



The Society for Historians of American
Foreign Relations

NEWSLETTER

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SOCIETY FOR HISTORIANS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS

Founded in 1967. Chartered in 1972.

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

WAR, PEACE, AND POLITICAL PARTIES
IN 20TH CENTURY AMERICA*

by

Robert A. Divine

There is a striking coincidence which runs through the history of 20th Century American politics and foreign policy that historians have neglected. It is the close relationship between war and the Democratic party and the equally close affinity of the Republican party with a state of peace. For the 76 years of this century, the two parties have shared the presidency almost evenly--Republicans have been in the White House for 40 years, Democrats for 36. In these 76 years, the nation has been at war, declared or undeclared, for 17--13 under Democrats and only 4 under Republicans. All four wars began under Democratic administrations--Woodrow Wilson and World War I in 1917, F.D. Roosevelt and World War II in 1941, Harry S. Truman and Korea in 1950, and Lyndon B. Johnson and Vietnam in 1965. Two of the wars ended under Republican auspices--Korea under Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1953 and Vietnam under Richard M. Nixon in 1973, and, in fact, the only four years of Republican war in this century, the last phase of the Vietnam conflict, saw a general, if painful, winding down of the fighting.

Historians, as I noted at the outset, have tended to ignore this connection, but politicians have not. In 1940, Wendell L. Willkie warned the people that if FDR were re-elected the nation would be at war by the following April. After the trauma of World War II and Korea, the Republican party in the 1950s took pride in pointing to its record as the party of peace. Eisenhower himself, using one of his favorite phrases, titled the second volume of his presidential memoirs, **Waging Peace**. And most recently, I am sure all of you recall Senator Robert J. Dole in the 1976 vice-presidential debate when he scolded Walter F. Mondale and his party for their hawkish tendencies, going so far as to call World War II "a Democrat war," Mondale shrewdly exploited Dole's rhetoric to remind his national audience that the enemy in 1941 was Adolf Hitler and to ask Dole if the Republicans regretted the destruction of Nazi tyranny.

*This paper was delivered as the presidential address at the luncheon of SHAFR, December 29, 1976, during the annual convention of the AHA in Washington, D. C. Dr. Divine is professor of history at the University of Texas (Austin).

Undoubtedly the cynical political exploitation of the Democratic connection to 20th century wars accounts in large measure for the historians' neglect. Few scholars want their analysis of the past to descend to the level of campaign charges. Moreover, any careful reconstruction of American participation in 20th century wars must avoid the myth of national omnipotence, the naive idea that Americans are responsible for everything that happens in the world. Not even Robert J. Dole has charged that Gavrilo Princip was acting under Democratic instructions at Sarajevo in 1914. The Great War began for reasons that transcended narrow American concerns and our eventual entry came about because of our economic, cultural, and ethnic ties with the European belligerents. More audacious Republican orators, notably Clare Boothe Luce in 1944, did charge that President Roosevelt had lied us into World War II, an accusation that such revisionist writers as Charles A. Beard and Harry Elmer Barnes developed with a vengeance after the war. Yet today few responsible historians would treat the Second World War as an American contrivance--the rapacious policies of Adolf Hitler, Japan's program of imperial expansion, and the perceived threat to national well-being in a world dominated by the Axis powers make charges of a Pearl Harbor conspiracy dated and unbelievable. The same objection can be made for the Korean War. Despite I. F. Stone's suggestion that Syngman Rhee, with possible American encouragement, provoked the North Korean attack across the 38th parallel, few serious scholars would contend that the Truman administration was responsible for the conflict. The real mystery lies in the question of whether the North Koreans were acting alone, or in collusion with Moscow, and possibly Peking. Only in the case of the Vietnam War can one conceive of a political connection--the Democratic administrations of John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson authorized American participation in a local disturbance and escalated it into a major conflict with North Vietnam. Yet even here the political aspect is dubious. The Republican administration of Dwight D. Eisenhower made the initial decision in the 1950s to create and sustain the Diem regime in Saigon and during the 1960s the Republicans joined wholeheartedly in the military intervention in South Vietnam. Not a single Republican voted against the Gulf of Tonkin resolution and in 1964 presidential candidate Barry M. Goldwater's only complaint was the failure of the United States to carry the war to the North, an omission that Lyndon B. Johnson soon rectified.

Is there, then, any validity to the idea that the Democrats are the party of war and the Republicans the party of peace? I think that there is, but not on the simplistic level of campaign rhetoric. I would argue that the historical legacy of the Democrats is hawkish and that of the Republicans is dovish. Neither party has any monopoly on virtue, but each has a different way of looking at the world and responding to international situations. Historically, the Democrats have been aggressive and the Republicans passive in this regard.

The militant Democratic foreign policy heritage is best symbolized by Woodrow Wilson. This controversial President, deeply religious and

idealistic, fused the historic sense of American mission with the 20th century status of the United States as a world power. From Thomas Jefferson's vision of a passage to India through the Manifest Destiny fever of the 1840s, there had always been a powerful American concept of mission. In the 19th century, the task of conquering the continent and building an industrial base had kept this missionary impulse confined to the Western Hemisphere. But after the nation emerged as a world power in the 1890s, the possibility of extending American virtue, American enterprise, and American values to the entire world became a possibility. The presidential election of Wilson and the outbreak of the Great War led not only to American involvement in 1917 but to the assertion of American moral supremacy. I am convinced that if Charles Evans Hughes had been elected in 1916, we would still have entered the war, but Hughes would not have tried to impose American values on the world in the form of the Fourteen Points and the subsequent League of Nations. Under Wilson a war to defend American rights on the high seas became a great crusade, a war to end all wars, a war to make the world safe for democracy.

Both the world and the nation repudiated Wilson's moral imperialism in the 1920s, but it remained enshrined within the Democratic party in such figures as Cordell Hull, Norman H. Davis and Newton D. Baker. When Franklin D. Roosevelt began to turn his attention away from the depression to the deepening world crisis in the late 1930s, he tried hard to avoid the Wilsonian legacy. Far more realistic than Wilson, Roosevelt accepted World War II not as a moral crusade, but as a war for survival, a war to make the world safe for the United States. But he also recognized his party's heritage, and thus signed the Atlantic Charter, with its promise of a better world order; he enunciated the Four Freedoms to give the war effort an idealistic cast; and he joined in the call for a new effort at collective security in the United Nations, all the while preferring, as he revealed in private conversations, to divide the world into spheres of influence under the supervision of the Four Policemen.

Harry S. Truman was in many ways a better Wilsonian than FDR. His first act as President was to confirm the holding of the San Francisco Conference and he embraced the resulting United Nations Charter far more enthusiastically than FDR would have. He believed deeply in the Wilsonian principle of national self-determination and he helped to intensify the Cold War with the Soviet Union by resisting Russian domination of Eastern Europe, an area FDR had been willing to concede. Korea proved the ultimate test of Truman's devotion to principle--he insisted on calling this limited war a "police action" taken solely to uphold the UN Charter.

The Democratic tradition of advocating such Wilsonian principles as collective security and self-determination found its ultimate expression in Vietnam. Anyone who seeks to find an explanation for that disaster in such standard diplomatic terms as economic gain or territorial expansion is doomed to frustration. As we know now, there was much to be lost and little to be gained materially in Vietnam. Morally, however, there was a

cause that seemed just and honorable. To defend the right of people in the South to choose their own government, to resist the covert invasion from the North, to prevent the kind of piecemeal aggression that marked Hitler's rise in the 1930s--these were the principles, however warped they may have been, that guided both Kennedy and Johnson as they sank ever deeper into the Vietnam morass. Hard-headed statesmen would have weighed the likely costs against the expected benefits and pulled out early; men of principle, well-meaning but confused by their political heritage, stayed on until the bitter end.

From World War I to Vietnam, the Democratic tendency has been to view the world optimistically. Where others saw danger and difficulty, Democrats tended to see opportunity--the chance to lift up backward peoples and bring them the benefits of modern technology, as well as to create new markets for U. S. exports. The national sense of mission, with its idealistic view of mankind, saw the globe as a huge ball of clay, to be molded and shaped by Americans until it conformed to their hopes and dreams. Instead of poverty, material abundance; instead of wars, peace through law; instead of dictators, leaders freely elected by the people. In short, the earth, with all its diversity, was to become a replica of America. What better way to achieve national security than to create a world in our own image, filled with upwardly mobile consumers busily trying to make monthly payments?

The Republican tradition in foreign policy is quite different. Whatever moral imperatives led to the party's founding over the domestic issue of slavery, its view of the globe has been characterized by caution and self-interest, not high principle. Theodore Roosevelt enunciated the themes that have dominated modern Republican foreign policy. As John M. Blum points out so persuasively in **The Republican Roosevelt**, Teddy, for all his flamboyance, was essentially a conservative diplomat. He perceived the United States as a satisfied nation, a wealthy and prosperous country that wanted to preserve rather than to extend its domain. So except in Latin America, where Teddy felt the U. S. could exercise its influence unchallenged, he pursued balance-of-power policies. In Asia he tried to play off Japan against Russia and in Europe he quietly backed the Triple Entente against the Central Powers. Unlike Wilson, Roosevelt did not want to change the international order; he simply wanted to maintain it to America's advantage.

In the 1920s, Republican Presidents continued in the Roosevelt tradition. Warren G. Harding allowed Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes to stabilize the Pacific and head off an expensive naval race by negotiating the Washington treaties; Calvin Coolidge permitted Frank B. Kellogg to symbolize Republican devotion to peace with the futile Pact of Paris. Herbert C. Hoover epitomized the GOP's reluctance to engage in foreign adventure. When Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson suggested the use of economic sanctions to halt Japanese aggression in Manchuria, the Quaker President firmly ruled out this provocative step as too likely to lead to war. Under Republican Presidents, there would be no crusades.

After World War II, the Republicans in the White House used their influence to keep the Cold War cold and eventually to begin its gradual thaw. Dwight D. Eisenhower swept into office in 1952 by denouncing the Democratic foreign policy record in Eastern Europe, where he promised liberation, and in Asia, where he pledged to go to Korea to resolve that conflict. His subsequent failure to liberate the captive peoples of Eastern Europe and his quick success in ending the Korean War suggest that he understood what the American people really wanted in the 1950s--peace and security in a dangerous world. Throughout the decade, the President, deftly disguising his control of foreign policy by letting John Foster Dulles bear the brunt of controversy, guided the nation safely through major international crises. In Indo-China in 1954, he ignored the cries of Vice President Richard M. Nixon and Admiral Arthur W. Radford for the bombing of Dien Bien Phu. In the Formosa Straits crises of 1955 and 1958, he resisted the intense pressure for American intervention in Quemoy and Matsu. In the most serious confrontation of all, at Suez in 1956, Ike placed the Strategic Air Command on full alert on election eve and told an aide that he was ready to hit the Russians "with **everything** in the bucket" if they launched a rocket attack on England and France, thereby calling Khrushchev's bluff. Few contemporaries realized how much Eisenhower had done to keep the peace in a perilous decade; only recently have historians such as Herbert S. Parmet and Charles C. Alexander begun to probe behind the Dulles smoke screen to discover how effectively Dwight Eisenhower directed foreign policy.

