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

PAROCHIALISM IN AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS: AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

by
Frederick W. Marks III

The Russians have a saying "All nations see the world from their own bell towers. But the Russian bell tower is the tallest."¹ The Chinese cherish the mystique of a "Middle Kingdom." Frenchmen have their "mission civilizatrice." And we are all familiar with such refrains as "Britannia Rules the Waves" and "Deutschland Über Alles." Americans, for their part, have styled themselves "A City Upon a Hill" with a mission to spread democracy. To the extent that the people of a given country exaggerate their superiority or flaunt it, they are chauvinists, and this is regrettable. But there is a problem lurking here that is far more serious because it is the source from which chauvinism springs and which, unlike chauvinism, puts the United States in a class by itself: namely ignorance, and in particular ignorance of foreign peoples and foreign cultures.

The first thing one notices about this demon (which I shall call "parochialism" for lack of a better name) is its cost in terms of national reputation and balance of trade. The fact that General Motors, with 50% of its business overseas, suffered a sharp decline in its stock not long ago may have had something to do with its attempt to market Chevrolet Novas in Latin America and Fisher bodies in Belgium under their original names. Nova translates into Spanish as "it doesn't go" and Fisher Body comes across in Flemish as "corpse by Fisher." Likewise in the case of Braniff Airways. Its bankruptcy may have had something to do with the mentality behind a literal translation of English-language ads notifying Spanish-speaking customers that they could "fly without clothes!"² During the 1970s, Congress passed the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act to prevent U.S. business overseas from engaging in bribery, with the result that American nationals lost millions of dollars in areas of the world where bribery was a way of life. Other countries

competing for a share in the trade behaved more pragmatically, and we were left holding the bag.

To shift for a moment to Congressional hearings on the origins of the Gulf War, American Ambassador April Glaspie told a Senate panel that Saddam Hussein was "stupid."³ Earlier, when American troops landed in Saudi Arabia, Major Jane Fisher took to a microphone to say how "thankful" she was not to be "a Saudi woman," and her remarks made the front page of the *New York Times*.⁴ With help of this kind from his enemies, Saddam hardly needed friends to outlast George Bush. Saudi women aware of American statistics on crime, illegitimacy, divorce, abortion, child abuse, and chemical dependency, not to mention the wares displayed in American magazine shops and on TV, would have been quick to return Fisher's compliment.⁵

David Newsom, dean of Georgetown's School of Foreign Service and a high official in Jimmy Carter's State Department, once remarked that American parochialism had made it virtually impossible for many of its ambassadors to report the truth from foreign capitals.⁶ Under Truman, it was the "China Hands" who were intimidated by powerful forces on the Right, just as earlier, under FDR, men like Hugh Wilson in Berlin and Breckinridge Long in Rome were harassed and spied upon by the Left.⁷ None of this would have occurred had it not been for parochialism which reaches all the way up to the Oval Office on occasion. Ronald Reagan remarked to his hosts on arrival in Brazil that it was "a pleasure to be in Bolivia."⁸ Jimmy Carter, on a visit to Warsaw, employed an interpreter who had him telling the Poles that he desired them carnally.⁹ Then there is the typical American tourist overseas, never satisfied with his accommodations and disinclined to mix socially. Exceptions do exist, to be sure, but thousands of unofficial ambassadors of the type described above fan out around the world every year.

As a solution to the problem of parochialism, some have proposed altering academic requirements to include more courses on

geography, language, and foreign culture. It is unclear how effective exchange programs and junior year abroad have been, though naturally they, too, have their advocates. But, for us, the question is how we as professors can undercut parochial bias since we have a special license to operate in this area. How do we impart a truly cosmopolitan outlook in the classroom?

One thing I believe we can do is take a closer look at envoys, both official and unofficial, who have been conspicuously successful. Students can study their career and the reasons for their success — figures like Townsend Harris, Lafcadio Hearn, Ernest Fenellosa, and Edwin Reischauer (all of whom went to Japan), along with others who went elsewhere.¹⁰ Conversely, we can hold up for opprobrium those who resemble Lucky Louis Sears in Lederer and Burdick's best seller, *The Ugly American* — men like FDR's ambassador to China, Patrick Hurley, who addressed his hosts on arrival as Mr. and Mrs. Shek," or the notoriously inexperienced John Lind, who represented Woodrow Wilson in Mexico.¹¹

As a second possibility, we can put students onto the memoirs of politicians and foreign service officers with instructions to read for parochialism. They need to discover Ambassador Spruille Braden's characterization of Carlos Saavedra Lamas, Argentina's brilliant foreign minister, as an "egomaniac," along with the unflattering picture he paints of Colombia's capital city.¹² They should read Chip Bohlen's account of the Russians which begins with their bad odor and ends on a similar note.¹³ Ellis Briggs, another ambassador from the FDR era, positively gloried in his cultural boorishness, boasting of his ignorance of music and proving it by using the word maestro in place of soloist. He expects us to applaud him for coming late to a recital, bribing his way into the concert hall, and stumbling noisily into his front tier box. We are also invited to sneer at a pregnant cellist performing in Cuba, and to pity ambassadors "sweating attendance" in "newly hatched African countries."¹⁴ Discriminating students will wince at Al Haig's allusion to "the hypersensitive Saudis" and at Robert Murphy's earlier description of medals pinned on him by the Bey

of Tunis as “rather gaudy decorations.” If they don’t blush at Zbigniew Brzezinski’s allusion to “the fat wife of one of the Austrian ministers” who “with a typical Germanic sense of order, hissed loudly and asked us all to be quiet” (again at a concert), if they are not mortified by Brzezinski’s references to the shah of Iran as a “megalomaniac,” an oriental despot, and “nouveau riche” by the end of their survey in diplomatic history, they may need to take the course over. As an aside, I might add that the shah escapes relatively unscathed by comparison with poor old Prince Fahd whom Brzezinski introduces with a kiss of death as “the sensible and very pro-American head of government” of Saudi Arabia.¹⁵ Students should also glance, now and then, at some of the things the editors of the *Foreign Relations* series see fit to include in their volumes. Consider, for example, Ambassador Robert Hill’s message to Ambassador John Peurifoy dated May 31, 1954: “Mexico, under Ambassador White’s manipulation . . . is more tractable than I would have thought.”¹⁶ Still another stick of dynamite in the hands of anti-American elements.

And how, it may be asked, do we classify politicians and diplomats who fall between the cracks, some of whom are basically parochial but with redeeming touches of cosmopolitan insight. I refer to this type as the “cosmopolitan parochial.” Others are essentially cosmopolitan with every now and then a lethal touch of condescension — this is the “parochial cosmopolite.” Senator William Fulbright, one of the more cosmopolitan parochials, warns in his volume, *The Arrogance of Power*, against trying to remake foreigners in our own image and likeness. At the same time, he implies the need for population control, American style, in areas where it would be spiritually repugnant.¹⁷ Americans are no better morally than anyone else, he solemnly assures us (implying, of course, that they are no worse). Then, in another section of the book, he rhapsodizes that we are “generally the most successful nation in the world and everyone knows it” and “if the world is not persuaded of our preeminence now it probably never will be.”¹⁸ How, one would like to know, does Senator Fulbright define success, and why does he not tell us?

Ambassador U. Alexis Johnson with stints in Czechoslovakia, Vietnam, Japan, and Thailand, typifies the parochial cosmopolite. In his memoir, *The Right Hand of Power*, he observes that parliamentary democracy has “never really worked well outside Britain and its former colonies” owing to the lack of cultural prerequisites.¹⁹ America’s pious denunciations of Thai corruption, he finds “misplaced and somewhat self-righteous” given “our own history” and the fact that Thai civil service salaries were “so low that government employees could only support their families by taking a little on the side” — “tea money,” so-called.²⁰ “I never served anywhere in the world,” Johnson writes, “where people smile more easily . . . more spontaneously, or more from the heart.” Yet it must be recorded that this same individual who writes with such tact and discernment about Thailand, and who rightly commends the Thai people for their “serene self-respect and dignity,” can be snidely insulting about how it felt to be offered the ambassadorship to Jordan: “I had no difficulty,” he remarks, “in restraining my enthusiasm at the thought of Amman.”²¹

The third step we can take, in attempting to inculcate a truly liberal outlook, is to give credit where credit is due on the presidential level. To focus, for the sake of argument, on occasional racial slurs that may have fallen from the lips of Theodore Roosevelt — in an age of racial slurs— rather than on TR’s Nobel Peace Prize and his world-wide reputation for cultural sophistication is about as constructive as fixing one’s sights on George Washington as slave-owner — in an age of slavery — to the exclusion of his record as general and president. Who, among our chief executives except the first Roosevelt would have been honest and courageous enough politically to note that “one side in which American life is weak is the artistic.”²² Were he writing today, he might have substituted, or at least added, the word “moral.” One notes, in addition, a corresponding tendency to ignore cousin Franklin’s parochialism. Who can forget the second Roosevelt’s comment of Mexicans: “they think they are as good as we are . . . and many of them are.”²³ Not that the man from Hyde Park stands out as particularly unique in this regard. President Buchanan used the words “imbecile” and

“indolent” to describe Mexicans as a “race” while Polk characterized them as “ignorant, prejudiced, and perfectly faithless.”²⁴ According to Ross Perot, Mexico’s dream is “to someday have an outhouse.”²⁵

As diplomatic historians, we owe it to our students to turn the tables by conveying more of a sense of how we look to others: arrogant, unrefined, brutal, and corrupt much of the time. We can also appear informal to the point of rudeness, treating informality as if it were a virtue. Alexander Cadogan, Britain’s Permanent Undersecretary for Foreign Affairs during the 1930s, made barbed reference in his diary to the way FDR greeted him at Yalta: “Hulloalex”; also to Hull’s repeated use of the expression, “Christ’s Sake.”²⁶

Will our students learn from us that France, with less than a third of our population, has won twice as many nobel Prizes for literature? Or that Chile has won four times as many such prizes on a per capita basis?²⁷ That Japan is 99% literate with unemployment running at less than 3%, top salaries generally below \$100,000, and students who, by comparison with ours, average about sixty more days of instruction annually. Japanese workers take about 8 days of vacation per year as compared with the American figure of 22.²⁸

If we, as teachers, don’t attempt to instill a sense of humility by taking the lance to American hubris, who, I should like to know, is going to do so? Who is going to report that our attitude toward the aged appears contemptuous to Orientals who tend to be more patient and understanding?²⁹ Who is going to point out that in the eyes of much of the Third World, it is we who are “underdeveloped” — and in areas critical to social well being and happiness. When the word “uncivilized” appeared in an early draft of the preamble to the UNESCO charter, Ambassador Hussein of Egypt was incensed. Requesting a definition of the term “uncivilized,” he was met with silence. Nations, he insisted, must not be judged by material standards alone. And when it was proposed that “uncivilized” be

changed to “underdeveloped,” he again protested, until finally his group settled on the phrase “economically underdeveloped.”³⁰

