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The Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations

NEWSLETTER



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SOCIETY FOR HISTORIANS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS.

Founded in 1967. Chartered in 1972.

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MEMBERSHIP: Anyone interested in U.S. diplomatic history is invited to become a member of SHAFR. Annual dues are \$7.00, payable at the office of the Executive Secretary-Treasurer. Fees for retired members and for students are \$4.00 per year, while institutional affiliations are \$12.00. Life memberships are \$125.00.

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

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

ROSTER: A complete listing of the members with addresses and their current research projects is issued in even years to all members. (A supplemental list is mailed in odd years). Editor of the Roster & Research List is Warren F. Kimball, Department of History, Rutgers University (Newark), Newark, New Jersey 07102.

PUBLICATIONS: The Society sponsors two printed works of a quarterly nature, the **Newsletter**, and **Diplomatic History**, a journal. All members receive these publications.

THE DIPLOMACY OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION FROM THE OUTSIDE AND THE INSIDE

By Richard B. Morris*

We are indebted to the bicentennial for a number of blessings--for Bicentennial Pretzels, including Crunchy Crumbs and Musket Loaders' Meatloaf Bicentennial Big Macs and Bicentennial Hoagies, for revolutionary savings at supermarkets and Bicentennial fares to Rochester, to birthday cakes at the Hotel Fontainebleau in Miami Beach, not the old-fashioned kind, but one out of which spring thirteen maked females, naked except for a few red, white, and blue dots at a few essential places. And to top it all, we turn on the TV, and flashing on the screen is a grandmotherly lady in a blue suit who proudly proclaims: "Scott towels now come in historical prints."

As a protester wrote the other day to the **New York Times**, and I quote: "This is absolutely the last straw. I emphatically refuse to wipe grape juice and coffee grounds off the kitchen counter with Ben Franklin's face."

Now, it so happens that Ben Franklin's face, along with that of one other colleague in Paris, has lately appeared on TV, a presentation that has given to the general public a whole new picture of American Revolutionary diplomacy from the outside that soap opera lovers have been viewing, and that has set back informed knowledge of the diplomacy of the alliance and the peacemaking by 198 years. Even so cynical a statesman about things American as the Comte de Vergennes would never recognize the events dramatized therein.

Of all the TV versions, that of **The Adams Chronicles** will doubtless have the largest impact because the sponsors, Public Broadcasting Television and the NEH, have vouched for its meticulous accuracy and thrown at us the logo of the Massachusetts Historical Society and the prestigious name of Lyman Butterfield, **et al.** Of course, these worthy scholars could never have read the scripts that the scenarists turned out. But to add to the confusion, four different books have been produced about the series and 400 colleges are using the series for course credit. In short, why read textbooks in diplomatic history if we taxpayers can

*Paper delivered after the SHAFR luncheon, April 9, 1976, at the Chase Park-Plaza Hotel, St. Louis, during the annual meeting of the OAH. Dr. Morris is professor of history at Columbia University, and the current president of the AHA.

subsidize to the tune of \$6.1 million (mostly tax money) a dramatic series which tells it all.

The facts are, as I have said elsewhere, this is TV through the eyes of John Adams and the other jaundiced-viewing descendants of John and Abigail. Thus, if as psychological drama it is significant, as diplomatic history it deserves a straight "F".

Take the portrait of Benjamin Franklin abroad. It is bad enough that Professor Currey suggests that the Old Doctor was both a crook and a traitor, but TV gives us a portrait of a doddering lecher, indifferent to accounts, a lackey of the French court, and a womanizer a la Aaron Burr.

Of course, John Adams came to the French court a nobody; everyone thought he was the great M. Samuel Adams, and that hurt, especially to a man who thought that July 2nd would be forever immortalized as Adams's day instead of the 4th as Jefferson's day. Here was Mr. Independence himself and nobody had heard a thing about him, whereas Franklin was publicly embraced by Voltaire as all the Academicians cheered. The Masons loved him and the Court doted on him. He was the first American to form a coalition of disparate groups in support of the cause.

There was one thing Franklin avoided, and that was a confrontation. He hated quarrels and face-to-face arguments. So, one Adams Chronicle TV episode has Franklin, after telling Adams not to pursue militia diplomacy, exclaiming: "Go to hell or to Holland, whichever is closer." There must be something wrong with the script or the scriptwriters. Of course, Franklin would never stoop to that kind of vulgarity. In fact, considering Adams's stormy behavior, almost jeopardizing the delicate negotiations with the Court of France, Franklin took a most charitable attitude toward Adams's self-appointed Dutch mission. When Vergennes remonstrated with him and told him that he would have to complain to Congress about Adams's behavior and activities, Franklin, instead of rushing to Congress to report Vergennes' barbed comments with a nasty report of his own, sat down and penned a note to Adams as follows:

I ought to acquaint you, a governo, as the merchants say, that M. le Comte de Vergennes having taken much amiss some passages in your letters to him, sent the whole correspondence to me, requesting that I would transmit (it) to Congress.-I was myself sorry to see those passages. If they were the effects merely of inadvertence, and you do not on reflection approve of them perhaps you may think proper to write something for effacing the impression made by them. I do not presume to advise you, but mention it only for your consideration. (October 8, 1780).

In reply, Adams wrote Franklin thanking him for the intelligence from America he was transmitting and begging him to continue to do

so--hardly evidence of the kind of rupture that the TV episode discloses.

Franklin had given Adams a chance to mend his fences, an opportunity that no Adams would ever neglect to seize! Adams had the capacity to discount his blunders and magnify his achievements--since none of the other diplomats left us so full a diary, his is the story which must be scrutinized.

The Adams Chronicles shows Adams single-handedly making the peace of Paris of 1782. John Jay is never mentioned. But to cover up on a gross deception, the episode ends with a one-second flash of Benjamin West's unfinished portrait of the peacemakers at the signing of the Preliminary Peace on November 30, 1782, wherein Henry Laurens is included along with John Jay.

Now, what are the facts about Adams's behavior at the peace table? Adams did not reach Paris until October 26th (he was in Paris only for the last month of the preliminary negotiations), and assumed that there was a good deal more friction between John Jay and Franklin than the facts warranted, and that he would have to act the part of the honest broker, which he relished. When on October 28th Adams got around to seeing Jay, the latter briefed him, and he was so delighted with the way Jay had stood up to the English that he had the presumption to write Abigail: "Jay and I peremptorily refused to speak or hear before we were put on an equal foot." That is the kind of history that the TV researchers looked at for the Adams Chronicles, but, of course, Adams neglected to tell his devoted spouse that the concession on the point of independence had been made by the British weeks before the arrival of Adams in Paris, and Adams had nothing whatever to do with it.

In the Adams Chronicles we are shown the splendid banquet where Vergennes toasts Adams as "Le Washington de la Negotiation." The viewer is not told that this remark was not made by Vergennes, but by some unidentified courtier, who was laying it on with a trowel so heavily that even Adams could not accept it as factual, but insisted that Jay was in fact the Washington of the negotiations. Nor is the viewer informed that when this excerpt from Adams's peace journal was read in Congress in 1783 it evoked a hilarious response from the delegates.

What Adams actually did and what he said he did at the peace conference are not necessarily the same. One of the most belligerently-held myths sustained by the Adams family is that John Adams single-handedly saved the fisheries for America. Suffice, perhaps, to point out, without detracting from John Adams's self-celebrated role in saving Tom Cod, that John Jay some three weeks before Adams arrived on the scene sought a much stronger draft on the fisheries than the New Englander settled for.

In fact, although Adams put all his brave speeches about the fisheries in his diary, "If Heaven in the Creation gave a right, it's ours as much as yours," what he left out was that he and his colleagues had already agreed to a compromise whereby Americans settled for a "liberty" to take fish on the "coast" of Newfoundland and the other coasts of British North America, as distinguished from a "right" which was acknowledged to them to fish on the banks of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Years later Adams remarked, "We did not think it necessary to contend for a word." Nonetheless, his watering down of "right" to "liberty" both as regards coastal fishing and curing and drying was to prove a source of mischievous controversy for one hundred years.

Adams soon designed a family seal containing a fish, and in Latin, proclaiming: "We will fish and hunt as heretofore." In 1815 he wrote to John Quincy Adams: "Of the importance of the fisheries, my dear Son, I have a volume to write. But can I write it?" His family, if not history, understood his feeling. Charles Francis Adams asserted, "Such a victory has not often been recorded in the annals of diplomacy." And so the legend was created, and burgeoned with the years.

In an earlier TV series, a three-part Franklin story, the old Doctor was depicted as shrewdly outwitting the spies with whom he was surrounded and in fact trapping them into serving his own ends to trick Vergennes into making the alliance of 1778. Vergennes, it goes without saying, needed no such dubious prodding. Fearing that the American victory at Saratoga would force the British to end the war by conciliation and knowing of the appointment by Parliament of the Carlisle Commission, Vergennes, quite to the contrary, had to persuade the three American commissioners (of course, the TV show makes Franklin the star and completely omits any mention of Silas Deane or Arthur Lee) that an alliance was desirable and helpful to the American cause of independence. Incidentally, Lee and Deane also signed the Treaty, which the show ignored.

