

The Society for
Historians of
American
Foreign Relations



Seventeenth Annual Conference
June 19-22, 1991
in conjunction with
The American Military Institute
and
The Conference on Peace Research in History

George Washington University
Washington, D.C.

SHAFR Program Schedule

All sessions in Fungler; room numbers in brackets []
 Wed. 6/19, 7 p.m.: Opening Remarks: President Gary R. Hess presiding
 Introduction and presentation of Warren Kuehl Book Award and
 Stull Holt Graduate Student Award
 Plenary: Pearl Harbor 7:15-9:30 p.m.
 Reception: 9:30-11 p.m.

Thur 8:30 to 10:30	Panel 18: The US and China [210]	Panel 17: Round Table: Why did the Cold War End? [308]	Panel 7: Wilson, Journalists and the Mexican Rev. [310]	Panel 29: Private Int. & US F.P. [322]
Coffee Break				
Thur 10:45 to 12:45	Panel 31: Secrecy & Scholarship [210]	Panel 2: Imper- ialism Revisited: the Spanish- Am. War [308]	Panel 24: Domes- tic Issues and Vietnam War [310]	Panel 9: Ger. Occ- Alliance [322]
SHAFR Luncheon 1:00 - 2:30 Morton Kondracke, speaker: George Bush's Foreign Policy				
Thur 2:45 to 4:45	Panel 22: US and the Middle East [210]	Panel 3: New Views of the Harrison Admin. [308]	Panel 12: Round Table: Ending World War II [221]	Panel 21: Lat. Amer- US Rels in WW II [222]
Film 7:00 p.m. "Berkeley in the 1960s"				
Fri 8:30 to 10:30	Panel 25: Vietnamese & Vietnam War [207]	Panel 4: WW I, the Bolsheviks, and Wilson [208]	Panel 11: Churchill, Stalin, and Kennan [209]	Panel 13: Early Cold War [210]
Coffee Break				
Fri 10:45 to 12:45	Panel 5: US & Soviets in Interwar Era [207]	Panel 23: Korean War Rev: Bruce Cumings [208]	Panel 16: Europe in the 1990s [209]	Panel 15: Round T.: Peace Mvt. & Cold War [210]
SHAFR Luncheon 1:00 - 2:00 p.m. Plenary Session 2:00 - 3:00 p.m. CPRH/AMI Richard Ned Lebow, Eliot Cohen: The Gulf War in Retrospect				
Fri 3:15 to 5:15	Panel 14: Ike & Dulles Reappraised [207]	Panel 10: Wartime Diplomacy in Europe [208]	Panel 30: New Perspectives on Wilsonian Diplomacy [209]	
Reception 5:30 - 7:30 p.m.: no host				
Sat 9:00 to 11:00	Panel 27: Persian Gulf Conflict & Lessons of VN War [207]	Panel 19: China Role in Korean War [208]	Panel 1: 18th and Early 19th Century Diplo. [209]	Panel 28: Ending of 3rd Indo- China War [210]
Sat 1:00 to 3:00	Panel 26: Military History & Vietnam War; the "Lessons" of Vietnam [207]	Panel 20: Sumner Welles [208]	Panel 8: Between War and Peace: US and Germany, 1944-46 [209]	Panel 6: Limits of Naval Power [210]

Panels - SHAFR 1991

Plenary Session: Pearl Harbor after Fifty Years

- Chair: Howard Schonberger, Univ. of Maine
1. "The American Angle." Waldo Heinrichs, Temple Univ.
 2. "The Japanese Angle." Michael Barnhart, SUNY Stony Brook
 3. "The German Angle." Gerhard Weinberg, Air Force Academy
- Comment: Stephen Pelz, Univ. of Massachusetts, Amherst
Junnosuke Masumi, Woodrow Wilson International Center
Richard Breitman, American Univ.

