for the U.S. to implement its own national interests in Central America.

Siemers, Bruno. "Amerika und die deutsche Einheit 1848-1871" (America and German Unification, 1848-1871). Habilitationsschrift, Kiel, 1948. The U.S. was sympathetic toward German unification movement. Since Abraham Lincoln the U.S. had been friendly to unification and unfriendly toward division of political units. Sources: Germ. National Archive in Frankfurt, Staatsarchives Bremen and Hamburg, very little printed primary and secondary.

Solom, Rudolf. "Die Handelsbeziehungen zwischen Deutschland und den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika von 1871-1937" (Commercial Relations between Germany and the U.S. from 1871-1937). Diss., Köln, 1949. Germany has consistently been unable to obtain its trade policy objectives from the U.S. in the long run because the latter has exercised preponderant economic power. Sources: very, very limited printed primary and secondary.

Sommer, Walter. "Die Vereinigten Staaten als aussenpolitischer Faktor in der französischen Publizistik von 1924-1939: Ideengeschichtliche Studie zur Frage des Europazentrismus im politischen Denken Frankreichs" (The U.S. as a Foreign Policy Factor in French Publicity, 1924-1939: A Study of the History of Ideas Related to the Eurocentralism in French Political Thinking). Diss., Tübingen, [1959]. (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1967.) France saw Europe's determination to guide the whole world weakened in favor of the U.S. Even the world economic crisis of the 1930s did not reverse this pattern. France threatened with decline.

Sperl, Georg Ferdinand. "Die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika und der deutsche Kulturkampf (1870-1886)" (The U.S. and the German "Kulturkampf" (1870-1886). Diss., München, 1953. The German Kulturkampf" [cultural struggle principally between the State and the Catholic Church] had considerably more impact upon the U.S. than generally recognized. While the U.S. constitutional provision for separation of church and state served to prevent major assaults upon church-state relations, other developments in U.S. society revealed interest in Germany's "Kulturkampf." The rising number of Catholics in the U.S. led to increasing tension and generated interest in Prussian policy among many U.S. protestants and liberals. Sources: extensive consultation of U.S. archives, about 75 periodicals.

**(TO BE CONTINUED)**

## Who Invented the "Cold War?" Another Version

by Thomas G. Paterson  
(University of Connecticut)

Now here is something traditionalists and revisionists (**who** invented **those** words?) can agree upon: Americans did not invent the phrase "Cold War." A recent piece in the **Newsletter** gave the nod to a German by the name of Eduard Bernstein, who apparently first bespoke the phrase in 1892. Enter Walter Lippmann with his version. In a number of letters he explained that he was hardly original when he titled his now famous 1947 book **The Cold War**. Indeed, he claims he learned about **la guerre froide** in the days of Hitler's Germany. Once again Germany. If some enterprising scholar could help us by making the link between the 1890s and 1930s usage, we can provide William Safire's **New York Times Magazine** column "On Language" with further evidence of the usefulness of historians — and we can all get back to researching and debating the real Cold War.

One of the letters in which Lippmann remarked on his choice of words was to Louis Halle, author of **The Cold War as History** (1967). Dated March 4, 1965, it is located in box 75 of the Lippman Papers, Yale University Library:

Dear Louis:

March 4, 1965

I have often been asked about the phrase "the cold war," and my answer has always been that I didn't invent it. And neither did Mr. Baruch invent it.

The phrase was in the public domain during the 1930's, when it was very common to speak of Hitler's fifth columns, etc., etc., as "la guerre froide" or "la guerre blanche." When I gave a title to my book, I was not thinking of Mr. Baruch but of the phrases I had heard so often in the 1930's. I hesitated a long time between calling the book "The Cold War" or "The White War." I finally decided "The White War" would be confusing and that people would think it had something to do with the whites as against the reds.

Mr. Baruch — or rather his press agent, Herbert Bayard Swope — nursed the illusion that they had invented the phrase and always claimed it if they could in public. I have never laid any claim to it.

Best greetings to you.

