



The Society for Historians of American
Foreign Relations

NEWSLETTER

Volume IX

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SOCIETY FOR HISTORIANS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS

Founded in 1967. Chartered in 1972.

PRESIDENT: Akira Iriye, Department of History, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois 60637.

VICE-PRESIDENT: Paul A. Varg, Department of History, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan 48824.

JOINT EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER: Lawrence S. Kaplan, Department of History, Kent State University, Kent, Ohio 44240, and Warren F. Kuehl, Department of History, University of Akron, Akron, Ohio 44325.

CHAIRWOMAN, PROGRAM COMMITTEE: Betty M. Unterberger, Department of History, Texas A & M University, College Station, Texas 77843.

CHAIRMAN, MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE: Ralph E. Weber, Department of History, Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53233

CHAIRMAN, NOMINATIONS COMMITTEE: Warren I. Cohen, Department of History, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan 48824.

MEMBERSHIP: Anyone interested in U. S. diplomatic history is invited to become a member of SHAFR. Annual dues are \$8.50, payable at the office of the Executive Secretary-Treasurer. Fees for students, unemployed members, and retired members are \$5.00 per year, while institutional affiliations are \$30.00. 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 each 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.



Philip C. Brooks

(From **News Notes**, Autumn, 1977, of National Archives and Records Service)

Dr. Philip C. Brooks, a government archivist who organized the Harry S. Truman Library and directed it for 14 years, died July 14, 1977 in Phoenix, Ariz., of complications following surgery. [Dr. Brooks was also a member of SHAFR.]

Brooks, 71, joined the National Archives in 1935, a year after it was established by Congress as the nation's record-keeping agency. The highlight of his career was his work in collaborating with Truman to make available the papers of his administration for scholarly research.

Under Brooks' leadership, the library in Independence, Mo., became a center both for study of the Truman administration and of the American presidency in general. It also became a major Midwest tourist attraction with 350,000 visitors clocked in last year.

Brooks, the son of a two-term Republican congressman from Colorado, was born in Washington, D. C. He received a doctorate in 1933 from the University of California at Berkeley. He was a newspaperman while pursuing his graduate studies.

He began with the National Archives as a staff examiner, then became an archivist. He helped organize a system that contributed to the modern discipline of archives administration.

In 1953, Brooks was appointed chief of the Federal Archives and Records Center in San Francisco. When the Truman Library was being built in 1957, he was named director to catalogue the papers and memorabilia of the nation's 33rd President and headed the library until his retirement in 1971.

The Archivist of the United States, Dr. James B. Rhoads, called Brooks "among the founding fathers of the National Archives. . . a pioneer."

He leaves his wife, Dorothy, a son and daughter-in-law, and a grandson. Burial was in the family plot in Colorado Springs, Colo.

SECRETARY-TREASURER REPORT, 1977

The Society has enjoyed a year of unusual activity and growth. The publication of the first volume of **Diplomatic History** heads the list. All reports on the journal are highly favorable, and all members owe its able editor, Amin H. Rappaport, a special vote of thanks. The Society also appreciates greatly the cooperative spirit and support of Scholarly Resources.

The second development is tied closely to the first, although the Membership Committee under Leon E. Boothe and Ralph E. Weber share in the phenomenal growth in this area. It is satisfying to see the Society viewed by so many people as playing the role its founders envisaged.

The headway made toward a new **Guide to the History of American Foreign Relations** also belongs high on a list of accomplishments. Norman A. Graebner's committee has advanced that objective considerably by its choice of an editor, Richard D. Burns. Among other successes, we must record the third annual conference at the University of Virginia, the opportunity to assist the National Historical Publications Commission in administering a grant for an intern to the Office of Historian, the first Stuart L. Bernath awards for the best article (John C. A. Stagg) and speaker (Joan Hoff Wilson), and the Stuart L. Bernath book prize (Roger V. Dingman).

As usual, the Society owes much to the generosity of Gerald and Myrna Bernath. Late last year they negotiated an agreement with SHAFR for a living trust in the amount of \$20,000. The income will go to them while they live and thereafter in perpetuity to SHAFR.

We should also record here the continuing debt to Nolan Fowler and Tennessee Technological University. The **Newsletter** far exceeds the number of pages initially agreed upon, and the number of copies required has nearly tripled. Yet Professor Fowler and his institution have absorbed these duties and costs uncomplainingly. Most members also do not know that although Nolan Fowler retires soon he has agreed to continue his editorship and Tennessee Tech its support, which is welcome news.

The National Office has naturally been faced with an increased amount of work in the form of contacts with an ever larger membership, a more complicated budget and banking system, and the correspondence associated with the Society's increasing activities. To date this has been absorbed by the joint secretaries and their respective universities. We wish to especially acknowledge the work of Pamela Lagodich, who has been responsible for much of the efficiency of the office, and we will miss her as she moves to another position.

December 20, 1977

Lawrence S. Kaplan (Kent)

Warren F. Kuehl (Akron)

THE SOCIETY FOR HISTORIANS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS

1977 Budget Statement
Checking Account

<u>INCOME</u>	<u>PROPOSED</u>	<u>ACTUAL</u>	
1976 Carryover	\$12,423.58	\$ 6,423.58	
1977 Dues	1,600.00	2,473.50	
1978 Dues	3,200.00	3,626.50	
Life Members	-0-	500.00	
Convention Income	200.00	-0-	
Bernath Living Trust	...	1,900.00	
Contribution	...	40.00	
Sale of Mailing List	...	480.00	
Transfer from Bernath Book Prize Account	...	500.00	
Transfer from Bernath Article and Speaker Account	...	495.00	
Interest	130.00	444.68	
Transfer from Savings	...	4,100.00	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	
TOTAL INCOME	\$17,553.58	\$20,983.26	\$20,983.26
 <u>EXPENDITURES</u>			
General Office			
Postage and Mailing	\$ 500.00	\$ 303.01	
Long Distance	100.00	57.23	
Office Supplies	50.00	52.94	
Printing	450.00	47.22	
Student Assistants	...	169.05	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	
TOTAL	\$ 1,100.00	\$ 629.45	\$ 629.45
 Executive-Secretary, Council and Committees			
Executive Secretary Travel	\$ 500.00	\$ -0-	
Council and Committee Expenses	250.00	18.53	

	<u>PROPOSED</u>	<u>ACTUAL</u>	
Conventions			
AHA (1976)	\$ 200.00	\$ 102.08	
AHA (1977)	...	460.00	
OAH	150.00	116.18	
SHA (1976 and 1977)	100.00	101.36	
Pacific Coast Branch of AHA	100.00	-0-	
Charlottesville Summer Conference	300.00	257.70	
Convention Speakers	<u>...</u>	<u>401.34</u>	
TOTAL	\$ 1,600.00	\$ 1,457.19	\$ 1,457.19
Publications			
<u>Diplomatic History</u>			
Payment for four issues for first			
600 members @ \$1.00 per	2,500.00	2,400.00	
Payment for four issues for over			
600 members	...	998.00	
Institutional Subscription	...	25.00	
Subsidy (prepaid in 1976)		-0-	
Roster and Research List	<u>...</u>	<u>568.39</u>	
TOTAL	\$ 2,500.00	\$ 3,991.39	\$ 3,991.39
Miscellaneous			
Refunds, Overpayment of Dues	150.00	7.00	
Petty Cash	10.00	-0-	
Bank Expenses and Deposit Box	7.50	10.10	
Transfer to Endowment			
Four Life Memberships @ \$125.00 each	...	500.00	
Interest	...	444.68	
National Historical Publications Fellowship	...	8,000.00	
Donation to the National Coordinating			
Committee for the Promotion of History	<u>...</u>	<u>200.00</u>	
TOTAL	\$ 167.50	\$ 9,161.78	\$ 9,161.78
Bernath Book Prize	...	500.00	

	<u>PROPOSED</u>	<u>ACTUAL</u>	
Bernath Speaker Prize	\$...	\$ 300.00	
Bernath Article Prize	<u>...</u>	<u>200.00</u>	
TOTAL	\$...	\$ 1,000.00	\$ 1,000.00
Transfer to Savings	...	747.50	
Transfer to Create Bernath Living Trust	...	24.38	
Transfer of Bernath Living Trust Interest to Bernaths	<u>...</u>	<u>1,915.62</u>	
TOTAL EXPENDITURES	\$13,267.50	\$18,927.31	\$18,927.31

SUMMARY

Total Income Including Carryover	\$20,983.26
Total Expenditures	<u>18,927.31</u>
Carryover for 1978	\$ 2,055.95

ENDOWMENT AND SAVINGS ACCOUNT

Balance, December 15, 1976	\$ 1,485.57
NHPC Fellowship Deposit (transfer from checking account)	6,000.00
Life Members (four @ \$125.00 per)	500.00
Transfers from Bernath Book Prize Account	500.00
Transfers from Bernath Speaker Account	247.50
Interest	<u>444.68</u>
	\$ 9,177.75
Withdrawals	<u>- 4,100.00</u>
Balance, December 30, 1977	\$ 5,077.75

SUMMARY

Certificate of Deposit	\$ 1,125.00
Savings Account/Endowment	<u>5,077.75</u>
Total Endowment and Savings	\$ 6,202.75

STUART L. BERNATH BOOK AWARD MEMORIAL 1977

January 1, 1977 Balance	\$ 969.06
Interest Received on \$3,000.00 Bond	600.00
Interest on Savings Account	<u>57.71</u>
TOTAL	\$ 1,626.77
Book Prize Award	<u>- 500.00</u>
Balance, December 30, 1977	\$ 1,126.77

STUART L. BERNATH SPEAKER AND ARTICLE AWARD FUND

January 1, 1977 Balance	\$ 773.79
Interest on \$6,000.00 Bond	495.00
Interest on Savings Account	<u>35.30</u>
TOTAL	\$ 1,304.09

Speaker and Article Awards	<u>\$ - 495.00</u>
Balance, December 30, 1977	\$ 809.09

BERNATH LIVING TRUST

January 1, 1977 Balance	\$ 40.00
Interest on \$20,000 Bond	1,900.00
Interest transferred to Bernaths	<u>- 1,915.62</u>
TOTAL	\$ 24.38
Interest on Savings Account	<u>.67</u>
Balance, December 30, 1977	\$ 25.05

PROPOSED 1978 SHAFR BUDGET

INCOME

Late Dues for 1978	\$ 1,700.00	
Dues in November-December for 1979	4,000.00	
Life Memberships	-0-	
Interest	200.00	
Convention Income	450.00	
Carryover from 1977	<u>2,055.95</u>	
TOTAL	\$ 8,405.95	\$ 8,405.95

