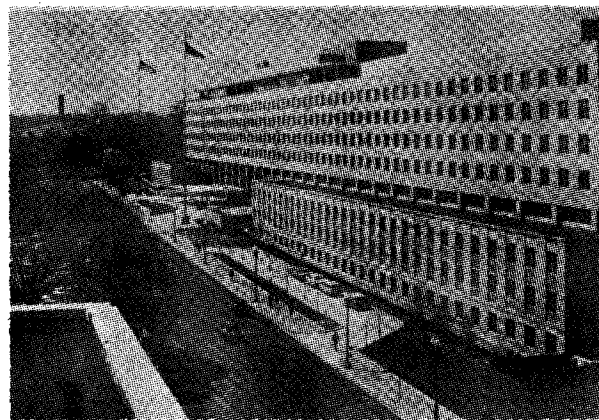


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A CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE: FOREIGN POLICY RESEARCH AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

By

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This presidential address is not the one I first planned to make.¹ My original topic took shape a year ago in Washington when I listened to my predecessor tell this Society "What's Wrong with American Diplomatic History." Combining the proper concern of a responsible scholar with the understandable impatience of a frustrated researcher, President Alexander DeConde catalogued a multitude of sins in a wide-ranging and hard-hitting address, which appeared in the May 1970 issue of the Society's Newsletter and which was discussed at a breakfast session during the annual meeting of the Organization of American Historians at Los Angeles in April. Among other things, President DeConde discussed the role played by presidential libraries in the writing of recent diplomatic history. He noted that records, vital to understanding foreign policy, are sometimes closed by the whims of former presidents or by the wills of close associates. Since such restrictions do not apply to the chief executives themselves or to those who may be commissioned to chronicle their achievements, Professor DeConde deplored the fact that retired presidents can "present their views and explain their foreign policies a generation or two before scholars not in any way connected with their administrations could examine and use the records." Thanks to these presidential libraries, Professor DeConde concluded, past incumbents "do not have to wait for posterity to judge them. Each can plan his own monument and try to preserve an honored place, whether or not deserved, in the nation's history."²

These misgivings expressed by Professor DeConde are widely held among historians. I share some of them, though I also feel that it is easier to diagnose the disease than to prescribe the cure. Even a year ago, I was prepared to argue that, on balance, the student of foreign policy had been the gainer, not the loser, from the growth of the presidential library system. Absorbed as I then was, somewhat unwillingly and certainly not very happily, in an investigation of charges against one presidential library, it seemed to me that I could best use this brief hour of presidential majesty to discuss the problems that these unique archives pose for historians of American foreign policy. It was clear to me then, as it is clear to me now, that those problems are not well understood by many members of our profession.

¹This paper, in a slightly different form, was presented by Professor Leopold as his presidential address at the luncheon meeting of SHAFR on December 28, 1970, during the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in Boston.

²Alexander DeConde, "What's Wrong with American Diplomatic History," SHAFR Newsletter, I (May 1970), 1-18, especially pp. 4-5.

But in the year since Professor DeConde challenged us in Washington, it has become increasingly evident that there is a larger issue that cannot be ignored and that should be openly discussed even if it cannot be easily resolved. The issue is the crisis of confidence between those engaged in research in foreign policy and those administering the records of the federal government. It is this larger crisis of confidence--its manifestations, causes, and possibly cures--that I wish to analyze today. In the process, I shall suggest some things that the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations can do to meet the challenge and to help rebuild the confidence so necessary for all who engage in historical research.

The chief manifestation of this crisis of confidence is the swelling chorus of scholars' protests against the restrictive policies regulating access to government archives created after 1945. Historians and others have grown impatient and angry--and rightly so--over their inability to examine the postwar records of certain departments--including State, Treasury, Defense, Army, and Navy--and of such organizations as the National Security Council. There may be no unanimity among scholars on when unrestricted access should be permitted--some advocate opening almost all records over eight or ten years old--but it is evident that the date 1945 has become intolerable. These protests, of course, are not new. Almost four years have passed since Herbert Feis described the plight of "The Shackled Historian," and he has kept up his attack in articles and reviews. It has been two years since Ernest R. May offered his "Case for 'Court Historians,'" in which he argued that policymakers in Washington would benefit enormously, as would the profession, if trained scholars, working from records now closed to them, could prepare draft histories of recent diplomatic events. Seven weeks ago, James MacGregor Burns issued his call to arms, "The Historian's Right to See," in the New York Times Book Review. Only a few days ago, in a vigorous letter to the same publication, William L. Langer endorsed Professor Burns' views.³

A second manifestation of this crisis of confidence--and the order here may reflect my own battle scars--is the attack against the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library. This is not the time or place to discuss that unfortunate case, though I will later allude to its larger meaning for the profession. It is enough to note that the most serious charge--one raised by only a single scholar--is that in 1966, to benefit a Library publication, the Hyde Park staff deliberately and systematically withheld from him six letters between President Roosevelt and Ambassador William E. Dodd that were then, and had long been, open to all other scholars. More important, the complainant was joined by nineteen other historians in September 1969 in a letter to the New York Times Book Review, deploring as a serious abuse of archival power the alleged systematic concealment of the Library's publication project from several scholars who could have profited in their research by perusing the assembled material before it went to the printer. The joint letter also took note of allegations that, for over a decade, documents at Hyde Park had been withheld

³Herbert Feis, "The Shackled Historian," Foreign Affairs, XLV (Jan. 1967), 332-343; Ernest R. May, "A Case for 'Court Historians,'" Perspectives in American History, III (1969), 413-432; New York Times Book Review, November 8, December 20, 1970.

from several researchers, seriously affecting their work. Finally, the twenty signatories asserted that the operations and publications of the Roosevelt Library were not completely above suspicion, and they called for a thorough investigation into the history of the publication project and the administration of all presidential libraries. Since September 1969, there have been newspaper stories alleging or intimating that a scandal of serious proportions had been uncovered at Hyde Park. On December 20, 1970, there was released a 448-page report, dated August 24, 1970, of the ad hoc committee, appointed jointly by the American Historical Association and the Organization of American Historians, to investigate the charges against the Roosevelt Library and related matters. That report, along with the rebuttal of the chief complainant and comments by the Archivist of the United States and by the past president of the Society of American Archivists, may now be purchased at cost.⁴