Richard M. Nixon, the next Republican President, began the task that Ike had failed to achieve in the 1950s, ending the Cold War. Despite his lack of character, Nixon inaugurated the policy of détente that may some day permit historians to find a way to redeem his flawed Presidency. He failed to end the Vietnam War promptly and honorably, as Eisenhower had done in Korea; instead he allowed it to drag on for four years, marked by increased troop withdrawals and greater and greater bombing. He may even have prolonged the war to build up a backlash against dissenters to insure his re-election in 1972, but he finally did end direct American involvement in January, 1973. More importantly, he altered the whole course of the Cold War by opening a long-delayed relationship with Mainland China, by meeting at the summit with Leonid Brezhnev in 1972, and by signing the SALT agreement to slow down the spiraling nuclear arms race. Détente became the popular description for this break in the Cold War, and not even the disgrace of Watergate, the Nixon resignation, and the subsequent repudiation of the word détente itself by President Gerald R. Ford could change the realization that the old bi-polar conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union had finally dissolved.

I would contend that it was no accident that a Republican President made the decisive break in the Cold War. The policy of détente embodies the historic GOP outlook on world affairs--to preserve American interests by seeking international stability, to play off one antagonist, the Soviet Union, against another, China, and to advance national security by minimizing moral considerations and stressing mutual self-interest with

essentially alien regimes. The refusal to receive Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn at the White House, the sponsorship of a brutal regime in Chile, and the acceptance of Soviet domination over Eastern Europe were all part of the price Republicans were willing to pay for a peaceful world.

The Democrats are not warmongers nor are the Republicans the sole guardians of the peace. But the descendants of Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt have been faithful enough to their political legacies to cause them to pursue distinctly different approaches to the world. The Democrats are determined to elevate principle; the Republicans to place a premium on security. Where one party hears the world crying out for American relief and succor, the other sees dangers and traps that must be avoided. Neither can fairly be described as isolationist, but the Democrats tend to wander while the Republicans prefer to stay at home. The Democrats are guilty of the sin of pride, blind to the diversity of the world's population and its resistance to cultural imperialism; the Republicans are too self-satisfied, smugly ignoring the needs of less fortunate peoples abroad.

With a new Democratic President about to take office, especially one brought up like Wilson, in the state of Georgia and deeply religious, perhaps a few last words of warning are in order. If asked, I would only counsel Jimmy Carter to ponder the lessons of Woodrow Wilson, shun Dean Rusk's advice like the plague, and return to the post-World War II practice of bipartisanship. In the early, crucial years of the Cold War, Harry S. Truman and Dean G. Acheson worked with Arthur H. Vandenberg and John Foster Dulles to place foreign policy above party. The Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan and the creation of NATO were genuinely bipartisan measures that reflected a national consensus toward the Soviet danger. Although Carter does not face the same kind of crisis abroad, he would be well-advised to turn to Republicans as well as Democrats in dealing with the world. A return to the tradition of bipartisanship, with its blend of Democratic activism and Republican restraint, offers the best prescription for American foreign policy in the last quarter of the 20th century.

SHAFR COUNCIL MINUTES

Council met December 27, 1976, in the Holmes Room of the Sheraton-Park Hotel, Washington, D. C., at 7:45 P.M. President Robert Divine, Vice-President Raymond Esthus, Council members Dorothy Borg, Wayne Cole, John Gaddis, Joseph O'Grady, Thomas Paterson, Armin Rappaport, and newly-elected member, Lawrence Gelfand, were present as well as The Joint Executive Secretary-Treasurer, Lawrence Kaplan and Warren Kuehl. Also attending were Leon Boothe, Nolan Fowler, William Franklin, Martin Sherwin, Norman Graebner, Warren Kimball, Frank Merli, David Trask, Roger Trask, Ralph Weber, and Samuel Wells. Daniel Helmstadter of Scholarly Resources, Inc., and Joyce Falk of ABC/Clio Press were also at the meeting.

The annual report of the Secretariat, including the budget, was received. (pages 13-18). Warren Kuehl disclosed that Dr. Gerald and Myrna Bernath have created a Living Trust arrangement with SHAFR, transferring to the organization a \$20,000 bond. Income from this bond will be paid to the Bernaths during their lifetime, and on their deaths the proceeds are to be used primarily to strengthen the existing SHAFR awards in the name of their departed son, Stuart L. Bernath.

The Membership Committee figures were submitted by the outgoing chairman, Leon Boothe.

	1976	New 1976	Total
Regular	425	50	475
Student and Emeriti	30	15	45
Life	14	5	19
Regular, Non-U.S.	18	8	26
Student and Emeriti- Non-U.S.	1	5	6
Institution	9	0	9
TOTAL	497	83	580

There were several inquiries and suggestions regarding delinquent members.

John L. Gaddis, reporting for the Stuart L. Bernath Book Prize Committee, stated that to date twenty books have been received, three more than the total for last year, and that a final solicitation will be made before the February 1 deadline. Members of the committee for the 1976 award are Gaddis, Kimball, and Ronald Steel.

Martin Sherwin, chairman, presented a list of thirteen articles which the Bernath Article Prize Committee has been considering to date. The members are searching journals for more and always welcome nominations from SHAFR members. Sherwin noted that the first five articles may not adequately represent the fullest work of younger scholars, and Council approved a motion to change the number from five to seven scholarly articles, beginning with 1977. The rules for the award were clarified by specifying that brief notes or similar production will not be considered as within the "scholarly" number limit.

Sam Wells reported for the Bernath Speaker's Award Committee, revealing that Joan Hoff Wilson has been selected to address the SHAFR luncheon at the OAH meeting in Atlanta in April. She will speak on the topic, "Foreign Policy Trends Since the 1920's". Some concern was expressed over how the Committee could obtain nominations from members, how good teaching on the part of a nominee can be determined, and how more lead time might be given so that the selected person can adequately prepare an address. It was finally agreed that the National Office should include a special nomination form in mailings to the SHAFR members which will include space for comment on the individual's qualities, and the Committee was instructed to report its nominee at an earlier date, preferably at the OAH April meeting each year.

Nolan Fowler stated that Tennessee Technological University has agreed to continue its arrangement to publish the **Newsletter** for two more years, and Council voted to approve a new contract with Dr. Fowler continuing as editor through December, 1978. The President was also instructed to appoint a committee to study future contractual arrangements, to examine the question whether the presidential address after 1978 is to be printed in the **Newsletter** or **Diplomatic History**, and to consider and report on other questions regarding the future of the **Newsletter**.

In the absence of Paul S. Holbo, who was the interim editor of the first issue of **Diplomatic History**, Armin Rappaport received the congratulations of Council for the excellent quality of the journal. Dr. Rappaport affirmed that he continued to welcome quality articles. He has received twelve in the last three months plus nine which were transferred from Dr. Holbo. Five had been rejected and the rest were being reviewed. He observed that the journal was serving as the anticipated vehicle for younger scholars but remarked that he was receiving essays from "mature" ones as well. He again thanked all members of SHAFR who have been doing a splendid job in serving as referees. The Council agreed, in response to questions, that it had always been understood that the editor enjoyed the discretionary power to include research notes in, and to solicit review articles for, **Diplomatic History**.

Daniel Helmstadter of Scholarly Resources, Inc., was thanked for the excellent cooperation of his firm in producing a high quality journal, **Diplomatic History**. He reported that SHAFR's first mailing consisted of 610 copies.

Council formally approved the SHAFR Summer Conference in Charlottesville, Va., after Roger Trask, the Program Chairman, reported that his committee (Graebner, Merli, and Betty Unterberger) had received an ample number of proposals of high quality. Norman Graebner read a summary response from members to the mail inquiry which showed that of those responding 151 would attend or make every effort to attend; 90 were doubtful but would try; 38 could not attend; and 14 were not interested in summer conferences. Dr. Trask noted that programs for the OAH committee are also being developed.

Warren Kimball informed the Council that the **Roster & Research List** for 1976 is virtually complete and will be mailed soon. Council agreed to advance whatever money is needed to cover the compilation and distribution of the publication.

Larry Kaplan reviewed the continuing question of a roster of specialists in U. S. diplomatic history which could be circulated to persons or agencies interested in finding consultants. He noted that there was some duplication with the **Roster**, but some members still felt another compilation could be useful. David Trask observed that the Historical Division of the State Department could make use of such a list because the editors of the Foreign Relations series sometimes needed advice. He cautioned, however, that there could be problems because people consulted would require security clearance, and it opened questions regarding the involvement of private scholars in public agencies. There was a general feeling that it would be best to rely for the present on the **Roster**.

The Committee (Graebner, chairman, Esthus, and Gaddis) established to consider a revised guide to the foreign relations of the United States received comments from those present. It was instructed to consider these and report to Council by Wednesday at the business meeting or by mail by the end of January. It was further authorized to formalize the terms of an agreement to be negotiated with the ABC-CLIO Press. Joyce Falk, representing that company, responded to inquiries regarding the anticipated scope of the volume or volumes and what the press expected from the committee.

Warren Kuehl brought up the problem of the dues of institutional members. They currently pay \$12.00 for which they essentially receive only the **Newsletter**. Their membership will not cover **Diplomatic History** for which they will pay a \$25.00 fee. He recommended a reduced rate for institutional members, and Council agreed that the rate be set at \$30.00, with \$25.00 for the journal and \$5.00 for the **Newsletter**.

Larry Kaplan reviewed the terms of the grant under the National Historical Publications Commission (see **Newsletter**, September, 1976, page 21). He asked for formal approval of the arrangement whereby SHAFR served as an intermediary, and this was given.

Council then considered a revision of the By-Laws and approved the following changes:

ARTICLE I

Section 4: (a) line 4

“be supplied one copy of each issue of **Diplomatic History** and the”

Section 5:

change “six” to “three”.

Section 6: lines 4-5

“year in which application is received and dues are paid, except that dues paid after September 15 shall be applied for the following year”.

ARTICLE II

Section 5: (c)

Six [number of members on Council]

ARTICLE III

Section 1: line 4

delete “subject to the approval of the Council”

Section 3: line 7 Insert after “member.”

“He shall see that the By-Laws are printed periodically in the **News-letter.**”

Article IV

Section 1: (b)

Six members, three year terms.

Article V

Section 2:

Insert in place of last sentence: “The Chairman shall be appointed by the President for a term of three years. The Chairman and members may be reappointed for one additional term.”