EXPENDITURES

General Office		
Postage and Mailing	\$ 400.00	
Telephone (Long Distance)	100.00	
Office Supplies	50.00	
Printing	350.00	
Student Assistants	<u>250.00</u>	
TOTAL	\$ 1,150.00	\$ 1,150.00
Executive-Secretary, Council and Committees		
Executive-Secretary Travel	\$ 500.00	
Council and Committee Expenses	250.00	
Conventions		
AHA (1978)	550.00	
OAH	150.00	
SHA	100.00	
Pacific Coast Branch of AHA	100.00	
George Mason Summer Conference	300.00	
Convention Speakers	<u>400.00</u>	
TOTAL	\$ 2,350.00	\$ 2,350.00

Diplomatic History
Subsidy

\$ 750.00

Regular Subsidy	<u>\$ 4,000.00</u>	
TOTAL	\$ 4,750.00	\$ 4,750.00
Miscellaneous		
Refunds, Overpayment of dues	\$ 50.00	
Petty Cash	10.00	
Banking Expenses and Deposit Box	<u>7.50</u>	
TOTAL	\$ 67.50	<u>\$ 67.50</u>
TOTAL OPERATIONAL EXPENSES		\$ 8,317.50
TOTAL EXPENDITURES, 1978		\$ 8,317.50
Total Available		\$ 8,405.95
Total Expenses		<u>8,317.50</u>
Carryover for 1979		\$ 88.45

MINUTES, SHAFR COUNCIL MEETING

December, 27, 1977

The Council convened at 8:00 p.m. in The Vista Room of the Fairmont Hotel in Dallas, Texas. Present were President Raymond A. Esthus, Vice-President Akira Iriye, Council members Robert A. Divine, John L. Gaddis, Lawrence Gelfand, and Armin H. Rappaport, and Warren F. Kuehl, Executive Secretary-Treasurer. Also in attendance were Paul A. Varg, Warren F. Kimball, Betty Miller Unterberger, Richard D. Burns, Samuel F. Wells, George C. Herring, Ralph E. Weber, Norman A. Graebner, Richard W. Leopold, William Z. Slany, David F. Trask, William Emerson, Jason Hall, and Nolan Fowler.

After introducing some of those present, President Esthus called for the report of the Joint Secretariat (see pages 2-9). Warren Kuehl observed that without the aid of many loyal members and generous institutions much of the work of SHAFR would not have been possible. He commented on several aspects of the budget and especially noted that with expanded activities SHAFR was approaching a point where it would start using reserve funds which have accumulated over the past four years. He estimated that the present dues structure could be maintained for two to three years and perhaps longer if funds are dispensed very carefully.

Ray Esthus then proceeded to reports of the various Committees.

George Herring announced the winners of the recent SHAFR election (Paul A. Varg as Vice-President, Betty Miller Unterberger and Warren F. Kimball to the Council, and Milton O. Gustafson to the Nominating Committee). He said that most races were quite close and thanked the other members of his Committee, Paul S. Holbo and Warren I. Cohen, for their work with him.

Betty Unterberger reported that the Program Committee was proceeding with plans for the fourth SHAFR summer conference at George Mason University and that the Committee would receive suggestions for sessions or papers until January 30.

Warren F. Kimball, speaking for the Stuart L. Bernath Book Prize Committee expressed concern that only seven books have been received. He indicated that publishers would be contacted again to remind them to submit titles. A considerable time was spent by the Council and others in discussing ways whereby a greater number of books would be submitted to the Committee each year.

Samuel F. Wells, Jr., Chairman of the Bernath Memorial Lecture Committee, disclosed that its choice for 1979 was Marilyn B. Young (Michigan). He reminded all that the speaker at the OAH meeting in April, 1978, would be David S. Patterson of Colgate. He emphasized the need to have more nominations from members, noting that these should go to Jonathan Utley, University of Tennessee, Chairman for 1980, and suggested that a form be provided in mailings from the National Office in order to facilitate the nominations.

In the absence of Robert L. Beisner, the Chairman of the Bernath Article Prize Committee, Akira Iriye said that only four articles have been nominated thus far and that the Committee welcomed more.

Norman Graebner, chairman of a committee set up in December of

1976 and charged with the responsibility of advising and overseeing a project to revise S. F. Bemis and G. G. Griffin's **Guide to the Diplomatic History of the United States** (1921), stated that his committee had made distinctive progress during the year. As a partial substantiation of his assertion he introduced Dr. Richard D. Burns, the newly-chosen editor for the compilation. The latter announced that he had prepared and submitted to the NEH a proposal for funds to finance a portion of the project. He also disclosed that in consultation with the Advisory Committee he was seeking around 15-20 contributing editors who, in turn, would select other members of SHAFR to serve as helpers. He stressed that time was of the essence in the undertaking, for assuming that a contract were negotiated with the ABC-Clio Press the latter would like the manuscript of the first volume by January, 1980.

In the absence of Robert H. Ferrell, chairman of the recently-established Finance Committee who, it was disclosed later, was "bumped" from from his flight in St. Louis, Warren Kuehl affirmed that plans of this committee were still in the formative stage.

Nolan Fowler, editor of the **Newsletter**, distributed copies of the December issue in an apologetic manner, explaining that the delay in publication was due to a lengthy breakdown in the printing plant at his university. The editor then moved to a subject which has concerned some members of SHAFR since the establishment of its journal, **Diplomatic History**: Should the annual presidential address be carried in the **Newsletter**, as has been the case for the preceding nine years, or should it be a feature of the journal as is true of most scholarly bodies? The editor indicated that he would be quite agreeable to a change since there was now plenty of material for each number of the **Newsletter**. President Esthus voiced appreciation for the continued effectiveness of the publication and informed the group of a recent development--that the editor would remain at his post for a time past his retirement and that, consequently, Tennessee Technological University would maintain its present financial support of the project.

Amin Rappaport, editor of **Diplomatic History**, submitted a summary (see p.13-14) on the operations of that publication for the past year and made some comments thereon. He recommended three new members to the Board of Editors, Thomas Schoonover (SW Louisiana), Martin Sherwin (Princeton), and Joan Hoff Wilson (Arizona State), to replace these retirees, Robert H. Ferrell (Indiana), Diane S. Clemens (U of California-Berkeley), and Warren I. Cohen (Michigan State). On motion by the editor, a second by Robert Divine, and a vote by the Council, this approval was given. The Council also ratified a motion by Larry Gelfand to the effect that, beginning with 1978, the annual presidential address be carried in **Diplomatic History** but that the Bemath Memorial Lectures, to be given each year during SHAFR's meeting with the OAH, should be printed in the **Newsletter**.

The president-elect, Akira Iriye, announced five appointments which he has made: Theodore A. Wilson (Kansas) and Leon E. Boothe (George Mason), Program Committee; Lester D. Langley (Georgia State U), Bernath Article Committee; Robert Dallek (UCLA), Bemath Book Committee; and Keith Nelson (U of California-Irvine), Bemath Speaker Committee.

Warren F. Kimball, editor and compiler of the **SHAFR Roster & Research List**, revealed that his institution, Rutgers University (Newark),

has given him assurance that financial support for the publication will be provided through 1979. He stated that efforts to secure a longer-period financial commitment have been unavailing.

Samuel F. Wells, Jr., gave a summation of the work which he and Waldo H. Heinrichs have been doing in connection with the **Foreign Service List** and the **Biographic Register**. (See essay by Heinrichs on p. 21). He also mentioned the problems which Larry Gelfand had encountered when he attempted to gain access to diplomatic personnel records prior to 1930 that had previously been available to scholars, and the latter explained those problems in some detail. Wells's discussions with attorneys had convinced him, he said, that there were ample grounds for a suit and that one should be instituted. The Council agreed to the formation of a committee, made up of Wells, Heinrichs, and Gelfand, whose task it would be to pursue efforts towards freeing the above publications, including action which will enable a suit to be joined. Wells observed that there is a possibility that legal assistance can be obtained without cost. It was agreed that SHAFR would consult with other historical and archival associations in order to ascertain whether they will cooperate in any legal action.

Warren Kuehl summarized the growing involvement of SHAFR with the National Coordinating Committee for the Promotion of History and suggested that a member of the Council should be designated as a liaison with the organization. Warren F. Kimball agreed to accept that responsibility.

David F. Trask, Historian in the Bureau of Public Affairs, State Department, read a paper that he and William Z. Slany had written which discussed in detail the publication plans for the Foreign Relations series over the next decade. (See p. 26 for the text of this paper). The contents of this document generated so much discussion and even disagreement that President Esthus was finally authorized by the Council to appoint a committee whose purpose it would be to explore the question of the future content and format of the Foreign Relations series and to report thereon at the April meeting (OAH convention) of the Council. Named to this committee were Richard W. Leopold (Northwestern), chairman, Wayne S. Cole (Maryland), Robert A. Divine (Texas), Lloyd C. Gardner (Rutgers), Norman A. Graebner (Virginia), and Betty M. Unterberger (Texas A & M). (The next day the Council revoked the April deadline, for the wholly justifiable reason that a thorough study would require much more time).

Under the heading of New Business, Warren F. Kuehl announced that negotiations were under way with a publisher with the objective of putting into book form the first ten presidential addresses as a suitable commemoration of SHAFR's tenth anniversary. All of these addresses have been printed in the **Newsletter** or **Diplomatic History**, but few libraries carry these publications. Hence many of the newer members of the organization do not have copies of the earlier presentations. There was something to be said, too, for the utility of having all the addresses in one place instead of ten different ones.

The meeting adjourned at 10:25 P. M.

During the brief business meeting which followed the luncheon and presidential address on December 29 President Esthus reviewed some of the items handled at the Council meeting; Richard D. Burns repeated his plans for the upcoming revision of the Bemis and Griffin **Guide**; and Betty

M. Unterberger appealed for papers to be given at the SHAFR summer conference. The Council met briefly under the direction of the new president, Akira Iriye, with Raymond A. Esthus, Robert A. Divine, John L. Gaddis, Lawrence Gelfand, Armin H. Rappaport, and Warren F. Kuehl in attendance. That body then proceeded to approve a request by editor Rappaport for an allocation of \$400.00, said sum to be used to produce an index to volume one of **Diplomatic History**.