A third manifestation of the crisis of confidence between the historian of foreign policy and the federal government is a growing conviction that custodians of government archives, at best, are overworked and hobbled by bureaucratic procedures or, at worst, are lazy, capricious, and inefficient. It is impossible to measure accurately the extent of this feeling. Some of the criticisms are vague and often amount to nothing more than a belief that the researcher was not shown everything he needed to see. Some of the criticisms are specific, but they are voiced privately and passed along by word of mouth, often being exaggerated and distorted in the process. The directors or division chiefs of archival institutions are, usually, the last to learn of such complaints, even though they are the persons who can best check the validity of the accusations and take corrective action if necessary. This third manifestation should be qualified in two ways. First, critics like Professor Burns do not blame the immediate custodians of federal records; their quarrel is with those who determine rules of access. At no time, for instance, did Professor Burns support the attack on the Roosevelt Library. Second, for every scholar voicing a grievance against professional archivists, there are probably ten who feel indebted to these public servants. But commendation, unlike criticism, does not make good newspaper copy; hence, the impression that the professional archivist is not doing his job properly has been allowed to spread.

A fourth manifestation of the crisis is the mounting criticism of the long respected Foreign Relations series. The complaints against the Historical Office of the Department of State are of two sorts. One is that the annual volumes have fallen more than twenty years behind currency and are still losing ground. Such a situation seems intolerable to many oldsters who can remember the prewar meetings of the American Historical Association during which resolutions were introduced annually, calling upon the government to reduce the time lag, then pegged at fifteen years. It also bothers those not quite so old who can recall high-level statements during the Kennedy administration that the twenty-year line would be held. The other complaint is that access

⁴Available from the American Historical Association, 400 A Street, S. E., Washington, D. C. 20003 and the Organization of American Historians, 112 North Bryan Street, Bloomington, Indiana, 47401. The report costs \$3.00; the reply and comments, \$3.50. The files of the joint ad hoc committee have been deposited in the office of the American Historical Association. Microfilm copies can be purchased.

to the Department files is tied to the release of the Foreign Relations volumes for a given year. That is, the open period for State Department records presently goes through 1941. The limited access period runs from 1942 through 1945; bona fide scholars can examine most of the unpublished papers for those years, but their notes are subject to scrutiny and deletions. The closed period begins with 1946 and will not move to 1947 until the four remaining volumes for 1946 are released. Thus, scholars still cannot examine the manuscript records for the evolution of the Truman Doctrine, the lifting of the Berlin Blockade, or the coming of the Korean War.

Reflecting this mounting criticism, the Joint AHA-OAH Coordinating Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government created an ad hoc committee of specialists to consider ways of expediting the publication of the Foreign Relations series and of resolving the related problem of access to files of the Department of State. Nine historians and political scientists met on September 11, 1970, and drafted several recommendations, most of which were transmitted directly to the AHA representatives on the Department's Advisory Committee on Foreign Relations. The recommendations urged the Historical Office to reexamine the method of printing and indexing the series, to reduce the number of volumes covering a single year, to create a board of outside consultants to help with the preliminary selection of documents, to grant scholars access to those volumes still in galley proof, and to prepare finding aids for unpublished materials in departmental files. Also in September, the ad hoc committee recommended to the AHA Council and the OAH Executive Board that--in cooperation with other scholarly organizations such as the American Political Science Association and the American Society of International Law--they petition Congress for legislation transferring to the control of the Archivist of the United States all departmental and agency records over twenty years old. Such records, with certain exceptions, should be automatically declassified and made available for scholarly research. One would have to be an eternal optimist to expect immediate legislation along those lines, but the creation of the ad hoc committee, the stature of its members, and the nature of the recommendations reveal again how thin the patience of diplomatic historians has worn regarding access to government records after 1945.⁵

A fifth manifestation of this crisis of confidence is the questions that scholars are again raising about official history. It is no coincidence, of course, that this questioning should become more marked at a time when all government is viewed with suspicion, when the credibility gap seems to be a permanent fixture of the Washington landscape, and when the academic profession has geared itself to resist all government-sponsored accounts of the Vietnam tragedy. Of the histories written by public employees, now in progress, three are of most interest to students of foreign policy: The History of the United

⁵Members of the ad hoc committee were Louis Morton (chairman), Wayne S. Cole, Robert A. Divine, Robert H. Ferrell, W. Stull Holt, Richard W. Leopold, Ernest R. May, Robert E. Osgood, and Bradford Perkins. Ferrell, Holt, Leopold, May, and Osgood have served or are serving on the Department of State's Advisory Committee on Foreign Relations. James M. Burns was invited but could not attend. Paul L. Ward, AHA Executive Secretary, was also present. Not every member of the committee endorsed every specific recommendation.

States Atomic Energy Commission, the first two volumes of which covering the period to 1952 were published in 1962 and 1969; the gargantuan United States Army in World War II, seventy volumes of which have appeared since 1947; and the United States Army in the Korean War, the initial two installments of which were released in 1961 and 1966.⁶ To my knowledge, no serious questions have been raised about the Atomic Energy Commission enterprise, perhaps because scholars do not expect the Commission's files for the late 1940's to be declassified. On the other hand, the Army project, which over the years has had many distinguished historians associated with it, has become the target of criticism, some of which is still not voiced publicly.

Here also the complaints are two, and again one concerns access to records. The opening to private scholars of records used by writers in the Office of the Chief of Military History has been too slow to satisfy outsiders. The other complaint relates to the volume entitled The Employment of Negro Troops written by Professor Ulysses Lee, an able black historian who served ten years in the Army before retiring as a major. The criticism has been directed not against Lee but to the fact that his volume is the only one of the seventy in the World War II series in which the preface is signed by the general editor rather than by the author. This fact has led to rumors, and even assertions, that the Army had insisted upon changes in the text that Lee refused to make. My own investigation has led me to doubt the validity of the charge; but since Lee is dead, any inquiry must remain inconclusive. I am obliged to refer to this ugly matter because it has been bruited about the profession and is symptomatic of current misgivings about official history, especially official history written by the military and involving social relations more than battlefield operations.