Adams's partisans have over the years tried desperately to show that a marked coolness existed between Jay and Franklin, best exemplified by Jay's sending Benjamin Vaughn to England on a secret mission without informing the old Doctor. The facts, of course, are quite the contrary. Jay was everlastingly grateful to Franklin for bailing him out financially time after time when Jay was the unaccredited minister to Spain. Jay supported Temple Franklin as secretary to the Peace Commission, publicly endorsed Franklin's conduct, and the relationship between the two continued to be one of cordiality and trust. Franklin, it must be remembered, named Jay as executor of his estate, a post which Jay could not properly carry out since he was not a resident of Pennsylvania. And, the old Doctor liked pretty women, and Sally Jay was the prettiest diplomat's wife around Passy--in fact, she had no competition, since no other foreign diplomat brought his wife to Paris! So different in personalities were the prim, austere, spare New Yorker and the less inhibited, imprudent, and fun-loving Franklin that one wonders what they had to talk about when they were alone together and not discussing official business. Apparently, a great deal. Franklin was a great anecdotalist and gossip, and Jay loved a joke and gossip, even though he himself was spare in retailing either.

One of the items we are publishing in the second volume of the Jay Papers comprises Jay's account of conversations with Franklin and anecdotes associated with the old Doctor.

Franklin recounted to Jay a story about the elder Lewis Morris. When he was young, he was very wild, and his uncle sent him to the West Indies with a vessel and cargo, which he disposed of, keeping the proceeds. On his return he married. "His Uncle observed to him on that occasion that now when he wanted everything he got himself a wife." Morris replied that now he did not want everything. His uncle asked him what it was that he did not want. He answered that now he did not want a wife.

Then Franklin told the story of Elias Boudinot, the son of a New York silversmith who settled in Philadelphia, and was a pious man. Franklin recalled Elias (named after the prophet) coming to his father's door with half a watermelon and a spoon in his hand. Several of the neighboring boys gathered around in hopes of sharing in the melon. Elias told them that those who asked should receive nothing, and went on eating his melon. The others, threatened into silence, stood by gaping, while Elias went on eating his melon until he finished it. He was then eight or nine years old.

Franklin recalled how he got around the Quakers' opposition to helping in King George's War. A lottery was set up to defray the expense of erecting a battery in Philadelphia. At the time the Doctor was a member of a fire company of thirty members, twenty-two of whom were Quakers. They had +60 in stock, and the Doctor proposed to shoot the works and put it all in lottery tickets. When he made his motion a Quaker opposed it on the ground that it would be applying money to purposes of war, and that if Franklin persisted in his motion, it would result in breaking up the fire company. The Doctor shrewdly observed that the minority must be bound by the majority.

On the day for determining the question, only the one Quaker who objected showed up. Franklin received a message that a half dozen Quakers were in the house next door, and told Franklin that if he could carry his motion without them it would avoid embarrassment to them, but otherwise they would come in and support him. Franklin waited a whole hour. Not a single Quaker appeared, and the question was put and carried.

When George Thomas was governor of Pennsylvania, he asked the assembly for supplies, reporting the want of gunpowder in the garrison at Louisbourg. The Quaker majority would not consent to gunpowder, but they granted 3,000 pounds to be laid out in flour, wheat or other **grain**

for the use of the garrison. Thomas said that by other grain was meant gunpowder. He laid the money out accordingly, and nothing was said about it.

The Quaker Morris family, according to Franklin, was descended from Anthony Morris who came to Pennsylvania around 1701. An industrious money-getting man, and a rigid Quaker, he did not believe in wasting time. Once he found a friend of his reading a large book. "What," says he, "art thee reading that Book? Why a man might earn 40 shillings in the time necessary to read it thro."

So that is what the diplomats talked about while waiting for Shelburne, Fox, North, and Pitt to give even more generous terms than they had granted in November, 1782, and waiting in vain.

One of the deciphered letters in volume one of the Jay Papers, one never before correctly published, is that of November 6, 1780 addressed to Samuel Huntington as President of the Continental Congress. Therein Jay discloses to Floridablanca that the King of Spain was so indignant at the behavior of the French in negotiating the treaty of alliance with the United States ("the colonies," the Spanish called them) that it almost cost a rupture with France. Now, all that is borne out by Montmorin's correspondence.

If one wants to find a mythmaking factor about the American Revolution, all one has to do is read the printed handouts of the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration. Thus, they tell us that all bells should toll at 2:00 p.m. on July 4th because that was the precise time that they rang out in Philadelphia to proclaim the signing of the Declaration of Independence. Yes, the exact time, but four days later in fact.

In the latest issue of the ARBA newsletter is the report of a Bicentennial Conference held recently at a college in eastern Pennsylvania, where a professor tells us with a straight face that "Spain became an important ally" of the United States during the American Revolution. John Jay, had he heard this, would have turned over in his grave. But the same kind of mythmaking is current in Mexico today about the role of the Spaniards on behalf of American independence.

Jay, never acknowledged at the Spanish Court, was humiliated by observing British secret agents lavishly entertained by their Spanish enemies, and one of them, the playwright undercover operative or gobetween, Richard Cumberland, was even given carte blanche by Charles III to prepare a catalogue of the royal art gallery--strange treatment, indeed, for a wartime foe while a wartime friend was successfully ostracized.

Now it is true that Oliver Pollock secured loans and supplies from the Spanish governor of Louisiana, but whatever aids were supplied were meant to further Spanish unilateral operations against British territory, even though the Americans might have been beguiled into believing the opposite. Thus, Congress arranged to dispatch General Horatio Gates to the southward as a diversion to put pressure on the British and thereby help the Spaniards in their campaign against the Floridas. When the Spaniards captured Pensacola, there was rejoicing in Philadelphia, until news leaked out some weeks later that the pro-American military commander, Don Bernardo de Galvez, had allowed the captured British soldiers their freedom on parole so long as they did not fight against Spain 'and its allies.' The released Redcoats were promptly shipped to reinforce the New York garrison standing off the Americans. An astounded and discomfited Congress ordered the Committee of Foreign Affairs to have Jay remonstrate to the Spanish court. At one of his most infrequent meetings with Floridablanca--this one on September 8, 1781, Jay expostulated about the affair.

Floridablanca's reply: "So sorry; it never occurred to us. It will not happen again."

What an ally!

Finally, I should like to point out that in the second, forthcoming, volume of the Jay Papers we are publishing the unexpurgated translation of Rayneval's own account to Vergennes of his first--so-called-secret mission to Shelburne in the early fall of '82. This account bears out the striking difference between diplomatic history from the outside and the inside--written instructions are meant to be seen by others, even posterity; oral instructions, in the pre-Nixon era, were meant to remain secret. Vergennes in his written instructions to his undersecretary carefully refrained from mentioning the United States as within the compass of Rayneval's upcoming talks; he was confined in writing to the peace objectives of France and Spain.

This, of course, was a protective device in case the Americans should complain. What he told Rayneval is obvious from Rayneval's own account to his master. Rayneval, overriding the written instructions, proceeded in his conversations with Shelburne to downgrade America's extensive territorial claims as well as her claims to the fisheries. Without advance approval, he never would have dared do this, and certainly would not have reported doing so to his chief. But since Rayneval had made these points quite frankly to Jay before this fateful series of conferences at Bowood in Wiltshire, and not long thereafter on his return to Paris, there can be no doubt whatsoever that he was speaking for his own government, whose chief concern about America by the fall of '82 was to keep her from pulling out of the war as a result of a unilateral peace with Britain and to make sure she did not emerge from the struggle for independence as a grandiose power, instead of a satellite like Poland or Turkey.

In short, Henry Kissinger would have been very much at home with Vergennes, Floridablanca, and the Jesuit of Berkeley Square. Who would have lost whose shirt only the cliometricians with their ingenuity in

drawing hypothetical models might correctly conclude.

MINUTES
SHAFR Council
Swedish Room, Chase Park-Plaza
St. Louis, Missouri
April 7, 1976, 7:30 p.m. - 10:30 p.m.

Council members present were Robert Divine, president, Raymond Esthus, vice-president, Wayne Cole, John Gaddis, Thomas Paterson, Joseph O'Grady, and Armin Rappaport. Also attending were Sadao Asada, Jules Davids, Michael Devine, Alfred Eckes, Nolan Fowler, Frank Merli, Marvin Zahniser, Warren Kuehl, and Lawrence Kaplan.

The reports of the Joint Executive Secretary-Treasurer were received. These included a revised budget for 1976, because of the changed dues structure due to the new journal, and a report on the permanent tax-exempt status accorded SHAFR by the Internal Revenue Service. The Council approved the continued sale of membership lists to appropriate purchasers and the circulation to members of discount offers made available by publishers.

Frank Merli, speaking for the Program Committee, raised the question about the status of future summer meetings of the society. Council suggested that the experience in Columbus this summer will help to determine if they are to be annual events. Whether they are or not, Norman Graebner has extended an invitation from the University of Virginia at Charlottesville to host a session in the summer of 1978. For a variety of obvious reasons, the Washington, D.C. area was considered the most desirable site for future gatherings. With respect to future programs at meetings, Merli suggested that doctoral advisers direct their students to the Program Committee's willingness to organize sessions where abstracts of dissertations might be presented.