Section 3:

The Program Committee shall consist of members in good standing who hold no other office in the Society, appointed by the President for a term of two years, except that for the purpose of establishing and maintaining a regular rotation the President may appoint members for a term of one year. Normally the President shall at the beginning of his term appoint two new members to the Committee and shall designate one of those appointees to succeed to the Chairmanship at the beginning of the next President's term.

(New) Article VI

Section 1:

The Editor of **Diplomatic History** shall be appointed by the President with the approval of the Council for a term of five years.

Section 2:

The Editorial Board shall consist of the Editor and nine members nominated by the Editor and appointed by the Council. Members shall serve three years, except that for the purpose of establishing and maintaining a regular rotation members may be appointed for a term shorter than three years.

Old Article VI becomes New Article VII

Old Article VII becomes New Article VIII

Section 1: (Old Article VII)

Replace second sentence with "This shall be in conjunction with the Organization of American Historians' annual convention."
Change "fifty" to "thirty".

According to the By-Laws, these changes must be circulated to the members for approval and the Secretariat was instructed to do so.

Council next considered a concern expressed by Waldo Heinrichs by mail to President Divine about a State Department decision to discontinue publication of the **Foreign Service List** and restrict circulation of the **Biographic Register**. These actions were apparently taken in conformity to Congressional laws relating to privacy and a concern for the safety of foreign service officers abroad. After discussion, Council approved the following resolution as an expression of SHAFR's concern.

WHEREAS: The Department of State has announced a restricted circulation of the **Biographic Register** and a decision to cease publication of the **Foreign Service List**.

And Whereas: The data in these sources have proved indispensable for individual and collective biographies of American diplomats, histories of particular missions and relations with particular countries, and for studies of the conduct of American foreign relations.

And Whereas: Curtailment or elimination of these sources will inflict irreparable harm on scholarship in the history of American foreign relations.

Be it duly resolved that the Council of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations urgently requests that the Department of State reconsider its decision and develop alternative procedures for security of its personnel.

Raymond Esthus, President-elect, disclosed his nominations to committees as follows; Walter LaFeber to the Bernath Book Prize; Kenneth Shewmaker to the Bernath Speaker Award Committee; and Arnold Offner to the Bernath Article Prize Committee.

Council members discussed the high cost of receptions at the AHA, OAH, and SHA meetings, for both room rentals and staff fees, plus the cost to individual members, and it authorized the Secretariat at future conventions to rent a large hotel room, form a local arrangements committee, purchase needed items, and plan an informal reception, where feasible, where members will serve themselves and contribute a modest amount to recover costs.

Warren Kuehl requested, and Council authorized, the bonding of the Joint Executive Secretary-Treasurer if the cost is reasonable. He explained that because of the increasing amounts of money handled and the bonds held it is important to take this step.

Resolutions of thanks were voted to Paul Holbo for his interim editorship of the journal, to Leon Boothe for his work as membership chairman, and to Dr. Gerald and Myrna Bernath for their latest gift and continuing confidence in SHAFR.

Following the luncheon and presidential speech on December 29, President Divine called the business meeting to order. He reviewed some of the milestone accomplishments of the year, especially the initiation of **Diplomatic History**, described the living trust created by Dr. Gerald and Myrna Bernath, and stated that he had created an advisory committee for the foreign relations guide. Roger Trask outlined plans for the summer conference in Charlottesville, including the tentative dates of August 20-21. Forrest Pogue informed members that the OAH program committee is planning a session on dissertations devoted to diplomatic history and asked members to submit the names of authors and titles and supporting data to Dewey Grantham of Vanderbilt University.

Following the business meeting, members of Council (Borg, Cole, Divine, Esthus, Gaddis, Gelfand, and Rappaport) met and heard the report

from John Gaddis concerning the committee on the new guide to foreign relations. This consisted of (1) the announcement of the personnel of an advisory committee comprised of Norman Graebner, Chairman, Robert Divine, Lloyd Gardner, David Pletcher, and David Trask, and (2) an outline of its responsibilities. It is charged with selecting the supervisory editor and a board of approximately twenty contributing editors. The latter will be chosen in accordance with the designated fields to be developed by the committee. John Gaddis also voiced support for the basic concept of a guide which will contain around 7,000 items descriptively annotated in a one or two volume format.

REPORT OF SHAFR SECRETARY-TREASURER, 1976

The Society enjoyed a year of exceptional development in 1976.

The creation of a new journal, **Diplomatic History**, certainly merits first place in the report. It represents a dream of several years and the work of many persons. Special mention must be made of Robert Ferrell of Indiana University who chaired the planning committee, Jules Davids of Georgetown University who made the initial contact with Scholarly Resources, Paul Holbo to whom we owe the first issue, and President Robert Divine and Armin Rappaport who worked out many of the details. The Society is also indebted to Scholarly Resources, Inc., for the firm's willingness to underwrite this venture and its generous contractual arrangement which keeps our dues structure very reasonable.

The Society continues to be indebted to Dr. Gerald and Myrna Bernath. This year they provided additional funds in the amount of \$6,000 to provide income for additional awards in the memory of their son, Stuart. An annual speaker's award of \$300.00 and an annual prize of \$200.00 for the best article on American foreign relations further serve to exemplify the standards of achievement represented by Stuart L. Bernath. The total funds held by SHAFR and contributed by the Bernaths now total \$14,000. Throughout the year discussions with the Bernaths have proceeded regarding a Living Trust and the consolidation of the various gifts into one operational arrangement. Again, in 1976, we had an outstanding winner in the Stuart L. Bernath book competition with Martin Sherwin as the recipient of the \$500.00 award.

The Second Annual Meeting in Columbus, Ohio, was attended by over 225 persons of whom approximately 80 were SHAFR members. This was a highlight of the bicentennial year. Because of its funding from the Ohio Program in the Humanities and a grant from the Gund Foundation through the Ohio Bicentennial Committee, this meeting was held at no cost to SHAFR.

SHAFR inaugurated a program in 1976 in which it served as an intermediary in a grant to Ms. Ilana Stern for a National Historical Publications Commission fellowship with assignment to the Historical Division of the Department of State's Foreign Relations Series. The grant of \$11,000 is being processed through SHAFR.

Structurally, SHAFR grew in 1976 with the creation of new committees. These include a Bernath Speaker's Award Committee of three, a Bernath Article Prize Committee of three, and an Editorial Board of nine for **Diplomatic History**. These provide further opportunity for the membership to participate more fully in the affairs of the Society.

The attached budget reflects a sound fiscal situation. The total amounts are somewhat misleading because they include \$8,000 yet payable to the NHPC grantee and the collection of two years' dues in one calendar year. Projections for 1977 indicate that the Society will be able to meet all bills and that the annual dues structure of \$8.50 for 1978 will be sufficient to take care of needs through December of that year. Much of the sound fiscal situation of SHAFR is due to the extensive support supplied by the History Departments of Kent State and Akron Universities, which have absorbed nearly all of the operational expenses and many of the incidental costs. Much of any credit for the efficiency of SHAFR's operation may be attributed to Ms. Pamela Lagodich, who supervises the operation in the National Office. As usual we are also indebted to Tennessee Technological University for assuming all of the costs of producing the **Newsletter** and to Nolan Fowler for his editorship. Looking ahead, we see another year of significant development. A challenge of broad proportions confronts the Society in launching an updated version of a bibliographical guide to the foreign relations of the United States. We believe this will provide an unusual opportunity to involve the membership in a project of interest to us all.

Respectfully submitted,

Lawrence S. Kaplan Warren F. Kuehl

THE SOCIETY FOR HISTORIANS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS

1976 Budget Statement

<u>INCOME</u>	<u>PROPOSED</u>	<u>ACTUAL</u>	
Carryover from 1975	\$ 829.30	\$ 829.30	
Dues	2,600.00	5,996.50 ¹	
Life Memberships	-0-	850.00	
Convention Income	500.00	218.00	
Summer Conference (Columbus)	-0-	300.00 ²	
Contributions	-0-	198.00 ³	
Sale of Mailing List	-0-	120.00	
Transfer from Bernath Book Prize Account	-0-	500.00	
Interest	70.00	132.97	
National Historical Publications Commission Fellowship Grant	-0-	11,000.00	
Sale of Books-ABC-Clio Press	-0-	60.45	
TOTAL INCOME	\$3,999.30	\$20,205.22	
<u>EXPENDITURES</u>			
General Office			
Postage	\$ 300.00	\$ 402.32	
Telephone (Long Distance)	250.00	46.40	
Office Supplies	100.00	32.96	
Printing	250.00	219.48	
	\$ 900.00	\$ 701.16	\$ 701.16
Executive-Secretary, Council, Committee			
Travel	\$ 600.00	\$ -0-	
Council and Committee Expenses	150.00	71.11	
Convention Costs			
AHA	500.00	1,168.81	
OAH	200.00	57.32 ⁵	
SHA	200.00	-0-	
Summer Conference (Columbus)	200.00	-0- ²	
Convention Speakers	300.00	178.00	
	2,150.00	\$ 1,475.24	\$ 1,475.24
Miscellaneous			
Refunds, Overpayment of Dues	\$ 100.00	\$ 5.50	
Petty Cash	10.00	-0-	
Bank Expenses and Deposit Box	5.00	6.32	
Transfer to Endowment			
Five Life Memberships at \$125.00			
Three Life Memberships at \$75.00			
Interest	132.97	982.97	
Sale of Books-ABC-Clio Press	-0-	60.45	
National Historical Publications Fellowship	-0-	3,000.00	
	\$ 115.00	\$ 4,055.24	\$ 4,055.24

JANUARY 1, 1976 BALANCE

Interest on U.S. Gov. Bond

Interest on Savings Account

ENDING: December 27, 1976

SHAFR 1976 Budget Statement continued

	<u>PROPOSED</u>	<u>ACTUAL</u>	
Bernath Prize	\$ 500.00	\$ 500.00	\$ 500.00
Transfer to Savings	-0-	300.00	300.00
Diplomatic History Subsidy	-0-	750.00 ⁶	
Payment for Issues	-0-	-0-	<u>750.00</u>
TOTAL EXPENDITURES			\$7,781.64

SUMMARY

TOTAL INCOME INCLUDING CARRYOVER	\$20,205.22
TOTAL EXPENDITURES	<u>7,781.64</u>
CARRYOVER FOR 1977	\$12,423.58

1. SHAFR's journal, Diplomatic History required a shift to an earlier collection of dues for 1977. Thus dues were collected twice in 1976. Memberships have also grown.
2. SHAFR incurred expenses which appear under postage plus staff time for which it received compensation. These do not appear under convention costs expenditures because they were indirect and incorporated into other categories.
3. These helped cover the expenses of the reception at the AHA in Atlanta.
4. This represents a fellowship granted to Ilana Stern, which SHAFR administers. Of the total, \$3,000 was paid in 1976 with the remainder of \$8,000 due in 1977.
5. The statement for the SHA meeting in Atlanta in November has not yet been received.
6. It was initially hoped that two issues of Diplomatic History would appear in 1976. This did not materialize. The subsidy was paid, however, under terms of the contract with Scholarly Resources, Inc. This has been negotiated so that the \$750.00 subsidy will be credited for 1977.