The sixth and final manifestation of the crisis of confidence between the diplomatic historian and the federal government concerns the committees that advise government departments and agencies in their historical activities. Both the personnel and operations of the committees have been criticized. The committees, it is alleged, consist of older historians who are friendly to the department or agency and who will not, therefore, ask embarrassing questions. It has been suggested that historians who serve on such committees are more occupied with promoting the interests of those they advise than with the interests of the profession they represent--that they are more zealous in protecting the agency from its bureaucratic superiors than in protecting the scholar from governmental whims. The committees I primarily have in mind are those that advise the Department of State on the Foreign Relations series and the Army, Navy, and Air Force on their historical programs. The same criticism might be made of the Atomic Energy Commission's Historical Advisory Committee, the newly created Archives Advisory Council, and--though to a lesser extent--the National Historical Publications Commission.

⁶The Marine Corps Historical Branch has published four volumes in each of its two five-volume projects--History of U.S. Marine Corps Operations in World War II and U.S. Marine Corps Operations in Korea, 1950-1953--but, with one exception, these volumes are of less value to diplomatic historians. Victory and Occupation (1948) in the first series contains a highly useful account of activities in North China from September 1945 to May 1949.

How valid are the criticisms of these advisory committees? Are their members "kept men," guilty of the loosely applied phrase "conflict of interest"? I think it is indisputable that the members could do a better job for their historical constituency. There is a tendency to be more concerned with making certain that the Secretary of State, the Navy, or the Army hears what a good job his historical branch is doing (thus facilitating the flow of adequate appropriations) than with making sure that the scholarly world learns what kind of job the advisory committee is doing (thus facilitating the flow of adequate information). Among the committees the process of selection and the term of service vary greatly, as do the frequency and length of meetings. Reports are usually, though not invariably, prepared, but they are not publicized properly to be of maximum value to the historical profession.

Let us look more closely at one of the committees--the one of most concern to members of this Society and the one, on paper at least, the best conceived. The Department of State's Advisory Committee on Foreign Relations was created in 1957 after the Historical Office had been accused of suppressing, in its documentary publications, the full story of Franklin D. Roosevelt's wartime diplomacy.⁷ The American Historical Association nominates three of the seven members; the American Political Science Association and the American Society of International Law each nominate two. Members serve staggered terms of four years and elect their own chairman. Former members receive full information about each annual meeting and are occasionally asked for advice. A report to the Secretary of State is prepared after each meeting; only twice since 1957 has there been none. Few historians read this report, however, since the full text has appeared only in the American Journal of International Law. From time to time, summaries have been published in the American Historical Review and the AHA Newsletter. The report for 1969 was the first to be printed in its entirety in the AHA Newsletter. Lest you conclude that such a practice, if continued--as I hope it may be--will insure proper publicity in the future, I would remind you that fifty-five percent of the members of the Organization of American Historians do not belong to the American Historical Association.

Over the years, many able diplomatic historians have served on the Department of State's Advisory Committee. Yet two uncomfortable facts must be faced. First, the AHA representatives are not selected by that body's Committee on Committees, and they make no report to the Council. The original three members were chosen in 1957 from a list of names compiled by the AHA Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government, but in recent years the Executive Secretary, undoubtedly with informal advice from others, submits the names to the Director of the Historical Office for approval by the Department of State. To insure a more representative list of nominees, the AHA Committee on Committees should henceforth be utilized.⁸ The second unpleasant

⁷Richard W. Leopold, "The Foreign Relations Series: A Centennial Estimate, Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XLIX (March 1963), 595-612, describes the early work of the Advisory Committee.

⁸As long as the Department of State has the final word on appointments and insists that the members, who are given access to classified materials, obtain a security clearance, it is unlikely that all shades of opinion within the historical profession will be represented on the Advisory Committee. Some historians will refuse to submit to a security check.

fact is that despite diligence and dedication, as well as eloquence and exasperation, in fourteen years the Advisory Committee has been unable to persuade the top-level officers in the Department of State to give the Historical Office the personnel it needs to keep the Foreign Relations series only twenty years behind currency or the authority it requires to hasten the process of declassifying documents. On the last point, I should add that some problems of declassification lie beyond the jurisdiction of the Department of State.

Major historical organizations play no role in selecting members of the Army, Navy, and Air Force advisory committees or, to my knowledge, of the Atomic Energy Commission committee. I have never seen a published summary, much less the full text, of the reports prepared by those advisory committees, although the Chief of Military History edits a semiannual newsletter that should interest specialists. The new Archives Advisory Council includes representatives of the American Historical Association, the Organization of American Historians, the Southern Historical Association, and the Western History Association. Apparently, the Archivist of the United States selects the name or names submitted to him by those organizations. I have found no evidence that those representatives report to their organizations in such a way that those belonging to the organizations are kept informed. Minutes of the meetings of the Archives Advisory Council appear in Prologue, a periodical to which I shall refer subsequently. An exception is the case of the National Historical Publications Commission, whose two delegates from the American Historical Association are nominated by the AHA Council on the recommendation of the AHA Committee on Committees. Those two delegates also submit a report that is printed in the AHA annual report.

So much for some manifestations and causes of the crisis of confidence that exists today between the researcher in foreign policy and the custodian of government records. What can we as individuals and as the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations do to restore mutual trust and goodwill? It is impossible, of course, to eradicate all sources of tension, some of which can be traced to laziness, carelessness, ignorance, suspicion, and paranoia. Because ignorance can be eliminated, the first step is for historians to expand their knowledge of the archival profession and especially of the National Archives and Records Service. During the unpleasant investigation that claimed almost all my time during the past year, I was appalled to discover how uninformed many historians were about NARS and, more particularly, the presidential library system. To be sure, the ignorance is not all on one side, but as historians let us first remove the beam in our own eye before we worry about the mote in the archivists' eye.