John L. Gaddis, acting for Ernest May, chairman of the Stuart L. Bernath Book Award Committee, disclosed that Martin Sherwin's A World Destroyed: The Atomic Bomb and the Grand Alliance was selected as the winner from eighteen books submitted for the prize. He pointed out that while the number of books presented was fewer than in the past year the the quality was high. John Gaddis also reported for the second Bernath Award Committee, chaired by Geoffrey Smith. From new funds made available by Dr. Gerald and Myrna Bernath it was confirmed that \$300.00 would be awarded as an honorarium annually for a lecture to be offered by a younger scholar at the OAH meetings each spring. Second, \$200.00 is to be granted to the author of the best article published annually in the field of American foreign relations, the sole stipulation being that the article should be among the first five published by the recipient. To select these winners the Council determined that two rotating commit-

tees should be created. Each would be composed of three persons, one of them serving on both committees. The Bernaths have expressed a further interest in SHAFR by indicating a desire to establish a living trust, with an income as yet unspecified in amount. They have likewise named SHAFR as the residual beneficiary of a \$10,000 life insurance policy. Ideas were solicited from Council members about the eventual use of the income from these sources, centering on service to younger scholars. It was noted, for instance, that new PhDs needed help to prepare their dissertations for publication, and that students and younger members of the Society could be aided by supporting the costs of the new journal.

Alfred Eckes affirmed that plans for the SHAFR program at Columbus, supported by the Ohio Program in the Humanities, and the George Gund Foundation of Cleveland in cooperation with the Ohio American Revolution Bicentennial Commission, are near completion. The theme will be "Lessons of the Past," and the contributors will be leading figures from both the academic and governmental communities.

Jules Davids stated that selected papers from last year's meeting at Georgetown University will be published by the Arno Press. Thirteen of the twenty papers delivered there have been chosen and will appear under the title of **Perspectives in American Diplomacy.**

A major part of the Council's attention was devoted to discussions of the final stages of launching the new journal, to be entitled Diplomatic History. The contract with Scholarly Resources, Inc. was circulated and approved. (Its details appear upon other pages of this issue of the Newsletter). A rotating board of nine editors, to be chaired by Robert H. Ferrell, representing a wide range of interests and perspectives, was announced by the President. Until the appointment of a permanent editor. Paul S. Holbo agreed to serve as interim editor. The first issue will appear early in the fall of 1976. The new dues structure does reflect the burden of the new journal, but the relatively modest increase stems from the support provided by Michael Glazier's Scholarly Resources Inc., its publisher. President Divine circulated a guideline for contributors wrich confirmed that despite the journal's title, it will be broad enough in nature to encompass all aspects of foreign relations, a perspective which Council members endorsed. It was reaffirmed that the journal would not duplicate the Newsletter. The Council was gratified that Tennessee Technological University has agreed to continue to support the Newsletter as well as continue to make available to SHAFR the valuable services of its editor, Nolan Fowler, for the next two years.

The Council examined the results of a poll conducted by the Joint Executive Secretary-Treasurer on the proposal that SHAFR broaden its scope to include all historians of foreign relations. The membership's voice as of March 31 was in favor of retaining the present arrangements, with 88 for no change, 38 for a change in name and scope, and 30 for keeping the name while in practice broadening the constituency. Eight

others were undecided. Under the circumstance, no change in the nature of the Society is contemplated.

The Council briefly considered the matter of a roster of historians to serve as consultants to the Department of State in the areas of their special competencies. Although skeptical of the seriousness of the State Department's interest, it encouraged the secretariat to send out a call once again for names to add to the 21 already on hand, and then to inform the appropriate officials in the State Department of their availability. It also considered briefly problems connected with the Freedom of Information Act. There has been no response from members that would suggest difficulties with the administration of the act. It recommended that further inquiry be made on the subject from SHAFR members.

The new professorship in American history at University College, Dublin, discussed at the Atlanta meeting in December, 1975, remains a subject of interest to the Council, even though it chose not to request service as the selecting agent. Theodore Wilson wrote from Dublin that no clear guidelines have been set up as yet for the establishment of the position.

The last half hour of the Council was turned over to a SHAFR member who had made the longest journey of all to attend the meeting, Sadao Asada of Doshisha University of Kyoto, Japan. He spoke of the desirability of seeking funds for English translations of Japanese scholarly works on the Cold War, now inaccessible to most United States scholars. A new fund which is pending for Japanese-American cultural interchange might include translations among its functions. He suggested, and the Council approved, the sending of an exploratory letter to the group administering the funds, the Japanese-United States Friendship Commission, when it becomes operative.

The Council voted a resolution of thanks to Mrs. Evelyn Leffler of the OAH office for her services to SHAFR in planning the St. Louis meeting.

At the luncheon on April 9, John L. Gaddis presented the Bernath prize to Martin Sherwin. Following the well-received speech of Richard B. Morris on "The Diplomacy of the American Revolution from the Outside and the Inside," which has the lead in this issue of the Newsletter, President Divine conducted a short business meeting in which he reviewed negotiations for the journal, listed the board of editors, and announced the appointment of Paul S. Holbo as interim editor of Diplomatic History.

TO THE **NEWSLETTER** EDITOR OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE HISTORIANS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS

Dr. Frank G. Burke*

Upon reading the article, "The Great Documents Deluge," by Thomas Etzold in the March 1976 issue of the Newsletter published by the Society for the Historians of American Foreign Relations, one may be reminded of the hoariest aphorism of Charlie Chan: "Small wind can stir up much dust". 1 (The second hoariest aphorism of Charlie Chan is "The mind, like a parachute, functions only when open!" 2) Professor Etzold has stirred up much dust around the offices of the National Historical Publications and Records Commission, which was the recipient of much of the criticism contained in his article about the futility, if not outright grievous sin, of publishing and distributing documentary materials for scholarly use. We are confused. To quote David Mearns, we are faced with "a phenomenon consorting with a quandary." The phenomenon here is the extraordinary growth in demand for documentary source materials by scholars, junior and senior. The quandary is the limits placed on such scholars for getting at such sources, and the resultant necessity for bringing the sources to the scholar. But Professor Etzold's concern is not, apparently, with the needs of scholarship or the advisability of doing the most good for the greatest number. Rather, he seems to be concerned about whether editing is "scholarly" and whether or not documentary editions are financially successful. That historical editing is scholarly, we have no doubt. Webster defines a scholar as "one who has engaged in advanced study and acquired the minutiae of knowledge in some special field, along with accuracy and skill in investigation and powers of critical analysis in interpretation of such knowledge." Surely Julian Boyd is a Jefferson scholar, Lyman Butterfield an Adams scholar, Stuart Kaufman a Gompers scholar, etc.

As to the contention that there is some relationship between scholarship and financial gain, if we may be permitted another quote, one must consider John Wolcot's admonition "Deal not in history, often I have said; T'will prove a most unprofitable trade." And it is, generally, unprofitable because the aims of true scholarship can never be financial gain but only the diffusion of knowledge. One can only hope to break even. If not, the scholar or his patron must turn to other sources for support. . .it has been thus since before the Medici. So that Professor Etzold's lament that PUBLIC FUNDS are being SPENT, or perhaps even SQUANDERED, on a most unprofitable and dubiously scholarly undertaking, seems to be the sticking point. But his facts are incomplete. Of all the money spent on documentary publications in programs of the

^{*}Dr. Burke is the Executive Director of the National Historical Publications and Records Commission.

National Historical Publications and Records Commission since it received its first appropriation in 1964, only 5/17ths has been from Federal sources, while 12/17ths have been from non-Federal sources. The additional lament is that funds are going for microfilming of original sources that could well be doled out to individual scholars doing research in the large depositories of records and papers. More on this anon, but for the nonce it is accurate to say that for the most part, the support of microfilm publications has proven to give more bang for the buck on a broadly equitable basis than do individual research grants.

To continue the financial argument, Professor Etzold seems to begrudge documentary editors the competition in the wage market that they are giving to historical interpreters and teachers. It is difficult in most cases to make a distinction between the teacher and the editor because there are numerous instances where the editor is a regular member of the faculty with teaching duties, and the salary received is no more or less than that received by colleagues in a similar status. There is no bonus for assuming the editorship of a project, and in fact, there is usually a penalty because for the same salary as his colleagues, the editor is most often on an eleven-month year and has a requirement to "be in the office" that is not imposed on the non-editor on the faculty. Rather than getting rich, it can honestly be stated that most editors are sacrificing some of the benefits and emoluments that would accure to them if they merely pursued their teaching and research function.

Then to cap the financial argument, we are told that it takes money to buy books, and the astounding revelation is made that "It is on sales to libraries that publishers rely when they bring out an edition of documents!" One could say the same for the Encyclopaedia Britannica, Who's Who, and the National Union Catalogue of Manuscript Collections. It is evident in every library acquisitions department that rarely are volumes bought just because they exist. They are bought because they fulfill a need and are within the acquisition policy of the purchasing institution. Such sales are not as tremendous and therefore as burdensome as Professor Etzold pretends. An average sale of 900 copies applies to most historical documents publications, which includes sales to individuals, foreign institutions, and government agency libraries. These figures indicate that not many small university or other libraries are running out to buy all the latest volumes.

In citing the abuses which he is protesting, Professor Etzold unfortunately selected one that is not a historical documentary publication, but a literary editing project. We cannot argue the point and refer to the recent article on the subject by Peter Shaw³ with which we tend to agree, It is just unfortunate that one out of Professor Etzold's seven pages is devoted to something that is basically irrelevant to his argument.

There is an ancillary argument that because of documentary publication university presses are failing to make profits and skating

"perilously close to financial ruin." The concept of university presses as self-supporting is a relatively new one, since they are traditionally committed to publishing the unrewarding efforts of scholars, for the sake, again, of diffusion of knowledge. Who else will publish an Assyrian dictionary or **The Politics of Change in a Zambian Community?** It is true that in the past decade there has been a great decline, perhaps as much as 25%, in the number of university presses in existence. However, all of those publishing historical documents series that are sponsored by the National Historical Publications and Records Commission have survived, and many of those are thriving in the midst of adversity.

The figures then cited by Professor Etzold to strengthen his argument are not only misleading, but inaccurate. Speaking of the Franklin papers at Yale, Professor Etzold states: "Yale has published 17 volumes so far, at \$20 each." In fact, volume 17 was \$17.50, and the entire series, now up to 20 volumes, started at \$10. (Volumes 1-8, \$10; 9-10 \$12.50; 11, \$15; 12-17, \$17.50; 18-20, \$20). It is true that the price has doubled in the past seventeen years, but so has the price of coffee, gasoline, and unshucked oysters.

The crux of the opposition, however, seems to be that all this activity is useless because it is redundant--Franklin, Jefferson, et al., have been done before. We challenge Professor Etzold to compare any volume of an earlier edition with the current editions being produced. And even then, after he leaves the Revolutionary War period, he will find few to compare. The John C. Calhoun, Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, B. T. Washington, Charles W. Peale, Benjamin Latrobe, Joseph Henry, Jane Addams, Woodrow Wilson projects are all initial efforts. One could, on the other hand, cite the labors of generations of historians to write the definitive history of the American Revolution or the Civil War, or the biography of Washington, about whom over 3,000 books have been published, or Jefferson, Editorial projects should not be singled out.

So what are we to conclude from the paper? It is not "Ecrasez les documents!" but "the document books!" And this would free untold resources for libraries, publishers, and travel for individual scholars. It is acceptable to Professor Etzold, then, to keep documents, but they must not be multiplied and distributed where they can be reached by thousands of researchers--rich, poor, serious and curious. If that is the case, we fear the long hand of the hotel/motel and transportation lobbies at work someplace. A random selection of one volume--Boyd's Jefferson, volume 11--indicates that it includes documents gathered from 43 institutions in 18 States. Imagine supporting that kind of research by grants to individual scholars to go to the sources! In that light, the volume is a bargain for \$20.

If Professor Etzold proposes this very anti-Rankean abandonment of the use of original sources for historical research, then he is subject to drawing the fire not only of the scientific historians, or historicists, but also of the psychohistorians, clio-metricians, behavioralists, and all others who are now clamoring for more raw data, more "sources," more articulations of the inarticulate, to give them greater insights to the individuals in history and their motivations.

One could go on, but the major points have been made. To the barricades! Down with the banner "Ecrasez les documents!" and proclaim the true faith: "Pas de documents, pas d'histoire!"

¹Charlie Chan at the Racetrack

²Charlie Chan at the Circus

³Peter Shaw, "The American Heritage and its Guardians," **The American Scholar**, Winter 1975/76.

A REPLY TO PROFESSOR ETZOLD

As the editor of a newly-published documentary collection and as a working historian 12,000 miles from home. I take a strong exception to Professor Thomas Etzold's observations of what he calls "The Great Documents Deluge," in the SHAFR Newsletter of March, 1976. My objections are twofold: First, no historian I have ever met has doubted the scholarly nature of editing documents for publication although no one pretends to claim that documentary collections are upon the same level with a monograph, i.e., a sustained essay upon a single subject; second, and equally important, I am appalled by the thoroughly provincial outlook that informs the whole of Professor Etzold's comments. Setting aside Etzold's concern with other historians who are getting ahead professionally upon the basis of editing documentary collections or who are receiving salary increments for this work that make for more "comfortable living," which in any case sounds like a bad case of sour grapes. has it ever occurred to Etzold what would happen to the state of American studies abroad without these massive collections? Students of American life, and I mean principally those at the undergraduate level who make up the bulk of the honors students throughout the English-speaking world, would be at a loss without these documentaries. There is no doubt in my mind that without the efforts of the Links, Blums, and others, American studies abroad would have ground to a halt years ago. And if Etzold has his own doubts about this I suggest that he chat with any professor of American history who has recently taught in a foreign land.

I do not, however, want to end on a negative note. Some of what Professor Etzold says is perfectly true and in the circumstances of today's educational budgets understandable. For example, the practice of awarding the Ph.D. for editing a collection of documents instead of writing a dissertation ought to be looked at very closely although I should imagine

that the problem here is the time-honored one of graduate schools' squeezing the last ounce of blood that they can from the unprotected doctoral student who hardly knows better or is too timid to say so. And even here I do not think the problem as widespread as Etzold suggests. These and other things, in the editor's note, "needed badly to be said." It is regrettable that Professor Etzold chose to say them so badly.

(Note: My own collection referred to above is **The American Diplomatic Revolution: A Documentary History of the Cold War, 1941-1947** (Sydney and London, 1976).

Dr. Joseph M. Siracusa Senior Lecturer, American Diplomatic History, University of Queensland, Australia 24 March 1976

Annual Report (1975) of the Advisory Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States

A year ago the Advisory Committee concluded that the Foreign Relations series was in "grave danger" because of cumulative slippage in important respects. Our report then was suffused with urgent appeals for corrective action. In subsequent months we have been pleased to find the government listening. We feel that a corner has been turned and the prospects for needed progress are improving. We welcomed the Department's cordial collaboration with us in its selection of a new Director of the Historical Office upon the departure of William Franklin after his long years of able and devoted service. Dr. David Trask is a fine choice. And we have been very favorably impressed with what we know of Fredrick Aandahl's contributions as Acting Director. Movement now is toward, not farther away from, the cardinal goal of the "twenty-vear line," a twenty-year lapse between events and the publishing of their documentation. The grouping of materials into triennial rather than annual volumes, designed to expedite this, troubled us last year; but we are now, on the basis of actual experience to date, not inclined to object to it. We welcome the opening of files for 1949 to individual scholars before all the Foreign Relations volumes for that year are out; it is a step in the direction of one of our "openness" recommendations of last year, though we recognize the administrative difficulties associated with extending such practices.

The chief obstacles, as we see them, to further momentum for the improvements of the past year, are still the old perennials; Submission and clearance of documents from other departments and agencies, and the understaffing of the Historical Office and immediately—associated operations.

We are glad to recognize that there have been considerable gains on the inter-agency front: Clearances are less delayed and more documents submitted than in the recent past. But now as Foreign Relations reaches the coldest years of the Cold War, one may anticipate much stickiness, particularly, perhaps, about the CIA's role. Even the recent and welcome willingness of CIA to release more materials from its estimates side might only distort the total record unless complemented by contemporaneous releases from its operations side.

The time has come, we believe, both to build incrementally on the recent gains in the Historical Office's relations with other agencies and to reconsider fundamentally the charter of the Foreign Relations series as it is formulated in Department of State Regulation 2 FAM 1350 (June 15, 1961), based on an order approved by Secretary of State Frank B. Kellogg, March 26, 1925. The Kellogg guidelines may be somewhat anachronistic and too confining to be expanded by incremental practice alone (through such moves should surely be promoted and would be needed in any event to assure the viability of any such revised highlevel mandate). We believe that to tackle soon at the highest levels of government the question of formally revising the guidelines themselves would be productive rather than counterproductive for the progress we seek toward making the Foreign Relations series more than ever what it certainly needs to be: Foreign Relations of the United States, not just of the U,S. Department of State.

The existing guidelines are as follows:

The publication Foreign Relations of the United States constitutes the official record of the foreign policy of the United States. These volumes include, subject to necessary security considerations, all documents needed to give a comprehensive record of the major foreign policy decisions within the range of the Department of State's responsibilities, together with appropriate materials concerning the facts which contributed to the formulation of policies. When further material is needed to supplement the documentation in the Department's files for a proper understanding of the relevant policies of the United States, such papers should be obtained from other Government agencies.

Among recent presidents, John F. Kennedy and Richard M. Nixon issued personal memoranda (September 6, 1961, and March 8, 1972) to support the Department of State's efforts to secure documents and clearances from other agencies for Foreign Relations. But when Kennedy called the series "the historical record of our diplomacy" and Nixon described it as "an indispensable perspective on our nation's history," one cannot be sure that the intention was to expand the Kellogg guidelines enough to incorporate truly the Foreign Relations of the United States in an era when several agencies have played crucial roles. We would like to see a careful, high-level, White House and inter-agency reconsideration of this question, resulting in a new presidential direc-

tive broadening the authority of the Department of State as "chosen instrument" to produce as nearly as possible a comprehensive record of the major foreign policies of the United States, for publication not later than twenty years after the event.

No other unit of government is actually or potentially as well qualified to perform such a task as the Historical Office of the Department of State. The task itself needs to be performed for the sake of historical truth (a goal in its own right and for what it teaches present and future policymakers and influentials) and for the sake of trust in our governmental process (on the part of scholars and interested publics whose sense of justice requires similarity of standards of access and disclosure across governmental agencies, at least for historical materials at twenty years' remove).

With or without the support of such an improved presidential directive, we urge the Department of State and its Historical Office to show leadership in promoting similarity of standards of access and disclosure and in pressing for comprehensiveness in the **Foreign Relations** series. State's own current policies are a good model in this regard.

We would like to see the Historical Office encouraged, with additional logistic support if needed, to arrange interagency meetings to advance these goals. In particular we urge the investment of energy to win the fullest possible cooperation of CIA, including its operations side, which cannot honestly be left scarcely visible when publishing the U.S. record of the 1950s and 60s.

We would ourselves welcome participation at our own next meeting by officials from other agencies who have responsibilities in these matters. Indeed we would be glad to have another meeting at the Department this spring, to observe continuation of the progress we envisage, and perhaps an inter-agency conversation could be arranged for us then.

Of course we recognize in promoting the goals of comprehensiveness and common standards that the State Department would want to avoid an image of self-aggrandizement. But we are anxious to counter what we suspect may be the greater danger of excessive timidity and to make clear our full encouragement of leadership in getting a truly full, straight, historical record; in the long run this would benefit all of the government and the country.

IP 0

Openness does cost money. Inquiries under the Freedom of Information Act, which we endorse, draw considerable Historical Office time. Our proposals above might drain more. The renewed drive to catch up to the twenty-year line, more realistically scheduled than in the past, requires adequate staffing. We are impressed with the bright, enthusiastic young historians whom the Historical Office has recruited. We are persuaded that two or three more scholars, plus two paraprofessionals,

are now needed, particularly the latter so as to allow the staff to work more effectively.

Equally there is need for two or three fully qualified senior editors to be added to the staff of the Publishing and Reproduction Division, to overcome a time lag that has now reached eighteen months between the submission of finished manuscripts to PRD and the printing of galleys by the Government Printing Office. Much of the time recently gained in the Historical Office compilation has been lost in PRD editing. We find this situation disturbing.

We also believe the time has come to consider carefully the appointment of a senior archivist. The duties and responsibilities of the position and its relationships with various parts of the Department of State, the National Archives, and other agencies and private scholars need detailed exploration; our committee lacks adequate basis for a recommendation at this time. But we have encountered sufficient knowledgeable concern about the adequacy of procedures for protecting the integrity of official files as they are retired from active use to urge strongly that a thorough inter-agency study be made. (One problem, for example, is misfiling associated with the extraction of documents for Freedom of Information Inquiries.)

III

We also have some lower priorities that we would not want to be overlooked. They come in two categories, those that can be implemented now (a,b, and c) and those that may have to await achievement of the twenty-year line (d and e).

- (a) In connection with Freedom of Information, we earnestly support the progress that is being made through public and private agencies to spread awareness of which particular documents are being declassified and released, so that these transactions become equitably public, not private, concessions.
- (b) We welcome the interest the new Director, David Trask, has expressed in finding ways to strengthen the relationship between the Historical Office and outside researchers, and we look forward to cooperating with him in this area. Freedom of Information Act links are involved here also.
- (c) Again in the spirit of openness we would like to see the greater part of our own meetings at the Historical Office made available for public attendance, and we are glad that present planning envisages this.
- (d) To recruit and retain professional historians of the high quality the State Department needs, and to insure that they remain intellectually lively and abreast of their peers outside the government, it is important as the top priorities are met that Historical Office professionals be

allowed opportunities on government time for periodic individual professional development (e.g. special training and/or personal research).

(e) As and when the twenty-year line is reached, we hope that the Department of State will resume publication of the **Current Documents** series, which, until suspended after 1967 to free up resources, was a very valuable service to the academic community and to the interested public.

Respectfully submitted,

Robert A. Divine Professor of History University of Texas

Philip C. Jessup International Court of Justice, retired

Richard C. Snyder Director, Mershon Center Ohio State University Robert H. Ferrell Professor of History Indiana University

Covey T. Oliver Professor of Law University of Pennsylvania

Paul A. Varg Professor of History Michigan State University

H. Bradford Westerfield
Professor of Political Science
Yale University
Chairman, Advisory Committee on
Foreign Relations of the United States

Note: Professors Ferrell, Varg, and Snyder, who were either former or retiring members of the Committee, substituted for Professors Lloyd C. Gardner, Armin H. Rappaport, and Bernard C. Cohen who were out of this country when the Committee held its meeting.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE WASHINGTON. D. C.

May 7, 1976

Dr. H. Bradford Westerfield Professor of Political Science Yale University 124 Prospect Street New Haven, Connecticut

Dear Professor Westerfield:

I have reviewed the report of the Advisory Committee on "Foreign Relations of the United States," and I thank you and your colleagues for your thoughtful and helpful recommendations. I am encouraged to learn that you have seen signs of progress, and I am glad to reaffirm our intention to work toward reaching a twenty-year line for the series within a reasonable period. You and we are keenly aware of the practical difficulties involved, but in the interest of openness of government action and public understanding of American foreign policy we shall do what we can to surmount them. We shall also see what can be done to improve interagency cooperation in providing and declassifying the necessary documentation.

I am asking the Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs to study your recommendations in detail with a view to improving our procedures and performance in every way possible, and I hope that you and your colleagues will continue to help us.

I take this opportunity to tell you and the other members of this Advisory Committee that your valuable counsel and support of our historical program, including your assistance in selecting a new Director of our Historical Office, are greatly appreciated. We look forward to having Professor Trask join us in working on these problems next month.

Best regards,

Henry A. Kissinger

APPOINTMENT OF DAVID F. TRASK AS DIRECTOR OF THE HISTORICAL OFFICE

(Press Release, Department of State, May 13, 1976)

David F. Trask, of New York, was sworn in today as Director of the Historical Office of the Department of State. Dr. Trask, who has been professor of history at the State University of New York, Stony Brook, since 1966, succeeds Dr. William M. Franklin, who retired in 1975 after 34 years in the Department.

Dr. Trask was born in Erie, Pennsylvania, on May 15, 1929. He received a B.A. degree from Wesleyan University in 1951 and A.M. and Ph.D. degrees from Harvard University in 1952 and 1958. He served from 1952 to 1954 as a lieutenant in the Army of the United States, and from 1955 to 1966 he was an instructor or assistant professor at Boston University, Wesleyan University, and the University of Nebraska. Dr. Trask, who also served as chairman of the department of history at Stony Brook, is a member of the American Historical Association, the Organization of American Historians, the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations, and Phi Beta Kappa.

Professor Trask's major publications are The United States in the Supreme War Council: American War Aims and Inter-Allied Strategy, 1917-1918 (1961); General Tasker Howard Bliss and the "Sessions of the World", 1919 (1966); Victory Without Peace: American Foreign Relations in the 20th Century (1968); World War I at Home (1970); and Captains and Cabinets: Anglo-American Naval Relations, 1917-1918 (1972). He was also co-editor of A Bibliography of United States-Latin American Relations since 1810 (1970).

Professor Trask is married to the former Elizabeth M. Brooks.

MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT

BETWEEN

THE SOCIETY FOR HISTORIANS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS, Business Office, Department of History, the University of Akron, Akron, Ohio 44325 (hereinafter referred to as "SHAFR")

AND

SCHOLARLY RESOURCES, INC., 1508 Pennsylvania Avenue, Wilmington, Delaware 19806 (hereinafter referred to as "SR")

WHEREBY,

SHAFR and SR desire to enter into a joint project for the publication and sale of a quarterly journal.

IT IS AGREED THAT:

1. Grant of right.

SHAFR grants to SR the exclusive right to publish a quarterly journal to be known as DIPLOMATIC HISTORY (hereinafter referred to as "JOURNAL")

2. Editorial Responsibility and Cost.

SHAFR will be solely responsible for the selection of the editors and editorial work for the Journal. Said editors will be located on a campus and all operating costs including payment for articles (not to be construed as a policy underwhich contributors are to be paid) will be assumed by their institution with no additional expenses incurred by SHAFR or SR. Agreements by and between SHAFR and said institution and said editors shall not be binding upon SR.

3. Work submitted to SR.

Completed editorial work for each issue of the Journal shall be submitted by the editors to SR, properly edited and in collated form with basic aids such as assembly sheets to guide SR's printer.

Quarterly Publication

The Journal will be published four (4) times a year. It is understood that in consultation with SHAFR's editorial board that specified dates of publication will be established and these will be announced with proper notice of deadlines for copy to the printers. Any change in these dates must be with the approval of the editorial board of SHAFR.

5. Annual Subsidy.

SHAFR will pay SR Seven Hundred and Fifty Dollars (\$750.00) annually on June 1 for the length of the initial contract.

SHAFR Subscriptions.

SR shall provide SHAFR members copies up to Six Hundred (600) per year at One Dollar (\$1.00) per copy, payable to SR within thirty (30) days after the mailing date of each issue of the Journal. For each regular member over the 600 figure, SHAFR will increase its annual subsidy by \$6.00 per subscription prorated according to the number of issues of the Journal received after the initial payment of dues: for each student-emeriti new members over the 600 figure the annual subsidy rate will be increased by \$5.00 per subscription prorated by the number of copies received. The annual subsidy, as increased according to this paragraph, shall include payment for four (4) issues of the Journal. SHAFR will attempt, but not quarantee, to provide the home address of the SHAFR members for mailings of the Journal. An office address, if the home address is not available, will be provided for all other members by SHAFR.

7. SR Subscriptions.

SR may sell additional subscriptions to non-members only at subscription rates which are higher than the dues SHAFR members pay.

8. SR Costs.

SR shall assume all expenses for printing, advertising, promoting, and mailing the Journal.

9. Copyright.

Copyright of the Journal will be vested in SR. If an article is republished from the Journal, any fee derived therefrom will be equally divided by the author and SR.

10. Journal Format.

SR, in consultation with the editors, shall determine the exact format of the Journal--size, number of pages per issue, number of pages for articles, advertising policy, and book reviews, if any, and any other general features. In no instance is any issue of the Journal to be less than 60 pages without the approval of the editor of the Journal.

11. SHAFR Newsletter

The present SHAFR **Newsletter** will continue with its present format unchanged.

12. Advertising in the Journal.

Revenues from Advertising, if any, will be the property of SR. SR will not enter an exchange arrangement with other magazines, but takes the liberty of exchanging advertisements with other magazines. It is understood that each issue of the Journal will include space for general information of SHAFR and that one or two pages per issue are to be available to SHAFR without charge for notices about SHAFR activities, membership forms, and special information about prizes.

13. Effective Date of Agreement.

The day of March 1, 1976, shall be the effective date of this Agreement.

Term of Agreement.

This Agreement shall continue from the effective date to and including May 31, 1981, and can be renewed or cancelled by either party six (6) months before May 31, 1981.

15. Territory.

The rights granted herein shall be effective throughout the world.

Entire Agreement.

This Agreement constitutes the entire understanding between SR and SHAFR. There are no promises, representations, warranties, covenants, or undertakings other than those expressly set forth herein. Disputes in connection with this Agreement which can be mutually resolved shall be written as an addendum to this Agreement.

17. Arbitration.

All disputes, which can not be mutually resolved, arising out of, or in connection with, the Agreement, its interpretation, performance, or breach shall be

submitted to arbitration in Washington, D.C., under the auspices of the American Arbitration Association.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the parties hereto have executed this Agreement as of the day and year written in below.

THE SOCIETY FOR HISTORIANS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS

ATTEST:

By: Wm. McGucken

Date: March 2, 1976

By: Warren F. Kuehl

Lawrence S. Kaplan

Robert A. Divine

Date: February 3, 1976

SCHOLARLY RESOURCES, INC.

ATTEST:

By: Dale H. Zertz

Date: January 23, 1976

By: Michael Glazier

Date: <u>January 23, 1976</u>

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

(Please limit abstracts to a total of fifteen (15) lines of **Newsletter** space. The overriding problem of space, plus the wish to accommodate as many contributors as possible, makes this restriction necessary. Don't send lengthy summaries to the editor with the request that he cut as he sees fit. Go over abstracts carefully before mailing. If words are omitted, or statements are vague, the editor in attempting to make needed changes may do violence to the meaning of the article or paper. Do not send abstracts until a paper has actually been delivered, or an article has actually appeared in print. For abstracts, of articles, please supply the date, the volume, the number within the volume, and the pages. Double space all abstracts).

Terrence J. Barragy (Texas A & I University), "The Trading Age, 1792-1844." Oregon Historical Quarterly, LXXVI, 3 (September, 1975), 197-224. The article presents a thesis explicating the role of Massachusetts citizens in the American thrust to the Pacific during the Trading Age. Because of their control of the maritime otter trade. California hide and tallow trade, and North Pacific whaling, Massachusetts merchants were the numerically dominant and most significant American presence on the Pacific Coast during the period 1792-1844. Thus, they were the most important group involved in the maritime aspect of the American move to the Pacific, Because of their preponderant maritime presence on the Pacific Coast. Massachusetts merchants attempted to direct American Pacific strategy along purely commercial lines. Operating as an interest group, these men were the most persuasive single influence on American Pacific policy during the Trading Age. Their views were most effectively presented by six members of the Massachusetts aristocracy who shared the common goal of Pacific expansion: John Quincy Adams, Daniel Webster, George Bancroft, Caleb Cushing. William Sturgis, and Samuel Hooper.

Justus D. Doenecke (New College of the University of South Florida). "The Strange Career of American Isolationism, 1944-1954", Peace and Change, III (Summer-Fall, 1975), 79-83. Based upon a paper delivered to annual joint session of Conference on Peace Research in History with the American Historical Association, San Francisco, December 29, 1975. The writer first traced the difficulties in defining the term "isolationism," then noted how the Vietnam War has caused a reevaluation of the anti-interventionists. He showed how the isolationists were alert to an increased presidential power, American imperialism, indiscriminate foreign aid, the bolstering of reactionary regimes, and the dangers of a garrison state. At the same time, the article pointed out that many isolationists were courting risks in Asia, favored an air power diplomacy, were obsessed by conspiracy, and welcomed the leadership of General Douglas MacArthur. Given the "Janus-face" of American isolationism, historians should avoid choosing sides. Rather, they should seek to understand the roots of an ideology in crisis.

Noel C. Eggleston (graduate student, U of Georgia), "The Roots of Commitment: United States' Policy Toward Vietnam, 1945-1950." Paper delivered at the Citadel Conference on War and Diplomacy, Charleston, S.C., March 12, 1976. This paper, based largely upon recently declassified material, examined the policy of the Truman Administration toward Vietnam during the early postwar years. The policy consisted of two fairly distinct phases. From 1945 through early 1949 the American government theoretically followed a policy of "neutrality" toward the colonial conflict. But while the Administration avoided overt involvement American economic and military assistance indirectly aided the French war effort. Pressured by fears of communist expansion and

domestic criticism in 1949-1950, American leaders decided to commit the United States to a more active role in Indochina. Officials recognized the many potential pitfalls in adopting such a policy, but their reliance on France in Europe and Southeast Asia, coupled with the concerns regarding a communist victory, led them to defend the French position in Vietnam. By June, 1950, before the outbreak of the Korean War, the American government had extended political, economic, and military support to the French in an effort to contain communism in Southeast Asia.

Stephen M. Millett (Air Force Institute of Technology), "The Moscow Show of Dissident Art," Arts in Society, 12 (Summer-Fall, 1975), 242-47. The writer personally witnessed the outdoor show of dissident art in Moscow, September 29, 1974, and he relates his impressions of the people and canvases there. The show was the first successful one of its kind in recent years, and it was a result, in part, of the new climate in Moscow created by the Soviet-American detente. Detente has forced the Kremlin to make some domestic policy concessions to dissidents in order not to alienate totally public opinion in the West, although the CPSU still resents foreign influences upon Soviet domestic affairs. The dissident art show is an example of the domestic effects of detente in the Soviet Union.

Joseph M. Siracusa, (University of Queensland, Australia), "The 'Greening' of Australian-American Relations," Intellect, 104 (January, 1976), 297-298. An editorial assessment of the ambassadorship of Marshall Green to Australia during the crisis-filled years, 1973-1975. From the rise of the Australian Labor Party to the collapse of American policy in Indochina, this essay attempts to analyze the role of Green in persuading Washington of the right of a resurging nationalistic Australia to do its "own thing". Despite attacks on the Left (which focus on the presumed wickedness of U.S. intentions everywhere) as well as on the Right (wrich center upon the presumed failure of the U.S. to "havegot on" with the job of winning the war in Viet-Nam), Green has been able to underscore the very real, important areas where American and Australian interests do converge. These include the mutual benefits of ANZUS and jointly-controlled bases, a common front on producers' problems, and shared attitudes on Japan and Indonesia.

Mark A. Stoler (U of Vermont), "The 'Second Front' and American Fear of Soviet Expansion, 1941-1943," Military Affairs, XXXIX, 3 (October, 1975), 136-141. Contrary to popular belief, American military and political leaders in World War II took into account the issue of postwar Soviet expansion in planning European strategy. They rejected Britain's Mediterranean approach, not because it was "political," but because of

the military and political problems such a strategy would pose for the United States. Furthermore, they realized that the so-called "second front" across the Channel could be used to aid the Russians military and to block their expansion at the same time. By mid-1943, Allied planners under American prodding had even produced a plan (RANKIN) to occupy West and Central Europe ahead of the Soviets in case Germany collapsed before the cross-Channel assault could be launched.

Nancy Bernkopf Tucker (Columbia), "An Unlikely Peace: American Missionaries and the Chinese Communists, 1948-1950," Pacific Historical Review, XLV, (Feb., 1976), 97-116. This article reviews the experiences of American missionaries in China during the Communist takeover and examines the ways in which they and their parent organizations tried to influence American governmental policy on the question of recognizing the People's Republic of China. The paper demonstrates that a significant body of missionary opinion favored recognition. Motivated by both religious and secular interests, missionaries hoped to protect the financial investments of their churches, continue medical and educational work, and maintain channels of communication with the Chinese people. Many churchmen urged recognition as a pragmatic and realistic response to a social revolution. Moreover, until the Korean War, many were convinced, by Chinese Communist actions and pronouncements, that their expertise was welcomed and would continue to be utilized for the welfare of the masses.

Jonathan G. Utley (U of Tennessee, Knoxville) "The State Department and 'Civilians": Public Pressure Groups During the Sino-Japanese War." Paper delivered at the Duquesne History Forum, Pittsburgh, October, 1975. The organized efforts of non-governmental groups to embargo the export of war material to Japan succeeded in convincing the public to favor such an embargo. However, embargoists were unable to mobilize the public to demand an embargo. They obtained a moral embargo that had no substance. They forced the State Department to end the Japanese-American commercial treaty of 1911, but could not translate that act into economic pressure. They could obtain embargo-enabling legislation, but were unable to persuade the Roosevelt administration to use that power in a coercive manner. Policy makers felt they had more information than "civilians" and remained unconvinced by the arguments of embargoists. While sanctions were eventually applied in July-August, 1941, such action was unrelated to the efforts of embargo groups.

Lawrence S. Wittner (SUNY at Albany), "Japanese-American Military Relations in the Postwar Era." A paper delivered at a scholarly conference, "The Occupation of Japan and Its Legacy," sponsored by the MacArthur Memorial, Norfolk, Virginia, November 7, 1975. This paper

detailed how Japan, disarmed and demilitarized in the aftermath of World War II at the behest of American officials, was gradually restored as a major military power. Implementing this remarkable transformation in the face of intense domestic opposition, Japan's conservative rulers moved cautiously but inexorably toward a revival of Japan's armed strength. Such a movement reflected not only their own desire to play a prominent role in world affairs, but the interest of American policymakers in utilizing Japan as a base for Asian land wars and as a Cold War partner. The paper concluded with a reassessment of the need for the Japanese-American military relationship.

PUBLICATIONS IN U. S. DIPLOMACY BY MEMBERS OF SHAFR

Robert L. Beisner (American U), From the Old Diplomacy to the New. 1975. AHM Pub. Corp. Pb. \$3.50. Reviewed in Pacific Historical Review of February, 1976.

David P. Crook (U of Queensland, Australia), **Diplomacy during the American Civil War.** 1975. John Wiley & Sons, Inc. Pb. \$5.95. America in Crisis series. Reviewed in **History**, April, 1976.

David H. Culbert (Louisiana State), News for Everyman: Radio and Foreign Affairs in Thirties America. 1976. Greenwood Press. \$13.50.

Robert A. Divine's (U of Texas and President of SHAFR) **Since 1945**: **Politics and Diplomacy in Recent American History**, published in 1975 by John Wiley & Sons, Inc., at \$9.95, clothbound, is now available from the same company in paperback for \$4.95.

Alfred E. Eckes, Jr. (Ohio State), A Search for Solvency: Bretton Woods and the International Monetary System, 1941-1971. 1975. U of Texas Press. \$10.00.

John K. Fairbank (Harvard), ed., The Missionary Enterprise in China and America. 1974. Harvard U. Press. \$15.00. Reviewed in Journal of

American History, March, 1976, and in Pacific Historical Review, February, 1976.

Wilton B. Fowler (U of Washington), ed., American Diplomatic History since 1890. 1975. AHM Pub. Corp. Pb. \$3.95. Goldentree Bibliographies in American History.

Lloyd C. Gardner (Rutgers), Imperial America: American Foreign Policy since 1898. 1976. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc. Pb. \$4.95.

Kenneth J. Grieb (U of Wisconsin-Oshkosh), **The Latin American Policy of Warren G. Harding.** 1976. Texas Christian U Press. Pb. \$5.00.

Alonzo L. Hamby (Ohio State), **The Imperial Years: The U.S. since 1939.** 1976. David McKay Co., Inc. Clothbound \$14.95; pb. \$6.95.

George C. Herring (Kentucky), **Vietnam: An American Ordeal.** 1976. The Forum Press. 16pp. \$0.95.

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Richard S. Kirkendall (Indiana U and Executive Sec'y-Tr's'r of OAH), **Harry S. Truman and the Imperial Presidency.** 1975. The Forum Press. 16pp. \$0.95.

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David E. Kyvig (Akron U), ed., **FDR's America.** 1976. The Forum Press. Pb. \$4.95.

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Joseph M Siracusa and Glen Barclay (both from U of Queensland, Australia), eds., Australian-American Relations since 1945; A Documentary History. 1976. Sydney and London: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc. \$7.95 (Australian money).

David F. Trask (SUNY at Stony Brook), Woodrow Wilson and World War I. 1975. The Forum Press. 16pp. \$0.95.

Marvin R. Zahniser (Ohio State), **Uncertain Friendship: American-French Diplomatic Relations through the Cold War.** 1975. John Wiley & Sons, Inc. \$7.95. In the series, America and the World.

PERSONALS

Paul S. Holbo (Oregon) recently returned to the world of mental stability and physical well-being as a professor after five years in the position of Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at his institution. Finding life a bit too boring, though, he has jumped into the bramble bush again by consenting to be interim editor of SHAFR's new journal, **Diplomatic History**, as detailed elsewhere in this issue.

Joseph M. Siracusa was recently named Senior Lecturer in American Diplomatic History at the U of Queensland, Australia, where he has been **d**omiciled for some years.

Eugene Trani, formerly at Southern Illinois U, is now serving as assistant to the Vice President for Academic Affairs at the U of Nebraska.

Kinley J. Brauer (Minnesota) is the recipient of a NEH fellowship for the academic year 1976-77. He will be doing research in Europe in the area of European-American relations, 1845-1875.

J.K. Sweeney (South Dakota State) has received a research grant, effective immediately, from the American Council of Learned Societies for the purpose of furthering his research into the Portuguese-American connection during the post-World War II period.

Joseph M. Siracusa (U of Queensland, Australia) has been named acting editor of **The Australian Journal of Politics and History** for 1976-77.

David H. Culbert (Louisiana State) has been promoted to the post of associate professor with tenure at his university, effective as of August, 1976.

Robert A. Divine (Texas) and Robert H. Ferrell (Indiar.a) have been appointed to the Advisory Committee on the "Foreign Relations of the United States."

The George C. Marshall Foundation, based at V.M.I., Lexington, Va., sponsored a conference at its Library, April 23-24, upon the topic of occupation policy and practices in Europe following World War II. SHAFR participants at this meeting included Forrest C. Pogue, biographer of General Marshall and Director of the Eisenhower Institute for Historical Research at the Smithsonian; Wm. M. Franklin, former Director of the Historical Office, State Department; and Donald R. Whitnah, U of Northern lowa.

Philip Crowl (U of Nebraska) is serving, 1975-77, as lecturer in the Department of Strategy at the Naval War College, Newport, R.I.

David H. Culbert (Louisiana State) has been appointed a fellow at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., and expects to work there, June, 1976--August, 1977.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Joan Hoff Wilson, Department of History, California State University (Sacramento), Sacramento, California 95819, is Chairwoman of the Nominations Committee for SHAFR this year. The other members are George Herring, Jr. (Kentucky) and Warren I. Cohen (Michigan State). An election to choose these officials of the Society will be held in the fall: vice president, a member of the Council, and a member of the Nominations Committee. The members of the Nominations Committee welcome recommendations from the constituents of SHAFR concerning prospective nominees for these posts.

Frank Merli, Department of History, Queens College, Flushing, New York 11367, is chairman of the Program Committee for SHAFR. The latter sponsors programs at the SHA (fall), AHA (winter), and OAH (spring). The high point of the year, meetingswise, is, of course, the annual convention (summer) of SHAFR. Members of the Society who are interested in delivering a paper, or participating upon a panel, at one of these meetings are invited to submit their proposals to Professor Merli.

The Journal of Contemporary Puerto Rican Thought is now accepting manuscripts for an edition to be devoted to the events leading up to, and immediately following, the Spanish-American War of 1898 in Puerto Rico. Any manuscript submitted should be sent no later than 31 July 1976 to Cristobal S. Berry-Cabán, 1620 South 6th Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53204.

The Historical Office of the Department of State has arranged an "open house" on the afternoon of Monday, December 27, the day preceding the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in Washington. The session will include tours of the Department's Operation Center and of the Central Files, and a discussion with members of the Office's Foreign Relations and Historical Studies Divisions concerning their work. Because the number of participants may have to be limited, scholars interested in attending the session should request a reservation as soon as possible by writing to the Director, Historical Office, Bureau of Public Affairs, Department of State, Washington, D.C. 20520.

In an attempt to aid historians who are seeking employment and to promote open listing of faculty vacancies by all colleges and universities in the United States, the American Historical Association maintains the Employment Information Bulletin. Four times each year the staff solicits information on employment status from approximately 1,808 institutions. From the data returned, description of available jobs are published. By using these, historians seeking employment can avoid blind solicitation, and departments that advertise their openings have access to a national supply of interested and qualified candidates. There is no charge for listing positions.

As its name implies, the **Employment Information Bulletin** is more than a simple job list. In the fall, for example, a solicitation for data concerning the market for historians is made, and interpretations of the responses are printed in the **EIB**. They provide the only such statistics available to the historical profession. The **EIB** serves as the AHA's vehicle for dispensing any other information helpful to job seekers, such as ideas on nonacademic employment, fellowships, and the like.

The **EIB** is printed in October, November, February, and April. Supplements, which are compiled from job descriptions sent to the AHA rather than regular solicitation, have been planned in order to add flexibility to the schedule. These can be mailed to subscribers whenever a sufficient number of notices has been received, but it is anticipated that supplements will be necessary in December, March, and throughout the early summer.

To AHA members the cost of a subscription is \$7.00 per year for four issues sent first-class mail, and \$11.00 for foreign postage. To non-members the rates are \$10.00 for first-class mail, and \$14.00 for foreign postage. All subscriptions must be prepaid, and foreign postage is mandatory for all overseas subscriptions. Send name and address along with proper payment to AHA Employment Information Bulletin, 400 A Street, Southeast, Washington, D.C. 20003.

THE ACADEMIC EXCHANGE

(Acting solely in a service capacity, the **Newsletter** will carry notices of (a) vacanies in various fields which are of interest to U.S. diplomatic historians, and (b) the vitae of members of SHAFR who desire employment, All announcements will be anonymous, unless a user specifically states otherwise. Each notice will be assigned a number, and persons who are interested must mention that number when contacting the editorial office. That office will then supply the name and address which corresponds to that number. When contacting the editor regarding an announcement, please enclose a stamped, addressed envelope for the return. Announcements should not exceed twelve (12) lines in the **Newsletter**. Unless specifically requested to do otherwise, and then subject to the limitations of space and fairness to others, a particular notice will be carried only once a year).

#E-104 Ph.D. granted in June, 1965 in American diplomatic history. Has two books in press now dealing with United States-Middle East relations, and has published some three dozen articles on this topic. Has taught American history survey courses, Western Civilization, and American diplomatic history. Would like a university position.

Procedures: The Bernath Lecture Committee is now soliciting nominations for the first Bernath Lecture from members of the Society. Nominations, in the form of a short letter and curriculum vitae, if available, should reach the Committee not later than October 15, 1976. The chairman of the Committee for the coming year to whom nominations should be sent is Professor Geoffrey S. Smith, Department of History, Queen's University, Kingston, Canada K7L 3N6.

Honorarium: \$300.00 with publication of the lecture assured in the Society's **Newsletter.** The name of the lecturer will be announced at the Society's luncheon at the American Historical Association meeting in Washington, D.C., in December.

GUIDELINES FOR CONTRIBUTIONS TO DIPLOMATIC HISTORY

Diplomatic History is a new quarterly journal, sponsored by SHAFR and published by Scholarly Resources, Inc., which is devoted to scholarly articles in the field of American diplomatic history broadly conceived. The journal will include contributions that deal not only with the foreign policy of the United States but with the extensive foreign relations of the American nation--cultural, economic, and intellectual. Priority will be given to articles that make a significant scholarly contribution either by presenting new evidence and exploiting new sources or by offering new interpretations and perspectives. Preference will be given to manuscripts that illuminate broad themes in the American diplomatic experience, but articles that deal intensively with specific historical events are welcomed if they cast light on more central issues.

The journal is not designed to reflect any single ideological view-point. Articles by those who consider themselves traditionalists, revisionists, realists, moralists or generalists will receive an equally impartial reading. The sole objective is to further scholarly discourse among diplomatic historians and to provide them with a new outlet for their research and writing.

All manuscripts should be submitted in duplicate, with the author's name, affiliation and address on a separate cover page. Each manuscript should be typed in a double-spaced fashion on standard size paper, and the notes should be typed separately, in sequence, at the end of the manuscript.

Pending the appointment of a permanent editor, references in the notes should follow the style of the **Journal of American History.**

All manuscripts should be submitted to: Dr. Paul S. Holbo, Department of History, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon 97403.

Proposed 1976 Budget

(Revised April 5, 1976)

INCOME	December 1975	Estimated	April 197	6 Estimated
Dues	2,600.00		3,700.00	
Life Membership	-0-		450.00	
Interest from Endowment				
Continuity Transport	70.00		85.00	
Convention Income (Meals, Smokers)	500.00		500.00	
Grants for Summer Conference Expense			300.00	
		3,170.00		5,035.00
Carryover		829.30		200.00
West Part of Assessing the		3,989.30		5,235.00
EXPENDITURES				
General Office				
Postage and Mailing	300.00		450.00	
Telephone (Long Distance)	250.00		250.00	
Office Supplies	100.00		100.00	
Printing	250.00		250.00	
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Executive Secretary, Council, and Committee Expenses		enters ber		nolicy
Executive-Secretary Travel	600.00		170.00	
Council and committee costs	150.00		100.00	
	150.00		100.00	
Convention Costs				
AHA (1974)	500.00		800.00	
OAH	200.00		-0-	
Southern	200.00		200.00	
Columbus	200.00		200.00	
Cordiibus	200.00	1 000 00	200.00	1 470 00
		1,850.00		1,470.00
Speakers at Conventions	300.00		200.00	200.00
Diplomatic History (Journal)	00.00			
Subsidy			750.00	
Payment for 2 issues			1,200.00	
rayment for 2 issues			1,950.00	1 000 00
			1,950.00	1,950.00
Miscellaneous				
Refunds, Overpayment of dues	100.00		100.00	
Petty Cash	10.00		10.00	
Banking Expenses (Deposit Box)	5.00		5.00	115.00
Transfer to Endowment				
(Life Members)	-0-			450.00
Bernath Prize	-0-			-0-
Total Evpanditures				5,235.00
Total Expenditures				5,235.00

THE COUNCIL, BOARD, AND COMMITTEES OF SHAFR (1976)

COUNCIL

Dorothy Borg (Columbia) 1976
Wayne S. Cole (Maryland) 1976
Bradford Perkins (Michigan) 1977
John L. Gaddis (Ohio O) 1977
Joseph P. O'Grady (La Salle) 1978
Armin H. Rappaport (U of C-San Diego) 1978
Thomas G. Paterson (Connecticut) 1979

BERNATH BOOK PRIZE

John L. Gaddis (Ohio U) 1976 Warren F. Kimball (Rutgers--Newark) 1977 Ronald Steel (Yale) 1978

BERNATH ARTICLES AWARD

Martin J. Sherwin (Princeton) 1976 Robert L. Beisner (American U) 1977 Charles E. Neu (Brown) 1978

MEMBERSHIP

Leon E. Boothe (George Mason U) 1976 (The names of the members of this Committee were published in the March 1976 issue of the **Newsletter**)

EDITORIAL BOARD, DIPLOMATIC HISTORY

Robert H. Ferrell (Indiana) 1977
Diane S. Clemens (California) 1977
Warren I. Cohen (Michigan State) 19
Michael H. Hunt (Yale) 1978
Armin Rappaport (U of C-San Diego) 1978
Akira Iriye (Chicago) 1978
Kinley J. Brauer (Minnesota) 1979
Paul S. Holbo (Oregon) 1979
Robert F. Smith (Toledo) 1979

BERNATH SPEAKER AWARD

Geoffrey S. Smith (Queens, Canada) 1976 John L. Gaddis (Ohio U) 1977 Jonathan Utley (Tennessee) 1978

NOMINATIONS

Joan Hoff Wilson (Calif State U--Sacramento) 1976 George C. Herring (Kentucky) 1977 Warren I. Cohen (Michigan State) 1978

PROGRAM

Frank Merli (Queens, NYC) 1976

Second National Independent Meeting

of SHAFR

August 13-14, 1976

Columbus, Ohio, with Sessions on--and--Near Campus of Ohio State University

Theme: "Lessons of the Past for American Diplomacy"

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Dr. Alfred Eckes
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THE SHAFR NEWSLETTER

SPONSOR: Tennessee Technological University, Cookeville, Tennessee.

EDITOR: Nolan Fowler, Department of History, Tennessee Tech, Cookeville, Tennessee 38501.

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

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

ADDRESS CHANGES: Notification of address changes should be in the office of the editor at least one month prior to the date of publication. Copies of the **Newsletter** which are returned because of faulty addresses will be forwarded only upon the payment of a fee of 50¢.

BACK ISSUES: Copies of all back numbers of the **Newsletter** are available and may be obtained from the editorial office upon the payment of a service charge of 50¢ per number. If the purchaser lives abroad, the charge is 75¢ per number.

MATERIALS DESIRED: Personals (promotions, transfers, obituaries, honors, awards), announcements, abstracts of scholarly papers and articles delivered—or published—upon diplomatic subjects, bibliographical or historiographical essays dealing with diplomatic topics, lists of accessions of diplomatic meterials to libraries, essays of a "how-to-do-it" nature respecting diplomatic materials in various depositories. Because of space limitations, "straight" articles and book reviews are unacceptable.

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1968	Thomas A. Bailey (Stanford)
1969	Alexander De Conde (U of California - Santa Barbara)
1970	Richard W. Leopold (Northwestern)
1971	Robert H. Ferrell (Indiana)
1972	Norman A. Graebner (Virginia)
1973	Wayne S. Cole (Maryland)
1974	Bradford Perkins (Michigan)
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