SHAFR 1976 Budget Statement continued

ENDOWMENT AND SAVINGS ACCOUNT

Balance January 1, 1976	\$1,327.60
Purchase of 7 1/2% Certificate of Deposit February 26, 1976	<u>-1,125.00</u>
	202.60
Transfer to Savings	300.00
Life Memberships (5 at \$125; 3 at \$75)	850.00
Interest	<u>132.97</u>
Balance as of December 15, 1976	\$1,485.57

SUMMARY

Certificate of Deposit	\$1,125.00
Savings Account Total	<u>1,485.57</u>
Total Endowment and Savings	\$2,610.57

STUART L. BERNATH BOOK AWARD MEMORIAL 1976

January 1, 1976 Balance	\$ 810.08
Interest Received from \$8.000 Bonds	600.00
Interest on Savings Account	<u>58.98</u>
	1,469.06
Book Prize Award	<u>500.00</u>
Balance, December 30, 1976	\$ 969.06

STUART L. BERNATH SPEAKER AND ARTICLE AWARD FUND

January 1, 1976 Balance	\$ 262.66
Interest on \$6,000 Bond	495.00
Interest on Savings Account	<u>16.13</u>
Balance, December 27, 1976	\$ 773.79

PROPOSED 1977 BUDGET

INCOME

Late Dues for 1977	\$ 1,600.00	
Dues in November-December for 1978	3,200.00	
Life Memberships	-0-	
Interest	130.00	
Convention Income	200.00	
Carryover from 1976	<u>12,423.58</u>	
TOTAL	\$17,553.58	\$17,553.58

EXPENDITURES

General Office		
Postage and Mailing	\$ 500.00	
Telephone (Long Distance)	100.00	
Office Supplies	50.00	
Printing	<u>450.00</u>	
		\$1,100.00
Executive-Secretary, Council and Committees		
Executive-Secretary Travel	500.00	
Council and Committee Expenses	250.00	
Conventions		
AHA (1976)	200.00	
OAH	150.00	
SHA (1976 and 1977)	100.00	
Pacific Coast Branch of AHA	100.00	
Charlottesville Summer Conference	<u>300.00</u>	
		\$1,600.00
<u>Diplomatic History</u>		
Payment for four issues	2,500.00	\$2,500.00
(Subsidy for 1977 is prepaid)		
Miscellaneous		
Refunds, Overpayment of dues	150.00	
Petty Cash	10.00	
Banking Expenses and Deposit Box	<u>7.50</u>	
		<u>\$ 167.50</u>
TOTAL OPERATIONAL EXPENSES		\$5,267.50
National Historical Publications Commission Fellowship		<u>8,000.00</u>
TOTAL EXPENDITURES, 1977		\$13,267.50
TOTAL AVAILABLE	\$17,553.58	
TOTAL EXPENSES	<u>13,267.50</u>	
CARRYOVER FOR 1978	\$ 4,286.08	

CAVEAT COMPUTOR: BEWARE OF DROWNING IN THE FOURTH WAVE

by

Stephen E. Pelz*

In a recent research note, "How Have State Department Officials (or Diplomatic Historians) Behaved? A View from the Computer," in the *SHAFR Newsletter*, VII, 3 (September, 1976), 12-17, Thomas Schoonover argued that the computer offers the most reliable way to study the behavior of American diplomats. While I admire Professor Schoonover's desire to bring more rigor to our discipline, I fear that an immediate rush to the computing center would be premature at best and self-defeating at worst. I have recently been trying to isolate a theory of war causation from international relations theory and from the findings of quantitative international politics researchers in an effort to sharpen the questions which diplomatic historians have traditionally asked about the causes of America's wars. As an innocent and well-meaning visitor to the field I have found international relations theory fragmented and bewildering. If we are to explore this area successfully, we need to move cautiously.

Perhaps a word of background is in order. In the article which Professor Schoonover recommends, "The Quantitative International Relations Scholar as Surfer: Riding the 'Fourth Wave,'" which appeared in *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, XVIII, 2 (June, 1974), 345, Harvey Starr accepts Karl W. Deutsch's division of the advances in international relations studies into four waves: First came an interest in international law; next, theorists turned to diplomatic history for their grist; then, after 1950, political scientists began to apply the insights of psychology, anthropology, and sociology to their discipline; finally, in the 1960's they began to use quantitative methods to amass and analyze data.

The practitioners of quantitative international politics have spent a good deal of time and money building data banks, but they have yet to produce any validated general theory. For example, they have concentrated on the study of conflict and war, but even a sympathetic reviewer like Starr claims only that they have created "islands of theory" which are beginning to mesh. Other reviewers, such as Robert M. Rood, and Charles W. Kegley in their article, "Explaining War and Conflict: A Review of Contemporary Studies," *Historical Methods Newsletter*, VII, 1 (December, 1973), 25-29, agree with Starr that "there is no established 'paradigm' for the study and explanation of war and conflict" (see Starr, "The Quantitative International Relations Scholar", p. 339).

*Stephen E. Pelz is a member of the History Department at the University of Massachusetts/Amherst, and co-winner of SHAFR's Bernath prize for 1974.

There are a number of other difficulties as well. Even if the international relations specialists had achieved a validated theory, they focus at a very high level of generalization, and diplomatic historians would have difficulty using their results to explain single historical events or even medium term policies. As Bruce Russett points out in **Peace, War, and Numbers** (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1972), pp. 9-11, specialists in quantitative international politics work on such macroscopic topics as "the characteristics of nations; the differences and similarities of a pair of nations; a subsystem of the global system, defined regionally or by capabilities; or even the entire international system". While diplomatic historians can use statistical methods such as content analysis to trace shifts in public opinion (see Melvin Small's "When Did The Cold War Begin?: A Test Of An Alternate Indicator Of Public Opinion", **Historical Methods Newsletter**, VIII, 2 (March, 1975), 61-73), they would have trouble using such an approach to explain President Wilson's decision to call for war with Germany in 1917. Diplomatic historians cannot turn to quantitative methods to solve some of the more important questions which interest them.

There are further obstacles to fruitful interaction which arise from the state of our own art (the fault actually lies more with us than with our friends in political science). Most diplomatic historians, myself included, are still just dipping our toes in Deutsch's third analytical wave. Only a few of us have progressed beyond the analytical trichotomy which Jerald A. Combs has demonstrated in his reader, **Nationalist, Realist, and Radical: Three Views of American Diplomacy** (New York: Harper & Row, 1972). For example, Ernest R. May has applied theories of perception in his "**Lessons of the Past: The Use and Misuse of History in American Foreign Policy**" (New York: Oxford U Press, 1973), and Akira Iriye has used systems theory in his **After Imperialism: The Search for a New Order in the Far East 1921-1931** (Cambridge: Harvard U Press, 1965). And even these distinguished authors advance their analyses tentatively, without stating their hypotheses in bold theoretical terms.

I strongly agree with Professor Robert L. Beisner who argued in his research note, "Diplomats, Diplomatic Historians, and Computers: A Note," **SHAFR Newsletter**, VII, 4 (December, 1976), 24-25, that we must ride a third wave of hypothesis formation before we advance to a fourth wave of **directed** quantitative research. Otherwise we will amass data to little purpose (random data in; random results out?). For example Professor Schoonover might better explain why American international activity increased during the 1920's by using modernization theories which explore the benefits and frictions involved in growing international economic interdependence. Increasingly changes in the domestic economic policy of the United States have had significant effects on the foreign policies of other countries and vice versa, a phenomenon which required international efforts to regulate the growing international economy. For a wide-ranging discussion of this topic, see Edward L. Morse, **Modernization and the Transformation of International Relations** (New York: Free Press, 1976), pp. 1-21, 114-50.

After we have translated international relations theories into useful hypotheses, we can then use multiple case studies to test some of them, while using quantitative data analysis to test others. Only after we have taken these steps can we establish the continuous cycle of hypothesis formation--hypothesis testing--theory refinement which comprises the true fourth wave. Furthermore, success in this effort probably requires a team approach, involving historians, model builders, and data analysts, for I do not think that Messrs. Schoonover and Beisner are correct when they suggest that one man can do it all. We will not succeed in achieving theoretical sophistication or higher standards of validity in our discipline unless we adopt a staged strategy of investigation in which historians, theorists, and computer specialists cooperate.

CITING DEPARTMENT OF STATE RECORDS

BY

Gerald K. Haines*

There are various guides and manuals which describe proper footnoting techniques and forms. Unfortunately, they deal primarily with the problem of properly identifying and citing published sources and manuscript collections. Few describe the methods and procedures for citing archival materials and none explain extensively the appropriate citations for Department of State records.

The increasingly wide use of Department of State records in research projects has pointed up the need for a standard guide to identify adequately these records. Too often the footnotes of today's books and articles contain misleading or inadequate information for the reader wishing to pursue the original documentation.

Because of the variety and complexity of Department of State materials careful and accurate citation is essential to good scholarship. In citing Department of State documents the writer must constantly remind himself of his responsibility to those readers who may wish to consult his sources. He would do well, therefore, to observe the following guidelines.

Record Groups and Depositories

The most important item in identifying a document among the records of the Department of State is the appropriate Record Group. Without this vital bit of information the searcher and often the archivist is unable to locate the particular document. Record Groups which contain Department

*Dr. Haines is a member of the staff in the Diplomatic Branch of the National Archives.

of State materials are: Record Group 59, the General Records of the Department of State; Record Group 84, Records of the Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State; Record Group 43, Records of International Conferences, Commissions, Expositions, and Committees; Record Group 76, Boundary and Claims Commissions and Arbitrations; Record Group 256, Records of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace; and Record Group 353, Records of Interdepartmental and Intradepartmental Committees (Department of State).

With the development of regional archives and Presidential libraries, parts of the same record group may be located in several different depositories. It is, therefore, also essential that the depository be indicated with each citation. In addition to the National Archives Building in Washington, D. C., federal archival depositories include the Washington National Records Center, Suitland, Maryland, eleven Federal Records Centers located throughout the country, and the seven Presidential libraries.

General Records of the Department of State (Record Group 59)

The major Record Group for Department of State materials is Record Group 59, the General Records of the Department of State. This Record Group includes the central files of the Department. For the pre-1906 period this file contains primarily Diplomatic correspondence (Instructions, Despatches, Notes to and from foreign governments), Consular correspondence (Instructions, Despatches, and Notes to and from foreign consuls in the United States), and Miscellaneous correspondence (Miscellaneous letters--letters received from private individuals by the Department, and Domestic letters--copies of letters sent by the Department).

For the period 1906 to 1910 the Department used a Numerical File system for its central files. This file includes general correspondence with United States consular and diplomatic officers, foreign missions, delegates to international conferences, commissions, and expositions, other government agencies, and individuals.

In 1910 the Department began to use a decimal classification system for its central files, assembling and arranging individual documents according to subject and assigning decimal file numbers. This basic system was used until 1963.

Pre-1906 Records

In general, citations to early Department of State records are similar to those used for historical manuscript collections. For example:

Despatch, Consul Alexander R. Webb to Assistant Secretary of State Robert Wharton, July 26, 1891, **Consular Despatches, Manila**, vol. 12, General Records of the Department of State, Record Group 59, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

Letter, Secretary of State William H. Seward to Mrs. Caroline Sloane, May 13, 1862, **Domestic Letters**, vol. 57, p. 198, General Records of the Department of State, Record Group 59, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

Shortened Forms

Following the initial citation a shortened form should be used by inserting the symbol RG and the Record Group number in place of the full Record Group title. In the above examples RG 59 replaces "General Records of the Department of State, Record Group 59." It should be remembered, however, when an item is first cited from a different Record Group, the full Record Group title and the new Record Group number should be given.

The same procedure may be used for shortening the location citation by including at the end of the first citation a statement "Hereinafter records in the National Archives, Washington, D. C., are indicated by the symbol NA." The suggested location reference for the General Archives Division, Washington National Records Center, Suitland, Maryland is WNRC. The location reference for each of the Federal records center branches is the symbol FRC with the name of the city in which the records are located; i. e., FRC Fort Worth. For Presidential libraries the President's initials may be substituted for the full citation. For example, FDRL replaces "Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library, Hyde Park, New York."

Using our examples from above, the second footnote would be shortened to:

Letter, Secretary of State William H. Seward to Mrs. Caroline Sloane, May 13, 1862, **Domestic Letters**, vol. 57, p. 198, RG 59, NA.

Microfilmed Records

Most of the early Department of State records have been reproduced in National Archives microfilm publications. The important points to remember in identifying Department of State materials on microfilm are the publication number, roll number, and frame number. A proper citation to microfilmed records would provide the following information:

Despatch, Albert Gallatin United States Minister to France to John Quincy Adams Secretary of State, January 4, 1819, **Diplomatic Despatches from U. S. Ministers to France**, vol. 19, General Records of the Department of State, Record Group 59, National Archives Microfilm Publication M34, roll 22, frames 1-3.

A shortened form may be used for additional microfilmed records by adding an explanatory note; (Hereinafter National Archives Microfilm Publications cited as the publication number, roll and frame numbers). Thus, the location of another document in the same series of Diplomatic Despatches, France, would be identified as:

Despatch, Gallatin to Adams, May 21, 1819, M34, roll 22, frames 39-42.

Numerical File

Documents from the Department of State Numerical File are easily identified if the proper Numerical File Number is included in the citation. For example:

Despatch, Thomas C. Dawson United States Minister Resident and Consul-General at Santo Domingo to Secretary of State Elihu Root, September 3, 1906, Numerical File 27/36, RG 59, NA.

Decimal File 1910-1944

Documents from the Department of State decimal file system for the period 1910-1944 are also easily identified if the proper decimal number and document number are included. The decimal file for this period consists of nine primary classes numbered 0 through 8. Each covers a broad subject area: (0) General; (1) Administration of the United States Government; (2) Extradition; (3) Protection of interests; (4) International claims; (5) International Conferences and Congresses; (6) Commerce and Trade; (7) Political relations of states; and (8) Internal affairs of states.

Subjects were further defined within each class and identified by a decimal file number. This number is followed by a slash mark (/), which in turn is followed by a document number. The numbers after the slash mark were assigned to individual documents as they accumulated on a specific subject. For example, a despatch from Joseph Grew United States Ambassador to Japan to Secretary of State Cordell Hull on February 15, 1939, pertaining to Japan's "New Order" in Asia is found in decimal file 894.00/848. The citation would read:

Despatch, Joseph Grew United States Ambassador to Japan to Secretary of State Cordell Hull, February 15, 1939, Department of State Decimal File 894.00/848, RG 59, NA.

Following citations to the Department of State decimal file may be shortened by adding the statement "Hereinafter Department of State decimal files will be cited as DS followed by the appropriate decimal number." The next citation to a Department of State decimal file might read:

Telegram, Grew to Hull, January 24, 1939, DS 894.00/843, RG 59, NA.

Decimal File 1944-1949

In July 1944 the Department of State altered its classification system. While retaining the general primary classes, the Department changed the numbers after the slash mark to reflect the date of the document. Thus, each document no longer had a unique number assigned to it. This change requires the writer to add additional identification to his footnote in order to insure the proper citation. For example, a telegram dated October 23, 1948, from the Department to the United States Legation in Paris relating to the Berlin crisis would have to include the telegram number in order to be identifiable. Such a citation would read:

Telegram #102, Department of State to United States Legation, Paris, October 23, 1948, DS 740.00119 Control (Germany)/ 10-2348, RG 59, NA.

The telegram number or an identifying statement as to the type of document referred to is essential for documents in this later period because there may be any number of them relating to a particular topic in the same file with the same date; 10-2348.

Lot Files

The increased use of Special Files or "Lot Files" has further complicated the citing of Department of State records. Lot Files are records maintained by offices, bureaus, divisions, committees, or individuals of the Department and have been increasingly used by researchers in their work. The Historical Office of the Department of State has also made increasing use of these files and referred to them in its published **Foreign Relations of the United States** series. These Lot Files present a special problem. The Historical Office follows no set policy in citing these Lot Files in **Foreign Relations**. Often the Historical Office merely refers to a specific Lot number. This number is attached to a file when it is retired to the Department's Foreign Affairs Document and Record Center. Upon transfer to the National Archives, however, these Lot Files are given a title and assigned a Record Group number. This information is essential when citing any Lot File held by the National Archives. For example, there are numerous citations in the **Foreign Relations** series to Lot File 60 D 224 and to Lot 122. Both of these Lot Files have been transferred to the National Archives. Documents from Lot 60 D 224 should be cited as The

Records of Harley Notter, RG 59. Lot 122 has been assigned to Record Group 353, Records of Interdepartmental and Intradepartmental Committees (Department of State) and includes the records of the Secretary's Staff Committee, the Executive Committee on Economic Foreign Policy and the Standing Liaison Committee as well as a variety of other Departmental committees. The title and the Record Group number are necessary in identifying these records. For illustration:

Memorandum, Harley Notter, "Reasons for the Pacific High Commission," April 3, 1945, Notter's Chronological File, April 3, 1945--September 6, 1945, Miscellaneous Subject Files, The Records of Harley Notter, RG 59, NA.

Memorandum, Dean Acheson to Secretary of State Cordell Hull, "General Objectives of U. S. Economic Policy with Respect to Germany," Policy Decision D-36/44, Executive Committee on Economic Foreign Policy, Records of Interdepartmental and Intradepartmental Committees (Department of State), Record Group 353, NA.

Foreign Service Post Records (Record Group 84)

Records of the Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State, Record Group 84, are also often cited improperly. These records constituted the files maintained at the various United States diplomatic and consular posts. They are not part of the central files of the Department since they were never sent directly to the Department at the time of their creation but were retained at the post. The problem in properly identifying these records is primarily the omission of the Record Group number. They are often confused with the General Records of the Department of State (Record Group 59).

Prior to 1912 diplomatic and consular officers filed their correspondence chronologically under various categories such as Despatches to the Department, Instructions from the Department (these are, for the most part, duplicated in the central files of the Department, hence the confusion with Record Group 59), Notes to and from foreign governmental officials, Commercial Correspondence, and Miscellaneous Letters sent and received. A proper citation to these records would include the following:

Letter, Ludwig Fisher, Fernando Mining Company to Louis Kaiser United States Consul, Mazatlan, Mexico, October 3, 1902, Miscellaneous Letters Received, Consular Post Records, Mazatlan, Records of the Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State, Record Group 84, NA.

In August 1912 the Department adopted a decimal system for the diplomatic and consular service similar to that already in operation for its central files. The system outlined organized all consular and diplomatic communications dealing with a particular subject in one file: Class

(0) Miscellaneous; Class (1) Administration United States Government; Class (2) Extradition; Class (3) Protection of Interests; Class (4) Claims; Class (5) Congresses and Conferences; Class (6) Commerce and Commercial Relations; Class (7) Relations of States; and Class (8) Internal Affairs of States. This decimal file system combined the files of the various types of communications, previously bound as separate series, into a General Correspondence File. A proper citation to a letter found in these records would look like this:

Letter, W. E. Chapman United States Consul at Mazatlan, Mexico, to Mr. W. C. Dunn Manager Hacienda de Quinichis, Acaaponeta, Nayarit, Mexico, January 11, 1925, General Correspondence File 852, Consular Post Records, Mazatlan, RG 84, NA.

In addition, post records created prior to 1935 are, in general, found in the National Archives, Washington, D. C. Those created after 1935 are maintained at the Suitland Record Center in Maryland. Careful attention to these details will prevent confusion in the citing of diplomatic and consular post materials.

These suggestions for the citation of Department of State records held by the National Archives are meant to clarify and standardize the citing of Department of State materials. Hopefully, they will serve as a reference guide to both the writer and the reader.

SHAHR'S GOVERNING BODIES

(1977)

The date following a person's name indicates the year (at the end of December, in most cases) when that individual's term expires.

COUNCIL

John L. Gaddis (Ohio U) 1977
 Bradford Perkins (Michigan) 1977
 Joseph P. O'Grady (La Salle) 1978
 Armin H. Rappaport (U of Cal--
 San Diego) 1978
 Robert A. Divine (Texas) 1979
 Thomas G. Paterson (Connecticut)
 1979
 Lawrence E. Gelfand (Iowa) 1980

EDITORIAL BOARD, DIPLOMATIC HISTORY

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

COMMITTEES

The person listed first in each instance is the chairman of that particular committee.

BERNATH ARTICLES AWARD

Robert L. Beisner (American U) 1977
Charles E. Neu (Brown) 1978
Arnold A. Offner (Boston U) 1979

BERNATH BOOK PRIZE

Warren F. Kimball (Rutgers-Newark) 1977
Ronald Steel (Yale) 1978
Walter F. La Feber (Cornell) 1979

BERNATH SPEAKER AWARD

Samuel F. Wells, Jr. (North Carolina--
Chapel Hill) 1977
Jonathan Utley (Tennessee) 1978
Kenneth E. Shewmaker (Dartmouth) 1979

MEMBERSHIP

Ralph E. Weber (Marquette) is chairman. The personnel of this committee will be carried in the June issue of the **Newsletter**.