Yours,  
[Walter Lippmann]

Mr. Louis J. Halle  
Case 53  
1211 Geneva 21  
Switzerland

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## ANNOUNCEMENTS

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SHAFR has established a Financial Advisory Committee which reports to the Executive Secretary-Treasurer, Marvin Zahniser. The committee will take charge of all SHAFR non-operating monies. Warren F. Kuehl (Chair), Gary R. Hess, and Paul A. Varg constitute the committee. Persons wishing to contribute to the W. Stull Holt Traveling Fellowship Fund, the Graebner Fund, or who wish to make other contributions to SHAFR should forward their monies directly to Warren Kuehl, Department of History, University of Akron, Akron Ohio, 44325.

\* \* \*

The History Department of the United States Naval Academy will sponsor its sixth Naval History Symposium on September 29-30, 1983. The Symposium is seeking papers on all topics relating to naval and maritime history. Proposals should be sent to Assistant Professor Daniel M. Masterson, History Department, U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, MD 21402. The deadline for proposals is April 1, 1983.

\* \* \*

On April 11-12, 1983, Millersville State College will host the second in an annual series of conferences on various aspects of the Holocaust. The theme for 1983 will be "America and the Holocaust, 1939-1945." Tentative plans include the publication of selected papers presented at the conference in the **Holocaust Studies Annual**. Proposals for papers and complete (two or three paper) sessions are invited. Please submit proposals, along with appropriate c.v., as soon as possible but no later than January 15, 1983, to: Holocaust Conference Committee, Department of History, Millersville State College, Millersville, PA 17551.

\* \* \*

The Alfred P. Sloan Foundation has begun a set of experiments in video history — an extension of oral history with the new features of video rather than audio taping and group discussion rather than one-on-one conversations.

Two experiments have been tried to date. The first involved a group of participants from Project Charles, a 1950 air defense study at MIT. Elting Morison and Carl Kaysen served alternately as moderator. The second involved seven men who played key roles in the 1949-50 decision to proceed with development of the hydrogen bomb. McGeorge Bundy served as moderator. Each of the projects generated over six hours of videotape from which reels of approximately 90 minutes of excerpts have been made.

A screening of these tapes has been scheduled at 8:00 p.m. in the Alexandria Room at the Sheraton-Washington Hotel, on December 28 and 29. One reel will be shown each evening -- Project Charles on the 28th; the H-Bomb on the 29th. A discussion of this method of developing historical materials and advice to the Sloan Foundation on its future plans will follow the screenings.

## Berlin Seminar - 1983

The Third Annual Berlin Seminar for historians will be held from June 13 to 18, 1983. This seminar is not designed for specialists in German history. The program is planned for professors teaching undergraduate courses in U.S. Foreign Policy, and German, European or world history. Specialists in German-U.S. relations may, of course, also profit from the seminar.

During the seminar, presentations are made by German faculty, news reporters, and government officials from both East and West Berlin. The seminar is sponsored by Bradley University's Department of History through a grant from the West German government. It is held at the Europäische Akademie in West Berlin, whose facilities are used and whose staff prepares details for the program of German speakers.

American participants pay their own travel costs, but room, board, and the week's activities require payment of only a small fee. Most of the Berlin costs are covered by the government grant.

Faculty interested in seminars for 1983, 1984 or a future time are urged to apply early. Our advanced applicant list assists us in renewing our grant.

Applications and further information may be obtained from:

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

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## PERSONALS

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Reinhard R. Doerries (University of Hamburg) presented a paper on "Soziale Eingliederungsprozesse von Iren und Deutschen in den Vereinigten Staaten - Ein Vergleich" at the Biennial Convention of the Association of the Historians of Germany on March 29, 1980, in Wuerzburg. Professor Doerries also presented "Organization and Ethnicity: The German-American Experience" at the OAH, April, 1982.

\* \* \*

Richard H. Bradford (West Virginia Tech) has been awarded a grant by the American Philosophical Society for research in the Frederick Russell Burnham papers at Yale. Bradford is writing a biography of Burnham.

\* \* \*

Richard H. Immerman has taken a position as assistant professor of recent U.S. diplomatic and political history at the University of Hawaii.

\* \* \*

John A. Larkin (SUNY-Buffalo) is Visiting Research Associate at the School of Economics, University of the Philippines, Diliman.



# SHAFR'S GOVERNING BODIES

(1982)

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## COMMITTEES

The person listed first in each instance is the chairman/woman of the particular committee.