Room 103: Fungler Auditorium

1. Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century American Conflicts

- Chair: Reginald C. Stuart, Mt. Saint Vincent Univ., Halifax
1. "The Origins of the French and Indian War: a European Perspective." Jonathan R. Dull, Benj. Franklin Papers, Yale Univ.
 2. "An Unfree Press: The Structure of the Press in the Early Nation and the Origins of the War of 1812." Howard Mahan, Univ. of South Alabama.
 3. "Why Did It End So Soon? British and American War Plans for 1815 and Beyond." Frederick Drake, Brock Univ., St. Catharines, Ontario.
- Comment: Ronald Hatzenbuehler, Idaho State Univ.
John C.A. Stagg, The James Madison Papers, Univ. of Virginia

Fungler 209

2. Imperialism Revisited: Spanish Wars

- Chair: Joseph A. Fry, Univ. of Nevada, Las Vegas
1. "Completing the Spanish American Treaty of Paris in 1898: The British Connection." John L. Offner, Shippensburg Univ.
 2. "Countering Counter-Revisionism: The Fraudulent Legend of American Non-Imperialism at the Turn of the 19th Century in Recent Historiography." Serge Ricard, Université Paul-Valéry, France
- Comment: Joseph A. Fry
Paul Holbo, Univ. of Oregon

Fungler 308

3. American Diplomacy a Century Ago: The Harrison Administration Reconsidered

- Chair: Kinley Brauer, Univ. of Minnesota, Minneapolis
1. "Benjamin Harrison Reconsidered." Allan Spetter, Wright State Univ.
 2. "John Foster as Diplomat." Michael Devine, Illinois Historical Preservation Society

3. "James Blaine." R. Hal Williams, Southern Methodist Univ.

- Comment: Kinley Brauer
Joyce Goldberg, Univ. of Texas, Arlington

Fungler 308

4. World War I, The Bolsheviks, and Woodrow Wilson

- Chair: Betty M. Unterberger, Texas A and M
1. "Wilson, Commerce and Statesmanship in Siberia: The Political Economy of American Economic Assistance to Revolutionary Russia, Spring 1918 - Fall 1919." Leo J. Bacino, Northern Illinois Univ.

2. "Searching for Alternatives: A New Look at Bolshevik-American Relations, 1918-1919." David W. McFadden, Fairfield Univ.

- Comment: Lloyd Ambrosius, Univ. of Nebraska
Linda Killen, Radford Univ.

Fungler 208

5. The US and the Soviets in the Interwar Era

- Chair: Robert Maddox, Penn State Univ.
1. "Diplomacy of a Confidence Trick: The US and the Far Eastern Republic." Christine White, Pennsylvania State Univ.
 2. "'A Landmine under Soviet-American Trade': The Campaign to Embargo Soviet Lumber, 1929-31." Kurt S. Schultz, Ohio State Univ.
 3. "U.S.-Soviet Diplomatic Relations at the Brink: The Machine-Tool Export Crisis of 1940." William Wolff, Ohio State Univ.
 4. "Redefining the Enemy: American Interpretations of the Red Menace and US-Argentine Relations, 1917-1929," David Sheinin, Institute of Latin American Studies, Univ. of London.
- Comment: Thomas R. Maddux, Calif. State Univ., Northridge
Thomas Leonard, North Florida Univ.

Fungler 207

6. Admirals, Diplomats, and the Limitations of Naval Power

- Chair: R. Fanning, Western Washington Univ.
1. "From Geneva to London: American Naval Opinion and the Search for a Cruiser Policy, 1927-1930." Gregory C. Kennedy, Royal Military College of Canada, Kingston, Ontario
 2. "'A Certain Irritation': The White House, The State Department, and the Desire for a Naval Settlement with Great Britain, 1927-1930." B.J.C. Mc Kercher, Royal Military College of Canada
 3. "US Business Interests in Naval Disarmament, 1920-22." James Nolt, Univ. of Chicago
- Comment: R. Fanning
Raymond G. O'Connor, Univ. of Miami emeritus, Aptos, California

Fungler 210

7. Wilson, American Journalists and the Mexican Revolution

- Chair: Mark Gilderhus, Colorado State Univ.
1. "Jingo Journalism and the Mexican Revolution: The 1914 Occupation of Veracruz." John A. Britton, Francis Marion College
 2. "John Reed, Max Eastman, and the Education of Woodrow Wilson: A Socialist Perspective on Veracruz." Thomas J. Knock, Southern Methodist Univ.
- Comment: Kendrick A. Clements, Univ. of South Carolina
William O. Walker III, Ohio Wesleyan Univ.