REPORT, EDITOR OF **DIPLOMATIC HISTORY**, FOR 1977

Volume I of **Diplomatic History** came out and on time--by the Grace of God and by the extraordinarily selfless cooperation of fellow members of SHAFR who were willing to read, and read rapidly, the manuscripts I sent them to evaluate. I fear I committed an unpardonable transgression (as some of my friends have pointed out) in sending manuscripts to be read without first soliciting the permission of the readers. I followed that practice in order to save time, and time was crucial in the first year of operation. Henceforth, I will follow a more accepted and honorable procedure by asking in advance whether members are willing to read manuscripts. It would, of course, be helpful if colleagues who do not mind getting unheralded manuscripts would so inform me, following which notification I would indulge in the heinous practice as far as they are concerned.

In the first year of its existence, **Diplomatic History** received 138 manuscripts of which 22 were printed in volume 1. A reasonable balance was reached in terms of a geographic distribution of the contents, but the same cannot be said for the chronology. Too great a number dealt with the 20th century and particularly the post-World War II period and not enough were concerned with the preceding centuries. It is true, of course, that that situation reflects the current state of scholarship in the field in this country. Nonetheless, the editor hopes that more articles on the 18th and 19th centuries will be submitted.

Of the 22 authors, nine (including one graduate student) had not published previously. The rest had published books or articles. Such a proportion fulfills an important objective of the journal; namely, that it serve as an outlet for younger scholars as well as for those more established, and the editor hopes that the ratio can be maintained in future issues.

Over the course of the first year, the journal has settled into a pattern of three types of contributions: articles, notes and comments, and documents. Each fulfills a particular need and it is planned to continue this *modus operandi*. The editor welcomes the submission of interesting and not readily available documents and briefer pieces, as well as the standard-size articles.

The question of book reviews has come up from time to time, but a casual and informal poll of some members of the Society reveals mixed opinions on the topic. Some think reviews ought to be included; others believe new books are adequately covered in existing periodicals. Whatever the scholarly merits of the matter, financial limitations prevent including reviews in the journal, at least for the present. The cost of printing a journal containing a greater number of pages cannot presently be undertaken by the publisher, and the small subvention the editor receives from his university

would not cover the additional administrative costs which such a venture would entail. What could be handled financially and would be a welcome addition to the journal would be an occasional review essay on a group of related books or on the state of the literature in a particular aspect of our diplomatic history. Members of the Society are encouraged to submit such pieces or to suggest topics which others may be asked by the editor to do.

The editor and his small staff have made a particularly determined effort to provide a report to authors on manuscripts which they have submitted within a two month period, and in most instances that effort has succeeded. That success must be attributed in great part to the promptness with which referees have returned articles sent them for review. The editor is grateful for that promptness and also for the willingness of members of the Society to read articles carefully and critically and to offer suggestions for their improvement.

The Board of Editors of the journal, the Council of the Society, and individual members, have urged that an index be prepared, and the editor is pleased to report that one for volume 1 is under way. It will appear as a separate publication which, it is hoped, libraries will see fit to bind with the four numbers of the volume. Beginning with volume II, the index will appear at the end of the fourth issue of each volume.

Readers will note a change in the composition of the Board of Editors. Robert H. Ferrell of Indiana, Diane S. Clemens of California (Berkeley), and Warren I. Cohen of Michigan State have completed their terms of office, and the editor takes this occasion to thank them for their support and cooperation. To replace them, the Council of the Society has approved the nominations proposed by the editor of Thomas D. Schoonover (Southwestern Louisiana), Martin Sherwin (Princeton), and Joan Hoff Wilson (Arizona State).

This first annual report cannot close without a special thanks to Paul S. Holbo, University of Oregon, who served as interim editor until the appointment of the incumbent. It was he who was responsible for the first issue of the volume, and who established the basic administrative procedures which are now being followed by the present editor and his staff.

Finally, the editor wishes it to be known that he welcomes suggestions from the membership concerning the improvement of the journal. He is also receptive to any criticism or complaints respecting any aspect of the journal's operations.

Armin H. Rappaport
December 27, 1977

THIRTY YEARS IN THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS AND THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

By
Robert H. Ferrell*

It was almost thirty years ago when the writer was an eager student in Samuel F. Bemis's seminar in American diplomatic history at Yale and heard the teacher say one day (Bemis detested the title of "professor" and wanted to be known as a teacher) that in the following spring the members of the seminar would undoubtedly like to go down to Washington and study in the manuscript division of the Library of Congress and in the National Archives. Without much more ceremony the teacher inquired of Larry Kaplan and Art Richmond and John Riggs and me as to what we would be interested in, and wherever he found confusion, which was the case with all of us, he gave us our subjects. Mine was to discover whether President Thomas Jefferson had been in league with Napoleon in 1807-1809 when at the height of the Continental System in Europe the president of the United States, presumably to cooperate with his master the emperor, persuaded Congress to pass the Embargo Act.

Of course the topic constituted a silly quest, for apart from the accusations of various and sundry characters in Boston and along the Eastern seaboard no proof has ever appeared that Jefferson acted at the command of Napoleon. I did find a few interesting items, including a sort of comic valentine, an apparently small letter to Jefferson, mailed from Boston in 1808, that opened up larger and larger until it achieved poster size; emblazoned on it in huge letters was the suggestion: "GO TO HELL, YOU BUGGER! GO TO HELL!" The president had endorsed it on the side: "Anonymous blackguard." After returning to New Haven, I discovered that every year in his seminar Bemis got someone to go down to the Library of Congress and the National Archives and check out the literature on Jefferson and Napoleon.

And so after nearly thirty years, many other visits to the Library of Congress and the National Archives, and I would like to think not so many foolish inquiries as the above, what is it like to go back once again to Washington to haunt the scenes of old and remember the mistakes and the exhilarations and, for the most part, the humdrum of sitting in the search rooms and waiting for lunchtime and suppertime? The years pass, and one can recall staying in this house or that house--12 Fourth Street, S. E., or 114 Fifth Street, N. E. Miss Sallie Epes at Fifth Street creakily would get up and answer the door or the telephone--a wonderful old lady who eventually moved down near her ancestral plantation in Virginia and lived to be a hundred years old. Her Cousin Martha, Mrs. S. S. Snyder, is still graciously receiving guests at her attractive house on Fourth Street, at the age of eighty-four; Mrs. Snyder has catered to historians for many years, and recalls how she put up David Donald when he was a graduate student, long before he ascended to Harvard. She also put up James G. Randall and Julius W. Pratt. Staying with her the last time I had a strange feeling when she told me that a student of one of my students is now staying at her house on Fifth Street.

*Dr. Ferrell is a distinguished member of the faculty at Indiana University, and is a former President of SHAFR.

The most obtrusive fact about the Capitol Hill area is its present-day restoration, the appearance of real estate speculators who are fixing up the red brick buildings of the Grover Cleveland and Benjamin Harrison era to make them look like buildings never looked in the era of Thomas Jefferson. Restoration is going on everywhere, and buildings that were selling for \$7,000 in the depths of the Great Depression are now being sold for \$120,000, and unrestored at that. The American Historical Association is housed in a double building on Fourth and C Streets, and fortunately will not get restored out of the place, because they own it; but then, so Mack Thompson says, if they sold out at a profit to some real estate operator, where could they go--for if they went over to Dupont Circle where some of the fat-cat associations and foundations now are, they would have to spend themselves into oblivion. Diplomatic historians seeking to use the Library of Congress and the National Archives probably are going to get restored out of Capitol Hill, and will have to do as Elliot Rosen did this past autumn and go out to some motel in Virginia or Maryland where the slack winter traffic permits cut rates. The hotels around the railroad station are still offering sanctuary; Mark Gilderhus obtained a rate in one of them by staying a minimum of three weeks. But there is danger in such places, for after he appeared in the manuscript division for several days he disappeared, not to be seen thereafter, and perhaps was shot in his hotel; General Krivitsky was shot by a Stalinist agent in one of those railroad hotels some years ago. And anyway, the hotels either are being bulldozed out of existence or restored.

The Capitol Hill area in some ways is becoming posh and in other ways is just as it always has been. On Pennsylvania Avenue there are now two fairly decent bookstores near the Library of Congress, and several fancy restaurants including a disguised (restored store front) Roy Rogers steakhouse. A "deli" just opened next to Kramer's bookstore on the north side of Penn, and it features sandwiches priced at \$2.75 and up, together with ice cream made out of yogurt--all right if you like yogurt. But then **plus ça change.** . . In the deli one noon a cupful of spoons tumbled off the salad bar and fell on the floor, and while the young American University student waitresses in their full-length, quilted skirts ostentatiously swished around, the owner's wife came up and picked the spoons off the floor, put them back in the cup, and placed the cup back on the salad bar. It was all reminiscent of the row of greasy-spoon restaurants that used to be on the block now occupied by the James Madison library building. Which reminds me to say that Mike Palm's restaurant, one of the old-time greasy spoons, had a fire about the time the demolitions began for the Madison building, and brazenly migrated up the street to the next block where it now is; its owner is advertising on the block trash cans that he has been in business on Capitol Hill for twenty-six years.

The centerpiece of gracious eating on Capitol Hill is still the bakery, near the corner of Third and Penn on the south side. The bakery, now called Sherrill's, used to be Rector's, and the food is the same. The waitresses are older. I would not want to say that they simply have grown old, for they have grown old with a vengeance--the latter quality being reserved for all customers. One evening I was greeted with a growl of

"Another customer!" and while I may forget the growl I will never forget the scowl that accompanied it. Later I heard the aged waitress say to an habitue behind me that she wished she was dead, and I thought irreverently that that could be arranged. The bakery no longer serves complete dinners at 95¢ or \$1.00 or, as Tom Manning and John Davidson and Dick Lowitt and Bill Harbaugh and Jerry Blum and I, members of our old bakery eating club, came horrifyingly to realize about the year 1952, \$1.10 (plus a ten-cent tip). But along with the \$2.95 dinner, I must report, is sometimes the traditional side dish of meat; one evening, or morning (they all blend together in the bakery). I was sitting at the counter, hoping to get the attention of the harriidan who wished she was dead, when a cockroach crawled across the counter; I pointed it out to my friend on the next stool, as it was moving in that direction; "Oh," was his response, "another one of those," and he swept it off into the crushed ice in the open cooler on the other side of the counter.

At the Library of Congress's manuscript division everything is pretty much as it always has been, except that the new historian-librarian, Dan Boorstin, has installed potted palms and other tropical plants in the lobby. Some faces are no longer in evidence, such as Grace Gardner Griffin, the most famous bibliographer in the world, who liked to stand outside the annex's front door and smoke a cigarette with the butt turned backwards into the palm of her hand, the army way; or Dr. McPherson, who used to offer her assistance to people sitting in the reading room and was invariably pleasant if sometimes indescribably unhelpful; or Katherine Brand, Ray Stannard Baker's onetime secretary and assistant, who was stationed behind some partitions in the rear of the room. Solon J. Buck was accustomed to walk through the room, and Bemis once introduced me to him outside of the bakery where presumably he had managed to get down his lunch. David C. Mearns, an eminence grise, stayed undercover in his office, but was reported to be there or near, and when we needed to write some relative of a great man or woman to get permission to read a set of papers Mearns invisibly sent the letter and received the reply--perhaps from Mrs. Woodrow Wilson who always insisted on reviewing the qualifications of researchers in her husband's papers.