There is no excuse for historians to be unfamiliar with the history, organization, publications, and holdings of the National Archives. Its place within the governmental structure was analyzed in 1968 in a twenty-page report by a joint committee of the American Historical Association, the Organization of American Historians, and the Society of American Archivists. In 1969, H. G. Jones provided a book-length account, The Records of a Nation:

Their Management, Preservation, and Use.⁹ The published finding aids of the National Archives have been universally praised. Topical guides, special lists, preliminary inventories, and reference papers provide the scholar with essential information before he reaches Washington, and the situation will be even better when the new edition of the National Archives Guide, unrevised since 1948, is released. During the last eighteen months, these finding aids have been supplemented in two ways. First, the National Archives has been holding two conferences a year on different subjects to show how its records can be most profitably used. The conference in June 1969 dealing with diplomatic documents attracted many members of this Society; another in June 1971 describing World War II records can be expected to do the same. The second new aid is Prologue: The Journal of the National Archives, begun in the spring of 1969. There, within the covers of a single periodical issued three times a year at the modest price of \$4.00, can be found helpful articles on archival matters as well as the latest facts about all presidential libraries, federal records centers, and NARS publications. In my judgment, Prologue and the Library of Congress Quarterly, with its valuable annual report on the Manuscript Division, are two of the best buys on the periodical market.

Until recently, students of foreign policy did not find it easy to obtain printed information about presidential libraries before visiting one of them. Although a great deal had been written about the novel problems faced by those new institutions, it had appeared mostly in the New York Times Magazine, always inconvenient to locate and use, or in periodicals like the American Archivist and Special Libraries, which few historians read. Thanks to funds provided by the Harry S. Truman Library Institute, the depository at Independence offered the fullest data. Since 1961 the Truman Library has issued once or twice a year a Research Newsletter that lists holdings of personal papers, microfilm collections, and oral history interviews. It has also held a conference every two years to acquaint specialists with its resources. The proceedings of four conferences have been printed, one in book form.¹⁰ The oldest library at Hyde Park is only now beginning a drive for funds to establish a Franklin D. and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute that will also offer grants to scholars using the Library and provide money for conferences. On the other hand, the Roosevelt Library has pursued a substantial

⁹The Report of the Joint Committee on the Status of the National Archives may be obtained from the American Historical Association while the supply lasts. It is reprinted in Jones, op. cit., 275-295.

¹⁰Harry S. Truman Library Institute, Conference of Scholars on Research Needs and Opportunities in the Career and Administration of Harry S. Truman, March 25-26, 1960 (Independence, 1960); Conference of Researchers, March 30-31, 1962 (Independence, 1962); and Conference of Scholars on the European Recovery Program, March 20-21, 1964 (Independence, 1964). See also, Richard S. Kirkendall, ed., The Truman Period as a Research Field (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1967).

publication program that includes a calendar of Roosevelt's speeches from 1910 to 1920, a select bibliography of periodical and dissertation literature on the Roosevelt era (now being revised), a microfilm edition of Roosevelt's presidential press conferences, two volumes of documents bearing upon conservation, and--as everyone must now know--three volumes of materials from the Roosevelt Papers and other collections at Hyde Park dealing with foreign affairs from 1933 to 1937.¹¹ The last project is being continued to cover Roosevelt's second administration.

All presidential libraries are currently giving high priority to preparing printed finding aids and statements on access to restricted materials. These efforts stem in part from past criticism, including the charges made against the Roosevelt Library, and in part from the recommendations of April 1969 by the AHA Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government. Thus in December 1969 there was completed at Hyde Park a thirteen-page brochure entitled Collections of Manuscripts and Archives in the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library. After a preface that includes descriptions of existing finding aids and suggestions for appropriate citations to the various collections, the brochure lists alphabetically over 150 collections, giving for each the title, size, record number, type of finding aid available, and card number in the National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections. A major omission, as the preface notes, is data on conditions of access. The preface does explain why some files are restricted, and it suggests procedures for those who wish to request permission to see closed materials. Copies of the brochure may be obtained without cost by writing to the Roosevelt Library. A second edition in preparation will indicate the specific restrictions on individual collections. In July 1970, the Dwight D. Eisenhower Library issued in the same format a forty-two-page brochure of its holdings. In January 1971, there appeared in a somewhat different format a thirty-five-page Historical Materials in the Harry S. Truman Library: An Introduction to Their Contents and Use. A similar publication can be expected from the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library where a less ambitious list of holdings has been available in mimeograph form for some time. All of these valuable finding aids should be studied carefully before the scholar leaves his home base.

Equally important are the steps being taken by presidential libraries to inform historians when closed documents are opened for use. That problem was never handled satisfactorily in the past, partly because the libraries lacked the manpower to inform individual researchers about collections they had used and partly because most scholars lacked the initiative to make

¹¹Robert L. Jacoby, comp., Calendar of the Speeches and Other Published Statements of Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1910-1920 (Hyde Park: Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, 1952); William J. Stewart, comp., The Era of Franklin D. Roosevelt: A Selected Bibliography of Periodical and Dissertation Literature, 1945-1966 (Hyde Park: Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, 1967); Edgar B. Nixon, ed., Franklin D. Roosevelt and Foreign Affairs, 1933-1937 (3 vols., Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969).

personal inquiries about papers in which they were interested. The problem has been most acute at the Roosevelt Library, which has been in business the longest, and where now, twenty-five years after Roosevelt's death, most of the papers closed in 1949 by a committee acting according to his wishes, are being opened. Recent issues of Prologue, the AHA Newsletter, the Journal of American History, the American Archivist, and other periodicals have carried detailed lists of files in the Roosevelt, Harry Hopkins, and R. Walton Moore Papers in which one or more documents have been opened. The specific documents are itemized in an "Openings Book" kept in the Research Room at Hyde Park. Also in that room is a "Restrictions Book," which contains the most complete list of closed materials and which will serve as a source for the new edition of Collections of Manuscripts and Archives.

A few late developments involving other government depositories are worth noting. On December 21, 1970, the Department of Defense announced that the Washington records of the Combined Chiefs of Staff through 1945, except for "a very small portion of the total collection," had been transferred to the National Archives and were available for use in accordance with routine procedures governing access to all its holdings.¹² Also on December 21, 1970, the Naval History Division opened for scholarly use all of its classified records through 1958, unless such access was prohibited by laws, executive orders, or departmental instructions. These exceptions are very substantial, but the move should make available hitherto closed materials on the operational experience of the Navy's deployed forces, including the histories of various naval commands.¹³ Within the last few months the Naval History Division has also published a very brief description of the rich holdings of the Navy Department Library and a very ambitious eighty-two-page revision of the extremely helpful U.S. Naval History Sources in the Washington Area, first compiled in 1957 and last revised in 1965. Both items have value for those engaged in foreign policy research.