## BERNATH ARTICLES

Rachael West (Marian College) '83  
Harriet Schwar (Dept. of State) '83  
Michael F. Hogan (Miami U.) '84

## BERNATH SPEAKER

Richard Welch (LaFayette College) '82  
Harry Stegmaier (Frostburg State) '83  
Stephen Schuker (Cambridge, Mass.) '84

## BERNATH BOOK

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Melvyn P. Leffler (Vanderbilt) '84

## NOMINATIONS

Theodore Wilson (Kansas) '80-'82  
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Ronald Steel (New York City) '82-'84

## PROGRAM

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Waren F. Kuehl (Akron)  
Gary R. Hess (Bowling Green State)  
Paul A. Varg (Michigan State)

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## PUBLICATIONS

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Clifford L. Egan (University of Houston) and Alexander W. Knott (University of Northern Colorado), eds. **Essays in Twentieth Century American Diplomatic History Dedicated to Professor Daniel M. Smith.** 1982. University Press of America. Cloth \$20.75, paper \$10.50. This publication includes essays by SHAFR members Billie Barnes Jensen (San Jose State University), Stephen J. Kneeshaw (School of the Ozarks), Benjamin Rhodes (Whitewater, Wisconsin), and Joseph M. Siracusa (University of Queensland).

Akira Iriye (University of Chicago) has an essay included in **Anglo-Japanese Alienation 1919-1952, Papers of the Anglo-Japanese Conference on the History of the Second World War**. Ian Nish, ed. 1982. Cambridge University Press. \$37.50.

\* \* \* \* \*

Martin P. Claussen, ed., and Evelyn Bills Claussen (Historioconsultants Inc., Washington, D.C.) **The SWNCC/SANACC Case Files, 1944-1949**. On microfilm. Scholarly Resources, Inc. \$1,280.

\* \* \* \* \*

Richard L. Lael (Westminster College) **The Yamashita Precedent: War Crimes and Command Responsibility**. 1982. Scholarly Resources, Inc. \$19.95.

\* \* \* \* \*

Robert Dallek (University of California Los Angeles) **Franklin D. Roosevelt and American Foreign Policy, 1932-1945**. 1982. Oxford University Press, Galaxy Book. Paperback edition. \$10.95.

\* \* \* \* \*

Akira Iriye (University of Chicago) has an essay included in **Japan Today**, Kenneth A. Grossberg, ed. 1981. Ishi Publications. \$12.95; paperback \$5.95.

\* \* \* \* \*

John Lewis Gaddis (Ohio University) **Strategies of Containment: A Critical Appraisal of Postwar American National Security Policy**. 1982. Oxford University Press, Galaxy Book, \$10.95.

\* \* \* \* \*

Irvine H. Anderson (University of Cincinnati) **Aramco, the United States, and Saudi Arabia: A Study of the Dynamics of Foreign Oil Policy, 1933-1950**. 1981. Princeton University Press. \$19.50.

\* \* \* \* \*

In 1956 Thomas A. Bailey published a college textbook titled **The American Pagent: A History of the Republic**. Written in a lively style, it was designed primarily for college freshmen and also for the advanced-placement college courses in high schools.

Taking the title from the original **American Pagent**, in May, 1982, Bailey published with the Hoover Institution Press at Stanford University a book titled **The American Pagent Revisited; Recollections of a Stanford Historian**. (19.95). This new volume is primarily an account of his academic life from earliest days until he became a professor emeritus at Stanford University in 1968. Beyond that some attention is devoted to his years in "retirement," including the impact of world events. Bailey states: "Interested readers may be able to profit from my mistakes."

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

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(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).

**NOTE**

The publication by the Greenwood Press in 1981 of **American Foreign Relations: A Historiographical Review**, edited by Gerald K. Haines and J. Samuel Walker, should interest our readers. All but one of the fifteen contributors are members of SHAFR. It is the subject of a four-page essay by Richard W. Leopold, "American Diplomatic History: The Views of a Younger Generation," **Reviews in American History**, 10 (September, 1982), 320-323.