Some changes have occurred in the manuscript reading room, which if not notable are, so it always seems, ingeniously calculated to get on the nerves of researchers. People who study in library reading rooms, after having become accustomed to their own private offices or studies, are likely to be nervous and can become irascible, and if I did not observe any commotion such as once allegedly happened when a worker behind the desk slapped the wrist of a researcher seeking to take a paper clip (the researcher, a former army officer, reached over the desk and grabbed the worker, so my informant gleefully told me), there were the usual challenges to scholarly equanimity. A sign over the circulation desk says that absolutely no manuscripts will be brought out after 4:15 in the afternoon (why can't the desk workers wait for that crisis, rather than evenly insult everyone?). Anyone wishing to use the xerox machines must show his material to the desk attendants who will be able to see if it is bound or loose, and if it is bound it then must go downstairs to photodupe for repro-

duction and the price is approximately \$5 a sheet. It is forbidden to xerox anything involving copyright law; this leads to such absurdities as Elliot Rosen copying long letters by hand (Elliot does not type) or else figuring out where he can find another library with more lenient practices and carbons or originals of the correspondence, and there was the case of the English girl from Cambridge University, who arrived at exactly 8:30 every morning, and spent the entire day, week after week, typing the full texts of the letters of the late Russell Leffingwell. (Come to think of it, her problem may have been something else, the fact that the flimsies were bound in books and required the tender care of photodupe). Big signs on the xerox machines say "Please leave the lid closed," and upon a failure to close the lid I was told to do so. Once when I put my manuscript boxes on the second shelf of the truck, the attendant asked me pointedly to put the boxes on the top shelf. But perhaps for the preparation of future readers it would be better to describe Procedure as one enters the manuscript room, after coming out of the elevator on the third floor and crossing the hall to the left. Now there are lockers outside the room for overcoats and books and unapproved note cards (more about that in a moment), and the first procedure for anyone entering the room is to approach the throne of the guard who will hand over a key to a locker. After getting rid of excess baggage the researcher enters and engages in Signing In, which includes putting down the Number of the Key, the Date, and Your Affiliation. Then he goes to the desk and asks for the folder, known as the Finding Aid, and after figuring out what boxes (Containers) he would like he goes back and fills out a slip (Order Form), being careful not to order from more than one collection at a time or to order more than seven (count 'em) boxes.

From that point on everything is routine, and here nothing has changed. Established at the table, the researcher may well have someone come up to the next table and wheel in seventy-five filing boxes of index cards, and busily tear up 3,000 cards and deposit them in a waste basket within three inches of his ear. Or someone will come in with a tape recorder and mutter sepulchral monosyllables into a piece of plastic. Or someone will push the fast-speed button of the electric microfilm reader and create a sound like a shell passing overhead. Or someone will bring in an electric typewriter and strike each key slowly as if it were a rivet; Elliot, who can hardly stand the noise of the xerox machines, called my attention to the typewriter woman who came and went every day after taking three notes. And that reminds me of the rule that went into effect after someone got away, a year or two ago, with a bunch of signatures from the Frankfurter papers: the manuscript division furnishes pads of paper or 5 x 8 cards for the use of researchers; one cannot use his own note cards. Each note card has a round hole punched in it, to distinguish it from a counterfeit card. For someone like myself, accustomed neither to large-size note cards nor small size (3 x 5) but the size that is just right, 4 x 6, the library's 5 x 8 cards mean that one has to write or type on just a part of each card and especially watch what happens when he uses the back of a card for it is necessary to start a third of the way down the back; when I returned to Bloomington, Ind., I had to get the department's paper cutter and whack off the extra pieces of the cards, reducing them to 4 x 6 size, and whacked off several parts of my notes in the process!

Speaking of the manuscript division brings to mind the really rather serious problem of noise in the reading room, about which during my stay I protested bitterly and at length. If I may be serious for a moment, I trust that all members of the Society, encountering indiscipline in the reading room, will likewise complain. A fair part of the noise was being generated by the people at the call desk who were conversing loudly with each other about their business and pleasure, talking in street voices with anyone who wandered in from other parts of the library, and answering the many stupid phone calls that came in to the two phones in the room (why must there be telephones in a reading room?). After my initial talk with the chief of the division, to the effect that he had a problem with his assistants, the circulation-desk noise largely ceased ("You should have been around here a few years ago," said the chief. "Then we had a really noisy man at the desk"). Part of the object of my annoyance with the room's indiscipline, however, was the policeman in the box at the entrance, a very cordial person who was invariably helpful (as his predecessor, Mr. Kinley, was helpful) in adjusting the venetian blinds in the late afternoon, or in bringing out the two trucks of notes for the note card woman. My only difficulty with the policeman was that he had a telephone in his box (actually there are three phones in the open section of the search room) and was on the phone from morning to night sending and receiving information about a great variety of personal problems including cars for sale. His voice reached the far southern corner of the search room and penetrated my earplugs and raised my blood pressure and I blew up to one of the desk people who patted me on the shoulder and said he would take care of the matter. The telephoning largely ceased. But why should it be necessary to make an issue of such problems in the greatest manuscript research room in the country?

The subject of institutional noise brings to mind the reading room that I was unable to reform, namely, the search room of the National Archives. Anyone working in the manuscript division of the Library of Congress can study only from 8:30 until 5:00, but the Archives are open in the evening until 10:00 for work in material sent down to the search room in the afternoon. As most members of the Society know, the search room is really three large rooms, elegantly constructed during the depths of the Depression and lined with a wonderful collection of research books, especially in American diplomatic history. The coverage is spotty, as if sometimes acquisitions were neither made nor shelved (these must be copyright copies) for years on end. But the collection has just the sort of books one needs to run down small points encountered in the manuscript boxes pulled off the Archives trucks. In the old days the Archives search room was infested with genealogists who spent their days and nights working for the D. A. R., and once in a while the battery of someone's hearing aid would go off and that individual suddenly would start to shout, totally unaware of the ruckus he or she was creating. The genealogists are mostly gone, to the microfilm room in the Archives building, and usually just the central search room and one of the side rooms is open in the evening. Anyone using archival material is supposed to work in the central room. My intense objection to the place as presently run is the

near total lack of discipline by the library workers, the people who stand behind the semicircular desk. They talk incessantly, passing the time of the evening, in full voice, without reference to readers who are perhaps more than usually short-tempered after eight hours at the Library of Congress. There of course are two telephones on the search room desk, and the attendants do not hesitate to ring up their friends in Washington and environs, nor do their friends hesitate to telephone. Researchers also send and receive phone calls from the desk, though most of the calls are by or for the attendants. But as if this bedlam were not sufficient, the Archives thoughtfully has ensured the reading room's chaos by employing a group of people dressed in police uniforms, complete with billy clubs and guns, one of whom is always stationed at the door of the search room. These characters have walky-talkies and the things are always on, and the static echoes over the search room. I tried to explain the problem to one of the guards, a daytime student at Federal City University, studying electronics, who moonlights at the Archives; alas, he did not understand, or we were on different wave lengths, for he said the walky-talkies are of no value if turned off. The walky-talkies, however, are just part of the police problem, for the policemen at the door receive their own visitors, fellow policemen or policewomen bored with the long evenings, and they talk with each other oblivious of the readers around them. Or they use the two phones on the circulation desk. One evening about nine o'clock, trying to fight the Second Battle of the Marne against walky-talkies and desk attendants and phone calls, I confess to having once more lost my temper, shouting this time at all and sundry, "Will you please keep your mouths shut; I'm trying to read!" There followed an argument between me and one of the attendants who said that she had to talk, that that was her job. I complained in every direction about this insanity--to Bill Lind, the assistant night librarian, and to his chief; I called Milt Gustafson long-distance on one occasion, and Milt took up the problem with one of the assistant archivists, and the argumentative attendant was shifted from the research desk because, it turned out, she was working overtime, more than forty hours a week, and was tired, but the problem remained exactly the same. The Archives search room is no longer the quiet place it once was, and again I trust that any member of the Society who attempts to study there and finds the racket I encountered will do the same unattractive things I did, hoping that the message will get through to the Archives bureaucracy. I should add that the noise in the search room is in no sense the fault of Milt. Nor for the most part is it the fault of the remaining genealogists who usually are quiet as church mice. Nor of the necessity of making out readers' cards for new readers; one of the librarians ventured this point to me, but I saw only a couple of cards made out during the evenings. Nor, for the most part, of thoughtless researchers; night after night young men and women were sitting at their desks absorbed in their materials, not saying a single word. It is squarely the fault of the Archives bureaucracy and maybe even is a sign of the times, whereby the right to talk in a reading room belongs to anyone employed there. American librarians are the best in the world, but their reading rooms are the worst.

Apart from the annoyances, and the memories of places for eating and sleeping, and of scholars now gone--apart from all this, is the experience of working in the Library of Congress and the National Archives still worthwhile? Did, say, anything novel turn up this time in the records? Of course; there always are remarkable bits and pieces. To my intense surprise this last autumn I must include among the bits and pieces the love letters of President Woodrow Wilson to Edith Bolling Galt in 1915, a box or two opened in December, 1976, fifteen years after the second Mrs. Wilson's death. The letters are fascinating if only because of how intensely emotional they show the dignified president to have been during the era of the First World War. In the summer of 1915, Wilson sent daily manuscript letters to Mrs. Galt, of great length, one of them forty-two pages, full of silly endearments beyond description. After a while I skipped the gush about hands, lips, glances, exchanging and plighting troths eternally and forever, but in the middle of the forty-two-pager was a lengthy description of the **Arabic** crisis of 1915 and how Wilson wanted to handle the sinking if he had to challenge the German government. His procedure, which proved unnecessary, was exactly the same that he chose for the crisis a year and a half later, beginning on February 1, 1917. Interesting pieces turned up elsewhere, in the collections of Newton D. Baker, Charles P. Summerall, James G. Harbord. Despite the annoyances, and for some of us oldsters the memories fond and not so fond, it is still fair to conclude that no member of the Society will fail to profit in a scholarly sense from a visit to the Library of Congress and the National Archives.