Thus far it may seem I have been unduly critical of historians in their relations with archivists. I have indeed stressed the ignorance of many scholars concerning the work of the National Archives and Records Service in general and of the presidential library system in particular. If I had time, I would say more about the patronizing attitude of some historians toward professional archivists and the failure of many historians to instruct doctoral candidates in the use of archival materials. This failure is all the more serious because neither the Harvard Guide to American History nor such manuals as Historians' Handbook say anything about presidential libraries and the problems that an inexperienced researcher may encounter there. Every director

¹²Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs), News Release No. 1028-70.

¹³Naval History Division Instruction 5510.1 (December 21, 1970); Vice Admiral Edwin B. Hooper, USN (Ret.) to the author, January 19, 1971.

of dissertations in recent United States history should see that his students know about Philip C. Brooks' Research in Archives: The Use of Unpublished Sources, issued in 1969, and that they regularly examine the American Archivist. Also on the required reading list for both experienced and inexperienced scholars should be Bernard A. Weisberger's forthcoming survey in American Heritage of the presidential library system.

I do not wish to leave the impression, however, that historians are alone to blame for the present tensions and distrust. Archivists too have been guilty of sins of omission and commission. The extreme charges against the Roosevelt Library might have attracted little notice if fuller publicity had been given in 1957 to plans to publish Roosevelt's letters on foreign affairs, in 1961 to decisions to suspend the project, or in 1967 to steps to revive the enterprise. Certainly there was no deliberate concealment of the Foreign Affairs project, as has been alleged. Yet officials in Washington and Hyde Park were naive to think that most historians would know about the undertaking because of one-sentence references to it in the reports of the Archivist of the United States for 1957 and 1958; because of a brief mention in a pamphlet prepared for a luncheon of the National Historical Publications Commission at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in 1960; or because of a two-sentence notice of the Library's publication program (in which the volumes on foreign affairs were lumped with those on conservation and agriculture) in the Director's address at the Kansas City meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in 1965, an address printed later that year in the Midwest Quarterly. It should be obvious that papers read before the American Historical Association--even so-called presidential addresses--may pass unnoticed and that such papers, even if published in the American Historical Review, may go unread. Archivists must make repeated announcements of changed regulations and new projects. Bulletin boards in the Research Rooms at the National Archives and the presidential libraries provide one effective mode of communication; the columns of Prologue, the AHA Newsletter, the Journal of American History, the American Archivist, and--hopefully--the SHAFR Newsletter offer another.

Further, there are effective ways of keeping archivists on their toes when historians think they are not receiving suitable service. Some years ago a user of the Hopkins Papers at Hyde Park wished to correlate certain items therein with those in the President's Personal File. The archivist was unable to locate the latter and reported that they were either nonexistent or unavailable. The user was convinced that they did exist and requested the archivist to put his statement in writing. At once the administrative wheels began to turn; someone else was put on the job, and the missing papers were produced that very day. Of course, not every problem can be solved so easily. Perhaps the tale improved with retelling, but it does suggest three lessons. First, it is wiser--and also more decent--to attribute such difficulties to inefficiency or laziness rather than to a conspiracy to conceal. Asking for written explanations works wonders in a government organization. Second, as my informant remarked, it is almost impossible for a presidential archives to "hide" things from a knowledgeable researcher familiar with the collections simply because

there are too many cross-references and other leads. Third, a disappointed scholar should complain at once and, if satisfaction cannot be obtained in the Research Room, should pay a visit to the Director. I am convinced that much of the misunderstanding, and even suspicion, that arose in the past could have been removed if there had been more direct talks between the users of presidential libraries and the Directors. Today, with attendance soaring at each presidential library, it is the researcher who must take the initiative when he encounters difficulties.

What happens if a historian cannot gain satisfaction, if he is persuaded that an archivist has been faithless to his code? The code requires, among other things, that an archivist "should endeavor to promote access to records to the fullest extent consistent with the public interest, but he should carefully observe any proper restrictions on the use of records"; that he "should not place unnecessary obstacles in the way of researchers but should do whatever he can to save their time and ease their work"; and that he "should not profit from any commercial exploitation of the records in his custody, nor should he withhold from others any information he has gained as a result of his official duties--either in order to carry out private professional research or to aid one researcher at the expense of another." Accusations that the archivists at Hyde Park violated those provisions of their code lay at the roots of the charges against the Roosevelt Library, the investigation of which cost two professional organizations and countless individuals so much time and money.

The Roosevelt Library case has several lessons to teach us during this crisis of confidence. The most important, in my judgment, is that the American Historical Association and the Organization of American Historians, if faced with similar charges in the future, should pursue a policy that does not commit them at the outset to championing the cause of any scholar who claims that he has been wronged professionally. Rather the two organizations should act promptly and jointly to determine whether the charges ought to be investigated. If the decision is in the affirmative, they should make certain that the inquiry insures justice for the accused as well as for the accuser and that, while the inquiry is in progress, the investigators are protected from personal attacks by either the accuser or the accused. The second lesson is that there does not now exist any proven machinery to deal expeditiously with complaints against public or private repositories, involving the discriminatory treatment of researchers or the unwarranted denial of access to documents. Neither the governing boards of the AHA and OAH nor their executive secretaries have the time to conduct an investigation. The same is true of the new Joint AHA-OAH Coordinating Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government. Hence, a way must be devised to create quickly a joint ad hoc committee for each new case, one that can begin work not later than one month after a complaint is registered. Delay can be costly. Although both the accuser and the accused should have an opportunity to object to persons chosen for the ad hoc committee, they must not have a veto, and they must file any objections at once and in specific terms. Such a recommendation was made on March 30, 1970, to the AHA

Council and to the OAH Executive Board, and a variant of the plan has been tentatively approved.¹⁴

A third lesson is that the two major historical organizations should be joined by the Society of American Archivists in any future investigation of alleged archival wrongdoing. The joint AHA-OAH ad hoc committee investigating the charges against the Roosevelt Library would have benefited from having an archivist as a member. On March 30, 1970, it recommended to the AHA Council and the OAH Executive Board that the SAA be represented in all such cases. That recommendation has been accepted. A fourth lesson is that each ad hoc committee should contain one member who can devote his full time to the probe, as H. G. Jones did in a joint AHA-OAH-SAA committee's study on the status of the National Archives. The Roosevelt Library inquiry could neither have been conducted so extensively nor have been completed in ten months if the committee chairman had not previously been granted by his university a year's leave for research purposes. A fifth lesson is that guidelines must be developed to help future ad hoc committees avoid some of the obstacles and escape some of the harassments encountered by those investigating the charges against the Roosevelt Library. Such a recommendation was included in the final report, which fully presents the nature of those obstacles and harassments.

I come finally to the role that the young Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations can play in these matters. In my judgment, the Society should not involve itself directly in any investigation into an alleged breach of archival ethics. As individual diplomatic historians with a large stake in the proper administration of government depositories, we should work with the American Historical Association, the Organization of American Historians, and the Society of American Archivists in their inquiries, but as a Society we have neither the money nor the staff to undertake such tasks. Indeed, in May 1969 the Society came close to embarking upon a disastrous course. Fearing that the charges against the Roosevelt Library were not being properly handled, a distinguished member of this Society suggested to President DeConde that he appoint an investigating committee. Excellent names were considered and procedures were readied before it was discovered at the last moment that the AHA Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government had already reached certain conclusions and had already achieved tangible results. Accordingly, this Society did not act. If it had gone forward and if the committee had incurred the same expenses that the joint AHA-OAH ad hoc committee later incurred for secretarial assistance, telephone calls, Xeroxing, travel, and--most of all--lawyer's fees, our Society might be over \$10,000 in debt. These investigations are both expensive and time-consuming, and our Society would be wise to leave the financial burden at least to our older, richer, and better staffed sister organizations.

¹⁴Final Report of the Joint AHA-OAH Ad Hoc Committee to Investigate the Charges Against the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library and Related Matters (Washington: American Historical Association, 1970), pp. 276-277. The specific recommendations addressed to the AHA Council, the OAH Executive Board, and the Archivist of the United States appear on pages 431-437.

There are, however, four modest contributions the Society can make. One is to use the SHAFR Newsletter to inform members about developments in the archival world that they would not learn about unless they read the American Archivist, Prologue, or the Library of Congress Quarterly. Our editor has already taken steps in that direction with brief articles on research in the British Public Record Office, the National Archives, and the modern German Foreign Ministry Records. The Newsletter should publish in full the annual report of the Department of State's Advisory Committee on Foreign Relations. The editor might invite an archivist to write an essay telling us, if I may paraphrase the title of my predecessor's presidential address, what's wrong with American diplomatic historians when they visit archival centers. I would also urge the SHAFR Newsletter to pay particular attention to presidential libraries until their holdings, procedures, and personnel are better known.

A second step would be for our new Nominating Committee to suggest informally to appropriate authorities the names of members who might serve on committees that advise government departments and agencies in their historical endeavors. By appropriate authorities I have in mind the presidents or executive secretaries of the major historical organizations, but I do not rule out informal suggestions to the Director of Naval History, the Chief of Military History, or the Archivist of the United States. Since a diplomatic historian does not always sit on the AHA Committee on Committees, it would also help to forward to the Executive Secretary in November, in advance of that committee's annual meeting, names of members who could well represent the American Historical Association on joint committees.

Third, our Program Committee could propose sessions at meetings of the American Historical Association, the Organization of American Historians, the Southern Historical Association, and the Pacific Coast Branch of the AHA that would bring historians of foreign policy and custodians of government archives together to discuss common problems. Indeed, the Program Committee might try to arrange for such a session at the annual meeting of the Society of American Archivists.

A fourth step would be for our new Council to join with the AHA Council and the OAH Executive Board in maintaining steady and unremitting pressure on the national government to open its recent records impartially to all scholars at the earliest possible date. The final report of the joint AHA-OAH ad hoc committee investigating the charges against the Roosevelt Library urged the two major historical organizations to bring such pressure to bear, and our Society should join in that endeavor.

The seriousness of the present crisis of confidence between historians of foreign policy and custodians of government archives should not be minimized, but there are constructive steps that can be taken to restore mutual trust and to undo the damage wrought by ill-considered attacks upon the professional ethics of men without whose selfless service the writing of American diplomatic history would be much poorer.

DIPLOMATIC HISTORY AT THE
ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN HISTORIANS MEETING
NEW ORLEANS: April 15-17, 1971

Luncheon Session: April 16 - Jung Hotel

"Military-Political Relationships"

General J. Lawton Collins, U.S. Army (Retired)

The Chairman of the meeting, Professor Fred Harrington, called the meeting to order and introduced the speaker, General J. Lawton Collins, United States Army, Retired.

General Collins then proceeded to deliver his thirty-five minute address in which he explained his concepts of America's fundamental foreign policy goals (the maintenance of our mode of life, our standard of living, and peace), the areas of the world in which these goals should be applied in their order of significance (Western Hemisphere, Europe, Far East, Middle East, and Africa), and how the military became involved in formulating and implementing policy decisions (the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the theatre commanders). On the last point he gave a number of examples dealing with events leading up to the Korean crisis. At the start of his speech he urged America's scholars to communicate with her military leaders as both will only gain from such an exchange of ideas. He returned to that theme at the end of his speech and asked that more time than thirty minutes be allotted to the next military man to address the Society, as thirty minutes is hardly enough time for a real exchange. General Collins then accepted a number of questions from the floor and most of them centered upon his description of how General MacArthur called him to describe the North Korean attack upon South Korea. In this exchange, he indicated that General MacArthur violated at least the spirit of his instructions when he drove to the Yalu and that the Joint Chiefs had no real indications that the North Koreans would attack South Korea prior to the actual event.

Joseph P. O'Grady
La Salle College

* * * * *

Public Opinion and Foreign Policy

"Public Opinion as an Historical Process"

James N. Rosenau, Ohio State University

"The Analysis of Public Opinion"

William O. Chittick, University of Georgia

Both papers dealt principally with the problems involved in demonstrating the impact of public opinion on foreign policy. Professor Rosenau urged historians to develop "an incisive theory" which will guide their search for data on past connections between opinion and policy. He complained that historians are too casual or "non-scientific" in their gathering of evidence, and he gave three examples from his own work to illustrate how a "set of explicit hypotheses" can "exert pressure for new data that in turn exert pressure for new theory." Professor Chittick summarized the techniques by which social scientists are now trying to demonstrate a connection between public opinion and foreign policy.

In his commentary, Professor Ernest May suggested that his role might appropriately be that of a translator. He stated that the two papers were chiefly urging historians to think more about the assumptions they bring to their work.

Professor Alexander DeConde--who was not present and sent a written comment--agreed that "we need incisive theory to guide us more effectively in dealing with expressions of and the effects of opinion." But he argued that historians do use theory and quantification in their work, and he questioned "the value of theory as an aid in accumulating data."

Robert Dallek
University of California, Los Angeles

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Structural Views of American Foreign Relations

"Professionalization of the Career Diplomat"

Waldo H. Heinrichs, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

"Management in the State Department"

Jerry M. Israel, Northern Illinois University

Two papers were presented on Friday morning at a session entitled "Structural Views of American Foreign Relations," presided over by Richard W. Leopold of Northwestern University, and attended by about sixty

persons. In "Professionalism and Bureaucracy in the Development of Career Diplomacy," Waldo H. Heinrichs of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign contended that American career diplomacy in the twentieth century possessed two different patterns of organization--the professional and the bureaucratic. These were in dynamic relationship with each other, and their interaction materially and persistently affected the development of the system. In "Management in the State Department," Jerry M. Israel of Northern Illinois University examined the motivation and consequences of organizational reforms in State Department management, especially for the period 1906 to 1924. He suggested that such reforms, both in the consular and the diplomatic services, shared a common faith in the search for management efficiency so as to achieve policy effectiveness. The commentary by Thomas G. Paterson of the University of Connecticut and Smith Simpson of Washington, D.C. reflected the views of an able young scholar and an experienced Foreign Service Officer. Both men called for more courage and originality among career diplomats. There were questions and observations from the floor by Philip C. Crowl of the University of Nebraska, Milton Gustafson of the National Archives, Rodman W. Paul of the California Institute of Technology, and former Senator Joseph S. Clark of Pennsylvania.

Richard W. Leopold
Northwestern University

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Walter LaFeber's "The New Empire": A Panel Discussion

PANEL: Robert L. Beisner, The American University
Paul S. Holbo, University of Oregon
Walter LaFeber, Cornell University
Bradford Perkins, University of Michigan

Three of the panel participants, Professors Holbo, Beisner, and LaFeber read papers. Holbo accused LaFeber of slighting developments in other nations that affected foreign relations, criticized his selection and interpretation of evidence, maintained that his version of economic influences was oversimplified, and concluded that LaFeber had not proved his main theses. Beisner reported the results of a poll of historians asking their opinion of the book. There was considerable disagreement over its merits, and reactions often varied with the age group, younger historians being more favorable. Beisner attributed this variation to the atmosphere of the period in which the historian was trained. "A generation gap," he said, "does exist in the American historical profession." Perkins asked if LaFeber was being critical of American foreign policy, denied the existence of a so-called "Wisconsin School" of diplomatic historians, and noted the difficulty of discovering the connection between aspirations and policies. He took exception not to the theme of continuing interest in trade and markets but to LaFeber's attributing all foreign policy action of the United

States to this motive. LaFeber defended his book in a detailed response to Holbo's criticisms, denied that the work reflected economic determinism, mentioned changes that he would make if he were preparing a new edition, and declared that he would retain the essential theme of the book.

Raymond G. O'Connor
University of Miami

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SESSIONS OF INTEREST TO SHAFR MEMBERS

PACIFIC COAST BRANCH, A. H. A. MEETING

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA, August 26 - 28, 1971

Religion, Labor, and the Peace Movement

(Joint Session with the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations)

Chairman: Roger Bjerck, Fresno State College

"The Social Gospel and the Peace Movement, 1900 - 1918"

C. Roland Marchand, University of California, Davis

"Samuel Gompers, Peace, and Pan-Americanism"

William George Whittaker, Gonzaga University

Commentators: Mark T. Gilderhus, Colorado State University

Lloyd E. Ambrosius, University of Nebraska

The European Second Front in World War II

(Joint Session with American Military Institute)

Chairman: Arthur R. Kooker, University of Southern California

"American Public Opinion and the European Second Front"

Richard W. Steele, San Diego State College

"The Second Front in Europe: The Soviet View"

Foster Anderson, California State College, Los Angeles

Commentators: Raymond G. O'Connor, University of Miami

Donald W. Peters, California State College, Long Beach

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY'S NOTE

May 1, 1971

Dear Colleagues:

I am happy to report that the meetings in New Orleans were most successful. The Council meeting was quite productive as the minutes of the Thursday business meeting indicate, while the luncheon was well attended (again, many were unable to get tickets) and, the remarks of General Collins were well received. The reception in the evening attracted about seventy-five members and the conversations revealed a somewhat healthy exchange of ideas.

The general state of the Society can be found in the Minutes of the Business meeting but a number of items have developed since my return to Philadelphia. President Ferrell, for instance, will shortly submit an application for funds for the State Department internship program and Milton Gustafson has indicated that he would like our ideas on establishing priorities for the National Archives microfilming program. The President will also shortly form the Membership committee, and we should have some final plans for the Southern Historical meeting for next November.

Minutes of the Business Meeting

Minutes of the Business Meeting held in the Jung Hotel on Thursday, April 15, 1971 in New Orleans.

The Secretary called the meeting to order at 1:50 and explained what had happened the previous evening at the Council meeting.

On the question of incorporation, he explained that it would cost somewhere in the neighborhood of \$450 and \$550 to incorporate in Philadelphia. The Council decided, however, to contact a number of United States Senators first to see if they would sponsor a bill for incorporating the Society. The latter method, of course, would cost much less and add an element of prestige to the Society.

The Council also had discussed the possibility of the Society sponsoring a separate journal, but declined to make any definite decision on this point until more information was available. They asked the Secretary to thank Professor Mary Kihl for raising the issue and to ask her to develop more information on the availability of outlets for diplomatic articles, the costs of such a project, and how it could be funded.