NOMINATIONS

George C. Herring, Jr. (Kentucky) 1977
Warren I. Cohen (Michigan State) 1978
Paul S. Holbo (Oregon) 1979

PROGRAM

Roger R. Trask (South Florida)
Norman A. Graebner (Virginia)
Betty M. Unterberger (Texas A & M)
Frank Merli (Queen's College, NYC)

PERSONALS

Armin H. Rappaport (former president of SHAFR and presently editor of **Diplomatic History**) will read a paper titled "United States Views the Western Alliance" in March at a meeting in Wilton Park, Sussex, England.

* * * * *

David S. Patterson is visiting associate professor of history at Colgate University during the current academic year.

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Melvyn P. Leffler (Vanderbilt) was on leave, 1975-76, at the National Archives and the Library of Congress to do research upon the topic, "An Analysis of American Policy towards France and Western Europe, 1919-1933."

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Joseph M. Siracusa (U of Queensland, Australia) has received a grant-in-aid for 1977 from the Harry S. Truman Institute for National and International Affairs in order to pursue a study dealing with the intellectual origins of the Cold War.

* * * * *

Thomas Hartig, currently editor of **Ohio History**, scholarly journal for the Ohio Historical Society, has been named the new Curator of History for the Society. In this position, Dr. Hartig will be responsible for the Society's historic collections, administer the operation of the Department of History, and participate in the planning of exhibits.

* * * * *

Richard Harrison (Princeton) will be a member of the faculty at Pomona College as of September of this year.

* * * * *

Martin K. Gordon (History and Museums Division, USMC) read a paper, "The Congress's Own Militia," before a section upon military studies at a meeting of the International Studies Association, held in the Mershon Center, Ohio State U, last October. Dr. Gordon has also recently written a historiographical article, "American Military Studies," which appeared in the fall (1976) number of **American Studies International**.

* * * * *

Bradford Perkins (U of Michigan and former president of SHAFR) was one of nine American historians who met with Russian counterparts at the second Soviet-American Historical Colloquium upon the campus of Stanford U, August 30-31, 1976. Two major topics were discussed at this meeting—a comparison of slavery in the United States with serfdom in Russia before the 1860's, and an exploration of U. S.-Russian relations over the same time span.

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A recent listing by the AHA of its life members contained the names of these affiliates of SHAFR: Fredrick Aandahl (Department of State), Thomas A. Bailey (Stanford, emeritus), Kenneth J. Grieb (Wisconsin-Oshkosh), Paul S. Holbo (Oregon), E. D. Potts (Monash U, Australia), F. H. Schapsmeier (Wisconsin-Oshkosh), A. M. Schlesinger, Jr. (Graduate Center, CUNY), Thomas Schoonover (Southwest Louisiana), and Joseph S. Tulchin (North Carolina).

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Two members of SHAFR, Marlene J. Mayo (Maryland) and Forrest C. Pogue (Smithsonian Institution), were members of the Program Committee

of the AHA which was responsible for planning the 1977 meeting of that body which will be held in Dallas the coming December.

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John F. Zeugner (Worcester Polytechnic Institute) is a Fulbright lecturer in American history at Osaka University, Japan, during the current academic year.

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Francis D. McCann (New Hampshire-Durham) is a Fulbright lecturer on comparative United States-Brazilian history at the University of Brasilia, Brazil, during the 1976-77 academic year.

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Robert McGeehan (New York City) has been appointed University Lecturer in International Relations at Oxford University, England.

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Warren F. Kuehl (Executive Sec'y-Tr's'r, SHAFR) has sent to the editor a clipping of the New York **Times** for February 3. In the justly-famed letters-to-the-editor column of that date are two epistles by SHAFR members: one by Richard W. Leopold (former president of SHAFR and current president of OAH) and the other by Stephen E. Pelz (U of Massachusetts-Amherst and co-winner of the Bernath Book Prize for 1975). Dr. Leopold defends the presidential library system, saying that "the most knowledgeable critics. . .concede that, with all its shortcomings, it represents the best solution yet devised for managing the papers of recent chief executives." Professor Pelz in his letter calls for aid from the new President and Congress to the end that the Historical Office of the State Department may produce the written record of American foreign affairs more fully and expeditiously.

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At the annual meeting of the Western Conference of the Association for Asian Studies which met at Flagstaff, Arizona, October 8-9, 1976, two members of SHAFR presented papers upon a panel. Sandra Taylor (Utah), president of the Conference, 1975-76, read a paper titled "Miscegenation and the Missionaries: Racial Attitudes among the Congregationalists in Japan," while Frederick B. Hoyt (Illinois State U) presented one with the title, "The Golden Age of Missions: American Protestants on the Eve of the Chinese Revolution of the 1920s." Delivering critiques upon the papers were Linda M. Papageorge (Georgia State U) and Gordon K. Harrington (Weber State).

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The following notes, all dealing with the Historical Office of the Department of State, come to our readers, compliments of Fredrick Aandahl, an employee of that Office and a member of SHAFR. Our readers will quickly realize after a perusal of these notes that the Historical Office is top-heavy with members of our Society!

The Historical Office, Department of State, has been redesignated as the Office of the Historian. It remains in the Bureau of Public Affairs. David F. Trask is now the Historian, Fredrick Aandahl the Associate Historian and Director of Operations Staff (OS), and Arthur G. Kogan the the Adviser on Records Policy. William Z. Slany and Edwin S. Costrell are Associate Historians for Western Hemisphere and Europe (WHE) and for Asia, Africa, and Pacific (AAP), respectively. The functions and personnel of the former Historical Studies Division and Foreign Relations Division have been redistributed among the new units. WHE and AAP are responsible for preparing **Foreign Relations** volumes and research studies for their specific areas. OS is responsible for general research and reference work as well as editing and declassification.

The Advisory Committee on **Foreign Relations of the United States** held its annual meeting at the Department of State on November 12, 1976. During the course of the day the members met with Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, Deputy Under Secretary Lawrence S. Eagleburger, and Assistant Secretary John E. Reinhardt, as well as with the staff of the Office of the Historian. The committee is now preparing its report, to be presented to the new Secretary of State, Cyrus R. Vance.

David F. Trask, Historian of the Department of State, testified on January 12 before the National Study Commission on the Records and Documents of Federal Officials. He spoke on the functions and opportunities of historical offices in Federal departments and agencies.

William Z. Slany represents the Department of State on a joint U. S.-Soviet historical commission concerned with publishing the records of Russo-American relations, before 1815. Charles S. Sampson and Ronald D. Landa are assisting with the project.

Ralph R. Goodwin and Helene L. De Long have retired from the Office of the Historian.

Richard S. Patterson, who retired in 1965 as chief of the special studies branch of the Historical Office, died at his home in Shickshinny, Pennsylvania on October 13, 1976. He had largely completed his work on a history of the Great Seal of the United States (on contract with the Department of State, in cooperation with the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration). The work is scheduled for publication in 1977.

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

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

Kenton J. Clymer (University of Texas at El Paso), "Humanitarian Imperialism: David Prescott Barrows and the White Man's Burden in the Philippines," **Pacific Historical Review**, XLV (November, 1976), 495-517. Though the causes of American imperialism in the 1890s have persistently intrigued historians of American foreign relations, relatively few of these scholars have looked beyond the acquisition of territory to assess American colonialism in operation, nor have they explored sufficiently the motivations and attitudes of those Americans who actually went to the islands. This article, based primarily on the Barrows papers in the Bancroft Library, explores the ideas of one important American colonialist who was in the Philippines from 1900 to 1909. From 1903 to 1909 he was general superintendent of education for the Philippines. The article concludes that while considerably more research is needed into the American colonial mentality a humanitarian, if profoundly paternalistic, attitude was very much a part of the imperialistic impulse in the islands.

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Frederick B. Hoyt (Illinois State U), "Protection Implies Intervention: The U. S. Catholic Mission at Kanchow," **Historian**, XXXVIII (August, 1976), 709-727. In evaluating the impact of missionaries of Sino-American relations between 1925 and 1937, historians have generally stressed the intangible effect of missionary work on public and diplomatic opinion, citing particularly the high visibility of Protestant institutions and the effect of solicitations for support. While direct influence is more difficult to determine, missionaries who remained in endangered posts could play a role in policy decisions beyond their numbers because of the State Department's obligation to protect them. Such in fact was the case of the American Catholic Mission at Kanchow, Kiangsi, which saw its own tenuous accommodation with moderate Chinese nationalists threatened by the

presence of Mao Tse-tung's forces in southern Kiangsi, 1929 to 1932. The mission consequently appealed for diplomatic assistance in order to survive. Unable to order the priests to leave the province, the State Department was forced to pressure the Chinese government to protect the mission. Protection thus led to intervention.

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Frederick B. Hoyt (Illinois State U), "The Open Door Empire Viewed as a Chinese Dynasty," **Australian Journal of Politics and History**, XXII (April, 1976), 23-25. By and large, American historians have sought a meaning for the Open Door through a focus on the Washington-to-Wall Street corridor. In contrast, modern Chinese scholars have insisted recently that the Open Door must be viewed through a Chinese filter and as an extension of Chinese domestic history. These two approaches can be merged as harmoniously as yin and yang provided one is willing to examine the Open Door from the perspective of Americans in China: the Open Door in a sense was the last of the Sino-foreign dynasties to rule China, and as such can fit into the traditional Chinese historical cycle of rise, splendor, and fall. This essay focused on Shanghai, capital city of the Open Door empire, wherein resided the technical scholars, whose tools were capital and concrete. After 1925, the dynasty tottered before peasant revolts and, after 1932, before barbarian (i.e., Japanese) invasions. Saved temporarily because the ruling elite of Shanghai co-opted like-minded Chinese, in the long run the Open Door empire failed to provide stability and order. Having thus lost the Mandate of Heaven, Willard D. Straight, Paul S. Reinsch, and George Bronson Rea are consequently castigated by the current dynasty's historians as more traditional Chinese historians have treated the evil and unscrupulous Shih Huang Ti.

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Frederick B. Hoyt (Illinois State U), "The Lesson of Confrontation: Two Christian Colleges Face Chinese Revolution, 1925-1927," **Asian Forum**, VIII (Summer, 1976), 45-62. As symbols of Western imperialism, the Christian colleges in China were subjected to more criticism during the Chinese revolution of the 1920s than any other foreign interest, with the possible exception of the equally visible gunboats. The key issue was whether the colleges would "register" with the Chinese government, that is, submit curriculum, and possibly institutional, control to the dictates of the Chinese. Canton Christian College sought to extricate itself by meeting the Chinese demands so far as possible, while Yale-in-China early invoked its treaty privileges. Neither option proved satisfactory when the revolution moved to the left. Each school closed. The critical factor proved to be the willingness and ability of the Chinese government to tolerate the schools and deflect anti-foreign sentiment, not the attitude of administrators or their diplomats. This was the lesson of the confrontations of the 1920s.

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Howard Jones (U of Alabama) "The **Caroline** Affair," **The Historian**, 38 (May, 1976) 485-502. During the Canadian rebellions against the British Crown in late 1837, the **Caroline**, a privately-owned American steamboat whose owner was accused of illegally aiding the insurgents, was burned and sunk near Niagara Falls by Canadian volunteers under British command. Americans along the New York-Canada border, already sympathetic with the rebels' democratic goals, immediately demanded war with Britain. To control these border enthusiasts, President Martin Van Buren invoked the Neutrality Act of 1818 and ordered General Winfield Scott to the Niagara frontier. Fortunately, the British, deep in domestic and foreign troubles, did not wish war with the United States, while the American government, in the meantime remembering its problems at home and away, somehow managed to restrain the Anglophobes. The **Caroline** issue soon dropped from the international scene, but it caused trouble again in the early 1840s when New York state authorities arrested a Canadian sheriff named Alexander McLeod for complicity in the steamer's destruction (tried and found not guilty), and when Secretary of State Daniel Webster and British Special Minister Lord Ashburton had to bring about its final resolution through an exchange of diplomatic notes before they could negotiate their treaty of 1842.

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William Dirk Raat (State University of New York, Fredonia), "The Diplomacy of Suppression: **Los Revoltosos**, Mexico, and the United States, 1906-1911," **The Hispanic American Historical Review**, LVI (November, 1976), 529-550. Based upon archival work in Mexico and the United States, this essay described the police and intelligence activities of private and public interests in Mexico and the United States which attempted to curtail the practices of Mexican alien radicals in the United States. In order to meet the threat of emerging revolutionary nationalism, domestic elites (represented in part by the government of Mexico's dictator, Porfirio Diaz) cooperated with foreign private and public interests to not only pacify the border, but to also suppress the political activities of anti-Diaz Mexicans in Arizona, Texas, California, Missouri, and New York. The two governments developed an elaborate spy structure consisting of private detectives, consular agents, embassy personnel, corporation lawyers, individual informers, judges, secret service personnel, military personnel, labor spies, and representatives from the Departments of State, Treasury, Justice, and Commerce and Labor. The police methods used, both legal and illegal, not only continued an anti-revolutionary interventionist foreign policy, but created serious questions about the use (or misuse) of domestic agencies for foreign policy ends.

 PUBLICATIONS IN U. S. DIPLOMACY BY MEMBERS OF SHAFR

Charles S. Campbell (Claremont Graduate School), **The Transformation of American Foreign Relations: 1865-1900.** 1976. Harper & Row. Cl. \$15.00; pb. \$5.95. New American Nation Series. Reviewed in *History*, November/December, 1976.

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F. Gilbert Chan and Thomas H. Etzold (Miami U), eds., **China in the 1920s: Nationalism and Revolution.** 1976. New Viewpoints (Division of Franklin Watts). Pb. \$5.95.

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Richard E. Darilek (Herbert H. Lehman College of CUNY), **A Loyal Opposition in Time of War: The Republican Party and the Politics of Foreign Policy from Pearl Harbor to Yalta.** 1976. Greenwood Press. \$14.95.

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Norman B. Ferris (Middle Tennessee), **Desperate Diplomacy: William H. Seward's Foreign Policy, 1861.** 1976. U of Tennessee Press. \$12.95. Reviewed in *History*, November/December, 1976.

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Norman A. Graebner (Virginia and former president of SHAFR), **The Cold War: A Conflict of Ideology and Power.** 1976. (2nd ed.) D. C. Heath and Co. Pb. \$2.95. Volume in series, Problems in European Civilization.

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David S. Patterson (Rice and Colgate), **Towards a Warless World: The Travail of the American Peace Movement, 1887-1914.** 1976. Indiana U Press. \$15.00.

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Lisle A. Rose (Department of State), **Roots of Tragedy: The United States and the Struggle for Asia, 1945-1953.** 1976. Greenwood Press. \$15.95. Reviewed in *History*, January, 1977.

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Martin J. Sherwin's (Princeton) **A World Destroyed: The Atomic Bomb and the Grand Alliance** which was published in a clothbound edition at \$10.00 by Alfred A. Knopf in 1975 is now available in a paperback edition at \$3.95 from Vintage Books (Random House).

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Joseph M. Siracusa's (U of Queensland, Australia), ed., **The American Diplomatic Revolution: A Documentary History of the Cold War, 1941-1947**, published in 1975 and available previously only in Australia and Great Britain has now (1977) been reprinted by the Kennikat Press. Cloth, \$12.95; paper, \$7.95.

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Joseph M. Siracusa and Glen St. John Barclay (both from U of Queensland, Australia), eds., **The Impact of the Cold War: Reconsiderations**. 1977. Kennikat Press. Cl. \$12.50; pb. \$6.95. Royalties from this work will be donated to the Daniel M. Smith Memorial Graduate Scholarship Fund in American Diplomatic History, U of Colorado.

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J. Samuel Walker (National Archives), **Henry A. Wallace and American Foreign Policy**. 1976. Greenwood Press. \$13.95.

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Arthur Walworth (Freelance Historian), **America's Moment: 1918: American Diplomacy at the End of World War I**. 1976. W. W. Norton & Co., Inc. \$14.95. *New York Times* Book Review, February 13, 1977.

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Gerald E. Wheeler (San Jose State and former editor, *SHAFR Newsletter*), **The Road to War: The United States and Japan, 1931-1941**. 1976. Forum Press. 16 pp. \$1.25. The Forum Series in American History.

SHAFR ANNOUNCEMENTS

SHAFR will be represented in a prominent way at the annual meeting of the OAH to be held in Atlanta, April 6-9, 1977. The Council will convene at 8:00 P. M., Wednesday, April 6, in the Whitehall Suite (1st Floor) of the Marriott Hotel, headquarters for the Convention. The Board of Editors of **Diplomatic History** will have a breakfast-meeting in the English Suite of the Hyatt Regency, 7:30 A. M., Thursday, April 7. That evening from 5:00 to 7:00 a reception will be held in Suites 1 and 2 of the Tara Ballroom at the Marriott. SHAFR activities of a group nature will conclude with a luncheon at 12:00, Friday, April 8, in the Plantation Suite (1st Floor) of the Marriott. Joan Hoff Wilson (Fellow, Radcliffe Institute), the recipient of the first Bernath Memorial Lectureship, will deliver a paper at this meeting, titled "Foreign Policy Trends Since 1920."

Richard W. Leopold (Northwestern University and former president of SHAFR), current president of the OAH, will deliver his presidential address, "The Historian and the Federal Government," in the Grand Ballroom of the Marriott, Thursday, April 7, at 8:30 P. M.

During the OAH Convention members of SHAFR will preside over two programs, deliver five papers, participate upon three panels, and will act as commentators in five instances. On Thursday morning, April 7, Kenneth J. Hagan (US Naval Academy) will preside at a program titled "20th Century U. S. Diplomacy: The Foreign Perspective." John A. Thompson (St. Catherine's College, Cambridge U) will speak upon "The British Perspective," while Ian J. Bickerton (U of New South Wales) will give "The Australian Perspective" at this session.

Joan Hoff Wilson (Fellow at Radcliffe Institute) will be reading two papers. On Thursday, April 7, she'll present one titled, "Women's History in the Colonial and Revolutionary Periods," upon the program, "The Historiography of Women's History." The next day she will give the major address at the SHAFR luncheon, as stated above.

In the afternoon of April 7 Martin Sherwin (Princeton and the recipient of the Bernath Book Prize in 1976) and Samuel F. Wells, Jr. (U of North Carolina, Chapel Hill) will appear upon a panel, "The Hydrogen Bomb Decision." At the same time Akira Iriye (U of Chicago and vice president of SHAFR) will chair a session titled "The Politics of the Japanese-American War." Marlene Mayo (Maryland), Waldo Heinrichs (Temple), and Warren I. Cohen (Michigan State) will be commentators upon this occasion.

On Friday morning Alonzo Hamby (Ohio U) will be a panelist upon the program, "Historians and Public Documents: The Report of the National Study Commission and Records and Documents of Federal Officials." That afternoon, on the panel session, "Personal Diplomacy and the Presidency: The 20th Century," Lloyd C. Gardner (Rutgers, New Brunswick) will discuss

Woodrow Wilson, while Warren F. Kimball's (Rutgers, Newark) topic will be Franklin D. Roosevelt.

On Saturday morning, April 9, William O. Walker, III (California State, Sacramento) will speak upon "The United States and the Transformation of Mexican Narcotic Policy, 1936-1940" at the session, "Drugs and Diplomacy." Commentators at this program will be Arnold Taylor (Howard U) and David M. Pletcher (Indiana).

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Until the publication gets its "feet solidly upon the ground" the new SHAFR journal, **Diplomatic History**, will not carry book reviews. The editor, Dr. Armin Rappaport, does, however, welcome review articles. Such an article would be one wherein several recent publications in a particular area of U. S. diplomatic history are described, compared, and evaluated. Two recent articles of this type would be Francis Paul Prucha's "Books on American Indian Policy: A Half-Decade of Important Work, 1970-1975" which appears in the current number (December, 1976) of the **Journal of American History**, and Andrew C. Hess's "Consensus or Conflict: The Dilemma of Islamic Historians" which was carried in the October 1976 issue of the **American Historical Review**.

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All persons who paid dues for 1976 and all new members for 1977 should have received the first issue of **Diplomatic History**. If you have not done so, please notify Warren F. Kuehl, SHAFR National Office, Department of History, University of Akron, Akron, OH 44325. That office is in the process of consolidating all mailing lists into one and reprogramming this information for the computer to insure accuracy. The officials there regret any inconvenience and want to be sure no one is missed.

OTHER ANNOUNCEMENTS

Over the last 15 years the Historical Office of the Department of State has periodically surveyed the public availability of diplomatic archives throughout the world and has published the results in the form of a mimeographed publication for the use of interested researchers and institutions. These surveys were compiled primarily on the basis of reports supplied by American diplomatic missions abroad regarding the pertinent policies and practices of the governments to which they were accredited. The current versions of this survey, which incorporates information compiled over the last two years, has been issued for the first time in print under the auspices of the Bureau of Public Affairs in the Department of State. Copies may be obtained by writing to the Public Correspondence Division,

Office of Media Services, Bureau of Public Affairs, Department of State, Washington, D. C. 20520.

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As a result of a cultural agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union in 1973 (renewed in 1976), American and Soviet scholars are working on the publication of a volume of documents entitled **Development of Russian-American Relations, 1765-1815**. The volume will contain annotated materials from both American and Soviet archives and libraries. The editors and compilers of the volume on the US side are associated with the National Archives and Records Service, the Department of State, and the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies at the Woodrow Wilson Center; on the Soviet side, with the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Institute of World History of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and the Main Archival Administration of the USSR Council of Ministers. The editors on both sides have agreed to adhere to generally recognized standards of historical research, to publish the full record based on scholarly objectivity, and to formulate procedures necessary to harmonize access rules so that scholars may enjoy free access to documentation. The US editors would appreciate any information on the location of unpublished materials pertaining to Russian-American relations, 1765-1815, which could be included in the forthcoming volume. Please contact Dr. Milton O. Gustafson, Chief, Diplomatic Branch, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D. C. 20408. (The other U. S. representatives upon this project are William Z. Slany, Department of State, and Frederick Starr of the Kennan Institute).

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Historians and political scientists interested in the application of theories and methods of the social sciences to the study of diplomatic history have recently formed a steering committee for a network that will become part of the Social Science History Association. This network will facilitate interchange between political scientists who appreciate the need for more longitudinal work in the study of international politics and historians who appreciate the need for greater rigor and reproducible evidence in the study of diplomatic history. Among other activities planned are the arrangement of panels at professional meetings and a newsletter. Members of the network will participate in several of the sessions at the Social Science History Association conference in Ann Arbor, October 21-23, 1977.

The steering committee includes, Melvin Small, Wayne State and J. David Singer, Michigan (co-chairpeople), Nazli Choucri, MIT, Alexander DeConde, California, Santa Barbara, Karl Deutsch, Harvard, Paul Lauren, Montana, Ernest May, Harvard, Harald Von Riekhoff, Carleton (Canada), Richard Rosecrance, Cornell, Paul Schroeder, Illinois, Thomas Schoonover, Southwestern Louisiana, David Trask, State Department, Raimo Vayrynen, Tampere (Finland), and Samuel Williamson, North Carolina.

Membership in the SSHA, which includes a subscription to **Social Science History**, is \$15 for faculty and \$8 for students. Please address all membership requests to Jerome M. Clubb, Center for Political Studies, Box 1248, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106 and **make certain that an interest in the diplomatic history network is noted on the request.**

BERNATH LIVING TRUST

Through the generosity of Dr. Gerald and Myrna Bernath, SHAFR is the holder of an irrevocable living trust in perpetuity, dated December 26, 1976. This is in the amount of \$20,000, with income to be paid to the donors as long as they are alive. Thereafter the income is to be used primarily to provide "additional funds. . .for those prizes and awards established as Stuart L. Bernath Memorials. . .and to provide funds for such other purposes as are set forth. . ." The basic objective is the enhancement of "the ideals of scholarship and excellence of teaching as envisaged and exemplified by the Grantor's late, beloved son, Stuart L. Bernath." It will be known as the "Bernath Charitable Remainder Annuity Trust."

Under the terms the income is to "be used to increase the amount of any [current] award if the organization deems that such increase would maintain or enhance the prestige of the award; to provide reasonable transportation expenses to the Stuart L. Bernath Speaker; to assist financially needy graduate students or younger scholars, provided first that each year there remains unused income after the use of income in administering the Stuart L. Bernath Book Prize, the Stuart L. Bernath Best Article Prize, and the Stuart L. Bernath Speaker Award, that at least 50% of this remainder income might be invested or deposited in banks for purposes of growth of this trust estate; or for any other purpose related to such awards as the organization shall deem appropriate."

**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 1979 Lecture from members of the Society. (The name of the 1977 recipient of the Lectureship is given below. The 1978 award winner will be announced in the near future). Nominations, in the form of a short letter and curriculum vitae, if available, should reach the Committee not later than December 1, 1977. The Chairman of the Committee, and the person to whom nominations should be sent, is Dr. Samuel F. Wells, Jr., Department of History, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514.

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

AWARD WINNER

1977

Joan Hoff Wilson (Fellow, Radcliffe Institute)

**THE STUART L. BERNATH MEMORIAL PRIZE FOR THE BEST
SCHOLARLY ARTICLE IN U. S. DIPLOMATIC HISTORY DURING 1977**

The Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations announces that the 1978 competition for the best published article on any aspect of American foreign relations is open. The purpose of the award is to recognize and to encourage distinguished research and writing by young scholars in the field of U. S. diplomatic affairs.

CONDITIONS OF THE AWARD

ELIGIBILITY: Prize competition is open to the author of any article upon any topic in American foreign relations that is published during 1977. The article must be among the author's first seven (7) which have seen publication.

PROCEDURES: Articles shall be submitted by the author or by any member of SHAFR. Five (5) copies of each article (preferably reprints) should be sent to the chairman of the Stuart L. Bernath Article Prize Committee by January 15, 1978. The Chairman of that Committee for 1977 is Dr. Robert L. Beisner, Department of History, American University, Washington, D. C. 20016.

AMOUNT OF AWARD: \$200.00. If two (2) or more authors are considered winners, the prize will be shared. The name of the successful writer(s) will be announced, along with the name of the victor in the Bernath book prize competition, during the luncheon for members of SHAFR, to be held at the annual OAH convention, meeting in April, 1978, at New York City.

THE STUART L. BERNATH MEMORIAL BOOK COMPETITION FOR 1978

The Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations announces that the 1978 competition for the Stuart L. Bernath Memorial Prize upon a book dealing with any aspect of American foreign affairs is open. The purpose of the award is to recognize and to 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 1977. It must be the author's first or second book.

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. Warren F. Kimball, Chairman, Stuart L. Bernath Book Prize Committee, Department of History, Rutgers University (Newark), Newark, New Jersey 07102. The works must be received not later than February 1, 1978.

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, 1978, in New York City.

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)

GUIDELINES FOR CONTRIBUTIONS TO **DIPLOMATIC HISTORY**

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

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

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

All manuscripts should be submitted to:

Dr. Armin Rappaport
Editor, **Diplomatic History**
Department of History
U of California (San Diego)
La Jolla, California 92093

 SHAFR ROSTER AND RESEARCH LIST

Please use this form to register your general and current research interests as well as your address. This **List** is stored upon computer tapes so that information may be quickly retrieved. In order for the system to work, though, two things are necessary from the members: (a) simple, concise, obvious titles should be used in describing projects; (b) a key word should be specified for each project. It would be quite helpful if members would send revised information to the editor whenever new data is available, since it will be much easier to keep the files up to date and avoid a rush in the fall. If a form is not available, a short memo will suffice. Changes which pertain only to addresses should be sent to the Executive Secretary, and he will pass them on to the editors of the **List** and the **Newsletter**. Unless new data is submitted, previously listed research projects will be repeated.

 Name: _____ Title: _____

Address _____

State: _____ Zip Code _____ Institutional Affiliation

(if different from address) _____

General area of research interest: _____

_____ Key word _____

Current research project(s): _____

_____ Key word(s) _____

If this is pre-doctoral work, check here _____

Mail to: Dr. W. F. Kimball, editor
 SHAFR R & R List
 Department of History
 Rutgers University, Newark
 Newark, New Jersey 07102

The responses of the SHAFR membership to the poll of November, 1976, with respect to a summer conference indicated a generally favorable attitude. In that regard it paralleled a survey of over five years ago.

Of those responding, 26 said they would attend the meeting being planned for Charlottesville, Virginia, in 1977, 128 reported they would "make every effort to attend," 94 observed they would like to go but doubted whether they could do so, and 39 said they could not attend. Fourteen reported no interest in summer conferences.

The comments were especially helpful, even though suggestions at times cancelled each other. Some preferred large cities; others thought campus locations ideal. Responders did, however, indicate a special preference for the Washington, D. C. area where they could combine research with a meeting, an item which had emerged as a dominant feature in the earlier poll. Individuals from the Far West especially asked about organizing a conference in that part of the country, a point which made the National Office aware that perhaps SHAFR should at least plan receptions at the Pacific Coast Branch meetings of the AHA.

A number of people referred to tight budgets which restrict travel, a concern which makes it imperative to keep expenses of rooms and meals as low as possible when conferences are held.

Finally, there were widespread variations in suggestions for the ideal time. Some persons argued against the summer because it cut into family vacations and summer teaching; some preferred meeting earlier and others later.

The comments were helpful, however, and they may result in tactical efforts to make the sessions in Charlottesville more inviting. Facilities will be available for families as well as for individuals, and plans are being explored about chartering a bus for travel between Charlottesville and Washington, D. C., to make the trip more convenient. Details will be sent to members with information and reservation forms as soon as the program is organized.

FROM THE EDITOR'S DESK

From time to time the editor of SHAFR has been asked why the **Newsletter** does not carry lists of materials (documents, oral interviews, manuscripts, etc.) in the diplomatic realm which have recently been declassified and are, therefore, open to researchers. The reason is a two-fold one. Since the **Newsletter** is usually limited to 40 pages per issue, space would not be available 90% of the time to run such material. Secondly, this material is available, to some degree at least, from other sources. One of the best of these is the **News Notes**, published by the National Archives and Record Service, Washington, D. C. 20408, four times a year. It lists recent declassifications of material not only at the National Archives itself, but at all the presidential libraries. Additionally, most, if not all, of the presidential libraries supply without charge a list of the files in which material has been opened for research. (Example: Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, N. Y. 12538).

It is the understanding of the editor that lists of recently declassified material are available with no charge from each of the armed services--for those who are interested in military--diplomatic history. Thus, those who are interested in naval affairs should write to the Director of Naval History, Washington Navy Yard, Washington, D. C. 20374.

The publications of the larger historical societies, such as the AHA and the OAH, list accessions and declassifications of material, although these lists are not comprehensive. The AHA **Newsletter** for November, 1975, for instance, devoted over a page to those materials which have been opened for use at the presidential libraries, as well as the National Archives.

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Occasionally someone complains that the **Newsletter** does not reach him/her within "a reasonable time." The trouble lies in the fact that, except for a few officials of SHAFR, the publication is sent to members at bulk rates, 3rd class. The cost per copy at this rate is the magnificent sum of two cents! Thus, it costs only eight cents a year to send all copies of the **Newsletter** to each U. S. member. (Overseas mailing is another problem). But third class mail is slow, slow, slow--as many members have discovered. In contrast, it costs \$1.60 a year to send four issues of the **Newsletter** by first class mail in this country. But first class is fast. Hence, if anyone wishes to pay the difference of \$1.52 and receive the publication by first class send a check for that amount, made to "Tennessee Tech," to the office of the editor.

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The **Newsletter**, like all periodical publications, faces the problem of partially-blank pages at one time or another. The things that are obviously needed in such instances are fillers, but **what type** of fillers? The editor has cudged his head for a long time over this problem. A solution to this vexing matter was suggested to him at the recent AHA meeting by Dr. Robert H. Ferrell (Indiana), a former president of SHAFR. Every professor, he said, encounters "howlers," "boners," "boo-boos," or whatever, by his/her students, especially while grading papers. Why not run them?

Well, they **would** meet a need, and they would also add some humor to often stodgy issues. So, all right, members, if you have any "gems" of this nature, send them to the editor. They'll have to pertain to U. S. diplomatic history, and they'll have to be short. You will receive credit for your "contribution(s)."

THE SHAFR NEWSLETTER

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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)
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