New State Department Curtailment of Personnel Data:

The Case of the **Biographic Register** and **Foreign Service List**

Waldo H. Heinrichs
Temple University

In the summer of 1976 the Department of State decided to cease publication of the **Foreign Service List** and to restrict circulation of the **Biographic Register** to a few officials within the Department. SHAFR has taken the lead in protesting this action and in seeking reconsideration, so far without success.

The **Biographical Register of the Department of State** has been published annually for over a century. It lists for each foreign service officer the state and date of birth, date and place of college and university degrees, occupational experience previous to entry into the foreign service, name of wife, foreign language fluency, service assignments by date, and promotions. The **Foreign Service List** is a roster of foreign service personnel by foreign post, each post divided into sections. It lists the officer's date of assignment, rank, and job (such as political officer, consular officer, telecommunications officer, etc.)

These two serials have been of enormous value to students of the American diplomatic establishment and its development. They quickly and easily provide the who, what, when, where of the deployment of diplomatic personnel. For biographies, individual and collective, studies of particular missions, and studies of the foreign service itself they are indispensable,

and they are occasionally useful to all American diplomatic historians.

The Department of State based its decision on two separate grounds. In the case of the **Register** it concluded that the Privacy Act of 1974 precluded publication of personal data about foreign service officers. In a letter of March 1, 1977, from Clayton E. McManaway, Acting Deputy Under Secretary for Management, to Warren F. Kuehl the Department pointed out that this Act specified that "any Executive Branch system of records on U. S. citizens must fulfill an agency need supported by statute or executive order and that all uses of personal data must be consistent with the purposes for which it was collected." Under this criterion the Department has identified the **Register** exclusively as an "internal personnel management tool." It is the Department's position that it would be legal to publish a register composed of service assignments and promotions but that such a register would be of little use. Otherwise, in order to include personal data beyond career information, permission of each officer would be required, and this would be too cumbersome a procedure. Accordingly, it decided to restrict circulation.

Cancellation of the **Foreign Service List** arises, according to the Department, from a different reason, namely the possible identification from its pages of assassination targets by terrorist groups. The murder of Richard Welch in December, 1975, at Athens, Greece, was specifically stated as the reason for the decision. As McManaway wrote Kuehl, "At that time it was felt that free public access to a comprehensive list of all U. S. personnel by location and job unnecessarily increased their vulnerability to terrorist action." The State Department has since admitted, orally and in writing, that it acted in the case of the **Foreign Service List** at the behest of the Central Intelligence Agency. Welch was the CIA station chief at Athens, operating out of the embassy. As Douglas J. Bennet, Jr. wrote to Congressman Richardson Preyer, August 19, 1977, "Regarding the **Foreign Service List**, your appeal should be made directly to the Central Intelligence Agency rather than through the Department of State. The CIA's objection to continued publication of the **Foreign Service List** could best be answered by your making a direct inquiry to that agency."

In addition to SHAFR a number of scholars as well as the International Studies Association have protested the decision on the **Register** and **List**. Samuel F. Wells, Jr. and Waldo H. Heinrichs, representing the Council of SHAFR, called on Joan M. Clark, Director of Management Operations at State on July 8, 1977. At the meeting were five of her bureau and office chiefs and they fully explained the Department's position, but clearly indicated that no reconsideration was contemplated. Thanks to the representations of Wells, Congressman Richardson Preyer, chairman of the Government Information and Individual Rights Subcommittee of the House Committee on Government Operations, wrote the Secretary of State, Cyrus R. Vance, specifically asking whether an edition of the **Register** could be published without personal data, whether the consent of officers could be obtained for a complete edition, whether the **Register** could be released for scholarly use after ten or fifteen years, and whether the Freedom of Information Act did not require release of the information in the **Foreign Service List** in any event. To all questions, the reply of the Department was negative.

Every effort to change the decision has failed, both under the Ford and Carter administrations. It is quite possible that the decision on the **Register** could not be changed without action by Congress, though there are

grounds for challenging the Department's criteria for restriction; after all, the **Register** is not simply a "management tool". With regard to the **List** the problem is clearly not the law, but the will of the CIA. The assumption that the **List** has been or could be a useful targeting device for terrorists should not go unchallenged.

What particularly concerns some of us is the absence of any countervailing concern for the destruction of critical historical evidence. Scholarly values seem to have no weight at all. The Department's restriction on the **Register** is *sine die*. We are assured by officials that service data, as against personal data, will be ultimately available; but there is a serious question whether such information can be retrieved from State's computer-based archives in aggregate form. Data systems established on computer tapes for functional use do not necessarily perform for scholarly use.

We have the feeling that highly valuable historical data is slipping through our fingers and will be lost forever.

Kennan and Containment: A Comment

John W. Coogan (North Carolina)

and

Michael H. Hunt (Yale)

George Kennan has both made history as a State Department Soviet expert and shaped our vision of it with his engaging memoirs. John L. Gaddis is an accomplished historian, widely praised for his work on the early cold war. An essay by Gaddis on Kennan, prepared for the thirtieth anniversary of the appearance of the "X" article in **Foreign Affairs**, naturally commands attention.*

The central point which that essay makes is that Kennan endowed the doctrine of containment with "a degree of foresight and consistency of strategic vision for which it would be difficult to find a contemporary parallel" (p. 886). This claim, had it been made several years ago, would have elicited an assent from us as well as most other students of U. S. foreign relations. But now, following publication of the State Department series **Foreign Relations** of the United States (hereafter FRUS) for 1947 through 1949, we cannot agree. Our reading of the documents (supported in detail in the 1977 Yale senior essays by Margaret Ann Yates and John F. McAlister) indicates that Kennan's policy of containment, far from consistent and foresighted, was often vague and sometimes self-contradictory.

Gaddis maintains that Kennan consistently advocated both limited American involvement in East Asia (outside Japan) and the encouragement of China's independence from the USSR. What then is one to make of his July 1949 memo on Taiwan (FRUS, 1949, IX, 356-59), recommending the establishment of a virtual military protectorate over the island? Kennan alone among Truman administration advisers was willing to involve American troops there. He argued that if his project to save "a dependent people" from the "oppressive alien rule" of the Communists were "carried through

* John Lewis Gaddis, "Containment: A Reassessment," **Foreign Affairs**, 55, #4 (July, 1977), 873-887.

with sufficient resolution, speed, ruthlessness and self-assurance, the way Theodore Roosevelt might have done it, it would be not only successful but would have an electrifying effect in this country and throughout the Far East." While conceding that his proposal involved "unquestionably great risks," Kennan could offer no more to support it than "my own instinct." No wonder that Secretary of State Dean Acheson remained committed to his own more modest China policy. Today we search in vain for some explanation by Kennan or Gaddis of how direct military intervention in Taiwan was to keep the U. S. out of the China morass, to limit American military commitments in East Asia, or to drive a wedge between China and the USSR.

Kennan's outbursts of militancy were not limited to East Asia. The 1948 FRUS volume on Europe (III, 848-49) reveals him advocating a no less adventurous policy of military intervention in Italy. In March, 1948, scenting a possible victory by the Italian Communist Party in the upcoming general elections, Kennan called for pressure on Rome "to outlaw [the] Communist Party and take [unspecified] strong actions against it before elections." He realized that the most likely result would be the outbreak of a civil war that would in turn "give us grounds" for the reoccupation of strategic areas. "This would admittedly result in much violence and probably a military division of Italy." Once again it fell to cooler and better informed heads in the State Department to set aside Kennan's proposal as "drastic" and "unwise." They must have wondered, as we do now, how to square this episode with Kennan's supposed definition of containment as a limited, non-interventionist policy pursued essentially through political and economic means.

Kennan's general policy statements were as imprecise as his reactions to particular crises were inconsistent. Gaddis views the vague language of the "X" article as merely an aberration. But what of his influential Long Telegram of February 1946 (FRUS, 1946, VI, 696-709), from which Kennan drew some of the language and most of the ideas for his **Foreign Affairs** essay of the next year? To take only one example, is not Kennan's use of the key concept "force" in the March telegram (p. 707) just as vague as his use of the idea of "counterforce" in the 1947 essay (p. 581)?

The same vagueness recurs in later pivotal policy documents on containment which Kennan contributed as head of the Policy Planning Staff. Consider NSC 20/1 of August 1948 (FRUS, 1948, I, Pt. 2, 609-611), which Gaddis treats as an example of Kennan's sophistication, specificity and consistency.

In general, it should be our objective in time of peace as well as in time of war,

(a) to reduce the power and influence of Moscow to limits where they will no longer constitute a threat to the peace and stability of international society; and

(b) to bring about a basic change in the theory and practice of international relations observed by the government in power in Russia.

Are such statements truly examples of the sort of limited, clearly defined objectives Gaddis attributes to Kennan's view of containment? Kennan fares no better in this document when he attempts to lay down more specific goals, such as "to encourage **by every means possible** [emphasis ours] the development in the Soviet Union of institutions of federalism which would permit a

revival of the national life of the Baltic peoples." Does this too not have a vagueness and openendedness reminiscent of the Truman Doctrine, NSC-68, or the speeches of John Foster Dulles? Our reading would indicate that the fuzziness of the "X" article was not an aberration, but rather typical of Kennan's major policy statements on containment during his tenure in the State Department.

George Kennan is a distinguished American whose reputation will not be enhanced by claims to extraordinary "consistency and foresight." Clearly Kennan, like other mortals, possessed the normal capacity to lose sight of general principles under the daily buffeting of international crises, policy debates, and looming deadlines. Perhaps more than most he was susceptible to capture by his own compelling rhetoric. While Kennan's handling of policy may offer no enduring model, the issues raised here do suggest two modest and practical conclusions. The first is that our differences with Gaddis highlight the need for a better understanding of Kennan's role in the formulation of the containment policy. With the government documents now in large measure available, scholars have only to await the opening of Kennan's personal papers on an unrestricted and equitable basis to tackle the problem in earnest. The second conclusion relates to the frequently reiterated call for earlier declassification of government documents than is now either accepted in principle (after the elapse of twenty years) or followed in practice (currently after twenty-eight years, with many documents produced outside the State Department closed even longer). The case of the Kennan **Memoirs** puts the issue in a new light by illustrating the peculiar power that former policymakers, especially those who write felicitously, retain in shaping our view of the immediate past. Put differently, without government documents to confirm or refute insider accounts of past policy, historians and the public are placed to an unfortunate degree in thrall to those with a stake in past policy--at the very time that a full understanding of that policy would most contribute to an intelligent and informed consideration of pending issues. The case of George Kennan, himself an outspoken critic of the defects of a democratic foreign policy, thus ironically serves to remind us of the importance of open inquiry to a free public debate and ultimately to an enlightened foreign policy.

WHAT LIES AHEAD FOR THE FOREIGN RELATIONS SERIES?

by

David F. Trask

William Z. Slany

(Dr. Trask heads the Office of the Historian in the Bureau of Public Affairs of the Department of State. Dr. Slany is a colleague of Dr. Trask, and is the Associate Historian for the Western Hemisphere and Europe. Dr. Trask delivered this paper before the SHAFR Council in Dallas, Texas, December 27, 1977)

The materials published in the **Foreign Relations** series allow users to study any aspect of the foreign-policy process. Coverage extends not simply to the Department of State but to all agencies contributing to policy-making and diplomatic activities. This present emphasis, established during the past generation, responds to marked changes in the ways the United States conducts its foreign relations, particularly since the Second World War. This interagency responsibility is distinctive, separating the published product of the Office of the Historian from that of most other historical offices in the federal government.

The Office of the Historian reacts not only to changes in the foreign-policy process but to substantive shifts in world politics. For example, it must treat the emerging north-south relationship of developed and developing powers as well as the older east-west confrontation between communist and noncommunist nations. It must concern itself with modern multilateral relations as well as traditional bilateral relations. The Office of the Historian now has two geographic staffs--one covering the western world including Latin America and the other covering Asia, Africa, and the Pacific. Each of these staffs compiles appropriate volumes in the **Foreign Relations** series and conducts various types of research needed in the Department. This latter portion of the workload is not well known in the academic community because much of the output is classified. Resources allocated to the Office of the Historian have to be divided between two main functions--compilation and classified research.

For the past two years the Office has devoted much time to planning changes in the series with four primal objectives in mind. The series can be **better; quicker; larger; and cheaper**. Some steps have already been taken; others are under consideration. These may be summarized briefly:

1. **The series can become BETTER.** In recent years two notable substantive trends are discernible, especially in the volumes for the late 1940's and after, which should be fully realized in the near future. In the first place, compilers include more "other-agency documentation" as time passes, responding to the multiplication of other-agency contributions to the foreign-policy process. The various presidential libraries are invaluable because they hold materials generated throughout the federal government. Nevertheless, the Office of the Historian must broaden its access to material available only in the other agencies if it is to assure fully representative coverage. In the second place, given the increasing variety and complexity of sources for the study of American foreign relations, compiler-editors are expanding their annotations to include more bibliographical assistance and more useful

information about unpublished materials deposited at the National Archives or elsewhere. Also, accurate biographical lists of considerable use to scholars must be developed. Description and identification of document collections made in the Department of State but not stored in the central file, the so-called "lot" files, are of notable significance. So are comments on the papers of individual officials and on documentary collections held in other agencies. Guides to such materials may prove as important to scholarship as the texts of documents printed in the volumes. If the potential of other-agency coverage and annotation can be realized, the series will have gained qualitatively.

2. **The series can issue QUICKER.** For many years our Advisory Committee, representing the opinions of the scholarly community, has urged the Department to approach a twenty-year line in publication of the **Foreign Relations** series, that is, publication about twenty years after origination of materials. The series is now at a twenty-seven to twenty-eight year line, but the Office of the Historian is now taking steps to reduce the time lag significantly. One of the decisions intended to speed publication was made several years ago, and the first fruits of it should become available soon. Beginning with the material for the year 1952 the documents on given subjects will be published in volumes covering three years rather than one year. A triennial set of sixteen volumes for the period 1952-1954 has been compiled and is being readied for publication. The Office is now compiling a triennial set for 1955-1957 and will begin the set for 1958-1960 next year. Triennial publication saves time and space, because certain operations are undertaken only once rather than three times. Four specific advantages of triennial compilation also deserve mention. Compilers can review three-year record blocks efficiently while minimizing threats to the integrity of files as a consequence of undue handling. They can control the amount of introductory and concluding information, since such sections are reduced in number from three to one. They can provide fuller information relating to given documents, particularly reactions which occur in succeeding calendar years. Finally, the editors can plan more compact and cogent volumes because they can take into consideration larger blocks of material; the triennial principle decreases the "jerkiness" of having to trace multi-year processes through several volumes.

For the triennia after 1952-1954 the Office plans to issue twelve-volume sets with about 1,000-1,200 pages in each book. If it proves possible to compile the triennial sets for 1955-1957, 1958-1960, and 1961-1963 in two years each (covering nine years of documents in six years of compilation time), the compilers could achieve a twenty-year line in compilation by the end of 1980. It may be possible to approach the twenty-year line in publication by 1983, although it is much too early to make definite commitments.

Plans for reducing the gap between origination of documents and their publication are made with an eye to the probable pace by which the Department is able to achieve a twenty-year line in bulk declassification, that is, a general review of documents so that files can be transferred in large blocks to the National Archives. One of the barriers to expeditious publication is the necessity to clear or declassify documents earlier considered sensitive. A projected new executive order concerning classification/declassification which replaces the existing order on this subject EO 11652 (1972) provides for bulk declassification of government documents except

for foreign-originated information at twenty years rather than at the existing time lapse of thirty years. This unprecedented change should facilitate clearance of manuscripts in the **Foreign Relations** series. The process of clearing such manuscripts is distinct from bulk declassification as such, but it must precede that activity because it provides information essential to efficient screening of the Department's records prior to their availability at the National Archives.

3. **The series can be LARGER.** Three considerations have forced a reduction in the number of documents to appear in book form for the years after 1951. Fiscal stringency dictates some cutback; ballooning costs of publication, familiar to publishing historians in the private sector, operate with equal or greater force in the public sector. Secondly, the desire to close the time gap to about twenty years suggests some reduction. Finally, the 1950s do not require the same kind of coverage as the immediate postwar years. In comparing the number of volumes issued for the late 1940s as against those planned for the latter 1950s it should be noted that certain special series or sequences of volumes published in recent years are not called for in later years such as those on China, the Council of Foreign Ministers, the European peace settlement, and the German and Austrian questions. In any case the planned reductions are neither arbitrary nor across the board but the consequence of substantive considerations. In some cases, such as national security affairs, foreign economic affairs, and the Middle East and Far East (exclusive of China), the coverage is maintained at or above the level of the late 1940s. Coverage alters as shifts in foreign-policy emphases occur, such as the growing importance of Asia and Africa in the wake of decolonization as compared with, for example, western Europe.

Nevertheless, it is important to make available as many documents as possible. It is clear that the volume and importance of documents increases as foreign-policy concerns burgeon during the postwar years. How can the Office of the Historian respond to this requirement? The Department cannot expand book publication as documentation expands, but the remarkable development of micrographic techniques opens the possibility of making available incomparably more documents than ever before. It is possible to microprint a page of records for a few pennies whereas the cost of publishing a page of the printed volumes is now in excess of \$50.00. It is conceivable that the Office of the Historian can increase the total number of published documents by as much as five or ten times, if it develops microform supplements to the projected printed sets. Obviously, printed volumes meet certain continuing needs, and no one intends to eliminate them. The value of the microform supplement is that it not only permits a remarkable expansion in the number of documents that may be made available; it permits publication of certain types of documents that cannot be included in printed volumes for reasons of space, such as long NSC reports or detailed statistical collections.

To summarize, the hope is that the Office of the Historian can improve both the quantity and the quality of its publication program by developing a combined format involving both books and microforms. This outcome would benefit particularly American users who live at a distance from the National Archives. It would also benefit users overseas, especially in Asia and Africa, who find their regions covered ever more extensively as compilations appear for the latter years of the postwar era. To repeat, since the matter appears to have been misunderstood in some quarters, the evolving concept

is to publish a core of published books presenting a representative, authoritative, and scholarly selection of documents and providing (a) editorial identification of subjects not treated; (b) guides to files and repositories, and to microform supplements; (c) biographical lists and aids. A much larger quantity of raw documentation, probably in microfiche, will be assembled in an appropriate relationship to published books.

4. **The series can be CHEAPER.** The Office of the Historian shares the general desire to control costs. It has already acquired a computerized system which will decrease printing expenses. Given the low cost of microform publication, the unit cost per page of published materials can be dramatically reduced. Each finished compilation includes about 2,000 document pages in manuscript. It is not inconceivable that the Office of the Historian could make available many additional documents in microform per triennial set in association with about 14,000 printed pages in the published books. The amount could increase by five times or even more. Presumably users of the series could purchase all or any given part of the additional microform material made available, according to particular needs. The material in microform would cost buyers far less than equivalent material in printed form.

* * * * *

The Advisory Committee on **Foreign Relations of the United States** plays an invaluable role in conveying the views of the historical profession to the Office of the Historian, but all others who wish to do so are invited to express their views on present practices and possibilities for the future. The scholars who prepare the **Foreign Relations** series are engaged in a most complicated and exacting task of great importance to historians and to many others. We welcome your comments, and we hope that this information is of use in developing them.

Comments should be sent to:

The Historian
Office of the Historian (PA/HO)
Bureau of Public Affairs
Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

ABSTRACTS OF ARTICLES PUBLISHED**BY MEMBERS OF SHAFR**

Kinley Brauer (University of Minnesota), "The Slavery Problem in the Diplomacy of the American Civil War," **Pacific Historical Review**, XLVI (August, 1977), 439-69. Concern over the practical consequences of abolition in the United States led Seward and many European leaders to hope that slavery would survive the Civil War. Seward regarded slavery as temporarily essential to American prosperity; Britain, France, Russia, and Spain, each for special economic or geopolitical reasons, also wanted slavery preserved. Seward therefore attempted to use the threat of immediate abolition to coerce Europe into reversing its "pro-Confederate" policies until the Emancipation Proclamation, opposed by Seward and bitterly denounced by European diplomats and statesmen, settled the question.

Howard Jones (University of Alabama), "Reassessing Nineteenth-Century United States-Latin American Relations: A Review Article," **South Eastern Latin Americanist**, XXI, 3 (Dec., 1977), 1-11. This article reviews two recently published books--Alexander De Conde's **This Affair of Louisiana** (1976) and Ernest R. May's **The Making of the Monroe Doctrine** (1975)--and argues that both authors, by implication, illustrate the need to reassess nineteenth-century relations between the United States and Latin America. Whereas many writers have emphasized how America's "manifest destiny" and "mission" combined with the steady decay in Spain's institutions to bring on the decline of its New World empire, De Conde and May demonstrate that there were other, more important factors involved. De Conde shows that Americans since the colonial era sought security through expansion and often engaged in power politics to achieve this end. This "Imperial Thrust," he calls it, pervaded the early years of the republic and emerged in 1803 as a "kind of pious imperialism." May's analysis also suggests that America's policymakers had a realistic understanding of Old World politics. The Monroe administration, he believes, continued the stance of nonentanglement in European political affairs because it sensed no threat of foreign intervention in the New World. The crucial factor in late 1823, May argues, was each candidate's concern with the coming presidential election of 1824. These two studies imply that the Spanish empire in the New World fell for more reasons than those of its own. As Spain had recognized years before, her northern neighbors practiced power politics, pursued expansionistic and nationalistic goals, carefully guarded their private and political interests, and eventually secured the continent from Old World dangers.