Fungler 310

8. From War to Peace: German-American Relations, 1944-46

- Chair: Christopher Simpson, American Univ.
1. "Germany and the Bomb: Decline and Failure of New Deal Liberals, 1944-46." Dr. Bernd Greiner, Institute for Social Research, Hamburg
 2. "Roll Over Beethoven: The Influence of American Popular Culture on West German Youths after 1945." Dr. Kaspar Maase, Institute for Social Research, Hamburg.
 3. "German Science and Nazi Ideology: Geographers and the Execution of the Lebensraum Policy." Mechtild Rossler, Univ. of Hamburg.
- Comment: Don Whitnah, Northern Iowa Univ.
Robert Herzstein, Univ. of South Carolina

Fungler 209

9. The United States and Germany: From Occupation to Alliance

Chair: Michael J. Hogan, Ohio State Univ.
1. "Explosion in the Offing: James B. Conant, US-German Relations, and German Rearmament, 1953-55." James G. Hershberg, Tufts Univ.
2. "'Dual Containment: John J. McCloy and the Federal Republic of Germany." Thomas A. Schwartz, Vanderbilt Univ.
Comment: Frank Ninkovich, St. Johns Univ.
Klaus Schwabe, Georgetown Univ. (Visiting); Aachen

Funger 322

10. Wartime Diplomacy in Europe

Chair: Burton I. Kaufman, Virginia Polytechnic Institute & State University
1. "Franklin Roosevelt, Sir Arthur Salter, and American Merchant Shipping Assistance to Britain, 1941." Kevin Smith, International Security Program, Yale Univ.
2. "Creating the Special Relationship: British Propaganda in the United States, 1942-45." Susan A. Brewer, Univ. of Wisconsin, Stevens Point.
3. "Yalta Revisited: An Update on the Diplomacy of FDR and his Wartime Summit Partners." Charles G. Stefan, Foreign Service (retired), Gainesville, Florida
Comment: Burton I. Kaufman
Duane Tananbaum, Lehman College, CUNY

Funger 208

11. Churchill, Stalin, and Kennan: A New Look at Familiar Players

Chair: Melvyn Leffler, Univ. of Virginia
1. "Churchill's Statecraft, 1944-46: From Tragedy to Triumph." Fraser Harbutt, Emory Univ.
2. "Stalin: The View from the Kremlin." Albert Resis, Northern Illinois Univ.
3. "Kennan: the View from the US Embassy, Moscow." David Mayers, Boston Univ.
Comment: Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., CUNY, Graduate Center
Wilson Miscamble, Notre Dame

Funger 209

12. Round Table: Hiroshima and the End of World War II

Co-Chairs: J. Samuel Walker, U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission
Gar Alperovitz, National Center for Economic Alternatives and Institute for Policy Studies
Discussants: Barton J. Bernstein, Stanford Univ.
Kai Bird, Washington, D.C.
Stanley Goldberg, Univ. of Maryland
William Lanouette, Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists
Robert Messer, Univ. of Illinois at Chicago
Leon V. Sigal, New York Times

Funger 221

13. The Early Cold War

Chair: Anna Nelson, American Univ.
1. "The US, the UN, and the Cold War, 1945-50." Fumiko Nishizaki, Seikei Univ., Tokyo.
2. "Beyond the Numbers Game: A Reinterpretation of Cold War Economic Policies." Tor Egil Forland, International Peace Research Institute, Oslo, Norway.