\* \* \*

David Reynolds (Caius College, Cambridge University), "Whitehall, Washington and the Promotion of American Studies in Britain during World War Two," **Journal of American Studies**, 16/2 (August 1982), 165-88. In the 1930s British schools and universities devoted little time to studying the USA or to dispelling the unflattering popular stereotypes of America derived from the movies. Nothing was done to rectify the situation by the British Government, contemptuous of things American, or by the State Department, which was only just embarking on a cultural relations programme. By 1941, however, the USA was Britain's only potential ally, and the Ministry of Information began a domestic propaganda campaign to enlighten the British people about the United States. Its most successful feature was the Board of Education's drive to promote American studies in British schools. Guidance memoranda were issued, new textbooks were commissioned from eminent US historians Allan Nevins and Henry Steele Commager, and 300 teachers attended special courses. By 1942-3 perhaps one third of British

secondary schools were studying some US history. Comparable efforts at the university level, however, foundered for lack of funds, and in general after 1943 the campaign ran down. Official attention had turned elsewhere, and, although US diplomats in Britain, notably Ambassador Winant, took a keen interest, there was no real support from the State Department, which directed its cultural propaganda at China, Latin America and the Middle East. Nevertheless, the measures adopted in 1941-3 helped to establish US history in the British educational system and they cast light on the priorities and policies of the two governments in the field of Anglo-American cultural relations.

\* \* \*

Sandra C. Taylor (University of Utah), "The Ineffectual Voice: Japan Missionaries and American Foreign Policy" was presented at a session of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, August 14, 1982.

Japan missionaries pale in comparison to the active efforts of China missionaries to influence policy toward that country. There was no missionary-inspired portrait of the Japanese as friendly, peace-loving, or potentially democratic. Yet the Japan missionaries had as deep a love for that land as did the China workers. They failed to export a positive image for a number of reasons. First, from 1904 on, they had to contend with the reality of a modernizing expansionist nation whose goals frequently seemed to threaten American possessions and policies. Second, the immigration controversy in America had witnessed the emergence of a powerful anti-Japanese stereotype that eventually found expression in the exclusion act of 1924. The combination of an assertive Japan using every diplomatic trick to secure a powerful position in East Asia with the presence of an unwanted immigrant population supported in its demands by that same arrogant government created a doubly negative image that even an effective missionary lobby would have had difficulty challenging. The missionaries produced only one really effective lobbyist for the cause of Japanese-American friendship, Sidney L. Gulick; those still in Japan in the 1930s were divided over the question of the proper response to Japanese militarism. Most of them sided with Japan in the Manchurian crisis and justified its actions by reference to its past mistreatment by the West. They feared war with America and were appalled by the bloodshed in China, yet were unwilling to condone any steps to stop Japan or prepare for war. They urged understanding of Japan's actions as late as 1940, and when that failed they kept silent.

\* \* \*

Ronald Spector (U.S. Army Center of Military History), "Allied Intelligence and Indochina, 1943-45," **Pacific Historical Review**, LI (February, 1982, 23-50. This paper examines the activities of Americans on the scene in Southeast Asia during World War II and concludes that through most of the war the actions and policies of these Americans were "out of phase" with official American policies in Washington. The primary reasons for this state of affairs were the vagueness of FDR's Indochina policy and the pressing need of American commanders in the Far East for reliable intelligence about Indochina.

The paper examines American relations with the French at the theater level and concludes that, far from cold-bloodedly sacrificing French lives to American interests, as has frequently been alleged, U.S. commanders in the field from the first cooperated with the French in intelligence matters and moved quickly to aid French resistance groups after the Japanese takeover of March 1945. It was only after it became obvious that the French could no longer operate effectively in Indochina that Americans turned reluctantly to the Viet Minh.

While American commanders were aware that their actions could have political consequences they usually justified their decisions on the basis of military necessities in the war against Japan. To the Americans it was always the British and French who seemed to be influenced by political motives.

\* \* \*

Mark A. Stoler (University of Vermont), "Aiken, Mansfield and the Tonkin Gulf Crisis: Notes from the Congressional Leadership Meeting at the White House, August 4, 1964," **Vermont History**, 50, no. 2 (Spring, 1982), 80-94. This article consists of an introduction to and reproduction of two sets of Walter Jenkins notes, presently available at the Johnson Library, on the August 4, 1964 "Tonkin Gulf" meeting between President Johnson and Congressional leaders. Contrary to the conclusions later expressed by Johnson and numerous commentators, not all the Congressional leaders present endorsed the President's planned military actions against North Vietnam and the Tonkin Gulf resolution. Senators Aiken and Mansfield in particular dissented and raised a series of provocative questions. They publicly supported the President afterwards only because they felt Johnson's unilateral actions had left them with no choice.

\* \* \*

John A. Larkin (SUNY Buffalo), "Philippine History Reconsidered: A Socioeconomic Perspective," **American Historical Review**, 87, No. 3 (June, 1982), 595-628.

Until the past two decades Philippine historiography has concentrated mainly upon such Manila-centric topics as colonial administration, the struggle for national independence, and Philippine foreign relations -- especially those with the United States. More recently, however, historians have been studying socioeconomic change within the Philippines in search of a better understanding of the development of indigenous society and culture. More than two dozen books and theses have explored the internal history of the archipelago, focusing frequently on regions far removed from the capital, chief port, and primate city of Manila. The net result of this collective effort has been a new vision of the native Filipino as creative force for change within his own environment, rather than as mere reactor to outside influence imported under the aegis of 381 years of colonialism. Viewing Philippine history through this new lens, it appears that the two main forces shaping the formation of modern Philippine society were the gradual attachment of the archipelago to the world marketplace and the

subsequent taming of a vast interior frontier to provide bulk agricultural goods for that market. During the "century of the frontier," roughly from 1820/30 to 1920/30, a bifurcated class structure, great maldistribution of wealth, regional power bases, and capitalistic orientation became the hallmarks of native society and have shaped the social, political, and economic structure ever since. Many of the dilemmas facing the contemporary Philippines can be traced to events in this earlier period.

\* \* \*

David H. Herschler (National Archives and Records Service) and William Z. Slany (Office of the Historian, Department of State), "The Paperless Office: A Case Study of the State Department's Foreign Affairs Information System," **The American Archivist**, 45 (Spring, 1982), 142-154. This article presents an in-depth look at the automated storage and retrieval system by which State Department Central Foreign Policy File information since July 1973 is maintained. The Foreign Affairs Information System (FAIS) is of particular interest to diplomatic historians because it provides access to nearly all State Department foreign policy information. The FAIS is examined from the perspective of State Department users and archivists concerned with the long-term implications of the system on foreign policy research. The essay weighs the relative advantages and disadvantages of the FAIS for current and future research requirements and evaluates the potential of the FAIS as a prototype of "paperless office" technology in meeting the needs of the research community.

\* \* \*

Noel H. Pugach (University of New York), "Keeping an Idea Alive: The Establishment of a Sino-American Bank, 1910-1920," **Business History Review** 56, No. 2 (Summer 1982), 265-293. During the second decade of the twentieth century, Chinese and American investors made several attempts to organize joint ventures. In spite of the perceived advantages of such enterprises, only the Chinese-American Bank of Commerce achieved a degree of success. This essay traces and analyzes the motives of the partners, the obstacles they encountered and the various efforts to establish a joint bank between 1910-1920 against the backdrop of general Sino-American economic relations. The actual formation of the bank in 1919 suggests that the personal commitment of certain individuals to the project, mutual self-interest, ideal circumstances and an element of good luck could overcome the problems in creating joint enterprises in which both sides shared roughly equal positions.

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## SHAFR'S CALENDAR

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- December 27-30     The 97th annual convention of the AHA will be held in Washington, D.C.
- January 1, 1983     Membership fees in all categories are due, payable at the national office of SHAFR.
- January 15             Deadline, nominations for the 1982 Bernath article award.
- February 1            Deadline, nominations for the 1982 Bernath book prize.
- February 1            Deadline, materials for the March **Newsletter**.
- April 6-9             The 76th annual meeting of the OAH will be held in Cincinnati with the headquarters at the Stouffer's Towers and the Cincinnati Convention-Exposition Center.
- May 1                 Deadline, materials for the June **Newsletter**.
- August 1              Deadline, materials for the September **Newsletter**.
- August                The 9th annual conference of SHAFR will be held at Catholic University. Proposals are due by February 1.  
                              Program Chairman:  
                              Alan K. Henrikson  
                              Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy  
                              Tufts University  
                              Medford, MA 02155
- August                The 76th annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the AHA will be held at San Diego State University. Proposals should be sent to:  
                              Dr. Janet R. Fireman  
                              Natural History Museum, Los Angeles County  
                              900 Exposition Boulevard  
                              Los Angeles, California 90007  
                              (Deadline for proposals is December 31, 1982)

- November 1           Deadline, materials for December **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 1983 Bernath Memorial lectureship.

(The 98th annual meeting of the AHA will be held in San Francisco.)  
 Program Chairman:  
 Prof. Bertram Wyatt-Brown  
 Case Western Reserve University  
 Cleveland, Ohio

(The 77th annual meeting of the OAH will be held in Los Angeles.)  
 Proposals should be sent to:  
 OAH Program Committee  
 University of Maryland  
 College Park, MD 20742  
 Deadline for proposals is March, 1983.

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## THE STUART L. BERNATH MEMORIAL BOOK COMPETITION FOR 1982

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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 competition 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 1982. 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, 1983.

**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 which will be in Cincinnati.

### PREVIOUS WINNERS

- |      |  |
|------|--|
| 1972 | Joan Hoff Wilson (Sacramento)<br>Kenneth E. Shewmaker (Dartmouth)                    |
| 1973 | John L. Gaddis (Ohio U)  |
| 1974 | Michael H. Hunt (Yale)   |
| 1975 | Frank D. McCann, Jr. (New Hampshire)<br>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, MA)                                       |
| 1980 | Michael Schaller (U of Arizona)  |
| 1981 | Bruce R. Kuniholm (Duke)<br>Hugh DeSantis (Dept. of State)                           |
| 1982 | David Reynolds (Cambridge U)   |

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

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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 1982. 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 competition. 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, 1983. The Chairman of the Committee for 1982 is Sr. Rachel West, Department of History, Marian College, Indianapolis, IN 46222.

**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 1983, at Cincinnati.

### AWARD WINNERS

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

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

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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 1984 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, 1982. The Chairman of the Committee, and the person to whom nominations should be sent, is Dr. Richard E. Welch, J., Department of History, Lafayette College, Easton, PA 18042.

**HONORARIUM:** \$500.00 with publication of the lecture assured in the SHAFR **Newsletter**.

### AWARD WINNERS

- 1977 Joan Hoff Wilson (Fellow, Radcliffe Institute)
- 1978 David S. Patterson (Colgate)
- 1979 Marilyn B. Young (Michigan)
- 1980 John L. Gaddis (Ohio U)
- 1981 Burton Spivak (Bates College)
- 1982 Charles DeBenedetti (Toledo)

## THE SHAFR NEWSLETTER

SPONSOR: Tennessee Technological University, Cookeville, Tennessee.

EDITOR: William Brinker, Department of History, Tennessee Tech, Cookeville, Tennessee 38501

EDITORIAL ASSISTANT: Jeanette Keith Denning, Tennessee Tech.

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

DEADLINE: 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 the payment of a service charge of 75¢ per number. If the purchaser lives abroad, the charge is \$1.00 per number.

MATERIALS DESIRED: Personals (promotions, transfers, obituaries, honors, awards), announcements, abstracts 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 and 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 History**. Space limitations forbid the carrying of book reviews by the **Newsletter**.

### FORMER PRESIDENTS OF SHAFR

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|------|---|
| 1968 | Thomas A. Bailey (Stanford)                         |
| 1969 | Alexander De Conde (U of California--Santa Barbara) |
| 1970 | Richard W. Leopold (Northwestern)                   |
| 1971 | Robert H. Ferrell (Indiana)                         |
| 1972 | Norman A. Graebner (Virginia)                       |
| 1973 | Wayne S. Cole (Maryland)                            |
| 1974 | Bradford Perkins (Michigan)                         |
| 1975 | Armin H. Rappaport (U of California--San Diego)     |
| 1976 | Robert A. Divine (Texas)                            |
| 1977 | Raymond A. Esthus (Tulane)                          |
| 1978 | Akira Iriye (Chicago)                               |
| 1979 | Paul A. Varg (Michigan State)                       |
| 1980 | David M. Pletcher (Indiana)                         |
| 1981 | Lawrence S. Kaplan (Kent State)                     |

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