The Secretary then explained how the Council discussed the question of a separate meeting and concluded that the Secretary should investigate the possibility of sponsoring a conference (not an annual meeting) for the city of Washington in late August or early September, 1973.

The Council had also discussed the question of the Society helping the National Archives establish priorities for its program. All agree that we should become involved in this work if at all possible and authorized the Secretary to write to Dr. Milton Gustafson to see how we could be of assistance.

The Council next discussed the question of what role the Society should play in the appointment of historians to various committees that advise government agencies. They agreed to have the Nominations Committee submit two names to the AHA Committee on Committees for service on the State Department Advisory Committee. Council also authorized the Secretary to write other such bodies to discover if they will accept our suggestions.

The Secretary explained that the Bibliographic Committee under Professor Gelfand met on Thursday morning and developed a program for the year. The Committee will submit comments on Professor Gelfand's paper on the need for a new bibliography for America's foreign relations and he will then write a new paper for distribution to the membership in early September. In that mailing, he will include a questionnaire on the topic and will ask that these be returned to him directly. The results of this questionnaire will form the basis for a session at the AHA. That session will also include formal comments from those who have worked on bibliographical projects, but will be devoted mostly to discussion from the floor. All this will, the Committee hopes, enlighten the Society to the vastness of the project and to whether we should get involved.

The Secretary then asked if anyone had any questions and two points were raised from the floor. One inquired about the need for incorporation. The Secretary explained that if we are to seek funds from foundations to support State Department internship programs and bibliographic studies, incorporation is essential. The other question dealt with a journal and again the Secretary explained the feeling of the Council (as noted above). More information was needed, however, before a final decision could be made.

At that time, as no further questions were raised, the Secretary asked for a motion to adjourn. It was offered, seconded, and approved.

The meeting adjourned at 2:03 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,

Joseph P. O'Grady
Executive Secretary-Treasurer

MORE ON RESEARCH IN

GERMAN FOREIGN RELATIONS RECORDS

It might be useful to your readers if you were to add some information to the article on "Research in Modern German Foreign Ministry Records," (SHAFR, Vol. 2, No. 1, December 1970) by Charles Burdick. While the article points out that "the most convenient approach is through microfilm," it should also be noted that the National Archives is the one institution where most of the film reproducing the German (not to mention Italian) diplomatic records described in the publications cited may be purchased or consulted without charge. Regrettably, limitations on resources did not permit either the pre-1920 Catalogue nor the post-1920 Catalog to be "minutely detailed listings"; they are essentially file title listings, and frequently will not lead the researcher directly to the document he seeks.

"The Nazi Party Archive," as opposed to Nazi Party and other Biographic Collections, is no longer at the Berlin Document Center, but was sent to the Bundesarchiv at Koblenz in 1961, along with all of the non-biographic collections. The National Archives holds the master negative of approximately 1000 rolls reproducing most of these other non-biographic records, and also holds a reading copy of the microfilm of which The Hoover Institute holds the master negative and sells reproductions as described in the NSDAP Hauptarchiv Guide. The Biographic Collections still at the BDC are currently being microfilmed for accession by the National Archives according to priorities and procedures recommended by the undersigned, acting as archival consultant to the U.S. Department of State for the Berlin Document Center.

There are many more captured German and related records available on National Archives microfilm useful to students of American Foreign Relations, including some of the 15,000 rolls described in our Guides to German Records Microfilmed at Alexandria, Va., Nos. 1-65, to say nothing of the records of the IMT and subsequent U.S. Nuremberg trials, which we are just beginning to film. This was the specific subject of a seven-page paper I presented at the National Archives "Conference on The Archives of United States Foreign Relations" in June 1969, the proceedings of which will be published by Ohio University Press during the coming year.

For those interested in our captured German and related records in general, the proceedings of a NARS conference on that subject held in November 1968 will also be published this year by Ohio University Press.

ROBERT WOLFE
Specialist for Modern European History
National Archives

FROM THE EDITOR'S BASKET:

These notices have come to me as editor, or department chairman, and I thought them worth sharing. We are not endorsing the commercial ventures, nor are we establishing a page for free advertising. It simply seemed, to us, that you might be interested in the following items.

1. From the Managing Editor (Cornelius W. Vahle, Jr.) of World Affairs:

"Last year the Editorial Board of World Affairs broadened the scope of the journal to include the field of Diplomatic History. We would like to make sure that interested historians are aware of this new policy....We hope that your department will consider World Affairs as a vehicle for publication of scholarly articles in this field."

Manuscripts should be sent to:

World Affairs
The Journal of the American Peace Society
4000 Albemarle Street, N.W., Suite 304
Washington, D.C. 20016

2. From Academic Media (1736 Westwood Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif., 90024) comes word of a new edition of Annual Register of Grant Support (1971, \$39.50). "Concise, up-to-date entry listings cover every significant aspect of a particular grant program....All the information necessary for a successful grant application is provided in full detail. Arranged by subject field, the ARGS covers grant support programs in the humanities, social sciences, and sciences as well as all standard professional fields."

3. Research in British Records can be arranged through:

Research Associates (U.S.)
28b Hedgegate Court
Powis Terrace
London W. 11, England

"A graduate staff provides inexpensive access to archives, libraries, and museums throughout the nation. Projects are entrusted to persons with appropriate skills and knowledge, whose work is supervised in accordance with the client's detailed instructions."

4. You might find the following item very useful for your own research and as a guide for your students. The selection of items by Mr. Harmon, a collegiate librarian, is exceptionally good and his comments are very well chosen:

Robert Bartlett Harmon, The Art and Practice of Diplomacy: A Selected and Annotated Guide (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1971), 355 pp. (LC Card No. 75-142234).

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Please use this form to register your general and current research interests as well as your current address. The Roster & Research List will be revised and issued on Sept. 15 of each year. In addition to an alphabetical membership roster, names will be grouped according to the subject matter of their current research (or according to their area of general research interest if no specific research project is listed), so please use descriptive titles in registering a project. Unless new data is submitted, previously listed research projects will be repeated in each issue. Submit the form at any time during the year, but before Sept. 1 to be included in that year's listing.

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General area of research interest: _____

Current research project: _____

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