3. "Harry Truman and the Problem of Poland." Mark White, Rutgers.
Comment: Thomas Zeiler, Univ. of Colorado
R. Michael Berry, Univ. of Maryland

Funger 210

14. Eisenhower and Dulles: Revisionism Revised

Chair: Chester Pach, Univ. of Kansas
1. "Dulles: the Man and the Myth." Frederick W. Marks, III, Forest Hills, NY
2. "Eisenhower, Dulles, and Col. Edward Lansdale: Reappraising the Decision to Commit to Ngo Dinh Diem." Daniel Greene, Old Dominion Univ.
3. "Massive Retaliation Reappraised." Alan Luxemburg, Foreign Policy Research Institute
Comment: H.W. Brands, Texas A & M Univ.
Peter L. Hahn, Penn State, Erie

Funger 207

15. The Impact of the Peace Movement on the Cold War (A Round Table)

(Sponsored by CPRH)
Chair: Jo Ann Robinson, Morgan State Univ.
Ralph Levering, Davidson College
David Cortright, International Institute for Peace Studies,
Notre Dame
Dee Garrison, Rutgers Univ.
Sanford Gottlieb, Center for Defense Information, Washington D.C.

Funger 210

16. Europe in the 90's: When the Cold War was Over

Chair: Osvaldo L.G. Croci, Concordia Univ., Montreal
1. "A New Germany, A New World: The Challenge for James Baker and his Successors." Manfred Jonas, Union College.
2. "The Impact of German Unification on NATO." Lawrence Kaplan, Kent State Univ.
3. "Soviet New Political Thinking: A Comparative Analysis of American Scholars' Views." Dr. Simon J. Appatov, Odessa Univ., USSR. (Visiting, Univ. of California, Berkeley
Comment: Randall Woods, Univ. of Arkansas

Funger 209

17. Why did the Cold War End? (A Round Table)

Chair: Wesley Wark, Univ. of Toronto
Panelists: Raymond Garthoff, Brookings Institute
Norman Graebner, Emeritus, Univ. of Virginia
(Charlottesville, VA)
Boris Mikhailov, Academy of Sciences of USSR, Institute for the Study of the USA and Canada
Robert Thurston, Miami Univ. of Ohio
Geoffrey S. Smith, Queens Univ., Kingston, Canada

Funger 308

18. The United States and China during the Cold War

Chair: Noel Pugach, University of New Mexico
1. "China and the Geneva Conference of 1954." Zhai Qiang, Ohio Univ.
2. "China's Relations with Korea since 1953 and its Impact on U.S. Foreign Policy." Joel Campbell, Miami Univ. of Ohio
3. "Civil Wars in China and Greece: the American Contribution." Amikam Nachmani, Hebrew Univ., Jerusalem.

Comment: Michael Schaller, Univ. of Arizona
Noel Pugach

Funger 210

19. China's Role in the Korean War

Chair: J. Kent Morrison, Univ. of Rhode Island

1. "A Historical Note to the American-Chinese Confrontation in Korea: The American and Chinese Policies toward Korea during World War II." Xiaoyuan Liu, Univ. of Chicago.

2. "China's Changing Aims during the Korean War." Chen Jian, SUNY, Geneseo.

3. "Why China went to war in Korea but not in Vietnam." Shehong Chen, Institute of International Relations, Beijing.

Comment: William Stueck, Univ. of Georgia
Michael Hunt, Univ. of North Carolina

Funger 208

20. The Role of Sumner Welles

Chair: Robert Freeman Smith, Univ. of Toledo

"The Downfall of Sumner Welles, 1942-43." Irwin Gellman, Corona del Mar, CA.

Comment: Wayne Cole, Univ. of Maryland

Jonathan Utley, Univ. of Tennessee
J. Gary Clifford, Univ. of Connecticut

Funger 208

21. United States - Latin American Relations During World War II

Chair: Wayne Cole, Univ. of Maryland

1. "The U.S. and Brazil during World War II: Apogee of the Special Relationship?" Stanley Hilton, Louisiana State Univ.

2. "World War II: A Watershed for U.S. Regional Policies." Gerald K. Haines, National Security Council

Comment: audience.