Wilson D. Miscamble (University of Notre Dame), "The Evolution of an Internationalist: Harry S. Truman and American Foreign Policy," **The Australian Journal of Politics and History**, XXIII, #2 (August, 1977), 268-283. Although President Harry S. Truman's commitment to the internationalist cause is generally acknowledged, neither the development nor the nature of this commitment has received adequate examination. This essay provides

such an examination. It traces the evolution of the future president's foreign policy ideas from an early period of uncertainty, through the period when he was a forthright advocate of preparedness to a final period when he became an active proponent of the cause of American involvement in a postwar international organization in particular and in world affairs in general.

Richard V. Salisbury (Western Kentucky University), "The Anti-Imperialist Career of Alejandro Alvarado Quirós," **Hispanic American Historical Review**, LVII, 4 (November, 1977), 587-612. During the 1920s and 1930s Costa Rica's Alejandro Alvarado Quirós served as an effective spokesman of the Latin American anti-imperialist movement. Like many anti-imperialist leaders of his day, Alvarado viewed American economic and political initiatives in Latin America with a great deal of suspicion. Unlike many of his anti-imperialist colleagues, however, Alvarado, as a leading diplomatic and political figure, was able to promote the anti-imperialist cause by working directly within established national and international power structures. Alvarado played his most important role at the 1923 Pan American Conference held in Santiago, Chile, where he succeeded in challenging, despite vigorous American opposition, the restrictive regulations regarding the structure and membership of the Governing Board of the Pan American Union. As a member of the Costa Rican Congress from 1926 to 1930 Alvarado opposed the renewal of intervention by the U. S. Marines in Nicaragua and worked to reduce the influence of American corporations in Costa Rica. During the 1930s Alvarado's anti-imperialism gradually gave way to Pan-Americanism as the Good Neighbor Policy of FDR replaced the intervention policy of preceding years.

J. K. Sweeney (South Dakota State University) "Genesis of an Airbase: The United States, Portugal and Santa Maria," **Aerospace Historian**, XXIV, #4 (December, 1977), 222-227. Portugal is important to the Atlantic Alliance, but because of their location the Portuguese Azores are so vital that at times the security of the nation has depended on matters Azorean. Convinced that American use of the Azores was essential to the invasion of Europe in World War II, the United States determined to acquire a wholly American facility. R. Henry Norweb was thus dispatched to Portugal in late 1943 to secure an American airbase on the island of Santa Maria. Despite a lack of patience, and sometimes a lack of understanding displayed by his superiors Norweb performed capably during the long and difficult negotiations which followed. Norweb's difficulties were compounded by the fact that Dr. Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, preferred the aura of desirability which an enigmatic neutrality might bring. Despite the problems, however, the negotiations were successful and the basis of a Luso-American connection was safely forged amidst the fires of war.

 PERSONALS

The Now-It-Can-Be-Told Department: In December, 1976, Betty M. Unterberger (Texas A & M, and Chairwoman of SHAFR Program Committee for 1978) was an officially-invited delegate to an international conference held at Islamabad, Pakistan, to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the birth of Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the founding father of that state. While there she presented a scholarly paper dealing with the host country. (This paper has since been published in Pakistan). During her stay in that land she was also featured on radio and TV, and in newspapers.

The trip to Pakistan began simply enough--with an article which she had done for the **Slavic Review** on that Middle Eastern country. As a consequence of the article, the Pakistan embassy in this country invited her to give the keynote address at the observance of the above centennial in Washington, D. C. The invitation--and journey--to Pakistan followed shortly thereafter.

Robert Seager, II (editor, Henry Clay Papers, U of Kentucky) will speak upon the topic, "'Damn the Torpedoes! Full Royalties Ahead!' Admiral Mahan as Literary Entrepreneur," at the Kentucky-Tennessee chapter meeting of the American Studies Association, Chattanooga, Tenn., on March 31.

Last fall Lawrence S. Wittner (SUNY at Albany) became president of the national organization, Conference on Peace Research in History.

Richard H. Heindel has retired from Pennsylvania State University's Capitol Campus with the title Professor Emeritus of International Relations after a distinguished career in U. S. governmental service and the realm of academia. He is editor of the international affairs section in the magazine **Intellect** and states that he would welcome articles in this area from members of SHAFR.

As of October 1, 1977, Thomas A. Breslin became Associate Dean of International Affairs at Florida International University (Miami). He will also teach occasional courses in the Department of International Relations.

The Advisory Committee on Publication of the George C. Marshall Papers was established last year. A matter of considerable pride to members of SHAFR is the fact that four of the five persons making up the Committee are members of our Society: Fred L. Hadsel (Chairman, and Director of the George C. Marshall Foundation), Richardson Dougall (former Deputy Director, Historical Office, Department of State), Maurice Matloff (Chief Historian, Center of Military History, Department of the Army), and Forrest C. Pogue (Director, Dwight D. Eisenhower Institute for Historical Research, Smithsonian Institution).

Norman A. Graebner (Virginia and former president of SHAFR) will be the Harnsworth professor at Oxford for the academic year 1978-79.

Kenneth J. Grieb has been appointed coordinator of international studies at his institution, U of Wisconsin (Oshkosh).

John L. Gaddis (Ohio U) recently received a NEH grant and will be on leave to do research during the 1978-79 academic year. He plans to do a sequel to his Bancroft Prize-winning opus (which was also the Stuart L. Bernath award winner for 1973), **The United States and the Origins of the Cold War, 1941-1947.**

Mary V. Kuebel (Southern Methodist) will be on leave during the fall semester, 1978-79, for the purpose of doing research in Washington, D. C., New York City, and Boston. She will be investigating the topic of nineteenth century United States-China relations with a focus upon the local contacts between Americans and Chinese in the treaty ports of China.

As was reported in the December issue of the **Newsletter**, J. Donald Miller (Connecticut) received a grant from the Eleanor Roosevelt Institute to aid him in research upon his dissertation at the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library. The dissertation topic, it might be added, is: "The United States and Sub-Saharan Africa, 1939-1950: The Roots of American Policy toward Decolonization in Africa."

An article by James J. Barnes (Wabash), "Bancroft, Motley, Parkman and Prescott: A Study of Their Success as Historians," appeared in **Literature and History** in the spring of 1977.

PUBLICATIONS IN U. S. DIPLOMACY BY MEMBERS OF SHAFR

Thomas A. Bailey (Stanford, emeritus, and first president of SHAFR), **The Marshall Plan Summer: An Eyewitness Report on Europe and the Russians in 1947.** 1978. Hoover Institution Press. \$10.95.

Jules R. Benjamin (Rochester), **United States and Cuba; Hegemony and Dependent Development, 1880-1934.** 1977. U of Pittsburgh Press. \$14.95.

John L. Gaddis (Ohio U), **Russia, the Soviet Union, and the United States: An Interpretive History.** 1978. John Wiley & Sons, Inc. Pb. \$6.95.

Mark T. Gilderhus (Colorado State), **Diplomacy and Revolution: U. S.--Mexican Relations under Wilson and Carranza.** 1977. U of Arizona Press. Cloth \$10.50; pb. \$4.25.

Jonathan Goldstein (Cherry Hill H. S., N. J.), **Philadelphia and the China Trade, 1682-1846; Commercial, Cultural, and Attitudinal Effects.** 1977. \$9.50

Morrell Heald (Case Western Reserve) and Lawrence S. Kaplan (Kent State and Joint Executive Secretary-Treasurer, SHAFR), **Culture and Diplomacy: the American Experience.** 1977. Greenwood Press, Inc. \$19.95. Number 63 in series, Contributions in American History.

Howard I. Kushner (Concordia U, Montreal) and Anne H. Sherrill (Mills College), **John Milton Hay: The Union of Poetry and Politics.** 1977. G. K. Hall & Co. \$9.95.

Walter F. La Feber (Cornell), **The Panama Canal: the Crisis in Historical Perspective.** 1978. Oxford U Press. \$10.95.

Thomas G. Paterson (Connecticut), ed., **Major Problems in American Foreign Policy: Documents and Essays.** 1978. Two vols. Vol I--To 1914. Vol II--Since 1914. D. C. Heath & Co. Pb. \$7.95 per volume. The vast majority of the essays are by members of SHAFR.

Jeffrey J. Safford (Montana State U), **Wilsonian Maritime Diplomacy, 1913-1921**. 1978. Rutgers U Press. \$16.00.

Mark A. Stoler (Vermont), **The Politics of the Second Front: American Military Planning and Diplomacy in Coalition Warfare, 1941-1943**. 1977. Greenwood Press, Inc. \$16.95. Number 12 in series, Contributions in Military History.

Richard H. Werking (Mississippi), **The Master Architects: Building the United States Foreign Service, 1890-1913**. 1977. University Press of Kentucky. \$18.75.

OTHER WORKS IN U. S. DIPLOMACY

Warren F. Kuehl (Akron, and Joint Executive Secretary-Treasurer, SHAFR), ed., **The Library of World Peace Studies**. Sixteen U. S., or U. S.-oriented, pacifistic periodicals on 4" x 6" microfiche. Eleven of the sixteen introductions to these periodicals were written by members of SHAFR--Kuehl, Charles Chatfield (Wittenberg), and David S. Patterson (Colgate). Clearwater Publishing Co., Inc. \$799.00 for set; \$948.00 if items purchased separately.

Jules Davids (Georgetown), introduction, **The Inquiry Handbooks**. 1975. Forty-one vols. bound in twenty. Scholarly Resources, Inc. \$640.00 the set. These **Handbooks** were drawn up just before, and immediately after, the end of World War I by scores of American legal, economic, political, historical, and diplomatic experts and scholars. They were to serve as a source of information for, and provide guidance to, the American delegation at the Paris peace conference.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS BY MEMBERS OF SHAFR

Thomas A. Bailey (Stanford, emeritus, and first president of SHAFR), ed., **The American Spirit**. Fourth ed. 1978. Two vols. Pb. \$8.95 each volume. D. C. Heath & Co.

Thomas A. Bryson (West Georgia College), **Walter George Smith**. 1977. Catholic U Press. \$13.95.

Paolo E. Coletta (U. S. Naval Academy), **The American Naval Heritage in Brief**. 1977. University Press of America. Pb. \$14.00.

Bruce Kuklick (Pennsylvania), **The Rise of American Philosophy, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1860-1930.** 1977. Yale U Press. \$17.95.

Thomas C. Leonard (California, Berkeley), **Above the Battle: War-Making in America from Appomattox to Versailles.** 1978. Oxford U Press. \$12.95.

Elliot A. Rosen (Rutgers, Newark), **Hoover, Roosevelt, and the Brains Trust.** 1977. Columbia U Press. \$15.25.

Eugene P. Trani (Nebraska) and David L. Wilson (Southern Illinois), **The Presidency of Warren G. Harding.** 1977. Regents Press of Kansas. \$12.00. A volume in the American Presidency Series. Reviewed in **History**, October, 1977.

Russell F. Weigley's (Temple) **The American Way of War: A History of U. S. Military Strategy and Policy** which was published in a hardbound edition in 1973 is now available in paperback (1977) from Indiana U Press for \$6.95

Russell F. Weigley (Temple), **Militarism.** 1977. Schenkman. Cl. \$11.25; pb. \$5.95.

Russell F. Weigley (Temple), ed., **New Dimensions in Military History.** 1977. Presidio Press. \$14.95.

THE STUART L. BERNATH MEMORIAL BOOK COMPETITION FOR 1979

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

CONDITIONS OF THE AWARD

ELIGIBILITY: The prize competition is open to any book on any aspect of American foreign relations that is published during 1978. It must be the author's first or second book. Authors are not required to be members of SHAFR, nor do they have to be professional academicians.

PROCEDURES: Books may be nominated by the author, the publisher, or by any member of SHAFR. Five (5) copies of each book must be submitted with the nomination. The books should be sent to: Dr. Ronald Steel, Department of History, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut 06520. The works must be received not later than February 1, 1979.

AMOUNT OF AWARD: \$500.00. If two (2) or more writers are deemed winners, the amount will be shared. The award will be announced at the luncheon for members of SHAFR, held in conjunction with the annual meeting of the OAH which will be April, 1979, in New Orleans.

PREVIOUS WINNERS

1972	Joan Hoff Wilson (Sacramento) Kenneth E. Shewmaker (Dartmouth)
1973	John L. Gaddis (Ohio U)
1974	Michael H. Hunt (Yale)
1975	Frank D. McCann, Jr. (New Hampshire) Stephen E. Pelz (U of Massachusetts-Amherst)
1976	Martin J. Sherwin (Princeton)
1977	Roger V. Dingman (Southern California)

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

The Stuart L. Bernath Annual Memorial Lectureship was established in 1976 through the generosity of Dr. and Mrs. Gerald J. Bernath, Beverly Hills, California, and is administered by SHAFR. The Bernath Lectures will be the feature at the luncheons of the Society, held during the conventions of the OAH in April of each year.

DESCRIPTION AND ELIGIBILITY: The lectures will be comparable in style and scope to the yearly SHAFR presidential address delivered at the American Historical Association, but will be restricted to younger scholars with excellent reputations for teaching and research. Each lecturer will concern himself not specifically with his own research interests, but with broad issues of concern to students of American foreign relations.

PROCEDURES: The Bernath Lectureship Committee is now soliciting nominations for the 1980 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 December 1, 1978. The Chairman of the Committee, and the person to whom nominations should be sent, is Dr. Jonathan Utley, Department of History, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee 37916.

HONORARIUM: \$300.00 with publication of the lecture assured in the Society's **Newsletter**.

SHAFR ROSTER AND RESEARCH LIST

Please use this form to register your general and current research interests as well as your address. It would be quite helpful if members would send revised information to the editor whenever new data is available, since that would make it much easier to keep the files up to date and thereby avoid a rush in the fall at the time of publication. If a form is not available, a short memo will suffice. Changes which pertain only to address should be sent to the National Office, Department of History, University of Akron, Akron, Ohio 44325, and they will in turn be passed on to the editors of the **List**, the **Newsletter**, and **Diplomatic History**. Unless new data is submitted, previously-listed research projects will be repeated.

Name: _____

Address: _____

Institutional Affiliation (if different from address): _____

General Area of Research Interest: _____

Current Research Project(s): _____

If this research is of a pre-doctoral nature, check here: _____

Mail this completed form to:

Dr. Warren F. Kimball, editor
SHAFR Roster & Research List
Department of History
Rutgers University (Newark)
Newark, New Jersey 07102

 ERRATA

The December number of the **Newsletter** carried an announcement to the effect that the James V. Forrestal diaries could be procured, in microfilm, from the Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress. This was an error. Instead of the Forrestal diaries, it should have been those of Admiral William D. Leahy.

A recent announcement from the National Office of SHAFR states that the 1978 Chairman of the S. L. Bernath Scholarly Article Committee is Dr. Robert L. Beisner, American University. Dr. Beisner was Chairman of the 1977 Committee. His successor, and the person to whom articles should be sent during 1978, is Dr. Charles E. Neu, Department of History, Brown University, Providence, R. I. 02906.

 ANNOUNCEMENTS

The Office of The Historian, U. S. Department of State, receives a great many applications for employment. Appointments are filled through Civil Service procedures. Very few openings are expected, but persons interested in possible employment as historians in the Department should request information on Mid-Level Positions for Historians from the following address: Washington, D. C., Area Office, U. S. Civil Service Commission, 1900 E Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20415 (Attention: Mid-Level Office EWS). This procedure applies also to persons who have already submitted applications directly to the Office of The Historian. For further information, please write to David F. Trask, Office of The Historian, Department of State, Washington, D. C. 20520.

Individuals and/or firms who wish to advertise in SHAFR's **Diplomatic History** should keep these dates (deadlines) in mind:

	<u>Summer Issue</u>	<u>Fall Issue</u>	<u>Winter Issue</u>
Copy to be set:	May 15	August 15	November 15
Camera-ready copy:	May 29	August 29	November 29

For data concerning rates and mechanical requirements, call (302) 654-7713, or write to Daniel Helmstadter, Director of Marketing, Scholarly Resources, Inc., 1508 Pennsylvania Ave., Wilmington, Delaware 19806.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

SHAFFR's Fourth Annual Convention will be held upon the George Mason University campus, Fairfax, Va., August 3-5. Under normal driving--not rush hour--conditions the University is about a half hour away from such District of Columbia locations as the Library of Congress, the Smithsonian Institution, and the National Archives.

For those who wish to stay upon the University campus, airconditioned rooms will be available at these rates: \$10.00, single; \$13.00, double; \$19.00, family. If one wishes a package deal, consisting of a room for two nights, two luncheons, two receptions, one dinner, and the registration fee (\$5.00), the cost will be \$38.00. (For double occupancy, the cost per person would, of course, be less).

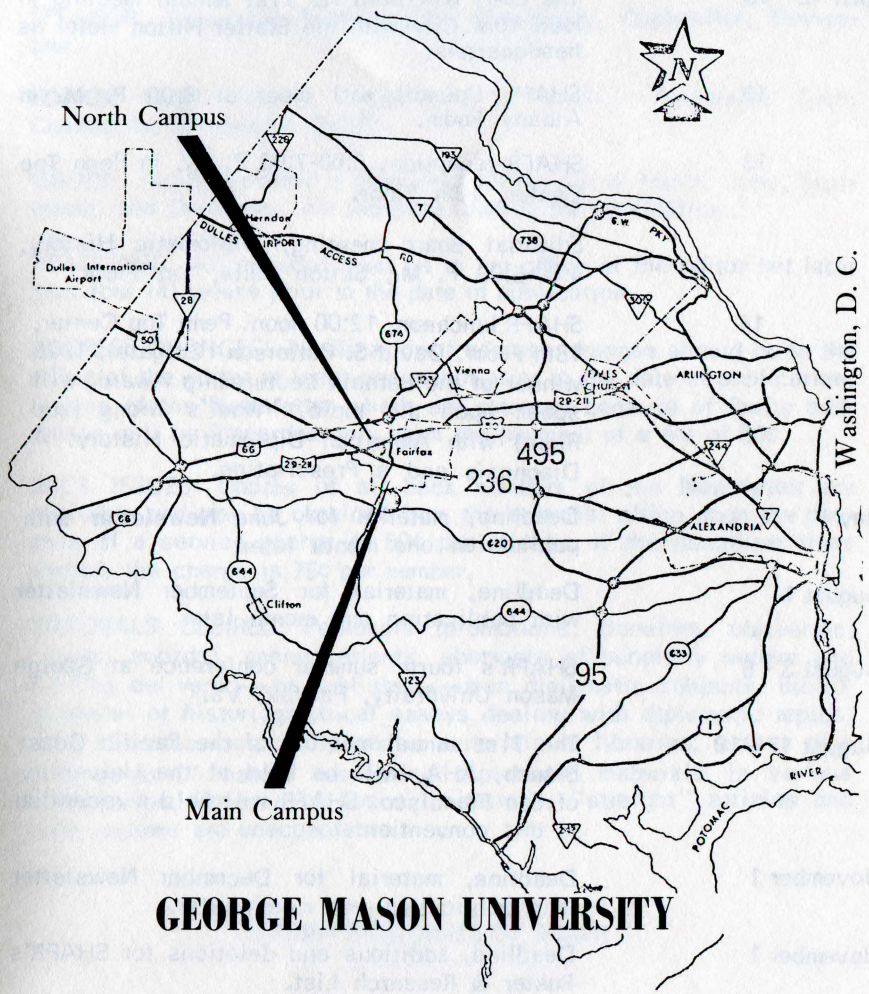
A brochure, providing the details of this convention, is being prepared and will be mailed to all SHAFFR members in May. It will contain, among other items, the program for the gathering and a form for making reservations.

A map of the Fairfax, Virginia area is upon the opposite page.

Student Boner

Clifford L. Egan (Houston) passes along this gem. When asked to identify "The League to Enforce Peace" one student wrote: "That was what Clint Eastwood belonged to, in which he was a police detective."

TRAVEL INFORMATION



Washington, D. C.

GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY

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 materials 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.

FORMER PRESIDENTS OF SHAFR

1968	Thomas A. Bailey (Stanford)
1969	Alexander De Conde (U of California - Santa Barbara)
1970	Richard W. Leopold (Northwestern)
1971	Robert H. Ferrell (Indiana)
1972	Norman A. Graebner (Virginia)
1973	Wayne S. Cole (Maryland)
1974	Bradford Perkins (Michigan)
1975	Armin H. Rappaport (U of California - San Diego)
1976	Robert A. Divine (Texas)
1977	Raymond A. Esthus (Tulane)

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