Every final examination in foreign relations should test for knowledge of the American literacy rate, which was 18th in the world in 1950 and by 1982 had dropped to 49th; for knowledge of the robbery rate per 100,000 which in Japan is 2, in Britain 30, in France 66, and in America 243.³¹ Students should be apprized that we have one of the world’s worst language programs.³² That in a fairly recent quality of life survey, the United States ranked 41st.³³ Also that we are not as generous as we might like to think. America’s current rank relative to other countries in per capita overseas assistance is 13th.³⁴

None of this is to suggest that we shouldn’t stress the strengths of the American way of life — its refreshingly wide-open, no-holds-barred character, along with the unparalleled scope given to freedom and democracy. But alongside these strengths, with which students are probably familiar, we need to display the warts, the weaknesses, and the blind spots. Students need to see how consistently our overseas efforts on behalf of freedom, democracy and what we like to call “human rights” have backfired, with Chiang Kai-shek forced to yield to the likes of Mao Tse-tung, Batista to Castro, Czar Nicholas to Stalin, Somoza to Ortega, the shah of Iran to Khomeini, and Diem to Ho Chi-minh.³⁵ American pie-in-the-sky refusal to back the conservative Alessandri in Chile led to the election of Allende. One is reminded of media criticism of Mme. Chiang for bringing fifty pairs of shoes with her on a visit to America during World War II. In retrospect, such carping appears rather quaint. Two generations later, an article appeared in the *New York Times* taking Mao to task for living “in a spacious villa,” with his own swimming pool, “an unheard of luxury,” in addition to having a \$4 million mansion on the side.³⁶

Another thing we can do as members of SHAFR is write. There is no school of history dedicated to the eradication of parochialism and its offspring, chauvinism. No one has ever written a single article

or book on the subject. Several pioneers in our field did address the issue, but only *en passant*. Dexter Perkins described democracy as “a tender plant” requiring a certain type of culture to survive. “Historically,” he wrote, “it has thrived only where property is widely distributed, where habits of legality have taken deep root, where the instinct for compromise and adjustment has been strong.”³⁷ Samuel Flagg Bemis rarely ventured into the twentieth century, but when he did, he dealt with the negative, as well as the positive, side of Wilsonian dogmatism.³⁸

More recently, William Neumann alluded to the difficulty of transplanting Anglo-Saxon institutions, and Noel Pugach produced a penetrating analysis of Frank Goodnow’s mission to China, revealing the cosmopolitan savvy of this turn-of-the-century Columbia University professor who realized that Chinese stability required a powerful executive and who cited the Latin American experience as indicative that constitutional monarchy would serve better than a republic. Interestingly enough, Pugach depicts even the relatively sensible Goodnow as wrong for having pressed the Chinese leaders to “foster freedom of the press and limit the use” of their power. “Like so many American reformers,” Pugach concludes, “Goodnow expected too much.”³⁹ We also have Robert Maddox’s incisive study of the Russian Revolution in which American intervention failed because the State Department had no Russian specialists, because it shared popular myths about Czarist tyranny and the natural piety and democratic temperament of the Russian people as a whole, and because Wilson, as Maddox puts it, “was inclined to believe that he knew what other peoples wanted, which somehow always coincided with what he wanted for them.”⁴⁰

George Kennan described America’s attitude toward the rest of the world as patronizing, disrespectful, and in the last analysis oblivious to the fact that each culture requires its own political system.⁴¹ The late John Fairbank, China scholar at Harvard, angered conservatives by his defense of Mao Tse-tung. But he did not portray Mao as a democrat or China as a nation that longed for

western-style democracy. On the contrary, he saw the Chinese rallying to Mao precisely because he was a strongman.⁴² Michael Kammen, in his book, *People of Paradox*, maintains that foreigners see our prosperity as desirable but unattainable while viewing our democratic system as just the reverse — attainable but undesirable. Although we like to see ourselves acting overseas as umpire, rather than empire, Kammen finds that the Third World views us not as “referee” but as “preferee.”⁴³ Michael Hunt lowers the boom on what he calls America’s “fantasies of redemption.”⁴⁴

These are useful insights. But the point most in need of stressing is that there is still much work to be done. Articles, books, and in-depth analysis are needed across the board.

SHAFR is in a position to press for genuine area specialization, presupposing language proficiency, along with a genuine appreciation of foreign culture. This does not mean that we study foreign peoples on our own terms, asking only how democratic they are or how rapidly they are moving our way. Too often, when we pay attention to other countries, it is simply to prove a point, disregarding what foreigners think about themselves, about their own problems, about Washington and Moscow. We need more of the spirit of Ezra Vogel, whose book *Japan as #1* made a compelling case for Nippon; more of Stanley Elkins, whose monograph *Slavery* showed how poorly North American slaveholders behaved by comparison with their Latin American counterparts; more of Paul Simon’s *Tongue-Tied American*, which documented the dramatic fall-off in our linguistic skill. David Potter, in his *People of Plenty*, was right to suggest that the success of our democratic experiment, such as it is, owes much to natural resources and the vastness of our acreage — in a word, to objective material conditions. We might even pay more attention to the question of what makes people happy and good, as opposed to what makes them free and prosperous.⁴⁵

A great many Americans still believe, as Wendell Phillips did, that “the voice of the people is the voice of God” and that democracy is

by definition popular everywhere among the masses. They need to look again.

Recently, it was discovered that in Guatemala a good third of the people preferred military to civilian rule. There was also a general preference for elite over popular government. A Guatemalan congressman explained it this way: the people of my country, he said, do not "understand democracy, and even if they do, they don't trust it or like it." Peru recently reverted to one man rule under Fujimori with a high level of popular approval. The reversion of Haiti to military rule after 7 months under the renegade priest Aristide was seen by many in the North as an anomaly, rather than as a statement about democracy, the reason being that we in this country have trouble imagining that there could be a deeply seated cultural longing for firm rule by a power elite or by an elite of intelligence and training. Why is it, our students need to ask themselves, that in Japan all newspapers tend to spout the government line, just as Japanese schoolchildren, before drawing a picture, invariably ask what picture is to be drawn.⁴⁶

We like to think of democracy as the wave of the future, and perhaps it is. But there is little in the way of empirical evidence to prove it. Four out of five of the most populous countries in the world are far from democratic. Boris Yeltsin sends tanks to silence parliament. China spills blood in Tiananmen Square. India is run by a small minority of upper caste elders who carry out the mandate of the prevailing Hindu ethos. Suharto of Indonesia does not know what it is to meet serious resistance from parliament.⁴⁷

So often, democratic appearances abroad are merely that: appearances. One party rule is still the norm in Mexico, Japan, India, Tunisia, Algeria, Kenya, and Tanzania. And this is only the short list. Paraguay's first election in its 182-year history in 1993 was swept by the long-dominant Colorado Party.⁴⁸ Taiwan is more democratic than the Mainland, but its parliament rubber stamps cabinet decisions, which in turn reflect the will of the dominant KMT Party. The Philippines under the popularly elected

Corazón Aquino was jolted by no less than seven coup attempts within a relatively short time. Significantly, the punishments meted out to conspirators were light. In Western Samoa and Fiji, congress is off limits to anyone but tribal chiefs.⁴⁹ There are leaders, by the same token, who rule by “emergency” decree, witness the case of Fernando Collor, former president of Brazil.⁵⁰

If we give our students some idea of how differently different peoples view “human rights”; if we alert them to the grossness of American media caricature, exposing *The King and I*, for example, as a parody of Thai royalty and religion (it was banned in Bangkok); if we can indicate how treacherous we have appeared on occasion to our allies, we will again be rendering a useful service.⁵¹

Finally, should any of us be privileged to travel overseas, the hope is that we will return with a picture that is positive, as well as negative. Perhaps we’ll remember the courtesy of the Puerto Rican people or the hard work of Guatemalans, coupled with their great kindness and love of children. Perhaps, on a visit to Taiwan, we left an umbrella on a sidewalk rack while attending church services and found it just where we left it. Then again, someone may recall parking meters in Britain where motorists returning late to their vehicle were given a “grace” period to deposit whatever change was required to cover the elapsed time. An interesting reflection on national character.⁵²

In short, if we give our students what they have every right to expect, they will be invited to judge the rest of the world on its own terms. Eventually, they will come to see that American arrogance has less to do with military intervention and anti-Communist crusades than with a general attitude of disdain which can have profound effects on trade, business, and policy making.

Jay Pierrepont Moffat, head of the Western European Division of the State Department during the 1930s, gave a definition of foreign service goals that we might well adopt for our own profession: “to

cultivate understanding and tolerance of ways of others and an ability to comprehend not only other points of view but the reasons for such points of view.”⁵³

I trust that one day soon, some member of SHAFR will write a Dale Carnegie book on how to win friends, not buy them, overseas. But in the meantime, those of us who deliver dozens of lectures annually on college and university campuses can devote at least one of these to the subject of parochialism. For it is here, I submit, that we shall find not only opportunity, but also obligation, and, in addition, a heightened sense of our mission as diplomatic historians.

ENDNOTES

1. Hedrick Smith, *The Russians* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1981), 414.

2. William Bryson, *The Mother Tongue* (New York: Morrow, 1990), 194 (on Braniff); Paul Simon, *The Tongue-Tied American* (New York: Continuum, 1980), 6 (on Nova). Pepsi's first ad in China claimed that the beverage would "bring your ancestors back from the grave." For Pepsi and Fisher, see *New York Times*, August 4, 1981, p. C3.

3. *New York Times*, March 21, 1991, pp. A1, A15.

4. *Ibid.*, September 25, 1990, p. A1.

5. It is instructive to place Fisher's reaction alongside that of Margaret Thatcher of Britain. Thatcher had a special set of clothes custom made for her visit to the Gulf, and she remarks in her memoirs: "Contrary to what one might have thought, they [the Saudis] were in no way disconcerted to meet their first western woman prime minister. Later I discovered how important the wives of leading Arab figures are. Indeed, many of these women are highly cultivated, very well educated and well informed. Their influence is greatly underrated in the West and an evening's conversation with them is a highly stimulating occasion." See Thatcher, *The Downing Street Years* (New York: Harper Collins, 1993), 162.

6. David D. Newson, "Are Diplomats Patriotic?" *Foreign Service Journal* (March 1989): 30-35.

7. For FDR and Long, see Frederick W. Marks III, *Wind Over Sand: The Diplomacy of Franklin Roosevelt* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988), 255-56.

8. *Christian Science Monitor*, March 26, 1987. Reagan compounded the error by saying "that's where I'm going" (*New York Times*, December 2, 1982, p. A12).

9. Simon, *Tongue-Tied American*, 8-9; Bryson *Mother Tongue* (Carter's reliance on Polish government interpreters — straight party-line Reds who interpreted his speeches to suit their political sensibilities — meant that when he offered his condolences to dissident journalists who "wanted to attend but were not permitted to come," it was translated as "wanted to come but couldn't," causing the audience to miss the point. Nixon had the same kind of problem in China for want of a competent American interpreter).

10. Among Reischauer's qualifications for the post of American ambassador to Japan under Kennedy were the fact that he had been born and raised in Japan, spoke the language, taught Japanese history at Harvard, and was married to the daughter of a former prime minister. He had also lived in China and spent three months in Korea devising a system of spelling Korean with the English alphabet. Lafacadio Hearn was a nineteenth century American journalist of mixed Irish-Greek parentage who fell in love with things Japanese, taking Japanese citizenship, along with a Japanese name, wife, diet and home. Though he taught western literature at Tokyo Imperial University, his greatest contribution was as an interpreter of Japanese folklore and legends, about which he came to know more than any other living person. During his lifetime, he wrote twelve distinguished books on Japan. Ernest Fenellosa, a nineteenth century Harvard valedictorian, was also of mixed parentage. Like Hearn he taught western culture at Tokyo University and took a Japanese name. He also converted to Buddhism and became the world's greatest collector and connoisseur of Japanese art. For years, he served as Japan's Imperial Art Commissioner, manager of the Imperial Art Museum, and Director of the Academy of Art. No one was more responsible than Fenellosa for Japan's artistic renaissance. Townsend Harris, a liberal Democrat, ex-alcoholic, and bachelor from New York City, was our first ambassador to Japan, the first civilian to negotiate on matters of trade, travel, and commerce, and first as well to obtain an audience with the emperor. Few have immersed themselves more thoroughly in the native culture or won a greater measure of respect from their hosts. So indispensable in fact did he become that by 1861 President Lincoln refused to accept his resignation.

11. Larry D. Hill, *Emissaries to a Revolution* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1973), 64, 67. Lind did not speak Spanish, did not know Mexico, and had no diplomatic experience. In addition, he received only two days of briefing on his mission.

12. Spruille Braden, *Diplomats and Demagogues* (New Rochelle: Arlington House, 1971), 114, 203.

13. Bohlen's tone is not unrelieved, to be sure. But cosmopolitan concessions are tucked away in a narrative that is subtly disparaging and derogatory. See, for example, his *Witness to History, 1929-1969* (New York: Norton, 1973), 13, 558.

14. Ellis Briggs, *Farewell to Foggy Bottom* (New York: David Mackay, 1964), chapter 6. Especially condescending in tone are Briggs' comments on the need for "birth control" in Latin America and his reference to "everybody from the Aleuts of Alaska to the Alacalufas of Tierra del Fuego plus those rapidly multiplying millions in between." See pp. 119, 188, 301.

15. Zbigniew Brzezinski, *Power and Principle* (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1983), 341, 354, 360, 449; U. Alexis Johnson, *The Right Hand of Power* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1984), 171; Robert Murphy, *Diplomat Among Warriors* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1964), 177; Alexander M. Haig, Jr., *Caveat* (New York: Macmillan, 1984), 182.

16. U. S. Department of State, ed., *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1952-60* (Washington, D.C., 1979-1986), for the years 1952-54, vol. 4, p. 1153. Hill and Peurifoy were ambassadors to El Salvador and Guatemala respectively.

17. See, for example, J. William Fulbright, *The Arrogance of Power* (New York: Random House, 1966), 71-73, 105.

18. *Ibid.*, 20, 222. A Rhodes scholar turned politician, Fulbright was smitten during his sojourn in England with the parliamentary system. On the one hand, he became a pioneer champion of international exchange programs and was not bashful about describing the ugly American overseas. The British, he liked to recall, used to speak disparagingly of the Yanks quartered on their soil during World War II as "overpaid, oversexed, and over here" (*ibid.*, 9-10). On the other hand, he could be contradictory. In one breath, he would say that American welfare imperialism had a tendency to corrupt; in the next he would praise the Alianza para progreso (*ibid.*, 18, 80).

19. Johnson, *Right Hand*, 278.

20. *Ibid.*, 286-87.

21. *Ibid.*, 171.

22. Theodore Roosevelt to Ethan Allen Hitchcock, July 22, 1903, in Elting E. Morison and John M. Blum, eds., *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, 8 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951-1954), 3:523.

23. Michael Hunt, *Ideology and U.S. Foreign Policy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 60, 140.

24. *Ibid.*, 60.

25. *Christian Science Monitor*, November 15, 1993, p. 18.

26. David Dilks, ed., *The Diaries of Sir Alexander Cadogan, 1938-1945* (London: Cassell, 1971), 666; Chamberlain to Hilda Chamberlain, February 4, 1933, NC 18, Chamberlain Papers, Birmingham University Library; Victor Mallet, "Memoirs," p. 55, Mallet Papers, Churchill College, Cambridge (England); Lord Halifax, *Fullness of Days* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1957), 265-66. Chamberlain was so appalled by the vulgarity and indiscretion of the American press that he felt there was no other conclusion to be drawn than that he was dealing with "a nation of cads." Margaret Thatcher has practically nothing but praise for Ronald Reagan in her memoirs, but when she speaks of the G7 Summit in Ottawa (July 1980), she is less than complimentary: "Perhaps, because of the presence of Ronald Reagan, with his effortless amiability," she writes, "we all called one another by our Christian names. Something I liked less was the decision that everyone should dress informally. In my experience this kind of approach always presents more rather than fewer problems in choosing what to wear . . . Like the Japanese, I made almost no concessions to informal dress. I believe that the public really likes its leaders to look businesslike and well turned out. I was glad that in retrospect this degree of informality was not thought a success and so was not repeated." In another section of the volume, she recalls that "it is all but impossible to keep anything secret in Washington . . . I was always more reluctant to reveal intelligence than were the Americans" (*Downing Street Years*, 164-65, 445-46).

27. See *World Almanac* statistics.

28. Arthur S. Golden, "Group Think in Japan Inc." *New York Times Magazine*, December 5, 1982; David Winder, "'All work and no play . . . makes Japan strong'" *Christian Science Monitor*, October 15, 1982. It is interesting that even authors anxious to present a positive picture of Japan (and other foreign countries) seem to feel they must do so under a mocking title.

29. Fox Butterfield, *China: Alive in the Bitter Sea* (New York: Times Books, 1982), 217.

30. Wellington Koo Conversation with Egyptian Ambassador Hussein, June 1953, box 187, Wellington Koo Papers, Columbia University.

31. *Christian Science Monitor*, October 19, 1982 (for crime); *The Wanderer* (St. Paul, MN), October 14, 1982 (on literacy as reported by Barbara Bush, wife of the president).

32. Simon, *Tongue-Tied American*, 78-90; Bryson, *Mother Tongue*, 194-95 (in 1986, there were 25,000 Americans studying Russian and 4 million Russians Studying English. 120,000 Americans were studying German, as compared with 9 million Russians — between 1966 and 1985, 150 American colleges and universities canceled their German programs — and in 1989, only 23% of U.S. college graduates had taken foreign language courses). President Carter established a National Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies. But he was too busy to receive his commission's report when completed, and neither he nor his administration nor Congress took any immediate action or even so much as acknowledged the commission's recommendations (see Charles W. Bray III, "Parochial America," *Christian Science Monitor*, March 24, 1981, p. 26.)

33. Denmark came out on top, with Ethiopia in last place. See *New York Times*, September 22, 1982.

34. David Newsom, *Diplomacy and the American Democracy* (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1988), 163.

35. Wilson thought at first that the overthrow of the Czar was a fortunate occurrence because he hadn't been democratically elected. This was a president who would not even talk to the Austrian emperor, Charles, for the same reason, even though Charles was the only wartime leader willing to negotiate a compromise peace.

36. *New York Times*, January 2, 1981, p. A6. The two homes were connected by tunnel.

37. Perkins viewed retrogressive post-occupation developments in such countries as Haiti, the Dominican Republic, and Nicaragua as suggestive. See G. van Deusen and Richard C. Wade, eds., *Foreign Policy and the American Spirit: Essays by Dexter Perkins* (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat, 1972), 31; Dexter Perkins, *The American Approach to Foreign Policy* (New York: Atheneum, 1968), 35 (retrogressive developments), 229.

38. Samuel Flagg Bemis, *The Latin-American Policy of the United States* (New York: Norton, 1943), 174.

39. Noel Pugach, "Embarrassed Monarchist: Frank J. Goodnow and Constitutional Development in China, 1913-1915," *Pacific Historical Review* 42 (November 1973): 511; William L. Neumann, *America Encounters Japan: From Perry to MacArthur* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1963), 297. In another volume, *After Victory: Churchill, Roosevelt, Stalin and the Making of the Peace* (New York: Harper, 1967), Neumann is careful to point out that in terms of the relative number of battle casualties during World War II, America's contribution

was modest. He is also good at giving the views of Stalin and Mussolini (see, for example, p. 197).

40. Robert J. Maddox, *The Unknown War with Russia* (Presidio Press, 1977), 6-7, 138.

41. George Kennan, *American Diplomacy, 1900-1950* (New York: Mentor, 1951), 112 (each national character and set of national circumstances requires its own political system); *ibid.*, 49 (the American attitude is patronizing and disrespectful). See also Kennan, *The Nuclear Delusion*, 83, for cosmopolitan observations of the fact that Soviet leaders could not make abrupt decisions, that they were beholden to the senior bureaucracy, and that the impact of public opinion in the USSR was not as insignificant as American analysts tended to think.

42. On Fairbank, see Tang Tsou, *America's Failure in China, 1941-1950* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), 226.

43. Michael Kammen, *People of Paradox* (New York: Knopf, 1972), 278-79.

44. Michael Hunt, *Ideology and U.S. Foreign Policy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), xiii, 3. Robert Divine and Arthur Schlesinger have gotten off some well-aimed shots, though it is hard to assess the depth of their conviction given the exigencies of the anti-war movement during the 1960s and 1970s. Schlesinger, in particular, has blown hot and cold on the value and viability of democracy as an export. But he was certainly on target when he cited as lessons of antiquity "the perishability of republics, the subversion of virtue by power and cupidity, the transience of glory, the mutability of human affairs." He turned to John Adams, a strange bedfellow, for the idea that "commerce, luxury, and avarice have destroyed every republican government," then to Alexander Hamilton (an even stranger bedfellow) for his vision of an America far removed from "the happy empire of perfect wisdom and perfect virtue," then to George Washington for his view of Columbia as an "experiment" and to Lincoln for questioning whether any nation "conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal" could long endure. This is the same Schlesinger who blasted the "myth of American innocence" and the notion of America as God's chosen people. "All," he wrote, "are equal before God." See Arthur Schlesinger, "Starting a Third Century" *Wall Street Journal*, December 29, 1976. Divine, in his presidential address to SHAFR, like Schlesinger, may have been reacting to American intervention in Vietnam when he described the Democratic Party as guilty of "the sin of pride, blind to the diversity of the world's population and its resistance to cultural imperialism." Republicans, for some reason, seem to have gotten off scot-free even though parochialism is a national phenomenon due to their domestic orientation, but they are by no means alone. See Robert A.

Divine, "War, Peace, and Political Parties in 20th Century America," *SHAFR Newsletter* (March 1977), p. 6.

45. For Simon, see note 2. For the other titles, see David M. Potter, *People of Plenty* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954); Ezra Vogel, *Japan as Number 1* (New York: Harper Colophon, 1979); Stanley M. Elkins, *Slavery* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1959).

46. See *New York Times*, April 17, 1992, p. A3 (Fujimori's popularity in the polls shot up to 70-80% from a range of around 50% when he asserted himself); Golden, "Group Think" (cited in note 28) on Japanese literacy, editorial views, and schoolchildren. On Guatemala, see *New York Times*, October 11, 1990, p. A11; *The Economist*, November 17, 1990, p. 56.

47. On India's age-old social structure, see *New York Times*, April 24, 1991, p. A8. For Italian governments, see *The Economist*, April 20, 1991.

48. Military leaders in Paraguay said they would not have accepted any other outcome.

49. For Western Samoa and Fiji, see *The Economist*, April 13, 1991, pp. 35, 37.

50. Collor averaged 12 "emergency" decrees a month during his first year, according to the *New York Times*, March 14, 1993, p. A3.

51. For examples of American treachery (or perceived treachery) under Franklin Roosevelt relating to China, Britain, Argentina, Greece, Germany, Belgium, Japan, France, and the U.S.S.R., see Marks, *Wind over Sand*, 397-401. For *The King and I*, see Johnson, *Right Hand*, 311. For Carter's "human rights" debacle, see *Christian Science Monitor*, November 14, 1978, p. 4 (re: Argentina); James Chace, "How 'Moral' Can We Get?" *New York Times Magazine*, May 22, 1977 (re: Brazil). Students would gain enormously from a sense of how counter-productive the whole policy of economic sanctions has proven to be over the years. For the folly of relying on economic sanction vis-à-vis Khomeini of Iran and Saddam Hussein of Iraq, see Robert Carswell, "Economic Sanctions and the Iran experience," *Foreign Affairs* 60 (Winter 1981/82): 247-65; *Christian Science Monitor*, January 29, 1993, p. 7 (on the situation in Iraq). Prior to Bush's invasion of Iraq, a great many "experts" predicted that economic sanctions would be sufficient to force an Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait. This despite all the lessons of history. Two years later, after bombing on a vast scale, destruction of bridges, warehouses, military equipment and installations on a monumental scale, intervention in northern Iraq to fuel Kurdish resistance to Saddam Hussein, intervention in southern Iraq including imposition of a "no fly" zone to stimulate and protect Shiite insurrection, United Nations sanctions, prohibition of Iraqi oil exports and

the freezing of \$4 billion worth of Iraqi assets overseas — despite all of this, the nation of Iraq under Saddam Hussein demonstrated remarkable resolve, vitality, and recuperative power, rebuilding its bridges, hotels, government warehouses, ministries, and congress halls while conducting raids into Kuwait and defying the U.S. and the U.N. in an amazing variety of ways.

52. Many Guatemalans are without jobs, but those who find them work hard.

53. Nancy Harvison Hooker, ed., *The Moffat Papers: Selections from the Diplomatic Journals of Jay Pierrepont Moffat, 1919-1943* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956), 5. Moffat served in Warsaw, the Hague, Tokyo, Berne, Constantinople, and Ottawa, and during the 1930s he headed the State Department's Division of European Affairs.

16TH ANNUAL U.S. FOREIGN AFFAIRS DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS LIST

The following information has been submitted by Edward A. Goedeken, Humanities Bibliographer at Iowa State University.

SECTION I — FOREIGN AFFAIRS

A. Arms Control, Arms Race, and Antiwar Efforts

Ajzner, Jan. "Modern Community, Virtue, and Conflict: The American Intellectual Elite and the Vietnam War," University of Toronto (Canada), 1991 (SO), DANN 82916, Mar. 1994.

Bailey, Alison. "Mothers, Birthgivers, and Peacemakers: The Problem of Maternal Thinking in Feminist Peace Politics," University of Cincinnati, 1993 (PHIL), DA 9329887, Dec. 1993.

Cunningham, Mary Hilary. "God and Caesar at the Rio Grande: The Sactuary Movement and the Politicization of Religion in the United States," Yale University, 1993 (ANT), DA 9400616, Apr. 1994.

Fought, Stephen Oliver. "An Examination of Decision-Making Theories and Practices in the Area of Arms Control," Brown University, 1993 (PS), DA 9406936, Apr. 1994.

Friedland, Michael Brooks. "*To Proclaim the Acceptable Year of the Lord: Social Activism and Ecumenical Cooperation among White Clergy in the Civil Rights and Antiwar Movements of the 1950's and 1960's*," Boston College, 1993, DA 9329294, Dec. 1993.

Gamble, Raymond Carl. "Decline of the Dreadnought: Britain and the Washington Naval Conference, 1921-1922," University of Massachusetts, 1993, DA 9316650, Aug. 1993.

Genest, Marc Alfred. "Negotiating in the Public Eye: The Impact of the Press on the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Force Negotiations," Georgetown University, 1992 (PS), DA 9316066, Aug. 1993.

Loader, Ned. "*Listen to the Voices from the Sea: The Art and Politics of a Japanese Anti-War Film*," Emory University, 1993, DA 9322054, Feb. 1994.

Lynch, Cecelia Michael. "Interwar Peace Movements in Britain and the United States: Changing the Boundaries of Societal Participation on Security issues and International Organization," Columbia University, 1993 (PS), DA 9333816, Jan. 1994.

St. Clair, Robin Kaye. "U.S.-Soviet Arms Control Regime," University of Southern California, 1992 (PS), n.o.n., Oct. 1993.

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Tracy, James Russell. "Forging Dissent in an Age of Consensus: Radical Pacifism in America, 1940 to 1970," Stanford University, 1993, DA 9404031, Mar. 1994.

Ware, Lucy Clarke. "Conceptions of Politics, Morality, and War in the Nuclear Policy Debates," University of Denver, 1993 (PS), DA 9316082, Aug. 1993.

B. Congress

Cosgrove, Kenneth Mark. "The Tangled Web: Ethnic Groups, Interest Group Theory, and Congressional Foreign Policymaking," University of Oklahoma, 1993 (PS), DA 9315797, Jl. 1993.

Hayes, Aaron Bernard. "Congressional Policymaking on Foreign Military Training and Advisory Activities: Implications for U.S. National Security," Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, 1993 (PS), DA 9322883, Oct. 1993.

Johnson, Robert David. "Senate Dissent and American Foreign Relations, 1913-1935," Harvard University, 1993, DA 9330948, Dec. 1993.

Litherland, James Tony. "International Issue Networks and the Congress: The Case of El Salvador," University of Oklahoma, 1993 (PS), DA 9410280, May 1994.

Noble, Claire Ellen. "Competing for Influence: The Foreign Policy Committees and Arms Sales," University of Iowa, 1993 (PS), DA 9334644, Jan. 1994.

Xie, Xiaochuan. "Congressional Voting and Foreign Policy: Domestic Factors in Sino-U.S. Relations, 1949-1990," University of Oregon, 1993 (PS), DA 9402064, Feb. 1994.

C. Domestic Groups, Organizations and Politics

Abelson, Donald Edward. "Descending the Ivory Tower: American Think Tanks and Their Role in U.S. Foreign Policy, 1976-1988," Queen's University at Kingston (Canada), 1992 (PS), DANN 80744, Jan. 1994.

Brussell, Judith Ellen. "Government Investigations of Federal Theatre Project Personnel in the Works Progress Administration, 1935-1939 (The Show Must NOT Go On!)" City University of New York, 1993 (THEATER), DA 9405505, Apr. 1994. Examines concerns of Communist influence in Federal Theatre Project by the FBI and Congress.

Chang, Hosoon. "National Security v. First Amendment Freedoms: U.S. Supreme Court Decisions on Anti-Communist Regulations, 1919-1974," University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1993 (JO), DA 9402123, Feb. 1994.

Dudziak, Mary Louise. "Cold War Civil Rights: The Relationship between Civil Rights and Foreign Affairs in the Truman Administration," Yale University, 1992, DA 9314801, Jl. 1993.

Ehrman, John. "Liberals, Neoconservatives, and Foreign Policy, 1945-1985," George Washington University, 1993, DA 9322898, Oct. 1993.

Gerard, Christopher John. "*A Program of Cooperation*: The FBI, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, and the Communist Issue, 1950-1956," Marquette University, 1993, DA 9325678, Oct. 1993.

Kyrou, Alexandros Kosmas. "Greek Nationalism and Diaspora Politics in America, 1940-1945: Background and Analysis of Ethnic Responses to Wartime Crisis," Indiana University, 1993, DA 9404375, Mar. 1994. Examines Greek-American responses to Greece's involvement in WWII.

Lee, James Rupert. "The United States Black Church and the U.S. South African Policy: National Baptist Church and African Methodist Episcopal Church," Saint Louis University, 1993 (SO), DA 9400333, Jan. 1994.

Morgan, Joseph Gerard. "The Vietnam Lobby: The American Friends of Vietnam, 1955-1975," Vols. I-II, Georgetown University, 1993, DA 9413405, May 1994.

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D. Education

Chiao, Lungching. "Assessment of the Fulbright-Hays Seminars Abroad program of the U.S. Department of Education (1985-1990)" University of Virginia, 1992 (ED), DA 9237547, Aug. 1993.

Graves, Margaret Elizabeth. "Charting New Waters: U.S. Higher Education in Japan," Iowa State University, 1993 (ED), DA 9321153, Oct. 1993.

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Yoshiie, Sadao. "David Murray, Superintendent of Educational Affairs in Japan: His Views on Education and His Influences in Japan and in the United States," State University of New York at Buffalo, 1992 (ED), DA 9330135, Dec. 1993.

E. Foreign Aid

Bangura, Abdul Karim, Jr. "United States Development Assistance to Egypt, 1957-1987," University of Maryland, 1994 (PS), DA 9416014, Je. 1994.

Carney, Christopher Paul. "International Patron-Clientcy; A New Framework for Old Questions: The Case of U.S. Aid," University of Nebraska-Lincoln, 1993 (PS), DA 9415939, Je. 1994.

Carrino, Constance A. "Foreign Assistance, Commercial Debt, and Fungibility in Five African Countries," George Washington University, 1993 (EC), DA 9322893, Oct. 1993.

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Matsumura, Masahiro. "Japanese and U.S. Approaches to Aid, Public Lending, Direct Investment and Trade," University of Maryland, 1992 (PS), DA 9315695, Jl. 1993.

Siekmeier, James Forshee. "Fighting Economic Nationalism: U.S. Economic Aid and Development Policy toward Latin America, 1953-1961," Cornell University, 1993, DA 9318831, Aug. 1993.

Travis, Rickey Lynn. "The Politics of U.S. Foreign Aid: A Comparison of Policy-Making Models," University of Georgia, 1993 (PS), DA 9404693, Mar. 1994.

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Benruwin, Mohamed A. "The Political Leadership Crisis and Violation of Human Rights in the Arab World: A Study of the Rulership of the Arab Countries, 1970-1990," University of North Texas, 1993 (PS), DA 9413338, Je. 1994.

Dorsey, Ellen J. "Human Rights Strategy for a Changing International Environment: The United States Anti-Apartheid Movement in Transition," University of Pittsburgh, 1992 (PS), DA 9317953, Aug. 1993.

Ovsiovitich, Jay Samuel. "Human Rights Coverage in the Media: A Quantative Content Analysis," University of Nebraska-Lincoln, 1993 (PS), DA 9406087, Apr. 1994.

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G. Immigration and Refugees

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Chen, Yong. "China in America: A Cultural Study of Chinese San Francisco, 1850-1943," Cornell University, 1993, DA 9401892, Feb. 1994.

Chrypinski, Maria Anna. "The Church and Immigrants: A Study of U.S. Catholic Educational Policy for Immigrants (as Expressed through National Migration Week)" George Washington University, 1993 (SO), DA 9327126, Nov. 1993.

Giannuli, Dimitra M. "American Philanthropy in the Near East: Relief to the Ottoman Greek Refugees, 1922-1923," Kent State University, 1992, DA 9317544, Aug. 1993.

Johnson, Violet Mary-Ann. "The Migration Experience: Social and Economic Adjustment of British West Indian Immigrants in Boston, 1915-1950," Boston College, 1993, DA 9314170, Jl. 1993.

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Riley, Martha Walrath. "A Rhetorical Biography of Senator James D. Phelan of California Concentrating on the Ways in Which His Rhetoric Constructed Images and Ideas about Asian Immigrants to the United States," University of Pittsburgh, 1992 (SP), DA 9324405, Nov. 1993. Leader in anti-Japanese movement in California from 1880-1930.

Ryan, Maura Margaret. "The Americanization of Immigrant Children by Public and Parochial Schools in Baltimore, 1897-1917," University of Maryland, 1993, DA 9407683, Apr. 1994.

Wettern, Joern. "Restrictive Immigration Policies: A Framework for Analysis," University of Oregon, 1992 (PS), DA 9313323, Jl. 1993.

H. Individuals

Bucklin, Steven J. "The Wilsonian Legacy in Political Science: Denna F. Fleming, Frederick L. Schuman, and Quincy Wright," University of Iowa, 1993, DA 9334573, Jan. 1994.

Dorsey, Leroy G. "Reconstituting the American Spirit: Theodore Roosevelt's Rhetorical Presidency," Indiana University, 1993 (SP), DA 9404314, Mar. 1994.

Graffagnino, Jonathan Kevin. "Revolution and Empire on the Northern Frontier: Ira Allen of Vermont, 1751-1814," University of Massachusetts, 1993, DA 9316655, Aug. 1993. Allen was an active entrepreneur involved in revolutionary schemes in Canada and Mexico.

Hrenchir, Mary Josephine. "Claude G. Bowers and American Foreign Relations," University of Nebraska-Lincoln, 1993, DA 9406077, Mar. 1994. Bowers served as ambassador to Spain (1933-1939) and Chile (1939-1953)

Kuppenheimer, Louis B. "Albert Gallatin's Vision of Democratic Stability: An Interpretive Profile," University of Illinois at Chicago, 1993, DA 9324288, Oct. 1993.

Menard, Brian Paul. "The Public Philosophy and International Politics: The Contribution of Louis J. Halle," University of Virginia, 1993 (PS), DA 9402648, Feb. 1994.

O'Donnell, Janice Lynn. "Ronald Reagan's Public Discourse on Change in the Soviet Union," University of Pittsburgh, 1992 (SP), DA 9317959, Aug. 1993.

Orr, John Clarke. "Henry Adams and the Engine of Multiplicity: The Emergence of the Imperial," Duke University, 1992 (LIT), DA 9317853, Aug. 1993. Adams, influenced by the writings of his brother, worked covertly with John Hay to influence US governmental policy relating to the issue of Cuban independence.

Owen-Cruise, Sian Elizabeth. "*Out Into Pastures of Quietness and Peace Such as the World Never Dreamed of Before: An Examination of Woodrow Wilson's Peace Rhetoric as Covenant Creation*," University of Minnesota, 1993 (SP), DA 9405346, Mar. 1994.

Stanford, Karin Lynette. "Citizen Diplomacy: An Analysis of Reverend Jesse Jackson's Diplomatic Efforts from 1984-1986," Howard University, 1993 (PS), DA 9335228, Feb. 1994.

Thomas, Cathy Lynn. "A Comparison of the Rhetorical Visions of Ronald Reagan: First Term versus Second Term," Ohio University, 1993 (SP), DA 9412452, May 1994. Investigates factors that influenced Reagan's change in

attitude toward the Russians.

Troncone, Anthony C. "Hamilton Fish Sr. and the Politics of American Nationalism, 1912-1945," Rutgers University, 1993, DA 9401926, Feb. 1994.

Tyndall, Andrea Gay. "The Personal Becomes Political: Arthur Koestler, 1940-1950," State University of New York at Binghamton, 1992, DA 9318396, Aug. 1993. Through his writings, Koestler helped forge negative image of Soviet Union. He was also involved in establishment of state of Israel.

Young, Robert William. "James Murry Mason, 1798-1871: Virginia Statesman and Diplomat," University of Maryland, 1993, DA 9407727, Apr. 1994. Mason was the Confederate diplomatic envoy to Great Britain.

I. Intelligence

Olmsted, Kathryn Signe. "Challenging the Secret Government: Congress and the Press Investigate the Intelligence Community, 1974-76," University of California, Davis, 1993, DA 9328863, Nov. 1993.

J. International Law

Bodie, Thomas James. "Where Angels Fear to Tread: Political Questions and the Emergence of an Activist International Court of Justice," University of Maryland, 1993 (PS), DA 9327389, Nov. 1993.

Neba, Denis Protus Cheo. "The Legal Regime for the Management of the Area under UNCLOS III," University of Denver, 1993 (PS), DA 9411046, May 1994. Examines aspects of the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea.

K. International Organizations

Aaronson, Susan Ariel. "For the People, but Not by the People: A History of the International Trade Organization (ITO)" Johns Hopkins University, 1993, DA 9327558, Nov. 1993. Examines failed efforts to establish this international institution after WWII.

Millen-Penn, Kenneth. "From Liberal to Socialist Internationalism: Konni Zilliacus and the League of Nations, 1894-1939," State University of New York at Binghamton, 1993, DA 9326084, Oct. 1993. Zilliacus worked with Norman Angell and Philip Noel-Baker to influence League of Nations to base its policies on socialism instead of capitalism.

Park, Heung-Soon. "Collective Security and International Order: The Role of the United Nations in the Korean War (1950) and the Persian Gulf War (1990)

"University of South Carolina, 1993 (PS), n.o.n., Jan. 1994.

Pruden, Caroline Anne. "Conditional Partners: Eisenhower, the United Nations, and the Search for a Permanent Peace," Vanderbilt University, 1993, DA 9324461, Oct. 1993.

Sukontasap, Darm. "The Third World and the United Nations Security Council: The Thai Experience, 1985-1986," Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, 1993, DA 9322890, Oct. 1993.

Uljee, Leslie Flum. "Organizing for Internationalism: A Study of the Educational Mission of the United Nations Association of the U.S.A." Washington University, 1992 (SO), DA 9317404, Aug. 1993.

Whitworth, Sandra. "Feminism and International Relations: Gender in the International Planned Parenthood Federation and the International Labour Organization," Carleton University (Canada), 1991 (PS), DANN 75991, Aug. 1993.

L. International Trade and Economics

Baik, Chang Jae. "Politics of Super 301: The Domestic Political Basis of U.S. Foreign Economic Policy," University of California, Berkeley, 1993 (PS), DA 9407874, Apr. 1994.

Barney, Joel Aaron. "The Merger of Foreign Policy with International Economics: The Regional Intergovernmental Organization and the Coordinating Committee's Reliance upon Multilateral Economic Sanctions," University of Pittsburgh, 1992 (PS), DA 9317994, Nov. 1993.

Broz, James Lawrence. "Wrestling the Scepter from London: The International Political Economy of the Founding of the Federal Reserve," University of California, Los Angeles, 1993 (PS), DA 9319928, Sept. 1993, Discusses international dimensions of 1913 Federal Reserve Act.

Dong, Qi Hong. "The Welfare Effects of the U.S. Extending Most-Favored-Nation Tariff Preference Treatment to the People's Republic of China: An Empirical Inquiry," Northern Illinois University, 1993 (EC), DA 9400642, Feb. 1994.

Gilligan, Michael James. "Conditional Trade Policy and the Demand for Liberalization: US Trade Policy since the Civil War," Harvard University, 1993 (PS), DA 9318669, Sept. 1993.

Huang, Kailai. "Myth or Reality: American Business Opinion on the China Trade, 1949-1980," State University of New York at Binghamton, 1993, DA 9326074, Oct. 1993.

Kniseley, Mary Ann. "Highway Diplomacy: Interregional Connections and International Relations," Texas A&M University, 1992 (GEOGRAPHY), DA 9315095, Sept. 1993. Examines development of highways in U.S. and Europe during early part of twentieth century.

McClenahan, William Moore, Jr. "Orderly Competition: American Government, Business and the Role of Voluntary Export Restraints in United States-Japan Trade, 1934-1972," George Washington University, 1993, DA 9316119, Aug. 1993.

Mongomery, Mark A. "Want Not, Waste Not: A Realist Theory of the International Trade in Hazardous Waste," Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, 1993 (PS), DA 9322886, Oct. 1993.

Owusu, Jacob Quarmy. "GATT's Tokyo and Uruguay Rounds of Trade Negotiations and the External Trade of Developing Countries," Union Insitute, 1993 (EC), DA 9400731, Feb. 1994.

Rosendorff, Bryan Peter. "Bargaining and Signaling: Congress, Trade and Treaties," Columbia University, 1993 (EC), DA 9333847, Jan. 1994.

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Skalnes, Lars S. "Allies and Rivals: Politics, Markets, and Grand Strategy," University of California, Los Angeles, 1993 (PS), DA 9318737, Sept. 1993.

Tseng, Ho-Jen. "The Political-Economic Linkage of US-ROC Trade Relations," University of Virginia, 1993 (PS), DA 9412574, May 1994.

Wang, Yangmin. "The Politics of US-PRC Economic Relations: The Issue of Most-Favored-Nation Trading Status," University of Pittsburgh, 1993 (PS), DA 9406416, Mar. 1994.

M. Literature and Miscellaneous

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Mallet, Matthew Alan. "Images of the Soviet Threat: Complexity and Change in the Beliefs of Four American Presidents," American University, 1992 (PS), DA 9332224, Dec. 1993. Examines views of Nixon, Ford, Carter and Reagan.

Smart, Christopher William. "The Imagery of Soviet Foreign Policy in West Europe," Columbia University, 1992 (PS), DA 9313685, Jl. 1993.

Wardinski, Michael Leon. "Truman's and Eisenhower's Perceptions of the Soviet Military Threat: A Learning Process?" Catholic University of America, 1993 (PS), DA 9320175, Sept. 1993.

Watson, Samuel Edgar, III. "*Perestroika*, 1985-1991: Gorbachev's Response to International, State, and Societal Stimuli," University of Georgia, 1992 (PS), DA 9316398, Aug. 1993.

H. Sub-Saharan Africa

Agwara, Liborius Ihechere. "U.S. Policy toward Democratic and Praetorian Regimes in Sub-Saharan Africa: The Case of Nigeria," University of Alabama, 1993 (PS), DA 9325177, Oct. 1993.

Busumtwi-Sam, James. "Economic Crisis and Policy Adjustment: The Politics of Foreign Economic Policy-Making in Ghana, 1982-1990," University of Toronto (Canada), 1993 (PS), DANN 82923, Mar. 1994.

Clark, John Frank. "The Evaluation of Superpower Intervention and Competition in Several Conflicts of Sub-Saharan Africa, 1960-1990," University of Virginia, 1992 (PS), DA 9324903, Jan. 1994.

Eide, Lorraine. "American Policy toward Southern Africa during the Carter and Reagan Administrations: The Influence of Interests and Ideas on Policy," Columbia University, 1993 (PS), DA 9412748, Je. 1994.

I. Western Europe

Aguilar, Manuela. "Cultural Diplomacy and Foreign Policy: German-American Relations, 1955-1968," Vols. I-II, University of Kansas, 1993, DA 9405707, Mar. 1994.

Banchoff, Thomas Francis. "The Party Politics of Foreign Policy: Germany and European Institutions, 1949-92," Princeton University, 1993 (PS), DA 9328030, Nov. 1993.

Davis, Troy Dwayne. "Dublin's American Policy: Irish-American Diplomatic Relations, 1945-1952," Marquette University, 1992, DA 9318923, Aug. 1993.

Denton, Margaret. "*A Hideously Complicated Problem*: Anglo-American Relations with Austria, 1945-1955," University of Wollongong (Australia), 1992, n.o.n.,

Aug. 1993.

Gaab, Jeffrey Scott. "*Zusammenbruch und Wiederaufbau: The Restoration of Justice in Bavaria, 1945-1949*," State University of New York at Stony Brook, 1992, DA 9318767, Aug. 1993. Examines the reestablishment of the legal system in Bavaria under American occupation.

Hampton, Mary Nelle. "The Empowerment of a Middle-Sized State: West Germany, Wilsonianism, and the Western Alliance," University of California, Los Angeles, 1993 (PS), DA 9320368, Sept. 1993.

Herb, Guntram Henrik. "National Self-Determination, Maps, and Propaganda in Germany, 1918-1945," University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1993 (GEOGRAPHY), DA 9309510, Oct. 1993.

Hodgden, Louise. "Within the Shadow of War: State Time Horizons and National Strategic Preferences in Britain's Diplomacy, 1900-1914," Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, 1993 (PS), DA 9322884, Oct. 1993.

Sens, Allen G. "NATO's Small Powers and Alliance Chance after the Cold War," Queen's University at Kingston (Canada), 1993 (PS), n.o.n., Jan. 1994.

Skorpen, Hilde Janne. "Norwegian Security in the Cold War Era: Competing Requirements of Deterrence, Reassurance and National Consensus," Boston University, 1994 (PS), DA 9325897, Oct. 1993.

Solheim, Bruce Olav. "Cooperation through Diversity: The Nordic Nexus, the Nordic Balance, and a Lesson in Peaceful Security," Bowling Green State University, 1993, DA 9334561, Jan. 1994.

Stanton, Sheldon Lewis. "Foreign Policy as Theater: Understanding Spain and NATO," Ohio State University, 1993 (PS), DA 9325592, Nov. 1993.

True, Anna Wuchereu. "NATO After All! Konrad Adenauer's Diplomatic Negotiations for West German Rearmament, 1954-1955," Kent State University, 1993, DA 9326010, Oct. 1993.

Weitz, Richard William. "NATO after the Cold War: State Behavior in a Changing World Order," Harvard University, 1993 (PS), DA 9412401, May 1994.

Young, John David. "International Relations and French Geopolitical Thinking: An Essay in Intertheoretic Synthesis," Queen's University at Kingston (Canada), 1992 (PS), DANN 76391, Aug. 1993.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Bicentennial Award Competition

To mark the bicentennial of USS *Constitution*, as well as the bicentennial of the establishment of the Department of the Navy (1798), the Naval Historical Center plans to make an award of \$750 for an article and an award of \$2,500 for a book, related to a bicentennial theme and based on original research, published or accepted for publication between 1994 and 1998. Articles and books whose subject relates to any aspect of the history of USS *Constitution* in any time period, or to any aspect of the history of the Federal Navy, ca. 1798 to 1801 are eligible.

Nominations should be made by June 30, 1998, and must include one copy of the article or book, or, if the work is not yet in print, of the manuscript along with evidence that the work has been accepted for publication. Announcement of the awards will be in December 1998. Nominations should be made to: Senior Historian, Naval Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard, 901 M Street SE, Washington, DC 20374-5060.

Fellowship, Grant, and Internship Opportunities

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

ESTABLISHED SCHOLARS. The Center will make two Research Grants, named in honor of Vice Admiral Edwin B. Hooper, of up to \$2,500 each to individuals undertaking research and writing in the field of U.S. naval history. Applicants should have either the Ph.D. or equivalent credentials, and they must be U.S. citizens. The deadline for submitting applications is February 28, 1995.

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

except the dissertation by June 30, 1995. The deadline for applications is February 28, 1995.

Note concerning Hooper Grants and Hayes Fellowship: Proposals relating to the history of USS *Constitution* in any time period, or to the history of the Federal Navy, ca. 1789-1801, are particularly invited.

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

Application forms for the research grant, pre-doctoral fellowship, and internships may be obtained by writing: Senior Historian, Naval Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard, 901 M Street SE, Washington, DC 20374-5060.

H-DIPLO moves to Ohio University

H-DIPLO, the worldwide diplomatic history discussion list on the Internet, has now moved to the Contemporary History Institute at Ohio University. John Gaddis and Chester Pach, the two co-editors, are eager to see this list — which already has some 600 subscribers — become a major source of information for SHAFR members, as well as a convenient forum for the exchange of ideas. They welcome new subscribers, along with suggestions as to what future role this new method of communication might usefully play in connection with SHAFR activities.

Subscribing to H-DIPLO is easy. Simply send an e-mail message to: LISTSERV@UICVM.UIC.EDU. The text of the message should say: SUB [space] H-DIPLO [SPACE] your full name [space] your institution. The length of the message cannot exceed 45 characters, so you may need to abbreviate your name or your institution's.

David Broscius and Phil Nash, senior graduate students in the Contemporary History Institute, will serve as list moderators on a day-to-day basis. For further information, you can contact Gaddis, Pach,

Broschius or Nash directly by e-mail <@ouvaxa.cats.ohiou.edu>, or call (614) 593-4362, or fax (614) 593-0097.

Cuban Travel Regulation

At its meeting on October 22, 1994, the OAH Executive Board voted unanimously to adopt the resolution prepared by Thomas Paterson concerning restrictions on travel to Cuba and asked OAH International Committee member William Chafe to write a preamble to the resolution. A copy of the resolution follows:

The Organization of American Historians has long supported the principle of free academic exchange and intellectual cooperation across national boundaries. As barriers obstructing such exchanges have fallen in recent years, we have been encouraged by the collaboration in historical research and inquiry that have resulted. Such recent trends make all the more anomalous the continued effort — recently accelerated — to impede such scholarly exchanges with Cuba, a country only 90 miles from our shores, with whom American historians have had a long tradition of cooperation. It is against that background that the OAH Executive Board at its meeting of October 22, 1994, passed the following resolution:

The Organization of American Historians notes with alarm recent U.S. government measures, as announced by the Office of Foreign Assets Control of the Department of the Treasury in August, 1994, that place obstacles before historians whose research materials are located in Cuba, whose research projects depend upon study in Cuba, and whose scholarship is enriched through partnership with Cuban historians and travel within a different culture.

The new restrictions on travel to Cuba prevent free historical inquiry:

First, the new requirement that an individual engaged in “professional research” must apply for a specific license on a case-by-case basis through an overworked and sluggish bureaucracy will make it extremely difficult for historians to select research topics with any certainty that they can be researched, plan research schedules, and meet fellowship deadlines.

Second, the new regulations unduly restrict the activities of researchers fortunate enough to receive a specific license, for these regulations require “a full work schedule in Cuba” and a prohibition against “free time.” Banned, it seems, are visits to historical sites and interactions with the

Cuban people that provide scholars with an understanding of a different culture. One can imagine a worst case: Watchdog U.S. government officials monitoring the hourly activities of U.S.-based historians while they are in Cuba.

Third, the new regulations specifically prohibit "study visits to Cuba in connection with pre-college or undergraduate college course work." This prohibition on the travel of undergraduates for study in Cuba severely undermines the rights that educational institutions and their students have long claimed as essential to freedom of thought.

Fourth, also specifically outlawed in the new measures are "general study tours," "student class field trips," and "research for personal satisfaction only." Historians who wish to enhance their scholarship and teaching through a comparative approach, who wish to explore potential research topics through travel to Cuba, or who seek to study Spanish in Cuba may face insurmountable obstacles. The Department of the Treasury directive, dated August 25 and published in the *Federal Register* (August 30) reads: "A professor of history interested in traveling to Cuba for the principal purpose of learning or practicing Spanish or attending general purpose lectures devoted to Cuban culture and contemporary life would not qualify for a specific license."

The Organization of American Historians urges the Clinton administration to lift these menacing travel restrictions and to return to the general licensing of professional researchers and students for travel to Cuba.

In the same spirit, the Organization of American Historians also urges the administration to relax the U.S. economic embargo to permit the shipment of basic supplies needed so desperately by Cuban scholars of U.S. history, including the paper vital to the publication of journals and books that advance the study of the past.

Announcement of AFHRA Research Grants

The Air Force Historical Research Agency (AFHRA) announces research grants to encourage scholars to study the history of air power through the use of the USAF historical document collection at the Agency. Awards range from \$250 to \$2500. Selectees must be willing to visit the Agency for research during Fiscal Year 1996 (which ends 30 September 1996). Recipients will be designated "Research Associates of the Air Force Historical Research Agency."

Proposed topics of research may include Air Force history, military operations, education, training, administration, strategy, tactics, logistics, weaponry, technology, organization, policy, activities, and institutions. Broader subjects suitable for a grant include military history, civil military relations, history of aeronautics or astronautics, relations among U.S. branches of service, military biographies, and international military relations. Preference will be given to those proposals that involve the use of primary sources held at the Agency. Proposals for research of classified subjects cannot be considered for research grants.

Request applications from: the Commander, Air Force Historical Research Agency, 600 Chennault Circle, Maxwell AFB AL 36112-6424. The completed applications must be returned by 1 October 1995.

**After the Cold War: Reassessing Vietnam
Second Triennial Vietnam Symposium — 18-20 April 1996**

Individuals wishing to propose papers or to organize entire panels for presentation at this symposium are encouraged to contact the Center's director, James R. Reckner, The Vietnam Center, Texas Tech University, Box 41013, Lubbock, Texas, 79409-1013. Priority will be given to papers presenting post-Cold War assessments, but all proposals will be considered and as many as possible accepted and scheduled.

**Fulbright Scholar Awards for U.S. Faculty and Professionals:
1996-97 Competition**

Fulbright lecturing and research opportunities are available in nearly 140 countries. Awards range from two months to a full academic year. Virtually all disciplines and professional fields participate.

The deadline for lecturing or research grants for 1996-97 is August 1, 1995. Other deadlines are in place for special programs: distinguished Fulbright chairs in Western Europe (May 1) and Fulbright seminars and academic administrator awards (November 1).

For further information and application materials, contact the Council for International Exchange of Scholars, 3007 Tilden Street, N.W., Suite 5M, Box GNEWS, Washington, DC 20008-3009. Telephone: (202) 686-7877. E-Mail (application requests only): CIES1@CIESNET.CIES.ORG

LETTERS

To the Editor:

I was delighted to see Arthur Schlesinger Jr's letter in your June 1994 issue, castigating me for a couple of things I said about him in my "Revising Postrevisionism" article last fall in *Diplomatic History*. I had not planned to respond since the letter seemed both silly and characteristic of the author, but now I understand from the editor of that same journal that Professor Schlesinger is saying I have not responded because I cannot respond.

Professor Schlesinger made two points. The first claims that I "cannot see any difference between membership in the Communist Party and scholarship that absolves the Soviet Union and Stalin," the evidence for this being my statement that at the apogee of McCarthyism Dr. Schlesinger called William Appleman Williams "pro-Communist." He appears to think there is a world of difference between the one epithet and the other.

In the relevant passage I refer to Dr. Schlesinger and to Herbert Feis, both of whom came as close to calling Williams a Communist as one can without getting hauled into court: and that is the only relevant distinction. Ordinarily, orthodox gate-keeping and academic McCarthyism round up the usual euphemisms like "leftist" or "controversial" or "unsound" to stigmatize alternative scholarship; I was struck by how bald Schlesinger and Feis were in referring to Bill Williams (an idealist, a classic Wisconsin progressive as a near-, pro-, or crypto-Communist. I think most readers will be, too, if they reread this passage.

As to the second point, Dr. Schlesinger says he never approved of any book by James Burnham. Apparently he has forgotten that he wrote another review of a Burnham book besides the two critical ones he found in his files, namely his review of *The Struggle for the World* in the April 5, 1947 issue of *The Nation*. It is full of

laudatory prose for a book carrying such a heavy and irresponsible politics, which is not to say Professor Schlesinger was entirely uncritical. I based what I said in my *DH* essay on his fascination with Burnham's "superb job of pamphleteering — clear, fast, vivid, arrogant," and the following passage, with which he ends the review:

. . . on the whole, we must prefer [Burnham's] brand of romantic Machiavellianism, even with its theatrical strokes and operatic colors, to the messy and confused arguments of the appeasers. Still one is glad that he is not Secretary of State.

As with his censure of Williams in 1954, this review also came at a critical point in the developing cold war. Burnham bluntly called for a unilateral American empire, based on exclusive possession of the atomic bomb — among many, many other reckless and preposterous suggestions. Later on, Schlesinger was free in his criticism of Burnham, who co-founded *The National Review* with William F. Buckley, Jr. But at this key point in April 1947 when fundamental choices were being made by the most powerful country on earth, Schlesinger found Burnham's book preferable to the messily confused "appeasers," whoever they might be — perhaps Henry Wallace, perhaps James Byrnes, perhaps Franklin D. Roosevelt had he lived, perhaps a young Bill Williams.

Sincerely,

Bruce Cumings

John Evans Professor of International History and Politics

(708) 467-2770

(708) 467-1692 (fax)

STUDENT KUDOS

Robert Divine (Texas) sent us the first page of an essay written by one of his students concerning Gordon Chang's *Friends and Enemies: The United States, China and the Soviet Union*.

To those of us old enough to remember, the map of the world had two Chinas. The one referred to in Mr. Jenkins' third period Geography class was an island off the coast of the Asian land mass. This was Taiwan, the real China to a Mississippi sixth grader. To the west of Taiwan was an enormous country that wasn't referred to or spoken about, like a maiden aunt's mustache. This was Red China. In Mr. Jenkins' class, we would look to the friendly countries of Japan (even though we knew about Pearl Harbor) and Australia. and Mr. Jenkins would tell us about the brave Chinese people on the Island of Taiwan who were just biding their time until they could take the big country back from the Communists.

But even sixth graders grow up, and with the comfort of hindsight we look now at the relations between China and the United States with a mixture of wonder and disbelief. To some the enigma of our aggressive nonrecognition of the People's Republic of China was nothing if not a metaphor for the conduct of American foreign policy on a world wide basis. It seemed wrong-headed, myopic and extremely dangerous, a policy created by dolts and preachers containing every possible combination of misapplied logic, intolerant theology and worse still, possessed of neither rhyme nor reason.

BONERS

When the Russians finally threw the Germans out and rolled them back, the only weapons they had to use to "liberate" Eastern Europe were spears of influence.

- Lynne Dunn, Winthrop University

CALENDAR

- 1995
- April 1 Applications for the W. Stull Holt dissertation fellowship are due.
- March 30-April 2 The 88th meeting of the OAH will take place in Washington with headquarters at the Washington Hilton and Towers.
- May 1 Deadline, materials for the June *Newsletter*.
- June 21-24 The 20th annual meeting of SHAFR will be held at the U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, MD. Robert Love is chairing local arrangements.
- August 1 Deadline, materials for the September *Newsletter*.
- November 1 Deadline, materials for the December *Newsletter*.
- November 1-15 Annual election for SHAFR officers.
- November 1 Applications for Bernath dissertation fund awards are due.
- November 15 Deadline for SHAFR summer conference proposals.
- November 15 Deadline for M. Bernath Research Fellowship
- 1996
- January 1 Membership fees in all categories are due, payable at the national office of SHAFR.
- January 4-7 The 110th annual meeting of the AHA will take place in Atlanta. Deadline for proposals has passed.
- January 15 Deadline for the 1996 Bernath article award.
- February 1 Submissions for Warren Kuehl Award are due.
- February 1 Deadline for the 1996 Bernath book award.
- February 1 Deadline, materials for the March *Newsletter*.
- February 1 Deadline for Ferrell Book Prize.
- February 15 Deadline for the 1996 Bernath lecture prize.

The OAH will meet at the Palmer House Hilton (Chicago), March 28-31, 1996. Program Co-chairs are Michael Hogan and Mary Kelly. Deadline for proposals has passed.

In subsequent years the OAH will meet in San Francisco, April 17-20, 1997; in Indianapolis, April 2-5, 1998; and in Toronto in 1999.

PERSONALS

Todd L. Bell (Vienna, VA) has been elected president of the Virginia Advanced Rocketry Club.

Lester Brune (Bradley), was the keynote speaker at an early March symposium sponsored by the American Airpower Heritage Museum and Midland College. Brune's address: "World War II's Home Front and the War Front."

In November, Carol Gluck (Columbia) delivered the first University Lecture of the 1994-95 academic year. Its title: "Reinventions of the Past: Japan at the End of the Century." The University Lectures annually bring before the Columbia community and the public addressed by outstanding Columbia faculty members. Three are delivered each academic year.

Nancy Bernkopf Tucker (Georgetown) during 1994 was promoted to full professor, received research grants from the ACLU, the Woodrow Wilson Center, the U.S. Institute of Peace, the NEH Summer grant program and Georgetown University for her project on U.S.-China relations in the 1950s and 1960s.

Peter L. Hahn (Ohio State), Chester J. Pach, Jr. (Ohio), and Robert R. Swartout, Jr. (Carroll College) are among those scholars who have been awarded Fulbright funds for research abroad in 1994-95.

Do you have Conference Papers that should be published?

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PUBLICATIONS

H. W. Brands (Texas), *The Wages of Globalism: Lyndon Johnson and the Limits of American Power*. Oxford Univ Press, 1994. ISBN 0-19-507888-8, \$27.50.

Noam Chomsky (MIT), *Keeping the Rabble in Line: Interviews with David Barsamian*. Common Courage Press, 1994. Cloth, ISBN 1-56751-033-7 \$29.95; paper ISBN 1-56751-032-9, \$12.95.

Warren I. Cohen (Maryland-Baltimore) and Nancy Bernkopf Tucker (Georgetown) eds. *Lyndon Johnson Confronts the World: American Foreign Policy, 1963-1968*. Cambridge, 1995. Cloth, ISBN 0-521-41428-8, \$54.95; Paper, ISBN 0-521-42479-8, \$16.95.

Irwin F. Gellman (Coruna del Rey, CA), *Secret Affairs: Franklin Roosevelt, Cordell Hull, and Sumner Welles*. Johns Hopkins, 1995. ISBN 0-801850835, \$29.95.

D. Clayton James and Anne Sharp Wells (Both of VMI), *From Pearl Harbor to V-J Day: The American Armed Forces in World War II*. Ivan R. Dee, 1995. Cloth ISBN 156663072X, \$24.95; Paper ISBN 1566630738, \$10.95.

Robert David Johnson, ed., (Arizona State), *On Cultural Ground: Essays in International History*. Imprint, 1994. Paper, ISBN 1-879176-21-1, \$19.95.

Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones (Edinburgh), *Changing Differences: Women and the Shaping of American Foreign Policy, 1917-1994*. Rutgers, 1995. ISBN 0-8135-2166-1, \$24.95.

Akira Iriye (Harvard), *Pacific Estrangement: Japanese and American Expansion, 1897-1911*. Imprint, 1994. Reprint of 1972 edition. Paper, ISBN 1-9897176-19-X, \$19.95.

Melvin Leffler (Virginia), *The Specter of Communism: The United States and the Origins of the Cold War, 1917-1953*. New in paper, ISBN 8090-1574-9, \$7.95.

Robert J. McMahon (Florida), *Major Problems in the History of the Vietnam War, 2nd edition*. Heath, 1995. Paper, ISBN 0-669-35252-7, \$16.50.

Ann Miller Morin (Silver Spring, MD), *Her Excellency: An Oral History of American Women Ambassadors*. Twayne/Macmillan, 1995. Cloth, ISBN 0-8057-9118-3, \$27.95; Paper, ISBN 0-8057-9142-6, \$16.75.

William B. Pickett (Rose-Hulman), *Dwight D. Eisenhower and American Power*. Harlan Davidson, Inc, 1995. Paper, ISBN 0-88295-918-2, \$11.95.

Serge Ricard (Université de Provence), *La Frontière Mexique-États-Unis: rejets, osmose et mutations*. Université de Provence, 1994.

Arthur M. Schlesinger, ed. (CUNY), *Running For President: The Candidates and Their Images*. Simon & Schuster, 1994. ISBN 0-133-03355-4, \$75.00.

Michael Wala (Erlangen-Nürnberg), *The Council on Foreign Relations and American Foreign Policy in the Early Cold War*. Providence, RI, 1994. ISBN 1-57181-0030x, \$49.95.

Gerhard L. Weinberg (North Carolina), *Germany, Hitler and the World War II*. Cambridge. ISBN 0-521-47407-8, \$27.95.

Daniel Yergin (Cambridge) and Thane Gustafson, *Russia 2010: And What It Means for the World*. Random House, 1995. ISBN 0-6797-5922-0, \$13.00.

Dennis Keith Yergler (Teikyo Westmar U, Le Mars, Iowa), *Herbert Feis, Wilsonian Internationalism, and America's Technological-Democracy*. Peter Land, 1993. ISBN 0-82024-2078-6, \$52.95.

SHAFR COUNCIL MINUTES

January 7, 1995

Chicago

Mel Leffler, presiding

Diplomatic History will be published by Blackwell, effective with the upcoming issue. All SHAFR accounts have been transferred into a central account. An endowment committee composed of SHAFR members will oversee the investment accounts now being professionally managed. SHAFR officers, publications, and organization now covered by a liability insurance company.

Mike Hogan requested, and council approved, the addition of Anders Stephanson, Tom Borstelmann, and Elizabeth Cobbs to editorial board of *DH*.

Ann Jones of Blackwell Publishing discussed the transfer of *DH* and membership lists to Blackwell; as of end of 1994, SHAFR membership in all categories is approximately 1698; she discussed marketing strategies and efforts to boost circulation.

Mike Hogan recommended that SHAFR consider appropriating funds to hire a 3/4 time "managing editor" to assist the editor of *DH* in future years.

Jonathan Utley reported on SHAFR finances, current and future, based on cash flows and expected commitments. SHAFR has sufficient cash to consider hiring a managing editor for *DH* in future years. His committee recommended changes in membership dues for life and unemployed members. It was the sense of the council that SHAFR should explore strategies for generating an annual cash pool of \$20 - 30,000 p/y for the eventual employment of a managing editor, especially if and when Mike Hogan steps down as editor of *DH* and the journal moves to another institution. A motion to this effect passed council unanimously. A motion to eliminate, effective 1996, the category of "retired" member, passed unanimously. A motion to maintain an "unemployed" category of membership paying 1/2 the regular dues, with eligibility limited to 2 consecutive years, passed unanimously.

A motion to terminate the category of new "life memberships" at the earliest possible date passed unanimously. Mel Leffler asked that a discussion be resumed at the June 1995 meeting concerning the need to increase SHAFR dues by \$10 to \$20 over the next few years. A motion to support OAH *Connections* at \$500 for one year failed.

Tom Zeiler reported on the upcoming 1995 and 1996 programs. For the 1995 program at Annapolis, it is anticipated there will be about 48 sessions; Tom and Bob Schulzinger recommend that for the 1996 meeting at Colorado, the submission of full panels be encouraged, rather than individual papers; the 1997 meeting will probably be held at Georgetown University; the next President will need to work out final details.

Tom Patterson submitted a letter protesting new travel and research restrictions issued by the U.S. Government regulating scholarly discourse in Cuba. The OAH and AHA have gone on record criticizing these regulations. A motion passed asking Mel Leffler to draft a statement expressing SHAFR concern over research travel restrictions regarding Cuba.

Page Miller reported on NCC legislative and policy issues.

Marvin Zahniser of the endowments committee reported on the transfer of funds to the new endowment/investment management firm. Of some \$400,000, about \$300,000 is being invested in U.S. Treasury bills and about \$100,000 is being invested into equities. Allan Spetter distributed the financial report.

Mary Giunta's survey report on the proposed new SHAFR guide needs to be discussed at the June meeting; the council expressed thanks for her excellent work.

In June, the council should consider authorizing payment for Mary Ann Heiss in recognition of her work as a copy editor for materials appearing in *DH*.

The council expressed its appreciation for the superb performance as President by Mel Leffler.

Submitted by Michael Shaller

AWARDS, PRIZES, AND FUNDS

THE STUART L. BERNATH MEMORIAL PRIZES

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

The Stuart L. Bernath Book Prize

This is a competition for a book dealing with any aspect of the history of American foreign relations. The purpose of the award is to recognize and encourage distinguished research and writing by scholars of American foreign relations. Five (5) copies of each book must be submitted with the nomination and should be sent to: Emily Rosenberg, Department of History, Macalester College, St. Paul, MN 55105. Books may be sent at any time during 1995, but should not arrive later than February 1, 1996.

The Stuart L. Bernath Lecture Prize

The Bernath Lecture Prize seeks to recognize and encourage excellence in teaching and research in the field of foreign relations by younger scholars. Prize-winners deliver a lecture, comparable in style and scope to the SHAFR presidential address, at the SHAFR meeting during the annual OAH conference. Nomination is open to any person under forty-one years of age whose scholarly achievements represent excellence in teaching and research. Send nominating letter and *curriculum vita* no later than 15 February 1996 to: Charles F. Brower (West Point).

The Stuart L. Bernath Scholarly Article Prize

The purpose of the prize is to recognize and to encourage distinguished research and writing by young scholars in the field of diplomatic relations. Chairperson of the committee: Mary Ann Heiss, Kent State University, Kent OH 44242

The Stuart L. Bernath Dissertation Grant

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

The Myrna F. Bernath Book Prize

A prize award of \$2,500 to be offered every two years (apply in odd-numbered years) for the best book by a woman in the areas of United States foreign relations, transnational history, international history, peace studies, cultural interchange, and defense or strategic studies.

The Myrna F. Bernath Research Fellowships (Update)

The society announces two Myrna F. Bernath Research Fellowships, \$2,500 each, to research the study of foreign relations among women scholars. The grants are intended for women at U.S. universities as well as for women abroad who wish to do research in the United States. Preference will be given to graduate students and newly finished Ph.D's. The subject-matter *should be historically based* and concern American foreign relations or aspects of international history, as broadly conceived. Work on purely domestic topics will not be considered. Applications should include a letter of intent and three copies of a detailed research proposal of no more than 2000 words. Send applications to: Anders Stephanson, Department of History, Columbia University, New York NY 10027. Deadline for applications is 15 November 1995.

THE W. STULL HOLT DISSERTATION FELLOWSHIP

This fellowship is intended to help defray costs of travel, preferably foreign travel, necessary to the pursuit of research on a significant dissertation project.

THE NORMAN AND LAURA GRAEBNER AWARD

The Graebner Award is to be awarded every other year at SHAFR's summer conference to a senior historian of United States foreign relations whose achievements have contributed most significantly to the fuller understanding of American diplomatic history. Current Chairperson: James Matray (New Mexico State).

THE WARREN F. KUEHL AWARD

The Society will award the Warren F. Kuehl Prize to the author or authors of an outstanding book dealing with the history of internationalism and/or the history of peace movements. The subject may include biographies of prominent internationalists or peace leaders. Also eligible are works on American foreign

relations that examine United States diplomacy from a world perspective and which are in accord with Kuehl's 1985 presidential address to SHAFR. That address voiced an "appeal for scholarly breadth, for a wider perspective on how foreign relations of the United States fits into the global picture." Current chairperson: Thomas Knock (Southern Methodist).

ARTHUR LINK PRIZE FOR DOCUMENTARY EDITING

The prize will recognize and encourage analytical scholarly editing of documents, in appropriate published form, relevant to the history of American foreign relations, policy, and diplomacy. By "analytical" is meant the inclusion (in headnotes, footnotes, essays, etc.) of both appropriate historical background needed to establish the context of the documents, and interpretive historical commentaries based on scholarly research. The competition is open to the editor/author(s) of any collection of documents published after 1984 that is devoted primarily to sources relating to the history of American foreign relations, policy, and/or diplomacy; and that incorporates sufficient historical analysis and interpretation of those documents to constitute a contribution to knowledge and scholarship. Current Chairperson: Mary A. Giunta (National Archives).

THE ARMIN RAPPAPORT FUND

The Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations established this fund in 1990 to honor Armin Rappaport, the founding editor of the Society's journal, *Diplomatic History*. The fund will support the professional work of the journal's editorial office.

ROBERT H. FERRELL BOOK PRIZE

This is competition for a book, published in 1994, which is a history of American Foreign Relations, broadly defined, and includes biographies of statesmen and diplomats. General surveys, autobiographies, or editions of essays and documents are not eligible. The prize is to be awarded as a senior book award; that is, any book beyond the first monograph by the author. Current chairperson: Ted Wilson (Kansas).