Funger 222

22. The United States and the Middle East: Cold War Conundrums

Chair: Mark Lytle, Bard College

1. "From Honest Broker to British Partner: The Evolution of U.S. Policy on the Nationalization of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company." Mary Ann Heiss, Ohio State Univ.

2. "An Iranian Triumvirate: The Shah, Razmara, and Max Thornburg." Linda W. Qaim-Maquami, American Univ.

3. "American Policy toward Afghanistan in the Post-war Period." Jeffery J. Roberts, Ohio State Univ.

Comment: James Goode, Grand Valley State Univ.
David Painter, Georgetown Univ.

Funger 210

23. Korean War Revisionism: A Discussion of Bruce Cumings' 'The Origins of the Korean War: Vol. II: The Roaring of the Cataract, 1947-1950.

Chair: William Borden, Lambertville, NJ

Discussants: Roger Dingman, Univ. of Southern California

John Merrill, The Department of State

Bruce Cumings, Univ. of Chicago
and the audience

Funger 208

24. Domestic Issues and the Vietnam War

Chair: Jeffrey Kimball, Miami Univ. of Ohio

1. "The Vietnam War and American Racism." David Anderson, Univ. of Indianapolis

2. "Contending with Domestic Enemies: Nixon and the War at Home." Melvin Small, Wayne State Univ.

3. "The Nixon Administration and the P.O.W. Issue." H. Bruce Franklin, Rutgers University.

Comment: Jeffrey Kimball

Joan Hoff-Wilson, Indiana Univ.

Funger 310

25. The Vietnamese and the War in Vietnam

Chair: Edward Keefer, Historian's Office, Dept. of State

1. "Perception and Policy: Reexamining Vietnamese-American Relations during World War II." Mark Bradley, Harvard Univ.

2. "Cautious Allies: The Viet Minh and the OSS, 1945." Robert K. Brigham, Univ. of Kentucky

3. "Accepting the 'Bao Dai' Solution in 1950: A Critical Turning Point in the Vietnam War." S. David Broscious, Ohio State Univ.

Comment: Marilyn Young, New York Univ.

Edward Keefer

Funger 207

26. Military History and the Vietnam War

Chair: Robert Schulzinger, Univ. of Colorado

1. "Herman Kahn's Theory of Escalation and Vietnam, 1964." Edwin E. Moise, Clemson Univ.

2. "The Outbreak of the 'Big-Unit' War in Vietnam." James J. Wirtz, Naval Postgraduate School.

3. "Prisoner of War: The Military Captivity of US Policy in Vietnam, 1963-1969." Larry Cable, Univ. of North Carolina.

Comment: Robert Schulzinger

William Hammond, US Army Center for Military History

Funger 207

27. The Persian Gulf Conflict and the "Lessons" of Vietnam

Moderator: James Nathan, Auburn Univ. of Montgomery &

The Air War College

Participants: Grant Hammond, Air War College

Rob Bressler, Penn State Univ., Philadelphia

Ken Campbell, Univ. of Delaware

Robert MacMahon, Univ. of Florida

Melanie Billings-Yun, Univ. of Maryland

Funger 207

28. America and the Ending of the Third Indochina War

Chair: Jonathan Goldstein, W. Georgia College

1. "Cambodia and the Ending of the War." Ben Kiernan, Yale Univ.

2. "China, Vietnam, and the Ending of the War." Brantly Womack, Northern Illinois Univ.

3. "Malaysia, ASEAN, and the Ending of the Conflict." Pamela Sodhy, Univ. of Malaysia

4. "Vietnam and the Ending of the Conflict." Ngo Vinh Long, Univ. of Maine

17TH ANNUAL SHAFR CONFERENCE REGISTRATION, JUNE 19-22, 1991

Comment: Gary Hess, Bowling Green State Univ.
Edward D. Crapol, College of William and Mary

Funger 210 29. Private Interests and U.S. Foreign Policy in the Cold War

Chair: John Prados, Takoma Park, MD.
1. "The Political Economy of Intervention in the Congo Crisis, 1960-63." David Gibbs, Univ. of Arizona
2. "The Business of Strategy: The Political Economy of Detente, 1945-75." Jerri-Lynn Scofield, Balliol College, Oxford and Harvard Law School.
3. "Grenada: The Threat of a Good Example." Stephen Zunes, Whitman College

Comment: John Prados
Funger 322

30. New Perspectives on Wilsonian Diplomacy

Chair: N. Gordon Levin, Amherst College
1. "German Naval Policy in Latin America: the Challenge to Woodrow Wilson." Nancy Mitchell, Johns Hopkins Univ.
2. "President Wilson's German and Mexican Policies: Two Crises, One War." Michael Lutzker, New York Univ.
3. "Woodrow Wilson and the Revisionists." David Esposito, Penn State Univ.

Comment: N. Gordon Levin
John Little, Woodrow Wilson Papers, Princeton Univ.

Funger 209 31. Declassification: "Secrecy and Scholarship: Documenting the Official Foreign Affairs Record." Panel Discussion

Moderator: Norman Graebner, Charlottesville, VA
Participants: William Slany, The Historian, Department of State
Steven Garfinckel, Director, U.S. Information Security Oversight Office
J. Kenneth MacDonald, Chief Historian, CIA
Emily Rosenberg, MacAlester College

Funger 210

Other Events

June 19: SHAFR Reception, 9-11 p.m.; Room 103: Funger Auditorium
June 20: SHAFR Luncheon, Faculty Club.
Presiding: Gary Hess, President, SHAFR
Speaker: Morton Kondrake, The New Republic
"George Bush's Foreign Policy"
Film: 7 p.m. "Berkeley in the 1960s."
June 21: CPRH-AMI Luncheon
"The 'Hawks' vs. the 'Doves' on the Persian Gulf War."
Moderators: James Nathan, Auburn Univ. and the Air War College
Melvin Small, Wayne State Univ.
Participants: Richard Ned Lebow, Director, Cornell Peace Studies Program
Eliot A. Cohen, Director of Strategic Studies,
The Paul Nitze School of Advanced International Studies.
Room 103: Funger Auditorium

Name: _____

Address: _____

City: _____

State _____

Zip _____

Home Phone: _____

Office _____

Affiliation: _____

Signature: _____

Registration Fee (\$30.00; \$10.00 for students) \$ _____

Thursday SHAFR Luncheon (\$14.25) \$ _____

Friday AMI/CPRH Luncheon (\$12.75) \$ _____

Total \$ _____

Charges include service and tax. Please make check payable to SHAFR. Send this completed form and payment to:

Sandra C. Taylor - SHAFR
Department of History
University of Utah
211 Carlson Hall
Salt Lake City, Utah 84112

Limited Dormitory Housing for the SHAFR Conference, 19-22 June 1991
at The George Washington University

Notes

Limited on-campus housing is available on a first-come, first-served basis. Strong Hall dormitory, 21st and G Sts., N.W. offers single and double rooms. Single-occupancy is \$35.00 per night. Double-occupancy is \$23.00 per person, per night. Please indicate your preference below:

I would like double-occupancy accommodations for:

- _____ Wednesday, 19 June for \$23.00
- _____ Thursday, 20 June for \$46.00
- _____ Friday, 21 June for \$69.00

Please find a check enclosed (payable to History Department, GWU)/

OR

I would like single-occupancy accommodations for:

- _____ Wednesday, 19 June for \$35.00
- _____ Thursday, 20 June for \$70.00
- _____ Friday, 21 June for \$105.00

If we cannot meet your request for single-occupancy, we will return your check and send you a second application "form" offering double occupancy. Double rooms will be assigned on a random basis unless you specify otherwise

Please note on your envelope "SHAFR ROOM RESERVATION" and mail this reservation and your check to:

Professor William H. Becker
Department of History
The George Washington University
Washington, DC 20052

To confirm your reservation, please enter your name and address below and include a self-addressed, stamped envelope:
