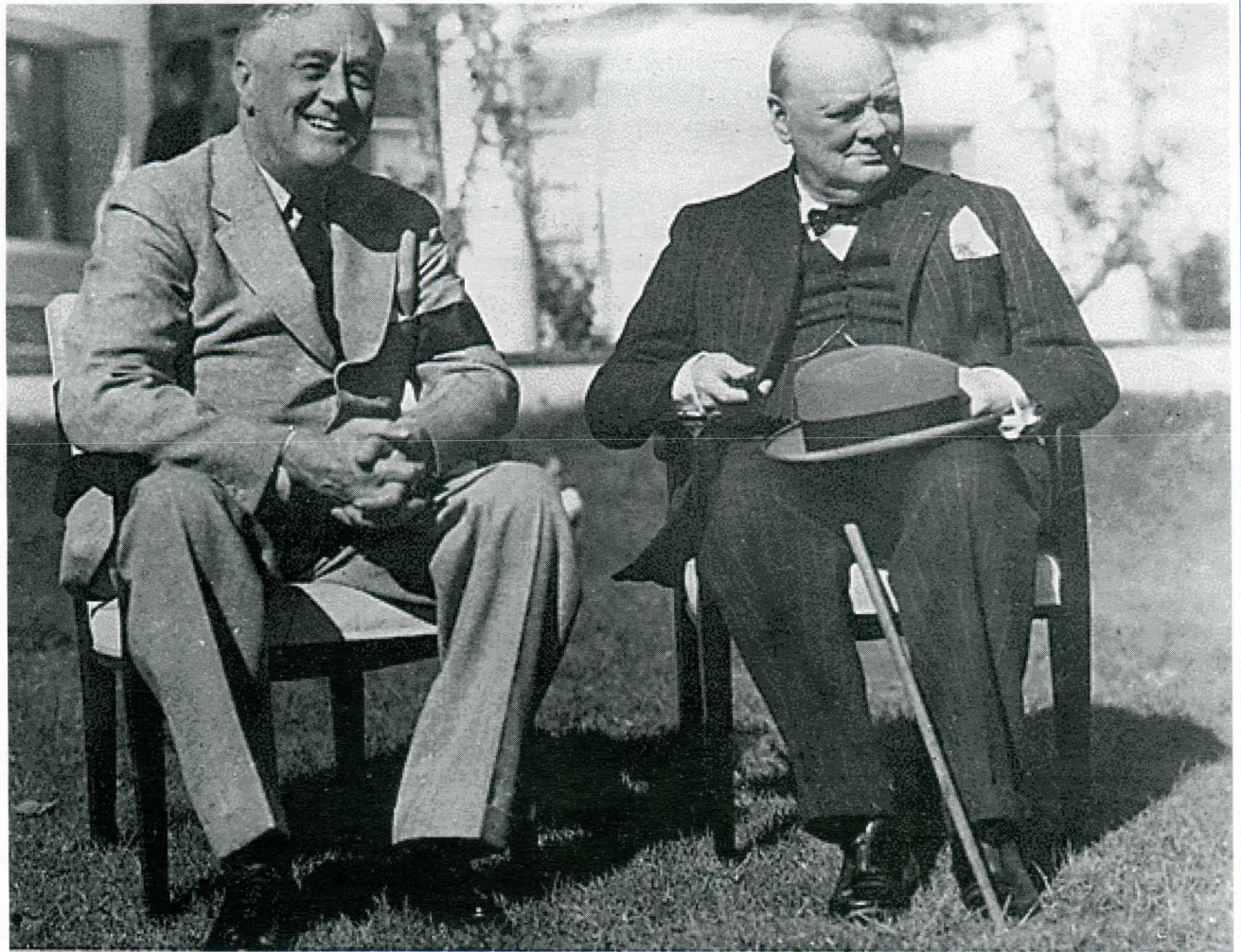


Passport

The Newsletter of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations

Volume 34, Issue 2 August 2003



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Rafael Medoff on Roosevelt and the Holocaust

K.C. Johnson gets tenure "The Hard Way"

New material about North Korea

Research notes from England and India

Lessons from the AHA conference

Thoughts from the President

... and much more

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The Newsletter of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations

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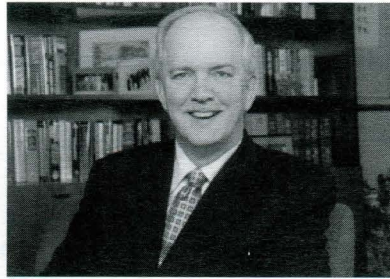
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Thoughts from SHAFR President

Michael Hogan

At Ohio State this year we set a record for graduate applications to our program in international history. We had approximately thirty applicants, most of them very competitive, from which no more than three or four will be admitted. I'm not sure if other graduate programs are experiencing a similar burst of new applications, or if this phenomena has something to do with the dramatic diplomacy and threats of war that mark the current state of world affairs. What does seem clear is this: students who are entering our graduate programs these days are as likely to be interested in missionaries as in diplomats, in non-state organizations as in government agencies, in cultural relations as in diplomacy, in international forces as in the nation-state. Some of the applicants to our graduate program at Ohio State will work in European international history, under the direction of Professor Carole Fink; others will focus on the American side; most will pair their concentration in one of these areas with a graduate field in the other or in the field of world history. In short, today's graduate students are likely to become international historians, not simply American historians, and to work on foreign relations broadly conceived, not simply state-to-state diplomacy.

They are also likely to be interested in the kind of interdisciplinary work that has already helped to broaden and deepen our field over the past decade, so much so that Tom Paterson and I are bringing out a much revised edition of our volume, *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations*. The revised edition has new material on postcolonial theory, borderlands history, modernization theory, gender, race, memory, cultural transfer, and critical



theory. As such, it reveals the new American international history that has grown out of cross disciplinary thinking in an increasingly transnational world. These same developments, I believe, now require us to reconceptualize our basic educational mission and how we present ourselves in the larger profession. I said more on these subjects in my presidential address to SHAFR in June, which will soon be published by *Diplomatic History*, but let me use this inaugural edition of our reformatted newsletter to emphasize two points.

First, I want to stress how important it is to encourage our graduate students to acquire foreign language skills, do multi-archival research, develop a strong area studies background, and otherwise learn to contextualize American history and diplomacy in a larger international setting. When it comes to graduate training, the current trend toward globalization requires that we internationalize the study of diplomatic history and stress more than ever the new interdisciplinary approaches to the field.

Second, the trend toward globalization also requires that we rethink our organization. It cannot escape our notice that American international history, including the study of diplomacy and imperialism, is no longer the sole province of diplomatic historians, nor that of SHAFR and its journal, *Diplomatic History*. Other organizations and

their journals, including the Organization of American Historians and the American Studies Association, have taken an "international" turn in recent years, and this trend is likely to continue. Under the circumstances, isn't it time for our own organization to become more international and to open its doors to those scholars, trained in other fields, who are showing new interest in international subjects? This would include those doing interesting work in subaltern studies, post-colonial theory, and American studies, not to mention those who are interested in the history of borderlands or in the role that race, ethnicity, and gender play in international relations.

At the very least, wouldn't we benefit by inviting European international historians and other regional specialists with an interest in foreign affairs to join with us in the same organization? Wouldn't such a course bring us more into line with the increasing globalization of the modern world and with the trend toward internationalization that marks other organizations? Wouldn't it add to our numbers and to our influence in the larger profession, and wouldn't it contribute to the kind of intellectual cross-fertilization that is at the heart of (post)modern scholarship? Wouldn't it help to keep our journal on the cutting edge, and wouldn't it be an important step toward a new professionalization of our graduate students?

These are some of the questions we must wrestle with as we try to contextualize the history of American foreign relations in a larger international framework, and as we seek to move our discipline into its second century.

Dr. Michael Hogan is Executive Dean of the Colleges of the Arts and Sciences at the Ohio State University.

Why the Allies Refused to Bomb Auschwitz: A Reply to William J. vanden Heuvel

By Rafael Medoff

In the March 2003 SHAFR newsletter, William J. vanden Heuvel of the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute defends the refusal of the Roosevelt administration to bomb Auschwitz. He argues that the Allies had no choice but to “totally direct [their] bombing strategy toward destroying Nazi fuel supplies, their synthetic oil industries.”¹ What vanden Heuvel neglects to mention, however, is that some of the oil facilities that the Allies struck were situated within a few miles of the Auschwitz gas chambers—meaning that the Allies could have easily bombed the gas chambers and crematoria used for the mass murder of Jews. On August 20, 1944, a fleet of U.S. bombers dropped more than one thousand bombs on the oil refineries in the factory areas of Auschwitz, less than five miles from the gas chambers. On September 13, American bombers struck the factory areas again; this time, stray bombs accidentally hit an SS barracks (killing fifteen Germans), a slave labor workshop (killing forty prisoners), and the railroad track leading to the gas chambers.

U.S. bombers carried out similar raids on December 18, December 26, and January 19. The frequent Allied bombings of seven other synthetic oil refineries near Auschwitz in 1944-45 included a January 20 raid on Blechhammer, forty-five miles from the death camp, which made it possible for forty-two Jewish slave laborers to escape.² In his memoir, *Night*, Elie Wiesel recalls how he and other Auschwitz prisoners reacted when the bombers struck: “We were not afraid. And yet, if a bomb had fallen on the blocks, it alone would have claimed hundreds of victims on the spot. But we were no longer afraid of death; at any rate, not of that death. Every bomb that exploded filled us with

joy and gave us new confidence in life. The raid lasted over an hour. If it could only have lasted ten times ten hours!”³

Similarly, when I interviewed former Auschwitz inmate Rabbi Menachem M. Rubin in 1997, he reiterated what he had written in a letter to vanden Heuvel on December 27, 1996: “I stood in Auschwitz, looking skyward a number of times, as Allied planes passed overhead to bomb the nearby synthetics plant at Blechhammer. To drop a bomb on the crematoria would have been a simple and life-saving act. . . . By destroying a crematorium thousands would have been saved daily. The number of inmates possibly killed would have been much fewer than the number saved.” He also noted that “the people working in and around the gas chambers were condemned to be murdered anyway.”⁴ Vanden Heuvel, in his SHAFR article, makes no mention of Rabbi Rubin’s letter to him. Yet he does mention one unnamed Auschwitz survivor whose reported remarks seem to coincide with vanden Heuvel’s view that bombing death camps would have been wrong because some prisoners might have been accidentally harmed in the process of knocking out the gas chambers where twelve thousand Jews were being murdered daily in 1944.⁵

Officials of Roosevelt’s War Department repeatedly rebuffed proposals by Jewish groups to bomb the death camps. Assistant Secretary of War John McCloy insisted that raiding the death camps would sap resources “essential” to Allied military operations elsewhere. Yet the administration was perfectly willing to divert military resources for an assortment of reasons far less compelling than the opportunity to knock out mass-murder camps. For example, an Air Force plan to bomb the Japanese city

of Kyoto was blocked by Secretary of War Henry Stimson because of the city’s artistic treasures.⁶ Assistant Secretary of War McCloy, who was adamant about not diverting bombs to hit Auschwitz, personally intervened to divert American bombers from striking the German city of Rothenburg because he feared for the safety of the city’s famous medieval architecture.⁷

The State Department, which strongly opposed the proposal by Jewish activists to create a government agency to rescue Jewish refugees from Hitler, in August 1943 established a government agency “for the protection and salvage of artistic and historic monuments in Europe.”⁸ General George Patton even diverted U.S. troops to rescue 150 prized Lipizzaner horses in Austria in April 1945.⁹ Perhaps the Zionist leader Rabbi Meyer Berlin was not so far off the mark when he told U.S. Senator Robert Wagner in early 1943 that “if horses were being slaughtered as are the Jews of Poland, there would by now be a loud demand for organized action against such cruelty to animals. Somehow, when it concerns Jews everybody remains silent.”¹⁰

The Roosevelt administration’s decision to remain silent, like its decisions to rescue horses, art, and architecture, was conscious, deliberate, and committed to writing. Thanks to the research of David S. Wyman, published in his book *The Abandonment of the Jews: America and the Holocaust 1941-1945*, there is no mystery as to why War Department officials repeatedly rebuffed behind-the-scenes proposals by Jewish groups that the United States bomb Auschwitz. Assistant Secretary of War McCloy claimed at the time that the War Department had undertaken “a study” that found that such bombing would

require “the diversion of considerable air support essential to the success of our forces.” But Wyman’s examination of the department’s records shows that in fact no such study had been done. Rather, the War Department had already decided in February 1944 that it would not allow the armed forces to be used “for the purpose of rescuing victims of enemy oppression unless such rescues are the direct result of military operations conducted with the objective of defeating the armed forces of the enemy.”¹¹

Joseph Bendersky’s recent study, *The ‘Jewish Threat’: Anti-Semitic Politics of the U.S. Army*, documents the widespread anti-Jewish prejudice among senior U.S. military officials throughout the past century and its impact on policy decisions—including the decision to refrain from bombing the death camps and the War Department’s false claim to have studied the feasibility of the proposals. Bendersky finds that:

*at the time, the army never attempted to acquire intelligence or make the necessary operational assessments to determine whether such bombing was feasible. The army never pursued any systematic examination of the proposals presented to it; nor did it ask theater commanders what might be done. The quick and repetitious responses from the army without much inquiry into the intelligence or technical and operational aspects later interjected by critics of bombing suggest other reasons for these policy decisions, including indifference among highly placed officers to the plight of Jews.*¹²

Vanden Heuvel misrepresents the position of the Jewish Agency (Palestine Jewry’s autonomous governing agency during the British Mandate period) with regard to the bombing issue. He claims that at a meeting of the Jewish Agency Executive (JAE) in Jerusalem on June 11, 1944, JAE chairman David Ben-Gurion and his colleagues “voted eleven to one against the bombing proposal.” What actually happened

at the June 11 session is that Ben-Gurion opposed requesting an Allied attack on Auschwitz because “we do not know what the actual situation is in Poland”; similarly, his colleague Emil Shmorak opposed it because “we hear that in Oswiecim [the Polish name for Auschwitz] there is a large labor camp.”¹³ At that point, not realizing that it was a death camp, they saw no reason to bomb it.

Eight days later, however, Richard Lichtheim, in the Jewish Agency’s Geneva office, sent the Jewish Agency leadership in Jerusalem a detailed summary of the first eyewitness account of the mass-murder process (the account was produced by two Auschwitz escapees and is known as the Vrba-Wetzler report). Lichtheim noted that when the agency leadership had previously learned of the deportation of Jews to the Auschwitz-Birkenau region, they “believed that it was done to exploit more Jewish labour in the industrial centres of Upper-Silesia.” What the Vrba-Wetzler report revealed, Lichtheim wrote to his JAE colleagues in Jerusalem, was that in addition to the “labour camp in Birkenau” there were also “large-scale killings” in Birkenau itself “with all the scientific apparatus needed for this purpose, i.e. . . . specially constructed buildings with gas-chambers and crematoriums. . . . The total number of Jews killed in or near Birkenau is estimated at over one and a half million.”¹⁴

Upon receiving this information, the Jewish Agency leadership promptly launched a concerted lobbying effort to persuade the Allies to bomb Auschwitz. Moshe Shertok, chief of the Jewish Agency’s political department, and Chaim Weizmann, president of the World Zionist Organization, who were stationed in London, lobbied the British. Yitzhak Gruenbaum, chairman of the JA’s Rescue Committee in Jerusalem, repeatedly pressed his colleagues in the United States to lobby Washington, which they did, and agency representatives in Europe lobbied locally stationed American diplomats on the subject.¹⁵

There can be no doubt that Ben-Gurion and his JAE colleagues knew of these lobbying efforts: when officials of the British Foreign Office promised Shertok in early July that they would actively pursue the idea of bombing the death camps, Shertok immediately telegraphed Ben-Gurion to tell him that Shertok had asked Foreign Minister Anthony Eden to bomb “death camps and railway lines leading to Birkenau” and that Eden had “already asked [the] Air Ministry [to] explore [the] possibility [of] bombing camps [and] will now add railways.” At the next JAE meeting, Ben-Gurion relayed the news from Shertok and cited it in support of speculation that recent Allied bombings of Hungarian railway stations “may have been undertaken in response to our proposals and demands.”¹⁶

Recently discovered documents further demonstrate that the entire Jewish Agency leadership was involved in pressing the bombing idea. The first of the documents is a note dated June 20, 1944, from Yitzhak Gruenbaum to Chaim Barlas, the JA representative in Istanbul. The key sentence reads: “We have relayed to Moshe [Shertok, in London] a proposal from [Moshe] Krausz [the JA representative in Budapest] as well as ours to bring about the bombing of the rail lines connecting Hungary with Poland and of the death camps in Poland.” The sentence demonstrates that Shertok’s lobbying in London for the bombing was not undertaken independently of the JA headquarters in Jerusalem. Gruenbaum’s use of the plural “we” and “ours” indicates that the instructions from Jerusalem were no longer the sole idea of Gruenbaum, but rather came from the Agency leadership, and the reference to a similar proposal from Krausz demonstrates that Gruenbaum was not the only JA official pushing the idea during that early stage of the bombing discussions.¹⁷

The second of these documents, which was published in a collection of documents released by the Israeli and Russian governments, is a report to Ben-Gurion by a JA official in Egypt,

describing his attempts in July of 1944 to convince a Soviet diplomat in Cairo that the Allies should bomb the death camps.¹⁸ The third document is the previously unpublished transcript of a session of the Jewish Agency Rescue Committee on September 29, 1944, in which Yitzhak Gruenbaum reports to his colleagues on the agency's efforts to promote the bombing proposal, with none of the committee members expressing any objections.¹⁹

Vanden Heuvel is equally mistaken in his claim that "mainstream Jewish opinion was against the whole idea of bombing Auschwitz." In fact, only one official of a Jewish organization is on record as having explicitly objected to the idea of bombing the camps (for fear of harming the inmates). That was A. Leon Kubowitzki of the World Jewish Congress, and even he repeatedly urged the Allies to use paratroopers to attack Auschwitz. In any event, Kubowitzki's objection was overruled. His superiors and colleagues at the World Jewish Congress (in New York, London, and Geneva) repeatedly lobbied the Soviets and the British to bomb Auschwitz.²⁰

Many in the Jewish community publicly or privately advocated bombing the death camps or the railways leading to them. Between June and October 1944, such bombing proposals were put forth by, among others, the Orthodox group Agudath Israel;²¹ the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe;²² the Labor Zionists of America;²³ the U.S. Orthodox rescue group Vaad Hatzalah (both its New York headquarters and its Geneva representatives);²⁴ Slovak Jewish leaders Gisi Fleischmann and Rabbi Michael Weissmandel;²⁵ Czech Jewish leader Ernest Frischer;²⁶ Benjamin Akzin, a Jewish staff member of the U.S. government War Refugee Board;²⁷ the editors of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency and the Independent Jewish Press Service;²⁸ and columnists for the New York Yiddish daily *Morgen Zhurnal* and *Opinion*, the Jewish monthly edited by American Jewish Congress president

Stephen Wise.²⁹ The American Jewish Conference, a coalition of all leading U.S. Jewish organizations, called for "all measures" to be taken by the Allies to destroy the death camps.³⁰

It is true that American Jewish leaders failed to protest vigorously when the Allies rejected their requests to bomb Auschwitz. Some Jewish leaders were intimidated by domestic anti-Semitism and were afraid they would be accused of interfering with the Allied war effort if they pressed for military action against Auschwitz. Marc Dollinger remarks in his recent study, *Quest for Inclusion: Jews and Liberalism in Modern America*, that although "the deteriorating condition of European Jewry demanded that American Jewish leaders take more decisive action, even when that meant exceeding the limits of acceptable ethnic group expression," they did not do so for fear of "charges that their ethnic interests outweighed the need for victory," that Jews were "more self-interested than patriotic."³¹ But the fact that Jewish leaders were reluctant to press the bombing issue publicly is not the same as saying they were opposed to the bombing of the death camps. They were not. Nor does their hesitancy mitigate the refusal of the Roosevelt administration to make any serious effort to interfere with the annihilation process.

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Notes:

1. William vanden Heuvel. SHAFR Newsletter, March 2003.
2. David S. Wyman, *The Abandonment of the Jews* (New York, 1984), 299-300; Martin Gilbert, *Auschwitz and the Allies* (New York, 1981), 335.
3. Elie Wiesel, *Night* (New York: 1969), 71.
4. Menachem M. Rubin, Letter to William van den Heuvel, 27 Dec. 1996. Copy in the possession of the author.
5. Vanden Heuvel, SHAFR Newsletter,

March 2003.

6. Godfrey Hodgson, *The Colonel: The Life and Wars of Henry Stimson, 1867-1950* (New York, 1990), 322-4.
7. "Kyoto Addendum" (Letters), *Amherst: The College & Its Alumni* 28:3 (Winter 1976), 31.
8. "U.S. Group is Named to Save Europe's Art," *New York Times*, 21 Aug. 1943: 9.
9. Carlo D'Este, *Patton: A Genius for War* (New York, 1990), 742-3.
10. "Confidential Memorandum by Rabbi Meyer Berlin," 24 Feb. 1943, 5. File: Harold P. Manson, I-62, Abba Hillel Silver Papers, The Temple, Cleveland.
11. Wyman, *The Abandonment of the Jews*, 291-3.
12. Joseph Bendersky, *The 'Jewish Threat': Anti-Semitic Politics of the U.S. Army* (New York, 2000), 344.
13. Jewish Agency Executive [JAE] Minutes, 11 June 1944, Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem.
14. L22/35, Central Zionist Archives.
15. Gilbert, *Auschwitz and the Allies*, 245, 251-2; Dina Porat, *The Blue and the Yellow Stars of David: The Zionist Leadership in Palestine and the Holocaust, 1939-1945* (Cambridge, MA, 1990), 218-9; Shabtai Teveth, *Ben-Gurion and the Holocaust* (New York, 1996), 218.
16. JAE Minutes, 16 July 1944, Central Zionist Archives.
17. The Gruenbaum-Barlas letter was mentioned for the first time in the footnotes of Shabtai Teveth's *Ben-Gurion and the Holocaust*, 281, note 16, but Teveth was citing it to make a different point and did not quote the entire sentence. The full text of the Gruenbaum-Barlas letter was published for the first time in Michael J. Neufeld and Michael Berenbaum, eds., *The Bombing of Auschwitz: Should the Allies Have Attempted It?* (New York, 2000), 262.
18. Epstein to Ben-Gurion, 3 September 1944, Eytan Bentsur et al., eds. *Documents on Israeli-Soviet Relations 1941-1953 - Part I: 1941 - May 1949* (London and Portland, OR, 2000), 83. This document was actually first mentioned in Porat, *The Blue and the Yellow Stars of David*, 218. What Porat did not mention (since she had no particular reason to mention it), now revealed by the publication of the complete document for the first time, is that Epstein's report was addressed to David Ben-Gurion.
19. JAE Minutes, 29 Sept. 1944, Central Zionist Archives.
20. Goldmann to Masaryk, 3 July 1944,

World Jewish Congress Papers, American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati; Gilbert, *Auschwitz and the Allies*, 321.

21. John Pehle, "Memorandum for the Files," 24 June 1944, 16/15/peh, Benjamin Akzin Papers, Metzudat Ze'ev (Jabotinsky Archives), Tel Aviv; David S. Wyman, "Why Auschwitz Was Never Bombed," *Commentary*, May 1978, 37-8.

22. Samuel Merlin, "A Year in the Service of Humanity: A Survey of the Activities of the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe, July 1943 - August 1944" (New York: Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe), 25, Palestine Statehood Groups Papers, Yale University.

23. "Last Chance for Rescue" (editorial), *Jewish Frontier* 11 (Aug. 1944), 4.

24. Akzin to Pehle, 2 Sept. 1944, 16/15/peh,

Akzin Papers; Isaac Lewin, "Attempts at Rescuing European Jews with the Help of Polish Diplomatic Missions During World War II," *The Polish Review* 22:4 (1977), 3-23.

25. Wyman, "Why Auschwitz Was Never Bombed," 38.

26. Pehle to Kubowitzki, 3 Aug. 1944; Kubowitzki to Pehle, 9 Aug. 1944. Both in World Jewish Congress Papers.

27. Akzin to Lesser, 29 June 1944, 16/15/peh, Akzin Papers.

28. "Reported Germans Willing to Exchange Hungarian Jews for Supplies," Jewish Telegraphic Agency, 20 July 1944, 1; "We and Hungarian Jewry" [editorial], Independent Jewish Press Service, 7 July 1944, 1-A; "Protests Register" (editorial), Independent Jewish Press Service, 21 July 1944, 3-A; "Devil's Barter" (editorial), Independent

Jewish Press Service, 28 July 1944, 3-A.

29. Jacob Fishman, "From Day to Day," *Morgen Zhurnal*, 27 June 1944, 1-2; Theodore N. Lewis, "Men and Events," *Opinion* 14:11 (Sept. 1944), 33-4.

30. "Huge Open-Air Demonstration in New York Demands Rescue of Jews from Europe," Jewish Telegraphic Agency, 1 August 1944, 2; "40,000 Here Seek Way to Save Jews," *New York Times*, 1 Aug. 1944, 17.

31. Marc Dollinger, *Quest for Inclusion: Jews and Liberalism in Modern America* (Princeton, 2000), 80.

SHAFR Bibliographic Guide Editor: Call for Applications

The Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations seeks applications for editor-in-chief of the SHAFR bibliographic project. The editor-in-chief will be responsible for working with chapter and subject editors to produce supplements to *American Foreign Relations Since 1600: A Guide to the Literature*, 2d ed. (ABC-CLIO, 2003), and to prepare those supplements as well as the print edition of the *Guide* for electronic publication. Applicants should have extensive knowledge of the secondary literature on American foreign relations and a familiarity with electronic databases and/or electronic publishing. The term of service of the editor-in-chief and the amount and form of any compensation will be determined through negotiation prior to appointment. Review of applications will begin on 15 October 2003 and continue until the position is filled. Those interested in being considered should email or send a letter of application and curriculum vitae to:

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Getting Tenure the Hard Way

By Robert Johnson

On February 24, 2003, the CUNY Board of Trustees unanimously awarded me tenure and promotion to full professor, accepting the recommendation of Chancellor Matthew Goldstein. The vote overturned the recommendations of Brooklyn College's president, Christoph M. Kimmich, and its Promotion and Tenure (P&T) Committee. Vast quantities of E-mails penned by senior colleagues allowed me to document what one observer, retired department member and longtime union grievance counselor Jerry Sternstein, termed "the most corrupted tenure review process I have ever come across."¹ My tenure fight provides some guidelines for junior professors on how to avoid my fate, and it exposes the special danger of the collegiality criterion for historians of U.S. politics and foreign relations.

I came to Brooklyn College in September 1999 as an untenured associate professor responsible for teaching courses in twentieth-century U.S. political history, foreign relations, and constitutional history. The second of my two Harvard University Press books, *Ernest Gruening and the American Dissenting Tradition*, had just appeared. My first two-plus years at the college featured nothing but favorable written commentary regarding my scholarship, teaching, and overall performance: on April 17, 2001, for example, the chairman of the history department, Philip F. Gallagher, concluded that "in every category of measurement—in teaching effectiveness, scholarship, and in service to the department, the college, and the university—KC Johnson has performed in an exemplary manner."² This praise was accorded at a time when the department was beset by deep internal fissures along ideological lines. A debate about new

appointments, which had begun before my arrival, made these divisions more apparent.

The philosophical disputes in the department intensified in the 2000-2001 academic year, when the department conducted two searches—one for Latin American history, the other in U.S. social and public history. I chaired the Latin American history search committee and served on the search committee for the U.S. social/public history line. Four senior colleagues dissented in both searches, backing for the first position a white male who had studied as a Brooklyn undergraduate with them and for the second a white female whom they considered ideologically agreeable, although they had never even read her manuscript. The Latin Americanist's dossier resembled something one might expect from a candidate for an inter-American relations position in a political science department, with an emphasis on post-1950 events and a heavy dose of U.S. foreign policy. The favored candidate of the four dissenters in the social/public search had no experience of any sort in running an archive, although the line, which was shared by History and the Library, required such experience. Chairman Gallagher termed three of these figures, who seemed to base their personnel preferences solely on candidates' ideological compatibility, "academic terrorists."³ He cautioned me that I would need "bullet-proof vests" to protect myself from their personal attacks, since they did not take kindly to those who disagreed with them.⁴

Still, with a solid record of scholarship, teaching, and service, my position seemed secure at the start of the 2001-2002 academic year, when I began the tenure process. Since none of those people whom Gallagher termed

"academic terrorists" served on the department's Appointments Committee (an elected body of five that makes all departmental personnel decisions in Brooklyn's governance structure), their hostility to my opinions seemed irrelevant. But my situation rapidly deteriorated after the tragedy of 9/11. The college's new provost, Roberta S. Matthews, joined with the faculty union to organize a "teach-in" on Middle East international affairs that included no supporters of either U.S. or Israeli foreign policy. On November 11, 2001, Matthews granted the entire faculty permission to have their classes attend the event on the grounds that it contained educational content.⁵ I immediately protested, arguing that the college should not endorse as educational a gathering that represented only one side. Two tenured members of the department, David Berger and Margaret King, sent similar missives. The e-mails of Berger and King were ignored; I, however, received a summons to the provost's office, where Matthews informed me that the event was appropriately balanced ideologically. A few weeks later, Gallagher termed it "lunacy" that I "dared to challenge the Provost."⁶ This incident was the first demonstration of the limits placed on the academic freedom of Brooklyn's untenured faculty.

Shortly thereafter, the department began a search for a new position in twentieth-century eastern and central Europe. In addition to the members of the Appointments Committee (Berger, Gallagher, King, Edwin G. Burrows, and me), Gallagher appointed a search committee whose votes had equal weight except with regard to the final hire, at which point CUNY bylaws mandate that the Appointments Committee alone decides. Gallagher named an untenured

assistant professor who specialized in nineteenth-century U.S. economic history to chair the search committee, whose two other members, the department's tenured Europeanists, had opposed the 2000-2001 hires in which I had been involved.

The retirement of the department's most hard-line ideologue and the decision of another to boycott the search removed much of the ideological tension that had plagued the personnel actions of the previous year. Unfortunately, other areas of division emerged. Despite a briefing from the college affirmative action compliance officer stating that it would be illegal to give preference to candidates on the basis of gender, Gallagher claimed that two members of the joint committee were intent on doing so.⁷ With several other members of the committee contending that we should hire on the basis of academic merit, the chair proposed a compromise: the department should look for "women we can live with, who are not whiners from the word go or who need therapy as much as they need a job."⁸ Gallagher also seemed to have been influenced by word from President Kimmich that the department should closely consider one particular female candidate about whom a donor had contacted Kimmich.⁹ This candidate, two years removed from her Ph.D., had done no work to revise her dissertation, a weak effort that one senior colleague compared to a mediocre M.A. thesis.

The dispute over whether we should give preference to female candidates would disrupt my bid for tenure: in a letter sent to Kimmich, a senior colleague who served on the search committee denounced me as "immoral" and "corrupt" for having opposed her position on affirmative action.¹⁰ The search also revealed a deep split between colleagues who envisioned an intrinsic link between teaching and research and advocates of a department that emphasized teaching only. Members of this latter group contended that department members were not qualified to evaluate the scholarship of the applicants and there-

fore had to accept at face value the contents of letters of recommendation. Some went further, arguing that even if we could evaluate candidates' written work, we had no reason to do so, since we needed not "solid scholarship" from job applicants, but rather "a kind of sensitivity that would soon draw our particular kinds of students."¹¹

This search-related dispute would also cloud my tenure chances. Provost Matthews, in her written work, had argued that colleges need personnel policies that de-emphasize both research and professors' ability to "transmit foundational knowledge" to students. Instead, she contended, colleges should work on "developing faculty members' ability to facilitate collaborative learning."¹² The theory of collaborative learning, Matthews noted, explores the relationship between teaching and "issues such as the nature of knowledge as a social construction and the role of authority in the classroom," drawing "strong connections" with "feminist pedagogy."¹³ It was no secret that I did not sympathize with this personnel policy.

The campaign to dismiss me began on January 5, 2002. A few days before, I had argued against extending a job offer to a candidate on the grounds that her record made it unlikely that she would acquire the qualifications in either research or teaching to merit tenure, given the college's short tenure clock (five years) and heavy teaching load (seven courses per year). This candidate had never taught a history class, even as a teaching assistant, had submitted no syllabi for courses that she might teach at Brooklyn, and had submitted a dissertation lacking an introduction and a conclusion and consisting only of five chapters, some of which had last been revised eighteen months before. Gallagher responded in writing that my adopting such standards was "preposterous, specious, and demeaning."¹⁴

Less than an hour later, Gallagher leveled the first of three charges against me: that I had "manipulated" workload by transferring the ad-

vising of three senior theses to a junior colleague so that he could obtain the workload release that comes with thesis advising. (I had built up five courses of released time, but since I like to teach, I had not used them.) In the fall of 2001 I had cleared this proposal twice with Gallagher, who also spoke about it with my colleague and with two of the students involved. On January 5, 2002, however, Gallagher denied that these conversations had ever occurred, summoned the junior member to a meeting with the associate provost, and pressed him to back the new version of events. This untenured professor, to his great credit, refused to do so, in effect risking his career to testify to the truth. Even more courageously, he refused again when Gallagher pressured him in April 2002 to sign an evaluation memorandum contending that the thesis transfer had been unauthorized.

In late January 2002, a second charge was added to the list—that I had violated departmental rules and regulations. On the Saturday before the start of spring term, Gallagher mailed a letter to thirteen of my students removing them from my upper-division courses on the grounds that they had not taken the prerequisite course. When one of the students, Dan Weininger, complained, the chair responded, "Johnson is trouble and those who associate with him will find themselves in trouble as well."¹⁵ More than a month later, I obtained access to curricular figures showing that in his previous thirteen semesters as chair, Gallagher had never enforced the prerequisite, even though several colleagues had more students in their upper-division classes who had not taken the prerequisite than I did. I produced a table with the relevant data, but Gallagher continued to level the charge.¹⁶

By mid-February, perhaps sensing that these two allegations might not withstand scrutiny, Gallagher moved to a third contention—that I lacked collegiality. Since neither the CUNY bylaws nor the faculty contract listed collegiality as a criterion for tenure, the reasons

for the new claim initially seemed mystifying. The charge also seemed to fly in the face of the evidence already in my file. The previous April, Gallagher had written that I had brought a new level of “scholarly collegiality” to the department, citing the fact that I had offered written comments on the unpublished manuscripts and articles of several members of the department, provided guest lectures in several colleagues’ courses, and volunteered for a number of departmental and college committees.¹⁷ Only later would I learn that Gallagher had spoken with the college’s labor relations associate, who assured him “that plaintiffs never prevail in academic collegiality cases.”¹⁸ If the labor relations associate had asserted that plaintiffs never prevail in academic sartorial cases, doubtless I would have received criticism for my habit of wearing bow ties.

The collegiality criterion had other advantages for those who wished to remove me: it was wholly subjective, and it was open to manipulation. From the five senior colleagues who had disagreed with me in the search for an eastern and central European historian, Gallagher obtained written judgments of my “uncollegiality.” To the P&T Committee, which consists of the chairs of the college’s thirty-one departments, he presented the judgments of those whom he earlier had dubbed “academic terrorists” as the “reasoned considerations” of unbiased senior colleagues.¹⁹ Gallagher never polled Berger, King, or a third senior colleague, Leonard Gordon, each of whom repeatedly testified that I was perfectly collegial.

At Brooklyn College, a historian going up for tenure first receives an interview from a divisional committee composed of five professors chosen by the social science chairs, a session at which the candidate’s department chair also appears. That committee then makes a recommendation to the P&T Committee, which hears from the chair of the candidate’s department before voting on its recommendation to the president.

I quickly realized that in this

system I had no chance. Even though the CUNY bylaws stated that the divisional committee was supposed to “consider primarily evidence of achievement in teaching and scholarship following the most recent promotion,” its members did not ask me *one* specific question about my courses or my scholarship.²⁰ Instead, an Africana Studies professor chastised me for failing to “cuddle” the institution’s “barely literate” students, adding that perhaps it would be better if I did not remain in a department where some senior colleagues disagreed with me.²¹ The department’s representative on the committee, Edwin Burrows, performed as expected: several months earlier, after a search-related dispute with Margaret King, he had made a prejudicial statement to her indicating that his dislike of her naturally extended to me. “When it rains on you,” her informed her, “[Johnson] gets wet, too. It’s not fair, but it’s the way of the world.”²² Six weeks after the divisional committee interview, the P&T Committee voted overwhelmingly against me, a vote leaked as part of a campaign to pressure me into resigning.²³

Instead, I fought back. I had already hired a first-rate labor lawyer, Robert M. Rosen, whose guidance was prescient throughout. In September and early October, Rosen and I prepared a forty-page Memorandum of Law supplemented by a 114-page Statement of Facts. The dossier made five central charges, with references to relevant case law:

1. That Gallagher improperly defined “collegiality” and assigned to the concept an improper weight;
2. That Gallagher seven times misrepresented my record;
3. That Gallagher nine times manipulated evidence in my personnel file;
4. That Burrows failed to recuse himself from the divisional promotion committee despite evidence of prejudice;
5. That the process went forward in bad faith despite statements from or acts by both my supporters and detractors—and, most important, six separate

written statements from Brooklyn College Associate Provost Eric Steinberg that procedural violations had occurred.

Steinberg’s role was particularly critical in the outcome. He had every reason, for the sake of self-protection, not to respond to my e-mails, since I had informed him that my attorney had recommended that I build a record for later use. But each time I documented a procedural violation, he responded in writing, confirming my interpretation of college guidelines.

Since the Memorandum of Law relied primarily on e-mails from Gallagher and Burrows, constituting a sizable mass of indisputable documentary evidence, the college’s ultimate legal response was to allow virtually all of my claims to pass without comment. This strategy was probably well chosen, since the college’s challenges to the Memorandum of Law’s contentions tended to backfire. For instance, the institution’s legal memo deemed Gallagher’s written preference for women “who aren’t whiners from the word go or who need therapy as much as they need a job” an expression of Brooklyn College’s commitment to finding “a group of candidates that was qualified, gender-representative to the extent appropriate, and composed of people with whom the history department could work.”²⁴

Rosen submitted the memorandum to Kimmich and to CUNY’s central office several weeks before Kimmich’s final decision on tenure. Somewhat naïvely, I believed that Kimmich would overturn the recommendation of the P&T Committee. He did not. In his first public statement on the matter, the president claimed that my “mixed record of service” justified a denial of tenure.²⁵

Having given the college every attempt to resolve the matter internally, I went public. On November 12, 2002, twenty-four leading diplomatic and political historians denounced the decision in a letter to Chancellor Goldstein. A week later nineteen Brooklyn students who had taken at least three and as many

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as nine classes from me signed a similar letter to Goldstein. The following week the student government unanimously condemned the tenure decision on the grounds that its philosophical basis denied Brooklyn students their right to a quality education. Shortly thereafter, forty-five students marched on the president's office, submitting a petition signed by more than five hundred of their number on my behalf. And several CUNY trustees denounced the decision, including, most memorably, Jeffrey Wiesenfeld: "Collegiality is an appropriate criterion if I wanted to join a prestigious country club and play well with the other children, but it is not that which is necessary to determine whether someone is a good professor."²⁶

The press picked up the story on November 14, 2002, when an editorial appeared in the *New York Sun*. Four more stories or editorials in the *Sun* would keep the issue alive over the next few months. Articles or editorials subsequently appeared in the *Wall Street Journal*, the *New York Times*, the *New York Daily News*, the *New York Post*, the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, the *New Republic*, the *Harvard Crimson*, and a variety of webzines and blogs. The *New Republic* termed Kimmich's action "a grave threat to Brooklyn College's hope of ever being taken seriously as a scholarly institution." *Critical Mass* described the affair as "an exemplary instance of the sort of petty, internecine corruption that runs rife in academe, where accountability is minimal and the power to destroy careers is correspondingly high."²⁷

On December 20, 2002, Dorothy Rabinowitz of the *Wall Street Journal* penned the most insightful of the tenure controversy articles. Her familiarity with the academic culture allowed her to see through the claims of Gallagher, Burrows, and Kimmich, whom the college had made available to her for interviews. To the Pulitzer Prize-winning commentator, the "Battle of Brooklyn" told the story of an untenured faculty member who believed "that the department's hires should be chosen on the basis of qualifications

other than gender, that students should have the opportunity to learn from instructors who had shown some minimal proof of competence in their fields."²⁸ Two days before the Rabinowitz analysis appeared, the first meeting occurred between Rosen and CUNY's general counsel, Frederick Schaffer. The two eventually agreed that my file would be turned over to a committee of three CUNY faculty members selected by the chancellor.²⁹ The select committee also received the Memorandum of Law, the college's legal response, and my reply to the college's response.

At this stage, I received one final surprise. Only through Schaffer's intervention did I learn of the existence of the "Shadow File," a collection of letters solicited by Gallagher and an unknown member of the Kimmich administration. The file's existence violated Section 19.3 of the CUNY bylaws, which places explicit limitations on personnel-related material solicited by the college to which the candidate lacks access. In the grossest contravention of due process, Brooklyn never gave me a chance to rebut the allegations the file contained. The college, of course, could not publicly acknowledge the file's existence.

Incredibly, this "Shadow File" was the only exculpatory evidence that the college legal memo produced. The file contained charges ranging from the absurd (colleagues' unsubstantiated musings that their enrollments had dropped because I threatened students who were thinking about taking their classes) to the bizarre (the claim that those with "20-30 years of professional experience as scholars and teachers" did not need to diligently prepare in personnel matters) to the scurrilous (insinuations that I had unprofessional relationships with three male colleagues, all of whom are married).³⁰ One of the letters contained quotations from a document in my personnel file that the author had no right to see—a violation of section 1983 of the Civil Rights Act—while two others deemed me uncollegial because I had disagreed with the authors on po-

litical, personnel, and labor issues.³¹

The letters also strongly criticized the three junior colleagues who had stood by me; one termed the trio incapable of "exercising independent judgment," with the prime evidence being the "eery [*sic*]" fact that they had evaluated candidates on the basis of academic merit rather than gender.³² Margaret King, meanwhile, was accused of—"immoral," "unethical," and "uncollegial [*sic*]" behavior, as well as engaging in a "witch's brew of paranoid talk of plots and conspiracies."³³ The "Shadow File" contributors were apparently unaware of the supreme irony of their penning secret letters urging the dismissal of a junior colleague for "uncollegiality" that featured wild attacks on the personal and professional integrity of almost half the department. With this as the college's evidentiary base, it came as little surprise that the special committee unanimously decided in my favor, a recommendation accepted by the chancellor and the trustees. Incredibly, when asked about the "Shadow File," President Kimmich declared that such missives were part of the college's "very solid process," which, he continued, "worked in this case."³⁴

Junior faculty around the country could take away from this story one straightforward lesson: while tenure protects senior faculty, it can also be used as a club to deny academic freedom. Therefore, the untenured should avoid adopting positions on departmental or scholarly issues with which some senior colleagues disagree. Short of such a drastic response, however, my fight yields four lessons.

Document Everything. I prevailed because of my documentary base, most notably the e-mails. That, in turn, affected all other aspects of my case. For instance, my ability to provide written evidence of my claims—and the college's inability to do likewise—explained the overwhelmingly positive press coverage that I received. Documenting also includes understanding the institution's rules and regulations. The former chair, Paula Fichtner,

one of my most important advisers, possessed an encyclopedic knowledge of CUNY regulations that enabled me to identify the college's procedural improprieties. And courts decide tenure cases not on the justice of the plaintiff's claim but on an ability to demonstrate procedural breakdowns.

Avoid Service. Of the three traditional elements of faculty evaluation—

scholarship, teaching, and service—service is the most dangerous for qualified untenured faculty. Unlike teaching or scholarship, service on departmental committees is likely to arouse job-threatening antagonism. In my case, the fact that Gallagher, in Jerry Sternstein's words, was "a person who at times tends to interpret differences over policy as personal hostility" meant that my opposing him on a high-profile matter could be career-ending.³⁵ Committee work obviously cannot be avoided entirely, but I erred in volunteering to serve on important committees before receiving tenure.

Trust Your Instincts. It took me a few weeks to realize what was happening after the campaign's inception, but Gallagher's last-minute purge of students from my upper-division courses showed that my tenure process was likely to be corrupted. Senior faculty sympathetic to me agreed. I quickly hired a lawyer, and for the next nine months documented every impropriety that I could with for-the-record e-mails or memoranda. Both Gallagher and Burrows denounced this strategy, orally and in writing, as further evidence of my uncollegiality.³⁶ Within the Brooklyn system, therefore, I was doomed: I could either allow misleading or inaccurate charges to pass without rebuttal or defend myself and be deemed uncollegial. But once matters went beyond the college, this strategy allowed me to prove my case.

Beware of the Collegiality Criterion. Beyond the guidance it might give junior faculty who have to navigate a politically contentious department, my case suggests the dangers of collegiality as an independent criterion for faculty evaluation, especially for historians of U.S. foreign relations or politics. And since courts have regularly upheld the standard (although the case law on this point is largely limited to the narrow question of whether colleges can even consider collegiality in tenure cases, not whether it can be the only criterion), it is up to academics themselves to press for its abandonment.

No one wants to work with a rude, uncooperative, or professionally irresponsible person, but the possibility of the collegiality criterion being abused in such a way as to stifle academic freedom is too great. Few administrators, of course, will be as witlessly heavy-handed as Gallagher in polling only those figures who would voice negative views about a junior colleague over a controversial departmental matter. But many of the sixty-four letters that Kimmich received supporting my tenure discussed the dangers of the collegiality criterion more generally. For instance, Nebraska's Lloyd Ambrosius informed the Brooklyn president that basing tenure decisions on collegiality alone "would seriously jeopardize the college's reputation as an institution of higher education dedicated to academic freedom and to the pursuit of excellence in research, teaching, and service."³⁷ John Milton Cooper of the University of Wisconsin added "that the mark of a strong university is that it avoids the pitfalls inherent in using the 'collegiality' smokescreen," which he termed "the academic equivalent to what Samuel Johnson said about patriotism being 'the last refuge for scoundrels.'"³⁸ Kimmich would have been wise to heed such advice.

The collegiality criterion also poses a direct threat to the well-being of diplomatic history. Shortly after my story broke, Jonathan Zasloff, who teaches at UCLA Law School but also has a Ph.D. in diplomatic history from Harvard, wrote, "The CUNY controversy also points to the decline of the history of American foreign policy as a subject of academic study—not because it isn't still critically important, but rather because it is simplistically dismissed as studying dead white men. The 'new social history' that focuses on studying the working class, unemployed people, minorities, women and gays is critically important as well—but the academy, in its quest for novelty, has really thrown the baby out with the bathwater here."³⁹

The contents of the "Shadow

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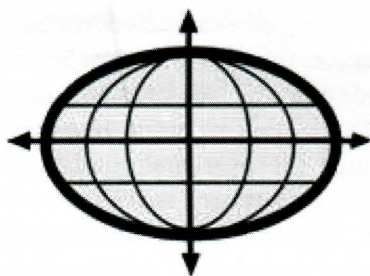
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File” confirmed Zasloff’s fears. One of the file’s contributors, a specialist in women’s history, urged my dismissal in part because my courses “focused on figures in power.” This “old-fashioned approach to our field,” she asserted, attracted only “a certain type of student, almost always a young white male.”⁴⁰ My colleague seemed unaware that four of the five leaders of the student group supporting my tenure were women or minorities. Even before the difficulties associated with the search, she and two other senior colleagues had complained that the department offered too many courses in political and diplomatic history, even though I was the only one in a fourteen-member department to teach such offerings. We needed instead, the department was told, to provide courses in “global studies,” so as to service our “diverse” student body.

The teaching of political or diplomatic history is not a matter of fashion, old or new, but a question of philosophical outlook. It also appears to be pedagogically suited to students at Brooklyn College—and, I suspect, at most other institutions—who enroll in such courses in great numbers. Introducing collegiality as a method of evaluation allows tenured ideologues to override objective criteria and indulge their prejudices against diplomatic history as a field. Diplomatic historians of all persuasions should have no difficulty uniting against the use of tactics that can have such negative consequences for their field.

Dr. Robert Johnson is an Associate Professor of History at CUNY-Brooklyn.

Notes:

¹ Sternstein, Jerome. “A Corrupted Tenure Process.” Online posting. 25 Nov. 2000. History News Network. 29 Jan. 2003. <http://hnn.us/comments/5224.html>.

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³ Gallagher, Philip F. E-mail to KC Johnson. 16 Feb. 2001.

⁴ Gallagher, Philip F. E-mail to KC Johnson. 22 Feb. 2001.

⁵ Matthews, Roberta S. E-mail to college faculty. 11 Nov. 2001.

⁶ Gallagher, Philip F. E-mail to Edwin G. Burrows and Donald F. Gerardi, excerpted in Burrows, Edwin G. Letter to C. M. Kimmich. 10 Sept. 2002.

⁷ Gallagher, Philip F. E-mail to Margaret King. 26 Oct. 2001.

⁸ Gallagher, Philip F. E-mail to KC Johnson. 29 Oct. 2001.

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¹⁰ Anderson, Bonnie. Letter to C.M. Kimmich. 6 Sept. 2001.

¹¹ Wills, Jocelyn A. Letter to Appointments Committee. 13 Dec. 2001.

¹² Matthews, Roberta, and Jean McGregor. “Collaborative Learning: Higher Education, Interdependence and the Authority of Knowledge” *Change* 26 (1994), 52-53.

¹³ Matthews, Roberta, and Jean McGregor. “Building Bridges between Cooperative and Collaborative Learning,” *Change* 27 (1995), 34-40.

¹⁴ Gallagher, Philip F. E-mail to Appointments Committee, 5 Jan. 2002.

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¹⁶ Gallagher, Philip F. “Read to the P+T, 5/2/02,” included in Exhibit O, C.M. Kimmich, *Brooklyn College’s Response to the Memorandum of Law to Support Robert David Johnson’s Promotion to Full Professor*. n.d.

¹⁷ Gallagher, Philip F., “Annual Evaluation Conference—Professor Robert David Johnson.” 17 April 2001.

¹⁸ Gerardi, Donald F., quoted in Fichtner, Paula. E-mail to KC Johnson. 13 June 2002.

¹⁹ Gallagher, Philip F. “Read to the P+T, 5/2/02”; “P. Gallagher’s Commentary,” 22; both included in Exhibit O, C.M. Kimmich, *Brooklyn College’s Response to the Memorandum of Law to Support Robert David Johnson’s Promotion to Full Professor*. n.d.

²⁰ Mayer, Egon. E-mail to KC Johnson. 22 March 2002, confirming my recollection of the list of questions asked; Section 11.7, CUNY Bylaws. 29 March 2003.

²¹ *New York Sun*, 19 Nov. 2002.

²² Burrows, Edwin G. E-mail to Margaret King. 15 Nov. 2001.

²³ Berger, David. E-mail to KC Johnson. 6

May 2002.

²⁴ Exhibit O, C.M. Kimmich, *Brooklyn College’s Response to the Memorandum of Law to Support Robert David Johnson’s Promotion to Full Professor*. n.d.

²⁵ *Wall Street Journal*, 20 Dec. 2002.

²⁶ *Harvard Crimson*, 19 Nov. 2002.

²⁷ *The New Republic*, 30 Dec. 2003; *Critical Mass*, 20 Dec. 2002.

²⁸ *Wall Street Journal*, 20 Dec. 2002.

²⁹ Frederick Schaffer memorandum. 28 March 2003.

<http://academic.brooklyn.cuny.edu/history/johnson/shaffermemo.htm>.

³⁰ The “Shadow File” documents are all contained at Exhibit O, C.M. Kimmich, “*Brooklyn College’s Response to the Memorandum of Law to Support Robert David Johnson’s Promotion to Full Professor*” n.d..

³¹ Anderson, Bonnie. Letter to C.M. Kimmich. 6 Sept. 2002; Schaar, Stuart. Letter to C.M. Kimmich. 7 September 2002; Burrows, E.G. Letter to C.M. Kimmich. 10 Sept. 2002.

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³³ Anderson, Bonnie. Letter to C.M. Kimmich. 6 Sept. 2002. (The spelling mistake is in the original letter sent to the president.); Schaar, Stuart. Letter to C.M. Kimmich. 7 Sept. 2002; Gerardi, Donald F. E-mail to Edwin G. Burrows and Philip F. Gallagher. Excerpted in Burrows, E.G. Letter to C.M. Kimmich. 10 Sept. 2002.

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³⁹ Zasloff, Jonathan. Quoted by Volokh, Eugene. 18 Nov. 2002. 28 March 2003. http://volokh.blogspot.com/2002/11/17/volokh_archive.html.

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The Legacy of Dark Prince: Lessons Learned from Organizing an AHA Session

By Nicholas Evan Sarantakes

At the 2003 American Historical Association meeting I was part of a session on U.S. foreign policy in the 1960s entitled “Dark Prince: Lyndon Johnson and World Affairs.” Although there have been other AHA sessions on foreign policy, our gathering was a statistical rarity. Those that pay attention to the AHA conference program know that the association devotes little attention to topics like diplomatic history. I hope that sharing some of the insights I gained from the roughly three-year process that led to “Dark Prince” will encourage scholars who read this newsletter to submit more proposals to the association. Having more AHA panels on diplomatic history is a prerequisite, I believe, for increasing the stature of the field within the community of historians.

I admit that the AHA has some serious problems that are apparent in both its journal and its annual conference and limit the utility of this learned society to our field. The most significant of these stem from the compartmentalized nature of the historical profession. It is highly unlikely, for example, that military historians of the U.S. Civil War will get much out of sessions on the medieval Lithuanian church. Many sub-fields have their own conferences and journals now, so there is less need for an organization with such a broad focus as the AHA. Another issue is bias. We all know how unpopular diplomatic history is among our peers. When people raise this issue with the AHA program committee, the response of individual members is that they get almost no proposals for military, diplomatic, and political history panels. People with interests in these areas argue that they do not submit proposals because they know they will get rejected. What we get then is a self-fulfilling downward spiral in the

number of diplomatic history panels at the AHA, and this development has had a detrimental effect on diplomatic history as a whole.

We as diplomatic historians should try to reverse that spiral. Presenting a paper at the AHA is still an important exercise in professional development. Those with job search committee experience quickly realize how little they know about other fields. Conference names and journal titles on a resumé mean little if the field is far from your own research and teaching interests. Does the average diplomatic historian know what the best forums are in Texas history, agricultural history, or medieval European history, for instance? But everyone recognizes the significance of the American Historical Association. Furthermore, whether a historian is trying to find employment or planning to apply for a grant, it is to his or her advantage to have an AHA presentation on the CV. Such an accomplishment also impresses tenure committees and deans. Finally, engaging with the larger historical community is a good way of enhancing both one’s own reputation and the reputation of one’s area of specialty. Active engagement with the rest of the profession can persuade historians in other fields that their home departments need to add positions in the area of diplomatic history, and the growth of our field is in all our interests.

So, what great words of wisdom do I have to offer about submitting panel proposals to the AHA?

1. Be patient. I applied three times before getting a panel accepted.
2. Abide by AHA panel requirements. These are: A) No one may be on the AHA conference program in two

consecutive years. This rule is designed to spread the wealth. B) No gender-segregated panels. All panels must have *both* men and women. C) The members of the panel must be AHA members. The AHA has made exceptions for the likes of Oliver Stone and Newt Gingrich, but panel participants who are not celebrities must have paid their dues. D) Panels must have geographic diversity. They cannot have members from the same college or university.

3. Be optimistic. Getting the AHA program committee to accept your panel is not as difficult as it might seem. According to the 2001 Annual Report, the program committee received 287 proposals for 162 slots. Put into mathematical terms, in 2001 a panel stood a 56 percent chance of getting approved. I do not have figures for the last two meetings, but I doubt they are radically different. The odds of getting accepted float a little above or a little below 1 in 2.

4. Remember that the AHA program committee is much like a job search committee. The individual members might not know the important figures, issues or journals in fields other than their own. Make sure to state clearly and concisely the major issues your panel is addressing.

5. Emphasize the impact your panel will have in your subfield. Acceptance requires more than having three papers on topics that relate well to one another. Given the specialization in the history profession these days, one can argue that it is possible to have a successful and rewarding career without ever participating in an AHA conference or publishing in the *American Historical Review*, but, as I have indicated, the association still matters.

Accordingly, proposals should have some historiographic significance. Imagine, for example, a submission for the 1980 AHA put forth by the early pioneers in Eisenhower revisionism: Robert A. Divine, Stephen E. Ambrose, Richard Immerman, Fred Greenstein, and Burton Kaufman. The proposal might have read, in part: "The individual research and findings of these papers challenge the dominant belief that Ike was an idiot." Along those same lines, I do not think that having a proposed panel where every member has had at least three books published is going to have as much weight as a panel that makes a notable contribution to the literature. As a result, a panel with a graduate student as a presenter is not dead on arrival.

6. Keep your panel proposal short. Submission guidelines suggest that proposals include no more than fourteen pieces of paper. If every proposal for the 2001 conference stayed within these parameters, the program committee would have faced 4018 pieces of paper, or slightly more than eight reams. I doubt that every member of the committee has time to look at every page of every proposal. Accordingly, the cover proposal, the synopsis of each paper, and each CV should be no more than one page long. A good deal of time and craft should go into the cover proposal, since it might be the only part of the submission that gets much attention.

7. Try to address some issues that affect the profession as a whole. Like other members of my home department who have organized AHA sessions, I found that the program committee is receptive to proposals that address broad issues. In my proposal, I stressed globalization, internationalizing U.S. history, and the use of new sources in the classroom—i.e., the Lyndon Johnson telephone tapes. I also asked the paper presenters to stress these issues in the synopses of their papers.

8. If your proposal is rejected, try to keep your panel together and resubmit for the next meeting. Statistically speaking, the odds are in your favor. There is also a good deal of turnover in membership of the program committee from year to year, so your submission will be new to many of the people serving on that body.

9. Finally, my experiences are only those of one individual. Talk to other people who have put together AHA panels and ask to see their proposals. Weigh and evaluate this different information, and come to your own conclusions.

In closing, I hope the AHA program committee will get so many submissions in political, military and diplomatic history that they will have to include a substantial number of panels in these fields in coming years. Getting the pendulum of professional interest to swing in a direction that favors foreign relations will require a deliberate and sustained effort to engage more closely with the rest of the profession.

Dr. Nicholas Sarantakes is Associate Professor of History at Texas A&M University at Commerce.

William Howard Taft: A Quick Account of a Durable Deception

by James Vivian

Ex-President William Howard Taft died in 1930. Obituaries and eulogies were suitably retrospective, informed, and respectful. Most, if not all, remembered the active and influential interval between his presidency and his chief justiceship on the Supreme Court. Many of them regarded these seven years, 1913-1921, as a graceful and productive transition to private prominence. This included Taft's contractual obligations to the Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, *Public Ledger*, which yielded one or more newspaper columns per week from late 1917 through June 1921, and found nationwide syndication in at least 13 metropolitan dailies.

Not ten years later, Henry F. Pringle's two-volume biography—the principle reference for the past 64 years—ensconced Taft securely in his Yale

University professorship.¹ Pringle artfully skirted Taft's editorial series and lightly scanned his leadership in the League to Enforce Peace during World War I and the Versailles peace settlement. Pringle's casual treatment and conscious omission seem forever destined to disparage Taft's public career. Ruhl Bartlett, in catching the wave of interest in 1944 leading toward the creation of the United Nations after World War II, recovered Taft's major presence in the League of Nation's debate, but chose, without explanation, to compound Pringle's error and to ignore the editorial contribution and involvement.² Frederick Hicks then dealt with Taft's Yale law school professorship from the perspective of the Alumni Office and its extensive network.³ Since Taft's journalism and numerous speaking tours were not central to the subject, Hicks too

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bypassed them as wholly separate pursuits if no real relevance. With the publication of Professor Paolo Coletta's comprehensive bibliography, for the Merker-Greenwood series in 1989, one could not be sure if Taft had developed any serious off-campus commitments during the war.⁴ That Taft's editorials ran parallel to, and eventually exceeded, President Theodore Roosevelt's colorful, often pungent pieces in the *Kansas City Star*, had become a very obscure item, indeed.⁵

I attempted to provide an overdue corrective in the course of collecting and annotating Taft's editorialized views for publication in 1990.⁶ I failed. Although the hefty volume was duly noted in the usual bulletins, including SHAFR's own newsletter, and elsewhere reviewed, it continues quite unknown to scholars and specialists identified with the period. The volume, containing some 60 topical entries on the League issue, has been accessioned in the nation's research libraries, professional technicians reliably assure me. It is, therefore, “only a click away,” in the idiom of the day.

Yet, Professor John Milton Cooper is not aware of it, as evidenced by his *Breaking the Heart of the World*.⁷ Now comes Professor David H. Burton with another of several titles in the field, even as he has won the Taft family's endorsement for an eight-volume edition of the president's lifetimes writings.⁸ Burton's slim monograph calmly mentions the *Public Ledger* as though to suggest they number fewer than a handful of columns. Does Burton not yet know of Taft's leading role in the League debate and its outcome? Does he not surmise that Taft made himself a vocal force in the 1920 general elections? Does he not wonder where the selection of abridged *Taft Papers on the League of Nations* emanated and to what purpose?⁹ Clearly, the tenets of bibliographic control stand considerably relaxed.

Senator Henry Ashurst of Arizona, a contemporary of sorts, thought the Taft administration “prosaic,” a

victim of the “most deadly” of the “political defects that can hamper a president.”¹⁰ Possibly so. It is difficult to say, however, considering the low level of interest in Taft compared to the attention given his protagonists, Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson. What are the limits of Taft's prosaic ways? Who knows?

Dr. James Vivian is Professor Emeritus of History at the University of North Dakota.

Notes:

¹ Henry F. Pringle, *The Life and Times of William Howard Taft* (2 volumes: New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1939).

² Ruhl Bartlett, *The League to Enforce Peace* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944).

³ Frederick Hicks, *William Howard Taft* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945).

⁴ Paolo E. Coletta, *William Howard Taft* (Westport, CT: Meckler, 1989).

⁵ Ralph Stout, ed., *Roosevelt in the Kansas City Star* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co, 1921).

⁶ James F. Vivian, ed., *William Howard Taft* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1990).

⁷ John Milton Cooper, Jr., *Breaking the Heart of the World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

⁸ David H. Burton, *Taft, Wilson, and World Order* (Teaneck, NJ: Fairleigh Dickenson Press, 2003); and Burton, ed., *The Collected Works of William Howard Taft* (8 volumes, Athens: Ohio University Press, 2001)

⁹ Theodore Marburg and Horace E. Flack, eds., *Taft Papers on the League of Nations* (New York: Macmillan, 1920).

¹⁰ George F. Sparks, ed., *A Many-Colored Toga* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1962), p. 24.

On Digital and Delhi

by Roby Barrett

In 2000, after a twenty-five-year foreign service, academic and business career largely associated with the Middle East and Asia, I entered a doctoral program at the University of Texas at Austin. Reentering graduate school, I knew in general terms what I wanted to pursue as a dissertation topic. What had emerged from my experience in foreign service and business was a heightened interest in the relationship between the Middle Eastern and South Asian political dynamic and Anglo-American foreign policies in the 1950s and 1960s. Initially, I focused on research resources at the Kennedy, Eisenhower and Johnson libraries and the National Archives in College Park and supplemented these materials with Arabic language and other sources from various university libraries and collections. I even had a brief opportunity to investigate French holdings at the Colonial Archives in Aix-en-Provence. While largely limited to Algeria and only marginally useful to my topic, the Colonial Archives provided me experience in archival arbitrariness as only the French can practice it. By early 2003, I was ready for the next phase of research. Arriving in London just after an early January snowstorm, I took up residence at a bed and breakfast only two hundred meters from the Public Records Office (PRO).

Because so many Americans have done research at the PRO, I will focus on a relatively new aspect of research there: the use of digital cameras. I applied for permission to use mine, and after briefing me and issuing me a hand-out, the PRO approved it with the proviso that no flash be used. The PRO has an area for digital camera use located next to the copy desk on the second floor. Several tables are pushed against the windows on the west side of the build-

ing. While the windows provide additional light, to accommodate the “no flash” rule users of digital cameras must be prepared to contend with short dreary winter days or, for that matter, cloudy days in the summer. This means that the camera lenses must have good light-gathering characteristics. I used the medium-cost SONY DSC-S75 with a Zeiss lens and a 128-megabyte memory card. This \$500 camera functioned well in low-light conditions and had enough memory, depending on settings, to store over two hundred high-definition pictures of documents. At a focal distance of two to three feet I could frame the document and get an exact picture. This process requires a steady hand to prevent blurring. Using a USB link, I then downloaded the pictures from the camera to the hard-drive and/or CDRW in my laptop computer. The camera, computer and photo software are relatively simple to operate.

At night in the “cave” of my bed and breakfast room I reviewed, labeled and organized the document pictures taken that day and made certain that all files were backed up. Where computers are concerned, I operate on the third corollary to Murphy’s Law — namely, “The worst possible combination of events that can occur will occur.” Accordingly, I backed up all files in multiple places. I used not only the hard drive but also multiple duplicate CD-ROMs. I never allowed any of the files to reside in only one place. To shoot more pictures, I had to erase old files from the camera, but I did so only after I had created separate copies on CD-ROM and the hard drive. I then periodically mailed discs and e-mailed batches of research home for safe storage.

With regard to the PRO, the most significant advantage to “digital

research” is cost savings. I have a suspicion that the PRO staff are generally so friendly and helpful because they have a secret profit-sharing plan with the copy desk. At around 80 to 90 cents per page, copying gets expensive in a hurry. This cost has several drawbacks. Research is slowed because to avoid expense, researchers use various cost avoidance schemes, scribbling, typing, and carving notes in stone, if necessary. Even at peak efficiency the copy desk is in itself a relatively slow process. The line for copying, combined with the limits on folders, creates a bottleneck that means longer stays to cover a research topic effectively, which in turn means more costs in terms of food, lodging and transportation. Using a digital camera also saves time by simplifying the administrative process of sorting out which things to copy, which things to take notes from and which things to ignore. In effect, research becomes a “shoot first and ask questions later” process.

There are also savings in “sanity costs.” These costs comprise all of those things that go wrong while researching and writing that make you contemplate other careers. How many times do researchers forget to take notes on something or misquote someone? How often do they wish they had the document six months or perhaps even a year later for reference and review? With a stored digital picture a researcher can retrieve, manipulate and print out any portion of a document. Having a copy is also very useful for a researcher trying to decipher those cryptic, often illegible, minutes scribbled on the jackets of telegrams, on document covers and in the margins of reports.

When I returned home, I converted all of the pictures, which I had arranged by PRO file number, into slide shows and printed them out in hard copy.

My research files now include approximately three thousand pages of documents from the PRO at a copy cost of around \$.08 per page. This includes toner and paper costs for printing out all the picture files. In short, the use of the digital camera on just this one trip not only shortened the length of time required to obtain my research materials, a significant savings in itself, but also saved me approximately \$2,000 in copying costs. This alone paid for the camera, the computer and half the cost of the laser printer used to capture, manipulate and produce hard copies. I now have copies of all my source materials in paper and digital form to review and re-review at my own discretion. In addition, I have a good digital camera to use just for fun during my travels.

After experiencing the new digital vistas at the PRO, technophobes need only to board British Air to Delhi to feel more at home. The Indians permit only paper, pencil and laptop. I had planned my trip to Delhi as an extended reconnaissance of the Indian National Archives and the Nehru Library, to be followed up by additional expeditions if necessary. I arranged for my visa through the Indian High Commission in London, which added another \$20 to the approximate \$65 dollars charged. London had to cable Washington to make certain that I was not a threat. For U.S. citizens, it is simpler to go through the Washington embassy, but I just failed to get around to it. Over the period of a week, I trudged down to the Indian embassy three times to hear "not today." Finally, my passport miraculously reappeared, visa in place, and I bought a round-trip ticket on British Air 143 and 142. These flights in and out of Delhi are extremely crowded, and I decided to pay \$500 extra for the larger "premium coach" seat. The round trip from London totaled about \$2,000. I might have gotten a straight coach seat for \$1,000 by booking earlier or through STA, the travel service for students.

The flight leaves London daily at 11:00 A.M. local time and arrives in Delhi at 1:45 the next morning. Given

the time of night and the numerous warnings about taxis from the airport, I chose to stay at a nicer hotel, the Intercontinental Grand, and they arranged to meet me at the airport. This is not as outrageously expensive as one might expect. Through the hotel website, I found a room for about \$120 per night including breakfast. Apparently January through March is the high season; during the summer prices are as low as \$75 per night. My plan was to stay there a few nights and then find something less expensive if necessary. By the time I cleared passport and customs control, retrieved my bag and arrived at the hotel, it was about four in the morning. I found it interesting that Indian security x-rayed carry-on bags coming off the airplane.

The Intercontinental was convenient for other reasons as well. They had "preferred" taxi drivers who, for a slightly higher price, could take you to all the stops required in setting yourself up to work at the Nehru Library and the National Archives. Armed with letters of introduction from professors at UT Austin, I went to both the library and the archives to see what was required to gain admission. Both wanted an additional letter from the Cultural Affairs Officer (CAO) at the American Center on Kasturba Gandhi Marg near Connaught Place. A quick trip to the American Center netted a set of original letters (the archives and library in Delhi insist that they not be copies) to go with the university introduction. By my second day in Delhi, I was registered and able to work at both the archives and the Nehru Library. I also investigated some cheaper places to stay. A visit to the YMCA and YWCA confirmed that they were not up to the Hong Kong YMCA Salisbury standards. While a younger set might consider them passable, I took one look at the mattresses and my back hurt. They were only about \$50-60 per night cheaper than the Intercontinental and literally a world apart in amenities. In addition, the Intercontinental was within walking distance of the archives, the American Center and

the bookstores in Connaught Place, so I decided to absorb the extra cost and stay put.

At this point, I began to alternate days between the archives and the library. Indian archives and libraries are very different from their American and British counterparts. At times they require an almost intuitive search strategy. Research in my particular area of interest (Indian foreign relations, 1955-1963) also creates certain issues. Where American foreign policy is concerned, almost all research has contemporary political overtones. No one in Delhi, and probably all of India for that matter, wants researchers to see documents related to territorial disputes unless they feel fairly certain that any writings about those documents will follow the acceptable political line. This is particularly true at the archives, where "border" is a four-letter word. The staff quickly informed me that all the materials associated with the "northwest frontier" after 1913 are closed. I inquired about the efficacy of closing records prior to 1947 in light of the fact that the India Office files at the British Library were open and received the expected response: it is a "rule" set in bureaucratic concrete. All other boundary materials from the 1920s were closed for the same reason.

Initially, I concluded that the archives would be completely useless for post-independence research, but I persisted in the Ministry of External Affairs file, the only accessible file that I found of any value. In comparison to the files at the National Archives at College Park or the PRO, this entire file is small, but I was pleasantly surprised to find oblique references to problems with Pakistan and also some interesting correspondence between Morarji Desai and Jawaharlal Nehru, in which they discuss American personalities and Desai gives an armchair analysis of the American ambassador to India, John Kenneth Galbraith, and relates Galbraith's complaints about policy emanating from Washington. While many documents are of dubious quality, others were useful and led to further research at the

library on the struggle between foreign policy leftists and centrists in the Indian government. The differences in personnel and reporting styles between the Indian foreign service and those of the United States and Britain are also interesting. Often the commentary found in Indian diplomatic traffic and correspondence represents a genre of political reporting completely alien to that of the British and Americans. There is an interesting tendency to point out that particular leaders were schizophrenic or mentally unbalanced. For example, reports from Baghdad spelling out some Iraqi opposition views also deliberate upon the “megalomania” of Abd-al-Karim al-Qasim. The reports are frequently unintentionally entertaining.


The reading room at the Indian Archives is a relatively poorly lit interior room. Small lockers for bags are provided at the entrance. Only a few desks, located against the outside walls,

have access to power plugs. Given the power fluctuations and frequent outages, I thought it safer to run on battery power as much as possible. Having two batteries came in handy. A flashlight was also useful for those occasions when the archives went from poorly lit to pitch black due to outages. The staff was reasonably helpful, but no matter what the posted schedule, requested files were never produced exactly on time. Sometimes requests made early in the morning appeared around noon. Noon requests randomly appeared at closing time or the following day. Requests made late in the afternoon often did not appear until the following afternoon. I am sure that someone understood the system and made it work, but improvisation seemed always to be my lot. Here again, my hotel-arranged taxi came in handy. Never quite knowing the status of my files, I would have the taxi take me to the archives and wait outside while

I went in to check. Entrance involved a cursory check of my crumpled papers at a tumbledown guard hut using an old blanket for a door. If the files were there, I would signal the taxi from the front steps, and he would return at closing time. If not, I would have him take me to the Nehru Library, and I would work there instead. Having the flexibility to work in either location was extremely useful. It might be possible to walk to the Nehru Library from the Intercontinental Grand hotel or the archives, but it would be a real hike.

The system at the Nehru Library is more efficient. The library has a more or less open stacks arrangement. Manuscripts and files must be ordered, but much of the material available for my particular research resided in memoirs and collected writings. In fact, the holdings at the library identified several useful sources that I have subsequently purchased. As at the archives, the library has desks located against the walls with power outlets for computers. At the Nehru, the lights tended to stay on, but I used a power stabilizer to protect the computer. The library is much more heavily used than the archives, so researchers should arrive early to get a power outlet. Those desks located in middle of the rooms lack power, so once again the spare computer battery came in handy. The library has no provision for securing bags. Researchers must leave them in a pile behind the reception desk.

The library is a more convenient place to work, and the staff’s friendly attitudes probably reflect the nicer environment. The filing system for holdings is somewhat unusual and requires some getting used to, however, and the shelving staff has a very relaxed attitude toward replacing books. As a result, the reference system tends to vector the researcher to the general vicinity of a work as opposed to its precise location. At times, when no one in the library was able to find a book I wanted, the staff seemed to be confident that it would “turn up someday,” and a shrug usually heralded the end of the search for it. The



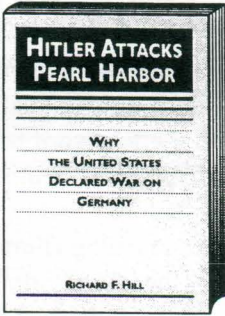
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more open arrangement at the library makes it an excellent option for those days when the bureaucracy has paralyzed the archives. I strongly suggest that researchers register at both and alternate between the two instead of trying to finish research at one before using the other.

In general, if the sole purpose of the trip is the study of American diplomatic history or even a U.S.-centered view of Indian relations, then it will be a very long and expensive trip for some interesting but modest gains. However, if a researcher is taking more of an international historical approach, then the combined holdings at the archives and Nehru Library provide a substantively broadened perspective and real insights into the nature of the Indian bureaucratic milieu. The researcher can get a feel for the strengths and weaknesses of the Indian foreign and civil service and for their "third party" views of American and British diplomacy, particularly in the Middle East and Asia. Comparisons between holdings at the library and documents that were accessible at the archives shed new light on the personal relationships within the Indian government, between U.S. and Indian officials, and even to a limited degree between officials within the U.S. government. The results certainly added new substance to my research and an enhanced understanding of archival materials already collected in the United States and Britain.

Outside the archives and library, there was always something interesting to see and do in Delhi. The location of my hotel made it easy for me to walk to Connaught Place and browse the bookstores for titles that were a fraction of the cost anywhere else. A half dozen good bookstores reside in Connaught's "C" and "D" block alone. I also found a rare bookstore located in Block II, a south Delhi commercial district. It had a remarkable collection of works and prints from the Raj era. Some were seriously overpriced, but a quick online check identified one bargain. I pur-

chased a presentation copy of the record of King George V's 1911 Durbar printed in London in 1914 for fifty percent of market value. Just wandering around the collection was worth the taxi fare. From my hotel, I could walk to the government-owned Central Cottage Industries Emporium where everything from a one-ton jade Ganesh to all manner of Indian textiles was for sale. I also had lunch at the Imperial Hotel. Built in the 1930s, this art deco structure is a throwback to the Raj and boasts one of the largest collections of Raj and 1911 Durbar paraphernalia in Delhi. It was great fun to wander through the lobby and bar area taking in the amazing collection of pictures, artifacts and, for lack of a better word, "props" from the colonial period. The hotel's best rate, a special, was \$275 per night, a bit over the top, but lunch on the veranda was great. The Emporium, Imperial and Archives are all located on Janpath Marg, one of the radicals that intersect at Connaught Place, and all were within walking distance of the Intercontinental Grand. A myriad of museums are also located in this general area.

I left my weekends for sightseeing expeditions. I spent one Saturday in Old Delhi visiting the Jami Masjid (the largest mosque in India), Chandni Chowd market area and the Red Fort. At the Red Fort, my guide, Mr. Rohni, provided expert commentary and a wrenching personal tale of woe, printed in the foreword to his one-dollar guide to Mughal Delhi. I created my own "Mughal Day" and spent a bright, cool Sunday visiting Humayun's Tomb, the sites of the Old Mughal capitals and Mehrauli Archeological Park, including the Qutb Minar complex. In response to repeated warnings from any and all in Delhi, including random passersby, about being kidnapped by a "tuk-tuk" driver, I arranged for a taxi at the hotel and negotiated an all-day price of \$20 to \$30 for each of these outings. There are cheaper ways to get around, but with dedicated transportation, I could cover more ground. I took a weekend trip to

Agra to visit the Sikander (Akbar's Tomb), Taj Mahal and the Agra Fort, with a side trip to Fatapur Sikr. The latter, Akbar's capital from 1571 to 1585, ranks as one of my three favorite archeological sites, the others being Petra in Jordan and Douga in Tunisia. Because of its non-urban location, Fatapur Sikr is truly a snapshot in time and by far the most interesting site of my entire trip. Agra and Fatapur are about thirty miles apart and approximately 150 miles from Delhi. The arrangement of archival and library work all week followed by sightseeing on the weekends worked well.

I departed Delhi on British Airways at 3:25 A.M. The hotel even provided me with an expeditor at the airport. I arrived semi-conscious in London, where I stayed overnight before hopping another flight back home. In a trip lasting a little over two months, I netted thousands of documents for research, dozens of new acquaintances and new experiences to add to an already lengthy list. Of course, there are many different ways to plan a multi-country research trip. For me, the strategies of combining digital equipment at the PRO and a focused, coordinated approach to the Indian Archives and the Nehru Library in Delhi resulted in significant research gains for a reasonable investment.

Roby Barrett, a former foreign service officer, is a Ph.D. candidate at the University Texas at Austin.

North Korea's Crisis Behavior

By Kathryn Weathersby

The Cold War International History Project of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, D.C. has begun a special initiative on North Korea designed to fill in some of the significant information gap on that secretive and enigmatic state. Coordinated by Kathryn Weathersby and supported by a generous grant from the Korea Foundation, the Korea Initiative is mining the archives of North Korea's former allies in the communist world in order to shed light on the history of foreign policy decision-making in Pyongyang.

The first phase of the project has focused on East German, Hungarian and Czech archives, as well as on Chinese sources that are available for analysis by selected researchers, though not for photocopying or translation in full. Drawing on the network of historians and archivists the Cold War International History Project has built up over the last decade, the Korea Initiative has surveyed the records dealing with North Korea in the archives of the East German, Hungarian and Czechoslovak Foreign Ministries and Communist Parties, translated key documents, and commissioned analyses by scholars with expertise in the relevant languages and national histories. The results thus far have been highly illuminating. While Pyongyang's allies also suffered from the unusual secretiveness of Kim Il Sung's regime, their extensive dealings with the DPRK nonetheless provided them with a far more intimate view of North Korea than that enjoyed by persons outside the communist world. Moreover, when Kim Il Sung communicated with his East European counterparts, such as Erich Honecker, he spoke with striking candor about the interna-

tional and domestic problems facing his embattled state. Thus, as long as the DPRK's own archives remain inaccessible, the records of its close allies provide the best available view from inside North Korea.

The next issue of the *Cold War International History Project Bulletin*, which will be published in early fall 2003 and made available on the CWIHP website, <http://cwihp.si.edu>, will present the first fruits of the project. Edited by Kathryn Weathersby, the Korea Initiative section of the *Bulletin* will include: an analysis of Chinese archival and memoir sources on North Korea's troubled relations with China during the Korean War, by Beijing-based historian Shen Zhihua; a detailed examination of North Korean/Soviet relations under Khrushchev based on extensive research in Hungarian archives, by the Hungarian historian Balazs Szalontai, with an appendix of translated documents; a survey of the entire history of DPRK/GDR relations based on extensive use of East German documents, by the German historian Bernd Schaefer, with an appendix of translated documents; and additional translations of documents from Hungarian archives provided by Csaba Bekes of the Cold War History Research Center in Budapest.

Shen Zhihua's analysis of DPRK/PRC relations during the Korean War reveals that the characteristics of the Kim Il Sung regime that caused friction with its allies in the postwar period cannot be attributed solely to the impact of that devastating conflict, since they had been prominent as early as 1949-1950. Shen adds an important new perspective to the debate over the relative influence of China and the Soviet Union on North Korea's war plans against South Korea

by demonstrating that while Mao Zedong's government was quick to offer military support to the DPRK, the North Korean leadership, wary of a reassertion of traditional Chinese hegemony over Korea and over confident in their military judgment, refused to accept Chinese assistance until forced to do so by imminent defeat. Kim Il Sung similarly resisted Chinese efforts to create a joint Sino-Korean command and to place railroads under Chinese military management, agreeing to these necessary steps only after being pressured to do so by the Soviets. This capitulation, in Shen's estimate, "left a shadow on the heart of Kim Il Sung," setting the stage for his distinctive pursuit of autonomy after the war.

Balazs Szalontai analyses the roots of North Korea's success in gaining autonomy in the post-Stalin years, attributing Moscow's failure to ensure de-Stalinization in the DPRK to Kim Il Sung's skill at exploiting events such as the Hungarian revolution of 1956 and Khrushchev's purge of 1957, as well as to Soviet arrogance. He examines in detail Pyongyang's conflict with Moscow in 1959-60 over unification plans and the sharp deterioration in relations following the Sino-Soviet split. The bulk of the translated documents that follow his article consist of fascinating reports from Hungarian diplomats based in Pyongyang, who were able to gain excellent information on the internal workings of the Kim regime thanks to communications from Koreans who had been trained in Hungary and maintained contacts with the Hungarian embassy after returning to the DPRK.

Bernd Schaefer, a specialist on the GDR, surveys North Korean foreign relations in the context of the

history of other small states within the communist camp. He reveals that GDR officials strongly disapproved of the cult of personality of Kim Il Sung, were shocked by the scale of Korean demands for economic assistance and were offended by Pyongyang's refusal to acknowledge the considerable aid it received from its allies. In the wake of the Sino-Soviet split, East German representatives in Pyongyang, who were compelled to remain faithful to Moscow, banded together with their Soviet counterparts to exchange information and discuss the disturbingly unpredictable actions of the North Koreans. East German documents therefore provide important insight into Soviet attitudes toward the Kim Il Sung regime as Moscow attempted to exert leverage over Pyongyang. Schaefer traces the twists and turns in DPRK foreign policy as Kim turned back toward Moscow in the

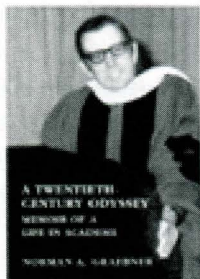
wake of Mao's Cultural Revolution, and then opened negotiations with Seoul in response to the Sino-American rapprochement of 1972. The warm personal relations Kim developed with Erich Honecker following the East German leader's visit to the DPRK in 1977 led to what Schaefer terms "reciprocal byzantinism," the record of which reveals the autocratic delusions of both leaders. Translations of key documents, including discussions between Honecker and Kim, follow the article.

The second Korea Initiative publication will present translations of revealing documents from the Czech archives, including a transcript of the lengthy and far-ranging conversation between Kim Il Sung and Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Alexei Kosygin in February 1965, during which the Soviet leader attempted

to restore good relations with Pyongyang following Kim's tilt toward China in the early 1960's. It will also include: an analysis of Soviet/North Korean relations in the mid-1960's by Russian historian Sergey Radchenko, drawing on research in the archive of the Russian Foreign Ministry; a second article by Balazs Szalontai continuing his analysis into the post-Khrushchev years; and an article by Bernd Schaefer examining North Korean "adventurism" in the late 1960's.

A special focus of Szalontai and Schaefer's articles will be new documentary evidence of DPRK decision-making regarding the commando raid on the South Korean presidential residence in January 1968 and the seizure of the *USS Pueblo* later that month.

On March 8 of this year the Korea Initiative held a daylong workshop co-sponsored by The George Washington University Cold War Group, with



A Twentieth-Century Odyssey: Memoir of a Life in Academe. Norman A. Graebner (January 2003) Cloth ISBN 0-930053-16-9, \$ 36.95. Paper ISBN 0-930053-17-7, \$ 17.95. pages iv, 219. Photos.

A prolific writer, stimulating speaker and past president of SHAFR, Norman A. Graebner is internationally recognized as one of the outstanding "realist" diplomatic historians of the last half of the 20th century.

His work set a standard for critical examination of American foreign policies. **SHAFR Price (paper) \$12.00**

Into the Dark House: American Diplomacy & the Ideological Origins of the Cold War. Joseph M. Siracusa (1998) 273pp. \$12.95 **SHAFR Price (paper) \$8.00**

The U.S. & Post-Cold War Interventions: Bush & Clinton in Somalia, Haiti and Bosnia, 1992-1998. Lester Brune. xii, 177pp. (1998) \$14.95 **SHAFR Price (paper) \$9.00**

America's Australia/Australia's America. Joseph M. Siracusa & Yeong-Han Cheong (1997) 160pp. \$12.95 **SHAFR Price (paper) \$7.00**

America and the Iraqi Crisis, 1990-1992: Origins and Aftermath. Lester H. Brune. (1993) xii, 212pp. \$12.95 **SHAFR Price (paper) \$9.00**

Theodore Roosevelt and the Intenational Rivalries. Raymond R. Esthus. 165pp. (1971, 1982) \$12.95 paper **SHAFR Price (pap) \$8.00**

Empire On the Pacific: A Study in American Continental Expansion. Norman A. Graebner. 278pp. Reprint ed. (1983) \$14.95 **SHAFR Price (paper) \$8.00**

Dr. Strangelove & The Hideous Epoch: Deterrence in the Nuclear Age. John Renaker. Illustrated (2000) 446 pp. Movie characters, notes, bibliography, index. This is an unusual book by an unusual writer—who is also erudite and well grounded in the relevant traditional literature. He displays an original approach and imaginative new analysis... R. L. Garthoff, The Brookings Institution. \$17.95 **SHAFR Price (paper) \$10.00**

Changing Asia-Pacific Region: Strategic & Economic Issues. Chae-Jin Lee, ed. (2001) 162pp. **SHAFR Price (paper) \$8.00**

Korea: Dynamics of Diplomacy. Byung Chul Koh, ed. (2001) 178pp. \$14.95 **SHAFR Price (paper) \$8.00**

The Cold War—Reassessments. Arthur L. Rosenbaum & Chae-Jin Lee, eds. (2000) 214pp. Essays by John Lewis Gaddis, William Stueck, David W.P. Elliott, Raymond L. Garthoff, William C. Wohlforth, Lynn M. Hansen. \$14.95 **SHAFR Price (paper) \$9.00**

Making Peace Pay: A Bibliography on Disarmament & Conversion. Nils Petter Gleditsch, etal, comps. (2000) 180pp. Cloth \$39.95 **SHAFR Price (cloth) \$15.00**

Send check to: Regina Books, Box 280, Claremont, CA 91711 Telephone (909) 624-8466 FAX (909) 626-1345 add postage (\$2.50 1st bk, \$1.00 add'l bks)

support from the Korea Foundation and the Luce Foundation, which convened a select group of Korea specialists from government, academia, and research institutes in the US, South Korea and Eastern Europe to discuss the significance of the new documentation the project has uncovered. A summary of that discussion appeared in the May issue of *Centerpoint*, the newsletter of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, and is available on the Center's website, www.wilsoncenter.org.

The Cold War History Project is currently seeking funding to continue the Korea Initiative. If this effort is successful, the project will extend its research into Mongolian, Russian,

Romanian and Bulgarian archives, among others. It will also expand the participation of scholars of American foreign relations in order to integrate these new findings with scholarship on American/East Asian relations. CWIHP welcomes communication from any scholar interested in contributing to the work of the Korea Initiative.

Dr. Kathryn Weathersby is Senior Research Scholar and Director of the Korea Initiative at the Cold War International History Project, at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, D.C.

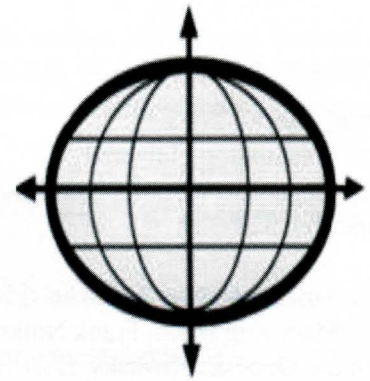
The Cold War: Opening Shots, 1945-50

Edited by Mark Wilkinson and Timothy Dowling
VMI Department of History

This volume contains the proceedings of two conferences on the early history of the Cold War held at the Canitgny-First Division Museum and at VMI in 2000-2001, through the generous underwriting of the Robert R McCormick Foundation and local support from the George C. Marshall Foundation.

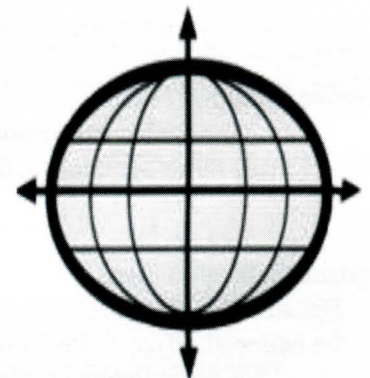
Complimentary copies are available by writing or e-mailing:

Professor Mark Wilkinson
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Virginia Military Institute
Lexington VA 24450
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For information about the operation of SHAFR, prize and award information, and other business matters, please contact the Business Office at the address below:

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<http://shafr.history.ohio-state.edu>**



Minutes of the SHAFR Council Meeting

Saturday, June 7, 2003
George Washington University
History Department Conference Room
Phillips Hall 328-329

In attendance: Michael J. Hogan (Presiding), Peter L. Hahn, Mark A. Stoler, Robert Schulzinger, Chester Pach, Mitchell Lerner, Mary Ann Heiss, Frank Ninkovich, Mark Lawrence, Andrew Rotter, Christopher Jespersen, Robert McMahon, Scott Laderman, Deborah Kisatsky, Kurt Hanson, James Matray, Keith Nelson, David Schmitz, William Burr, Pete Hill, Jennifer Walton

Michael Hogan called the meeting to order at 7:30 am.

Business Items

1. SHAFR Funds

Peter Hahn discussed the background and current status of all SHAFR funds, referring to a long written report circulated earlier to Council.

After discussion, Council approved the following motions:

A) SHAFR's named funds

The Executive Director will restore and track separately SHAFR's non-Bernath named funds that existed in 1994 and those created since 1994. Each fund that existed in 1994 will carry an initial (June 30, 2003) balance based on its 1994 value and the rate of growth in the SHAFR endowment since 1994. Funds established since 1994 will carry an initial balance determined by actual contributions and allocations made to them. (Maintaining the separate named funds will honor the donors and those for whom the funds were named and will assist in additional development efforts, which the Executive Director would conduct periodically.)

The Executive Director will credit all donor-designated gifts received after June 2002 to the appropriate account, and will debit each account annually the actual value of each prize awarded under its name. In no case will any such debit exceed 5 percent of the account's value.

The Executive Director will pay prizes out of operating (checking and savings) accounts, replenishing them from time to time from the endowment. When the operating accounts carry substantial surpluses, the Executive Director will make deposits to the endowment.

B) Bernath Funds

The Executive Director will pay Bernath prize/award disbursements from the checking (or savings) account and make withdrawals from the Bernath endowment account from time to time to cover shortfalls.

C) Inactive (pre-1994) Funds

Because the Bailey and Guide Funds that existed in 1994 have been dormant for years and because the origins and purposes of these funds are unclear, these funds should be discontinued and their balances absorbed in the General Endowment.

D) Gelfand-Rappaport Fund

Because the annual subsidy from the publisher of Diplomatic History is sufficient to cover the subsidy that SHAFR pays to the editorial office at the University of Colorado, the Gelfand-Rappaport Fund will be designated to support a new, named fellowship for graduate student member dissertation research travel.

E) New (post-1994) accounts

1) SHAFR-Georgetown Fellowship

Because the SHAFR-Georgetown fund has not been tracked separately and is modest in size, and because other conferences have also raised substantial proceeds, the SHAFR-Georgetown Fellowship will be discontinued. The addition of the new Gelfand-Rappaport fellowship will ensure that graduate student members will not lose any funding opportunities.

2) Hogan Fellowship

The Hogan Fellowship fund will be tracked on a separate ledger like other named funds, with an initial allocation of \$13,533.39.

3) Unterberger Fellowship

The Unterberger Fellowship fund will be tracked on a separate ledger like other named funds. When contributions to it reach \$15,000, the Fellowship will be activated; the president will appoint a new Unterberger Fellowship Committee which will award a \$1,000 biannual fellowship, to be awarded at SHAFR's annual meeting, to the best dissertation in the field of diplomatic history completed during the previous two calendar years.

2. Prizes and Fellowships

Peter Hahn discussed the background and current status of all SHAFR prizes and fellowships, referring to a long written report circulated earlier to Council. Council discussed the amount and timing of all awards.

Council approved the following motions:

A) An award committee should withhold any fellowship or prize in any case in which, in the committee's judgment, no qualified or suitable nomination or application has been received.

B) An award committee should refrain from splitting an award between two or more recipients except in the most extraordinary circumstances.

C) The Bernath dissertation award shall be increased to \$2,000.

D) The Bernath Book Prize shall be awarded to the "best first book" in diplomatic history and the Ferrell Prize shall be awarded to the "best book beyond the first monograph." All references to age including "younger" shall be deleted from the prize descriptions.

E) Bernath Lecture Prize winners shall be reimbursed up to \$500, if receipts are provided, for the expenses of travel to the OAH meeting at which Lectures are delivered.

F) The Bernath article prize will be increased to \$1,000.

G) The Ferrell book prize will be increased to \$2,500.

H) Notwithstanding the resolution passed earlier [2(B)], the Holt Committee should not be prohibited from dividing the \$2,000 Holt Fellowship into two awards of \$1,000 each.

I) The Graebner prize shall continue to be awarded at the SHAFR annual meeting, where the recipient gains maximum appreciation of the membership. Language regarding age should be struck from the Graebner prize description, which shall state: "The Graebner prize is a lifetime achievement award intended to recognize a senior historian of United States foreign relations who has significantly contributed to the development of the field, through scholarship, teaching, and/or service, over his or her career." The Graebner prize will be increased to \$2,000.

J) The Hogan fellowship competition will be open to all graduate student members, not only doctoral candidates. The Hogan Fellowship will be increased to \$2,000 (figured as the initial allocation of \$1,000, plus a \$500 annual gift pledged by Michael Hogan [until his retirement], plus a \$500 match of Hogan's gift by SHAFR).

K) The Link Prize and Kuehl Prize will be combined into a single Link-Kuehl Prize, to be awarded biannually (and announced at the SHAFR luncheon at the AHA) to the best documentary book.

L) The newly created Gelfand-Rappaport prize will be awarded at the SHAFR luncheon at the AHA.

3. By-laws

Referring to a long written report circulated earlier to Council, Peter Hahn discussed the SHAFR by-laws, which were written after 1972 (when the Society was incorporated), revised in 1994 (when the Endowment Committee replaced the Finance Committee), and revised in 1999 (when two graduate student representatives were added to the Council).

After discussion, Council approved the following motions, with the understanding that, in accordance with the amendment provisions of the by-laws, each motion would be submitted for approval by the membership during the Fall 2003 annual election.

- A) The program committee (article V, section 3) may include the local arrangements chair (but not as chair or co-chair). (Rationale: affiliation of the local arrangements chair with the program committee will facilitate communication between the program committee and the host institution.)
- B) The Membership Committee (article V, section 2) should be disbanded. (Rationale: the committee has no declared purpose and has not met for years.)
- C) Annual elections timeline (article II, section 5(d-e)) should be changed to include the following deadlines: Nominations via petition from members will be accepted until August 1; the Nominating Committee will finish its assigned work by August 15; the Executive Director will mail ballots by September 15; ballots will be returned by October 31; and results will be announced as expeditiously as possible. (Rationale: the new schedule—which Council authorized for the 2003 annual election—will allow newly elected Council members adequate time to make arrangements to attend the Council meeting at the AHA. In short, this change will synchronize the SHAFR election cycle with the change in the scheduling of the AHA annual meeting from December to January.)
- D) Membership meetings (Article VIII) should be occasional rather than annual, and should be scheduled as authorized by Council in response to petition(s) from the membership. Council should schedule such a membership meeting during a SHAFR annual conference, with at least six months notice given to all members. (Rationale: although there has been no membership meeting in recent memory, the possibility of holding one should be preserved in the event that some high controversy arises.)
- E) The by-laws should reflect Council's decision of 2002 to change the title of Executive Secretary-Treasurer to Executive Director. (Rationale: The by-laws should reflect Council's decision to change the practice.)
- F) Gender-specific language should be replaced with gender-neutral language throughout the by-laws. (Rationale: SHAFR should be inclusive.)
- G) References to the "Newsletter" should be changed to the "newsletter." (Rationale: the more generic lower-case allows changes to the name of the newsletter.)

4. Newsletter

Peter Hahn recalled that Council in 2002 assigned responsibility for the SHAFR Newsletter to him and that in 2003 it approved, via e-mail ballot, the name *Passport: The Newsletter of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations*.

Hahn reported that he will serve as Executive Editor of *Passport* and that Mitch Lerner of Ohio State University will serve as Editor.

Council approved a motion that *Passport* will be published three times per year, in April, August, and December, beginning with the August 2003 issue.

Council also authorized the Executive Editor to appoint an editorial board of three members, serving staggered three-year terms, with whom the editors will consult from time to time on issues of importance to the editors. Hahn announced that Deborah Kisastsky, Nick Sarantakes, and Dennis Merrill will serve on the editorial board effective immediately.

Council also directed the Executive Director to maintain a separate financial ledger indicating the assets and costs of *Passport*.

5. Audit of SHAFR financial records

Michael Hogan recommended that SHAFR have a formal audit of its financial records by a professional auditor/CPA, to keep the Society in good business order, protect the Society and ensure its growth, and protect the Executive Director against even the allegation of wrongdoing. Such an audit would identify preemptive moves that SHAFR could take to keep its finances healthy and ensure the security of its funds.

Peter Hahn reported that at Hogan's request he had spoken to two auditors, both of whom advised that instead of a formal audit, SHAFR should consider an informal review of its records, which would provide an estimated 90 percent of the security of an audit at half the cost. A formal audit is usually required if a group receives federal or corporate grants; SHAFR does not necessarily need such an audit. A formal audit would cost from \$4,000 to \$6,000 (but could run as high as \$10,000, depending on the quality of the records) and a review would run \$2,000-3,000.

After discussion of the merits of a formal audit vs. a review, Michael Hogan moved that SHAFR conduct an audit

every five years or with the appointment of a new Executive Director, whichever comes first, and that it conduct the first such audit in 2003. Council passed the motion and directed Michael Hogan to schedule the audit.

6. Editor-in-chief of the *Guide*

On behalf of the search committee (Chester Pach, Kurt Hanson, and Dennis Merrill) for a new editor-in-chief of the SHAFR bibliographic guide to succeed Bob Beisner, Chester Pach made a series of recommendations:

- a. That the search committee be authorized to advertise the position of editor-in-chief and ask for applications and nominations for the position;
- b. That the announcement of the position appear in *Passport* and on the SHAFR website and that it be sent to SHAFR members through postal and electronic mailings, the extent of which would be determined in consultation with the Executive Director;
- c. That the announcement contain language that the new editor will be asked to agree to a designated term of service, the exact length to be determined through negotiations, and that the editor will receive financial compensation, the amount to be negotiated.
- d. That the search committee be allowed to contact directly some potential candidates, including the current chapter editors, to determine whether any are interested in the position and that such contacts be limited to discussion of the position and its responsibilities and the interest of those contacted in the position;
- e. That the search committee make a recommendation about the candidates for the position of editor to the President and the Council as soon as feasible and, in any case, before the Council meeting in January 2004.

Michael Hogan asked Council to consider carefully the precedent of providing the editor with financial compensation. Chester Pach noted that the editor would engage in a continual process of keeping the *Guide* current and inventing and re-inventing it and might have to produce electronic supplements in the next few years. Collaborations of this size and scope are invariably long-lived and timing is unpredictable.

Council approved the recommendations with the stipulation that the principle of compensation and any specific amounts of compensation must gain the expressed approval of Council at a later date.

Hogan encouraged any candidates for the position to explore options with their home institution for workload adjustment and other support. Chester Pach agreed to consult with Hogan and Hahn on the language for the announcement.

Council indicated its thanks to Chester Pach and the other committee members for their good work in a short period of time.

7. Allocation to National Coalition for History (formerly the National Coordinating Committee for the Promotion of History)

Council discussed a letter from Anna Nelson, circulated to Council prior to the meeting, requesting that SHAFR increase its annual allocation to the NCH from \$3,000 to \$5,000.

Mark Stoler moved approval of the recommendation, noting that the Society could afford the increase and that it seemed wise to increase SHAFR's visibility within the NCH.

The motion passed unanimously.

Reports:

8. Marketing of the SHAFR Guide

Peter Hahn reported that 282 of the 600 copies of the *Guide* that SHAFR is contractually obligated to purchase still need to be resold to members. He asked Council members to encourage their students and colleagues to purchase the *Guide*.

9. 2003 annual meeting:

Peter Hill reported that approximately 375 people registered to attend SHAFR this year. He recommended that future local arrangements chairs hire Sara Wilson or another competent conference manager to assist in the logistics of running a conference.

David Schmitz reported that this year's program had 41 panels (selected from 43 panel and several individual proposals) and 2 plenary sessions. The 2002 conference had 25 panels. Schmitz reported a problem of people trying to participate in the conference without paying the registration fee, and explained that with the approval of Michael Hogan, he cancelled a Sunday morning session because 5 of the 6 participants had not registered.

Council unanimously approved a resolution of appreciation to Peter Hill and David Schmitz for their excellent work in arranging the conference and the program.

10. 2004 annual meeting:

Mark Lawrence, the local arrangements chair, updated Council on the 2004 meeting, to be held June 24-26 at the University of Texas at Austin. The LBJ Library will serve as co-host.

11. 2005 annual meeting:

Michael Hogan reported that there is no site as of yet for the 2005 meeting. Hogan and Mark Stoler will work on this over the next few months. Hogan suggested that Council consider holding the 2005 meeting jointly with the World History Association, which also meets in June and whose incoming president is a member of SHAFR. Council authorized Hogan to explore this possibility.

After a discussion of the value of designating a theme to an annual meeting, Council agreed that calls for papers might state in essence that "the program committee would particularly welcome proposals dealing with the following themes..."

12. Endowment:

Jim Matray, Endowment Liaison, reported that SHAFR's endowments are in excellent shape. The Bernath Fund is worth about \$424,000. The General Fund is worth about \$314,000. Both funds are managed by Schafer-Cullen Capital Management and are invested through Smith-Barney. Despite the poor market, SHAFR's funds have performed well under Schafer-Cullen's strategy of cautious aggressiveness that Council approved in the past. Including operating funds, SHAFR's net worth is about \$800,000.

Council approved a motion thanking Schafer-Cullen for its excellent work in managing SHAFR's finances over the last decade.

13. Fellowships and Prizes:

Peter Hahn, reporting for Anne Foster, announced that the Holt fellowship of \$2,000 will be awarded to Jason Colby of Cornell University.

Peter Hahn, reporting for Anne Foster, announced that the inaugural Hogan fellowship of \$2,000 will be awarded to Mark Hove of the University of Florida.

Ann Heiss, chair of the Kuehl prize committee, announced that the Kuehl prize will be awarded to Harriet Hyman Alonso for her book, *Growing Up Abolitionist*.

Peter Hahn, on behalf of Katie Sibley, reported that the Bernath Book Prize will be awarded to Matt Connolly for his book, *A Diplomatic Revolution*.

Resolutions

Michael Hogan asked Council for a resolution of appreciation for Bill Brinker who served for many years as editor of the SHAFR *Newsletter*. Brinker will be recognized at today's luncheon and presented with plaque.

Council unanimously approved such a resolution.

Other Business

Michael Hogan expressed special appreciation for Peter Hahn and the excellent work he has done as Executive Director of the Society.

Robert McMahon alerted Council that he will bring to Council's attention, by e-mail or at the next meeting, a resolution supporting a petition regarding the release of government documents on the Iraq war.

Michael Hogan adjourned the meeting at 9:18 a.m.

The Diplomatic Pouch

1. Recent SHAFR Award Winners

Norman and Laura Graebner Prize: Dr. George Herring

David Anderson, for the committee
University of Indianapolis

In 2002, SHAFR awarded the Norman and Laura Graebner Prize to Professor George C. Herring of the University of Kentucky. Presented biennially for career achievement and named in honor of SHAFR's fifth president and his wife and research partner, this recognition goes to a senior historian of American foreign relations for significant contributions to the field through scholarship, teaching, and service.

George Herring is one of the most respected members of SHAFR. His book, *America's Longest War: The United States and Vietnam, 1950-1975*, currently in its fourth edition, has served as the basic textbook on the war for thousands of students since it first appeared in 1979. He is internationally recognized as one of the preeminent authorities on the history of the Vietnam War, and his writings (seven books and scores of book chapters, articles, and reviews) have earned numerous academic awards. He is in frequent demand as a guest lecturer. His colleagues at the University of Kentucky have honored his teaching and service with many special designations, and he is currently Alumni Professor. He has mentored some three dozen Ph.D. students. Within SHAFR, he helped build the strength of the organization through his solid contribution in every major office, including president in 1989 and editor of *Diplomatic History* from 1982 to 1986. He has also held major committee positions in the AHA and OAH and provided valuable service to the profession on the State Department and CIA historical documentation committees. His career is a model for us all.

The Norman and Laura Graebner Prize will next be awarded at the 2004 SHAFR summer conference.

Stuart Bernath Book Prize: Dr. Matthew Connelly

Katherine Sibley, for the committee
St. Joseph's University

The Stuart L. Bernath Memorial Book Prize Committee is happy to announce our 2003 winner, Professor Matthew Connelly of Columbia University, the author of *A Diplomatic Revolution: Algeria's Fight for Independence and the Origins of the Post-Cold War Era* (Oxford University Press, 2002). We were highly impressed with the seventeen books we received this year, but early on we recognized something particularly compelling about Connelly's monograph and its conclusions. After we had closely read it, along with our many other fine submissions, it was clear that none of them had surpassed this outstanding work. We were particularly impressed with his success in integrating Third World, American, and European perspectives in his study of the Algerian War as an event with international consequences, as well as with the book's inclusion of cultural and intellectual history.

Comments from our committee included the following: "[Connelly] makes original and important contributions not just to diplomatic history...but to French history and Middle Eastern history. The insightful analysis of demographic thinking, the apprehensions of philosophical and literary figures, the role of rumor and technology in North African culture . . . lends an exceptional depth and richness to his narrative. More, the book is unusually ambitious in its scope, amazingly broad in its

research, and refreshingly sensitive in its observations...he had a masterful way of making the different actors come alive and in doing so, deepening our understanding of their motivations.” Another committee member added: “he acknowledges the ‘forces’ of history while paying attention to the details. In that respect, the book is dense, in a good way...His handling of diplomatic practice is reminiscent of the old masters, like Langer and Taylor, yet it is harnessed in the cause of an exciting new approach to decolonization.”

Professor Connelly’s work exemplifies just the kind of broad approach to the study of foreign relations so eloquently called for by SHAFR President Michael Hogan in his address at our recently concluded annual meeting. We wish him well in his future endeavors.

Stuart Bernath Article Prize: Dr. Amy Staples

Cary Frazer, for the committee
Pennsylvania State University

The Bernath Article Committee has awarded this year’s prize to Professor Amy Staples of Middle Tennessee State University for her article “Seeing Diplomacy through Bankers’ Eyes: The World Bank, the Anglo-Iranian Oil Crisis, and the Aswan High Dam,” published in *Diplomatic History*, Summer 2002. Professor Staples’ essay was the unanimous choice on the first round of balloting by the members of the Committee. In the words of one of the members of the Committee, “This strikes me as excellent diplomatic, economic, comparative, and cultural history packaged in one well researched and cogently argued piece.” In my own view as an historian of international relations, it is also an important piece since it helps to explain the emergence of international institutions whose *modus operandi* leads to coexistence, collaboration, and conflict with the nation states that constitute the base of the international system which evolved over the course of the twentieth century.

I would like to stress that the unanimity of the Committee, despite the differences in specialization among the Committee members, was a reflection of the collective sense that this was an innovative piece of work in the field. We would however like to emphasize that several of the entries were very impressive and they speak well of the dynamism that has infused the field as new collections have become available and there has been a growing emphasis on multi-archival research. It is evident that younger scholars are bringing about paradigmatic shifts in the way that the history of American foreign relations is being conceived. The Committee was deeply appreciative of the ways in which our debate over the various pieces helped us to rethink our original perceptions and also broadened our appreciation of the kind of work that is being done by these scholars.

Bernath Lecture Prize: Dr. Fredrik Logevall

William Walker, for the committee
Florida Atlantic University

Professor Fredrik Logevall of the University of California, Santa Barbara is the recipient of the Bernath Lecture Prize Award for 2003. Professor Logevall was chosen from a group of outstanding nominees. Fred is the author of the influential award-winning book, *Choosing War: The Lost Chance for Peace and the Escalation of War in Vietnam* (University of California Press, 1999), a superb study of the critical period of 1963-65 concerning U.S. involvement in Vietnam. He has also published *The Origins of the Vietnam War* (Longman, 2001). And, along with Alexander DeConde and Richard Dean Burns, he edited the *Encyclopedia of American Foreign Policy*, 3 vols., 2d ed. (Charles Scribners Sons, 2001).

Fred is also an outstanding teacher at all levels of instruction. Though relatively early in his career, he is already serving as a formal mentor for doctoral students, having produced several promising scholars as recipients of the Ph.D. degree, thereby following in the tradition of his predecessor at UCSB, Alex DeConde. Letters of support made it clear as well that Fred

willingly gives advice to grad students everywhere who seek his counsel. The committee members agree that Fredrik Logevall is most deserving of the 2003 Bernath Lecture Prize Award.

Myrna F. Bernath Fellowship Award Winner: Bethany Moreton

Catherine Forslund, for the committee
Rockford College

The 2003 Myrna Bernath Award Committee reviewed six strong proposals from women working in the field. The topics included such diverse subjects as the LBJ administration's use of the Food for Peace program as a diplomatic tool and Senator Mike Mansfield's service as Ambassador to Japan as well as timely topics related to U.S. energy policy vis-à-vis Canada and Saudi Arabia, plus the role of the Carter Administration's Ambassador to Iran during the Iranian revolution. The proposals represented the amazing breadth of women's work in diplomatic history.

However, one proposal was particularly outstanding in its innovation and comprehensive nature. Its focus on a multinational corporation's philanthropic efforts and their conjunction with foreign policy made it the Committee's choice for this year's award. Bethany Moreton's work, entitled, "The Walton International Scholars: Corporate Philanthropy as a Variable in U.S.-Central American Relations" explores links between business, education, and diplomacy. She examines the education of Central American students chosen to be Walton Scholars at three Arkansas Colleges and seeks to understand the "contours of the Waltons' political vision for Central America." The program "sought to strengthen civil society with private initiative, practical business skills and a firm commitment to ethical practice and public service." The Bernath award will fund a research trip to Nicaragua to interview former Walton Scholars and "assess the program's impact in government private industry and civil society." Moreton's efforts will be a fitting legacy for the continuation of the Myrna Bernath fellowship award.

Warren Kuehl Prize: Dr. Harriet Hyman Alonso

Mary Ann Heiss, for the committee
Kent State University

The 2003 Warren F. Kuehl Prize winner is Harriet Hyman Alonso's *Growing Up Abolitionist: The Story of the Garrison Children*, which was published by the University of Massachusetts Press. Professor Alonso's book provides a model of the historical genre of what might be termed "family biography." Utilizing a multitude of private papers, published sources, and personal interviews, *Growing Up Abolitionist* provides a window onto the private life of one of the country's most esteemed nineteenth-century reformers by chronicling the lives and public activities of his children. In the process, Professor Alonso deals with such diverse topics as abolition, women's rights, anti-imperialism, peace efforts, and race relations and tells a story that stretches from the early nineteenth century through the First World War. The end product is an insightful and illuminating study that can serve as a model for future multigenerational scholarship and collective biography.

W. Stull Holt Fellowship: Jason Colby

Anne Foster, for the committee
St. Anselm College

The W. Stull Holt this year is awarded to Jason Colby, a Ph.D. candidate in History at Cornell University for his project titled "Jim Crow Empire." He was selected unanimously by the committee in our first round of balloting for a project we all are

enthusiastic about supporting, and one that we anticipating reading. He explores issues of empire and race in the context of U.S. relations with Central America. We were particularly impressed by his ability to ground his work firmly in the traditional concerns—politics and economics—of historians of the U.S.-Central American relationship while uncovering the myriad ways in which race, the facts and rhetoric of empire, and the various meanings assigned to each have shaped the very ways in which politics and economics function. As one committee member wrote, “This project exemplifies the new directions in our field, and makes me excited about the future.”

The applicant pool for this year’s Holt fellowship was small but that does not mean it lacked depth. The range and importance of topics was impressive, and I assure you that we will all be learning to think about such issues as public diplomacy, international economic institutions and energy diplomacy in new ways in the coming years. The diversity of the projects demonstrates the vitality of the field of foreign relations, and the ways in which dialogue with historians and other scholars in many fields has strengthened our own work.

Michael J. Hogan Fellowship: Mark Hove

Anne Foster, for the committee
St. Anselm College

The inaugural year of the Michael J. Hogan fellowship attracted a strong but small pool of applicants, and this initial award has been made to Mark Hove, Ph.D. candidate in History at the University of Florida, for his project *Constructing the Allende Threat: Salvador Allende and U.S.-Chilean Relations, 1945-1980*. He will use it for advanced study of Spanish, particularly of the dialect used in Chile, as he completes his research in that country. Hove’s project particularly impressed the committee in that he writes from both sides of the relationship, rather than merely discovering Chilean reactions to an essentially U.S. story. He stood out in a strong field of innovative projects, however. Applicants are conducting research in Russian, Chinese, and Japanese as well as Spanish, and the group made clear that students of foreign relations are preparing themselves well to be practitioners of international history, and can well use the funds this fellowship provides for them to improve what were—in all the applicants from this year—already impressive foreign language skills necessary for their research.

2. Personal and Professional Notes

Jeremy Suri (Wisconsin) won a Hoover Institution Fellowship for the 2003-04 academic year.

Elizabeth Cobbs-Hoffmann (San Diego State) has been selected as the Mary Ball Washington Visiting Professor at University College Dublin for 2003-2004.

Tom Schoonover (Louisiana-Lafayette) was elected President of the Southeastern Council of Latin American Studies.

Thomas Borstelmann has left Cornell University to become the Thompson Professor of Modern World History at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln.

Roby Barrett (Texas) won a Dwight Eisenhower-Clifford Roberts Graduate Research Fellowship.

The University of Texas has honored the recently retired Robert Divine with the creation of an endowed fund to assist in graduate student research. Those interested in donating should contact Becky Prince at <prince@mail.utexas.edu>.

3. Research Notes

Entire National Security Adviser Folder Title List
Now Available at the Jimmy Carter Library

The files of the office of Carter administration National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski and his staff have now been fully arranged at the Jimmy Carter Library. A folder title list for this 775 feet of material was made available to research. Declassification activity continues and should be very productive during the next decade. Potential researchers are encouraged to visit the Jimmy Carter Library website: www.jimmycarterlibrary.org.

New Evidence on Todor Zhivkov and the Cold War
Revelations from Zhivkov's Personal Records

The Cold War International History Project and its Bulgarian partner, the Cold War Research Group-Bulgaria, are pleased to announce the publication of a new CD-ROM on Bulgaria and the Cold War. Containing never-before published documents from the personal archive of Bulgaria's former Communist dictator Todor Zhivkov (who was Eastern Europe's longest serving Stalinist leader), the collection covers the entire period of Zhivkov's reign from his election as Communist party leader in 1954 through the collapse of communism in Bulgaria in 1989.

The CD-ROM contains more than 700 pages of documents (most in both Bulgarian and English) of previously unknown stenographic notes of Todor Zhivkov's conversations and correspondence with over 30 foreign state and political leaders from all five continents spanning over three decades. The documents contain new information, evaluations, and assessments highlighting various military and political conflicts in different hot spots throughout the world during the Cold War years.

The documents include a diverse array of conversations between the Bulgarian leader and foreign counterparts, including Italian Foreign Minister Aldo Moro (27 April 1970), US Undersecretary of State John Whitehead (4 February 1987), Acting Secretary General of the Chinese Communist Party Zhao Ziyang and Deng Xiaopeng (6-7 May 1987), and finally Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou (22 April 1989).

Future document samplers from this collection to be published by CWIHP online will include one focused on events in the Middle East and in the Third World. Included in that collection will be conversations with Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi, Syrian president Hafiz Al Assad, Palestinian leader Yasir Arafat, and many leaders of the leftist guerilla movements from the countries in Central America and Africa. Also among the documents in the collection are several classified government decisions to make arms deliveries to Third World countries and conversations between Zhivkov and heads of states of different countries asking for Zhivkov's mediation for arms deliveries from the USSR (Conversation with Assad and Qaddafi).

The documents give new evidence of the role Bulgaria played in regional conflicts throughout the period, in particular in the Six Day War in the Middle East in 1967, the Yom Kipur War in 1973, and the Turkish invasion in Cyprus in 1974. The CD-ROM collection was prepared by a group of Bulgarian scholars and archivists (Jordan Baev, Boyko Mladenov, Kostadin Grozev, Mariana Lecheva) in cooperation with the Central State Archive in Sofia and the Cold War International History Project. The collection's English language translations were edited by Nancy L. Meyers of CWIHP. The publication received financial support from the Cold War International History Project in Washington. It was introduced to the Bulgarian public last fall during a visit to Sofia by CWIHP director Christian Ostermann, receiving widespread media coverage in all major Bulgarian newspapers and several radio and TV shows.

To read the sample documents, visit the CWIHP website at <http://cwihip.si.edu>. To order a copy of the CD-ROM, please fax Dr. Jordan Baev at (240) 337-8304.

Christian F. Ostermann, Cold War International History Project

4. Mailbox*

June 11, 2003

To the Members of SHAFR:

I would like to thank SHAFR and especially the Warren F. Kuehl Prize committee for awarding my book, *Growing Up Abolitionist: The Story of the Garrison Children* the 2003 Kuehl prize. It is not only a great honor but it is also one of the biggest thrills I have ever received. The Garrison book dominated my life for just one day shy of eleven years from my first trip to the archives to the day of publication. Although I had written two previous books, this one proved to be the most difficult. Some days I felt high on enthusiasm and intellectual stimulation; other days I felt as if I could throw all my notes and the manuscript in the garbage. The Warren F. Kuehl Prize is such a wonderful vote of affirmation that my instincts were correct about the Garrisons. Their story is fascinating and important to our understanding of how values such as nonviolence, feminism, and anti-racism are passed on from one generation to the next. Thank you so very much for the award and the committee's kind words about my work.

Most sincerely,

Harriet Alonso

**The editorial board of Passport welcomes all communications that are of potential interest to SHAFR members. Letters can be sent by mail or e-mail, and will be re-printed at the editor's discretion.*

5. Announcements

2004 Oral History Association Annual Meeting

Portland, Oregon

September 29 - October 3, 2004

"Telling Stories: Narratives of Our Own Times"

The Oral History Association invites proposals for papers and presentations for its 2004 annual meeting to be held September 29-October 3, 2004, at the Hilton & Executive Tower, Portland, Oregon.

"Telling Stories," the conference theme, invokes both the practice of oral history and the unique ability of oral history to capture stories that are especially revealing and meaningful. The present historical moment lends an especial urgency to this call. War in Iraq, the attacks on the World Trade Center, the Seattle protests over the World Trade Organization, the enormity and significance of these events, and many others, urge us to record and interpret the narratives of our own times, not only the cataclysmic events at the turn of the twenty-first century, but also the sweep of the twentieth century that lies within living memory. While recent events suggest histories of conflict, change and rupture, the practice of oral history offers the possibility of bridging differences, finding commonalities, and tracing continuity. Turning lives into stories can help individuals and communities negotiate wrenching social and economic changes and undermine hierarchies of power and dominance. We are eager for presenters to help set an agenda for the myriad of stories of our times that need to be recorded and suggest new ways of preserving and disseminating them.

We invite proposals that examine narratives that are meaningful at local, regional, national, and international levels. Submit five copies of the proposal. For full sessions, submit a title, a session abstract of not more than two pages, and a one-page vita or resume for each participant. For individual proposals, submit a one-page abstract and a one-page vita or resume of the presenter. Each submission must be accompanied by a cover sheet, which can be printed from the OHA web site: www.dickinson.edu/oha.

Proposals must be postmarked by January 15, 2004. They may be submitted by mail or fax. No email attachments will be accepted. Submit proposal to:

Madelyn Campbell
Oral History Association
Dickinson College
P.O. Box 1773
Carlisle, PA 17013
Phone: 717-245-1036
Fax: 717-245-1046

Email: oha@dickinson.edu
Visit the website at <http://www.dickinson.edu/organizations/oha/>

ConIH 4: Harvard Graduate Student Conference in International History

ConIH 4: The Harvard Graduate Student Conference on International History "Empires and Imperial Control in Comparative Historical Perspective"

The Department of History invites graduate students to submit proposals for the Fourth Annual Harvard Graduate Student Conference on International History (ConIH) to take place in Cambridge, Massachusetts on 19-20 March 2004.

The theme for this year's conference is "Empires and Imperial Control". "Empire" is increasingly debated and contested terrain in the contemporary world. It is our intention to develop a historical perspective on problems of empire and imperial control. The conference is pursuing a broad comparative agenda and will not impose any regional or temporal limits on presentations.

The deadline for application is October 31, 2003. Please see the ConIH website for the Call for Papers and additional information.

Daniel Sargent
Harvard University
Department of History
Cambridge, Mass. 02138
Email: conih@fas.harvard.edu

World War II, Korea, and Vietnam Wars. 2004 Southwest/Texas Popular Culture/American Culture Associations 25th Annual Conference

2004 Southwest/Texas Popular Culture/American Culture Associations
25th Annual Conference, held in conjunction with the National Popular Culture/American Culture Associations Conference
April 7-10, 2004

The 2004 SW/TX PCA/ACA Conference will meet in San Antonio, Texas, at the beautiful San Antonio Marriott River Center Hotel, on the Riverwalk. Join us this year, as a returning or first-time participant, as we celebrate a quarter-century of this regional popular culture conference. For further details regarding the conference (listing of all areas, hotel, registration, tours, etc.) please visit <http://www2.h-net.msu.edu/~swpca> or the website below.

Now accepting proposals for the Area of World War II, Korea, and Vietnam Wars. We welcome submissions on any aspect of these three important military conflicts. Prospective topics include but are not limited to:

- * strategy
- * specific battles
- * politics and international policy
- * homefront, including social and cultural aspects of war
- * causes and results of conflict
- * theories of warfare

Include a current curriculum vitae or résumé and a 250 word abstract. You may also include a working bibliography if you wish.

Submission deadline is November 1, 2003.

Brad L. Duren
Assistant Professor of History
Oklahoma Panhandle State University
P.O. Box 430
Goodwell, OK 73939
phone: (580)349-1498
fax: (580)349-2302

Email: uriah768@aol.com

Visit the website at <http://www.h-net.org/~swpca/>

The Conference on Empire and Imperial Culture
Call for Papers (Deadline: October 24, 2003)

Final Call for Papers for the Empire and Imperial Culture Conference to be held in California on February 27-28, 2004. This interdisciplinary conference seeks scholars working in history, architecture and art history, economics, ethnic and gender studies, literature, philosophy, education, politics and public policy as well as the sciences to participate in a wide ranging conversation about empire from antiquity to postmodernity. Papers on a broad range of topics from multiple disciplines are encouraged. Panel proposals are welcomed but not necessary as individual papers will be considered. Plenary speakers will be Prof. Robert Bernasconi: "Race and the Imperial Idea"; Prof. Thomas Metcalf: "Recentering Empire"; and Prof. Richard Roberts: "Africa and Empire: The Unintended Consequences." One page vita and proposal for papers can be emailed to:

Scott Davis
Department of English
California State University, Stanislaus
801 W. Monte Vista Ave
Turlock Ca 95382
Phone: 209 667 3883
Email: scdavis@athena.csustan.edu

The Atomic Bomb and American Society

To mark the 60th anniversary of the detonation of the first atomic bomb, the Center for the Study of War and Society and the University of Tennessee Press will host a three-day conference, July 15-17, 2005, to assess the impact of the development of nuclear weapons on American society and culture. This conference will convene in Oak Ridge, Tennessee, a site which, together with Los Alamos, New Mexico and Hanford, Washington played a pivotal role in the development of the first atomic bomb detonated in Alamogordo, New Mexico on July 16, 1945.

The Conference organizers, Professor G. Kurt Piehler and Captain Rosemary Mariner (U.S. Navy, Retired), seek proposals for papers that examine the political, economic, social, and cultural impact of nuclear weapons on American society. Among the areas of interest to conference organizers is new work exploring the impact of nuclear weapons on national defense and maritime strategy, as well as civil-military relations during the Cold War and the more recent war on terrorism. Scholarship examining the impact of public opinion on American nuclear weapons developments and strategy (i.e., SANE, the Nuclear Freeze Movement, etc.), public participation and opposition to civil defense measures, and the impact of nuclear weapons research on American science and education are all welcome. We envision this conference as interdisciplinary and seek proposals from disciplines outside of history and political science that explore the literary, cinematic, and artistic impact of the nuclear age. Given the location of the conference, organizers are especially interested in new scholarship examining the unique roles of Oak Ridge, Los Alamos, and Hanford in developing the atomic bomb and later generations of nuclear weapons.

The conference conveners plan to develop an anthology based on selected papers presented at the conference. The University of Tennessee Press has expressed a strong interest in publishing such an anthology. Scholars and advanced graduate students interested in participating in this conference should submit a cover letter, 2-3 page proposal and c.v. by April 1, 2004 to Professor G. Kurt Piehler. Please be sure your c.v. contains complete contact information including mailing address, e-mail address, and telephone number (including any summer contact information). The Center expects to make a limited number of travel grants to attendees in need of financial assistance. If you are unable to secure institutional support to participate in this conference and require financial assistance, please indicate this in your cover letter. We plan to announce a final schedule for the conference by June 1, 2004.

Professor G. Kurt Piehler
Center for the Study of War and Society
220 Hoskins Library
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee 37996-0128
Phone: (865) 974-7094

Email: gpiehler@utk.edu
Visit the website at <http://web.utk.edu/~csws>

Council on America's Military Past -- Authors Wanted!

CAMP is a non-profit dedicated to military history and historic preservation whose members are a mix of amateur and professional historians, including some employees of the National Park Service. CAMP publishes the quarterly Journal of America's Military Past. The Journal's basic editorial policy is to publish articles on American military real estate -- such as historic installations and battlefields -- as well as articles on or by American military figures. We strive for a mix of scholarly articles (like those in JMH) and articles of general interest (like those in MHQ). We are small and informal but dedicated. This is a great opportunity for a first time author to break into print. We encourage aspiring historians -- and their professors -- to get in touch and work with us to get some good, fresh writing into print.

Dr Nicholas Reynolds
502 N Norwood St
Arlington, VA 22203
Email: nereyn@earthlink.net
Visit the website at <http://www.campjump.org>

Call for Contributors: Encyclopedia of the Home Front: World Wars I and II

ABC-CLIO, a New York-based academic and reference publisher, and East River Books, a reference book producer, are seeking contributing scholars for a three-volume reference work on the American, British, and Canadian home fronts in World Wars I and II. The project is aimed at the academic high school and undergraduate levels. The General Editor is Dr. Thad Russell, assistant professor of history at Barnard College. Board of advisor members include Alan Brinkley, Lewis Erenberg, Nelson Lichtenstein, Kathy Peiss, and Judith Stein.

The encyclopedia will include articles on politics and government; economy, labor, and business; society; religion and education; technology, science, and the environment; and arts and culture. There will be entries on individuals, places, ideas, events, institutions, and general themes. Articles will vary in length from 500-2,000 words (depending on significance of the topic). Encyclopedia of the Home Front will also include a number of ancillary features, including chronologies, bibliographies (primary and secondary sources), and original documents.

We are seeking contributors for articles, chronologies, and bibliographies. Contributors will receive full authorial credit, a modest cash honorarium and/or copy of the full encyclopedia set (depending on contribution length and contributor preference).

If you are interested in contributing to this exciting and important reference project--one we hope will be the definitive reference work on Home Front--we would be happy to email you a prospectus with a full description of the project--with deadline, compensation, and other pertinent information, including a table of contents. Please contact the encyclopedia editorial assistant, Rebecca Black, at: eastriverbooks@yahoo.com.

Rebecca Black, Editorial Assistant
Encyclopedia of the Home Front: World Wars I and II
Email: homefrontencyclopedia@yahoo.com

Call for Papers for *Globalizations*

Globalizations is a new journal, edited by Barry Gills, and supported by the Globalization Research Network. With an editorial board consisting of active globalization scholars, the journal will seek to publish the best work exploring new meanings of globalization, bringing fresh ideas to the concept and contributing to debates that shape the future.

The conventional use of 'globalization' understood narrowly as neoliberal economics and free trade, is being challenged from many directions. The journal is dedicated to opening the widest possible space for discussion of alternatives to a narrow economic understanding of globalization. The move from the singular to the plural is deliberate and meaningful. Moving to the plural '*globalizations*' signifies a serious skepticism of the idea that there can ever be a single theory or interpretation of globalization. Rather, the journal will seek to encourage the exploration and discussion of multiple interpretations and multiple processes that may constitute many possible globalizations, many possible alternatives and futures. *Globalizations* encompasses global processes as well as global problems, and the nature and means of global solutions.

In order to pursue such a wide range of possibilities, the journal will be open to all fields of knowledge, including the natural, environmental, medical, and public health sciences, as well as the social sciences. *Globalizations* will normally consider papers from any relevant disciplinary background, but we will especially encourage multidisciplinary research, as well as transnational research involving participants from more than one country. *Globalizations* sees its role as contributing to building the emergent field of Global Studies and Critical Globalization Studies, in pursuit of new modes of global education and action.

The first issue of *Globalizations* is scheduled for September 2004. Submissions of articles should be between 4,000-8,000 words, inclusive of all notes and references.

All articles should be submitted typed (three copies) and double-spaced, using the Harvard system of referencing along with a 150 word abstract, and sent by hard copy to:

Barry Gills
The School of Geography, Politics and Sociology
University of Newcastle upon Tyne
40/42 Great North Road
Newcastle upon Tyne, NE1 7RU, UK.

2004 NEH Summer Stipends Awards, \$5,000 Deadline October 1, 2003

The NEH Summer Stipends program received 900 applications last fall, and made 117 awards for the summer of 2003. We are now making plans for the October 1, 2003 deadline. This will be the second year in which the NEH Summer Stipends program applications will be submitted online. Individuals who are interested in obtaining access to the guidelines are invited to visit the NEH Summer Stipends website (below).

The list of awards for the summer of 2003 is available on the website (Click on "Sample Projects"). Click on "Frequently Asked Questions" for additional information concerning the application process and the program. Questions about the program can be sent via e-mail or via telephone.

Division of Research Programs, NEH
Phone: 202-606-8200
Email: stipends@neh.gov
Visit the website at <http://www.neh.gov/grants/guidelines/stipends.html>

Fellowships, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars

The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars is currently accepting applications for its 2004-2005 Fellowship competition. The application deadline is October 1, 2003.

The Center annually awards academic-year (or one semester) residential fellowship to individuals in the social sciences and humanities with outstanding project proposals on national and/or international issues. Topics should intersect with questions of public policy or provide the historical and/or cultural framework to understand policy issues of contemporary importance. Fellows are provided with a stipend (includes a round-trip transportation allowance) and with part-time research assistance. Fellows work from private offices at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, DC.

Eligibility: For academic applicants, eligibility is limited to the postdoctoral level and, normally, to applicants with publications beyond the Ph.D. dissertation. For other applicants, an equivalent level of professional achievement is expected. Applications from any country are welcome. All applicants should have a very good command of spoken English. The Center seeks a diverse group of Fellows and welcomes applications from women and minorities.

For application materials, please visit our website (below), or write to:

Scholar Selection and Services Office
Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars
One Woodrow Wilson Plaza
1300 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20004-3027
telephone: 202/691-4170
fax: 202/691-4001

Email: fellowships@wwic.si.edu
Visit the website at <http://www.wilsoncenter.org>

Institute for Advanced Study, School of Historical Studies Memberships

Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey, School of Historical Studies Memberships 2004-2005: A community of scholars where intellectual inquiry, research and writing is carried out in the best of circumstances, the Institute offers Members libraries, offices, seminar and lecture rooms, subsidized housing, stipends and other services. Open to all fields of historical research, the School of Historical Studies' principal interests are history of Western, Near Eastern and Far Eastern civilizations, Greek and Roman civilization, history of Europe (medieval, early modern, and modern), the Islamic world, East Asian studies, history of art, music studies and modern international relations. Candidates of any nationality may apply for one or two terms. Residence in Princeton during term time is required. The only other obligation of Members is to pursue their own research. The Ph.D. (or equivalent) and substantial publications are required. Information and application forms for this and other programs may be found on the School's web site, www.hs.ias.edu, or contact the address/email below:

Marian Zelazny
Administrative Officer
School of Historical Studies
Institute for Advanced Study
Einstein Drive
Princeton, NJ 08540
Email: mzelazny@ias.edu
Deadline: 15 November 2003.

2004 Horace Samuel & Marion Galbraith Merrill Travel Grants in Twentieth-Century American Political History

The Horace Samuel & Marion Galbraith Merrill Travel Grants in Twentieth-Century American Political History were first given in 1998 to promote access of younger (i.e., relatively new to the profession) scholars to the Washington, DC, region's rich primary source collections in late-nineteenth and twentieth-century American political history. The grants, which range from \$500 to \$3,000, also provide the opportunity for scholars to interview former and current public figures residing in the metropolitan Washington area. This program offers stipends to underwrite travel and lodging expenses for members of the Organization of American Historians who are working toward completion of a dissertation or first book.

One complete copy of application materials, clearly labeled "2004 Merrill Travel Grants" must be received by each committee member by 1 December 2003. No late submissions will be accepted. Please mail directly to:

Thomas Cripps (Committee Chair)
126 West Lanvale Street
Baltimore, MD 21217

James C. Lanier
Department of History
Rhodes College
2000 North Parkway
Memphis, TN 38112

Martha H. Swain
Box 6130
Mississippi State University
Mississippi State, MS 39760

The application requirements are listed below and should not exceed ten pages.

Cover sheet: Include name, address, e-mail address, phone number(s), institutional affiliation when appropriate, project title, a project abstract not to exceed one hundred words, and total amount requested.

Project description: In one thousand words or less, describe the project's goals, methods, and intended results.

Vita: Submit a standard résumé of academic experience and achievements.

Budget: Indicate how the requested funds will be spent and the extent of matching funds available.

References: Graduate students must include two letters of reference from individuals familiar with their academic work.

Selection process: A committee of three judges will consider the significance of the research project; the project's design, plan of work, and dissemination; its contribution to American political history; its relationship to current scholarship; and appropriateness of the budget request.

La Pietra Dissertation Travel Fellowship in Transnational History

This newly created prize provides financial assistance to graduate students whose dissertation topics deal with aspects of American history that extend beyond U.S. borders. The fellowship may be used for international travel to collections vital to dissertation research. Applicants must be currently enrolled in a U.S. or foreign graduate program. One \$1,250 fellowship will be awarded annually.

To apply, please mail one copy of each of the following items to the committee members listed below:

1. A 2-3 page project description indicating the dissertation's significance and including a statement of the major collection(s) to be examined abroad and their relevance to the dissertation.
2. Two letters of recommendation, including one from the dissertation advisor.
3. Current c.v. indicating language proficiency.

Thomas Bender (Committee Chair)
Department of History
New York University
53 Washington Square South, 7th Floor
New York, NY 10012

Lori D. Ginzberg
4813 Beaumont Avenue
Philadelphia, PA 19143

Linda K. Kerber
425 Lexington Avenue
Iowa City, IA 52246

Deadline: 1 December 2003

Gerald R. Ford Library Travel Grants

The Gerald R. Ford Foundation semi-annually awards travel grants of up to \$2000 in support of significant research in Gerald R. Ford Library collections. Collections focus on U.S. domestic affairs, foreign relations, economic policies, and national politics of the 1970s. Application postmark deadlines are March 15 and September 15.

For information on Library collections and a grant application contact:

Grants Coordinator
Gerald R. Ford Library
1000 Beal Avenue
Ann Arbor, MI 48109
Phone: (734) 205-0555
Fax: (734) 205-0571

Email: ford.library@nara.gov
Visit the website at <http://www.ford.utexas.edu/library/hpgrants.htm>

The American Foreign Policy Center (AFPC) at Louisiana Tech University is pleased to announce the establishment of a fellowship program to help defray the costs associated with travel to and research in the American Foreign Policy Center in Ruston, Louisiana.

Created in 1989 to promote research in the field of US foreign policy and to increase public awareness of world affairs, the AFPC collection contains approximately 3,200 reels of microfilm and 2,000 microfiches of public and private papers associated with the Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon administrations, as well as State Department files for China, Cuba, El Salvador, Formosa/Taiwan, France, Germany, Indochina/Southeast Asia, Japan, Lebanon, Nicaragua, Palestine/Israel, and the former Soviet Union. With its collection drawn from several different archives across the United States, the AFPC is an optimal place to begin research on a topic, or an excellent resource to consult in the final stages of a project. A list of our holdings is accessible on-line at <http://history.latech.edu/afpc.htm>.

Both faculty and graduate students are invited to apply. Applications should include a detailed proposal outlining the project, a cv, a budget, and two letters of support. A successful applicant will be expected to offer a brief presentation on the project and his/her findings in the Center at the conclusion of the stay. Applications for travel during the remainder of 2003 are due on April 15. Applications for the first half of 2004 will be due on October 15, 2003. Please send applications to Brian C. Etheridge, Department of History, Louisiana Tech University, P.O. Box 8548, Ruston, Louisiana 71272. Inquiries should be directed to Professor Etheridge at briane@latech.edu or (318) 257-2872.

6. Recent Publications

Appy, Christian. *Patriots – The Vietnam War Remembered from All Sides*, Viking Press, \$34.95

Bearden, Milt and James Rilen. *The Main Enemy: The Inside Story of the CIA's Final Showdown with the KGB*, Random House, \$27.95

Beisner, Robert and Kurt Hanson (editors). *American Foreign Relations since 1600: A Guide to the Literature*, 2nd ed., ABC-CLIO, \$255.00

Bloxham, Donald. *Genocide on Trial: War Crimes Trials and the Formation of History and Memory*, Oxford University Press, \$30.80

Brands, H.W. *Woodrow Wilson*, Henry Holt and Company, Inc., \$20.00

Bruce, Robert. *A Fraternity of Arms: America and France in the Great War*, University Press of Kansas, \$39.85

Bu, Liping. *Making the World Like Us: Education, Cultural Expansion, and the American Century*, Prager Publishers, \$69.95

Busch, Peter. *All the Way with JFK? – Britain, the U.S. and the Vietnam War*, Oxford University Press, \$45.00

Catton, Phillip. *Diem's Final Failure: Prelude to America's War In Vietnam*, University of Kansas Press, \$34.95

Cowley, Robert (editor). *The Great War: Perspectives on the First World War*, Random House, \$29.95

Dunnivant, R.B. *Brown Water Warfare: The U.S. Navy in Riverine Warfare and the Emergence of a Tactical Doctrine*, University Press of Florida, \$55.00

- Fleming, Thomas. *Illusions of Victory: America in World War I*, Basic Books, \$30.00
- Garner, Karen. *Precious Fire: Maud Russell and the Chinese Revolution*, University of Massachusetts Press, \$39.95
- Gould, Lewis. *The Modern American Presidency*, University Press of Kansas, \$29.95
- Hopkins, Michael. *Oliver Franks and the Truman Administration: Anglo-American Relations 1948-1952*, Frank Cass and Co., \$62.50
- Jensen, Richard and Jon Davidan. *Trans-Pacific Relations: America, Europe, and Asia in the Twentieth Century*, Prager Publishers, \$69.95
- Jones, Dorothy. *Toward a Just World: The Critical Years in the Search for International Justice*, Newberry Library, \$30.00
- Klein, Christina. *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1945-1961*, University of California Press, \$55.00
- Kohl, M.S. and Kenneth Lonbooy. *Spies in the Himalayas: Secret Missions and Perilous Climbs* University Press of Kansas, \$29.95
- Lindsay-Poland, John. *Emperors in the Jungle: The Hidden History of the U.S. in Panama*, Duke University Press, \$54.95
- Marsh, Steve. *Anglo-American Relations and Cold War Oil: Crisis in Iran*, Palgrave Macmillian Press, \$72.00
- Matthewson, Tim. *A Proslavery Foreign Policy: Haitian-American Relations during the Early Republic*, Praeger Publishers, \$64.95
- Moore, R. L. and Mauricio Vaudagna (editors). *The American Century in Europe*, Cornell University Press, \$35.00
- Moss, Norman. *19 Weeks: America, Britain, and the Fateful Summer of 1940*, Houghton Mifflin, \$27.50
- Plummer, Brenda Gayle (editor). *Window on Freedom: Race, Civil Rights, and Foreign Affairs, 1945-1988* University of North Carolina Press, \$45.00
- Power, Samantha. *A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide*, Basic Books, \$30.00
- Schuller, Malini and Edward Watts (editors). *Messy Beginnings: Post Coloniality and Early American Studies*, Rutgers University Press, \$65.00
- Schwartz, Thomas. *Lyndon Johnson and Europe: In the Shadow of Vietnam*, Harvard University Press, \$29.95
- Sjursen, Helene. *United State, Western Europe, and the Polish Crisis: International Relations in the Second Cold War*, Palgrave Macmillan Press, \$89.60
- Smith, Neil. *American Empire: Roosevelt's Geographer and the Prelude to Globalization*, University of California Press, hardback, \$39.95
- Stern, Sheldon. *Averting 'The Final Failure': John F. Kennedy and the Secret Cuban Missile Crisis Meetings*, Stanford University Press, \$35.00
- Suri, Jeremi. *Power and Protest: Global Revolution and the Rise of Détente*, Harvard University Press, \$29.95
- Taubman, William. *Khrushchev: The Man and his Era*, W.W. Norton & Company, \$35.00

Wilford, Hugh. *The CIA, the British Left, and the Cold War: Calling the Tune*, Frank Cass and Co., \$67.50

Williams, Andrew. *The Battle for the Atlantic: Hitler's Gray Wolves of the Sea and the Allies Desperate Struggle to Defeat Them*, Basic Books, \$30.00

Woods, Randall (editor). *Vietnam and the American Political Tradition*, Cambridge University Press, \$60.00

Wukovits, John. *Pacific Alamo – The Battle for Wake Island*, New American Library, \$24.95

Zeiler, Thomas and Alfred Eckes, Jr. *Globalization and the American Century*, Cambridge University Press, \$65.00

7. Upcoming SHAFR Prize Deadlines:

The Myrna F. Bernath Book Award

The purpose of this award is to encourage scholarship by women in U.S. foreign relations history. The prize of \$2,500 is awarded biannually to the author of the best book written by a woman in the field. Nominees should be women who have published distinguished books in U.S. foreign relations, transnational history, international history, peace studies, cultural interchange, and defense or strategic studies.

Procedures: Books may be nominated by the author, the publisher, or any member of SHAFR. A nominating letter explaining why the book deserves consideration must accompany each entry in the competition. Books will be judged primarily in regard to their contribution to scholarship. Three copies of each book (or page proofs) must be submitted with a letter of nomination. Applications are accepted in odd-numbered years only.

Deadline for nomination of books published in 2002 and 2003 is February 15, 2004. Submit materials to:

Dr. Susan Brewer
Dept. of History
University of Wisconsin-Stevens Point
Stevens Point, WI 54481

The Norman and Laura Graebner Award

The Norman and Laura Graebner Prize is awarded every other year at SHAFR's summer conference and will be awarded next at the 2004 conference. The Graebner Prize is a lifetime achievement award intended to recognize a senior historian of United States foreign relations who has significantly contributed to the development of the field, through scholarship, teaching, and/or service, over his or her career. The recipient's career must demonstrate excellence in scholarship, teaching, and/or service to the profession. Although the prize is not restricted to academic historians, the recipient must have distinguished himself or herself through the study of international affairs from a historical perspective.

Applicants or individuals nominating a candidate are requested to submit three (3) copies of a letter which:

- (a) provides a brief biography of the candidate, including educational background, academic or other positions held, and awards and honors received;
- (b) lists the candidate's major scholarly works and discusses the nature of his or her contribution to the study of diplomatic history and international affairs;
- (c) describes the candidate's career, lists any teaching honors and awards, and comments on the candidate's classroom skills; and
- (d) details the candidate's services to the historical profession, listing specific organizations and offices, and discussing particular activities.

The deadline for nomination is March 1, 2004

Please send all nominations or applications to the chair of the Graebner Prize Committee:

David L. Anderson
College of Arts and Sciences
University of Indianapolis
1400 East Hanna Avenue
Indianapolis, IN 46227-3697
(317) 788-3222 (voice)
(317) 788-3480 (fax)

The Stuart L. Bernath Dissertation Grant

This grant has been established to help doctoral students who are members of SHAFR defray expenses encountered in the writing of their dissertations.

Eligibility: Applicants must be actively working on dissertations dealing with some aspect of United States foreign relations. Applicants must have satisfactorily completed all requirements for the doctoral degree except the dissertation.

Procedures: Self-nominations are expected. Applications must include: (a) applicant's c.v.; (b) a brief dissertation prospectus focusing on the significance of the thesis (2-4 pages will suffice); (c) a paragraph regarding the sources to be consulted and their value; (d) an explanation of why funds are needed and how, specifically, they will be used; and (e) a letter from the applicant's supervising professor commenting upon the appropriateness of the applicant's request (this letter should be sent separately to the selection committee chair.) Applications must be submitted in triplicate.

One or more awards may be given each year. Generally, awards will not exceed \$2,000. Within eight months of receiving the award, each successful applicant must file with the SHAFR Business Office a brief report on how the funds were spent. Awards are announced during the SHAFR luncheon at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association.

The deadline is November 15, 2003. Applications, in triplicate, should be sent to:

David Engerman
Radcliff Institute for Advanced Studies
Harvard University
Cambridge, MA 02138
engerman@brandeis.edu

The Lawrence Gelfand - Armin Rappaport Fellowship

The Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations established this fund to honor Lawrence Gelfand, founding member and former SHAFR president and Armin Rappaport, founding editor of *Diplomatic History*.

The Gelfand-Rappaport Fellowship is intended to defray the costs of dissertation research travel. The \$1,000 prize is awarded annually at the SHAFR luncheon at the American Historical Association conference.

Eligibility: Applicants must be doctoral candidates who are members of SHAFR.

Procedures: Self-nominations are expected. Each applicant should include a thesis or dissertation prospectus (8-12 pages, double spaced), a statement explaining how the fellowship, if awarded, would be used, and a letter of recommendation from the graduate advisor.

The deadline is November 15, 2003. Applications, in triplicate, should be sent to:

David Engerman
Radcliff Institute for Advanced Studies
Harvard University
Cambridge, MA 02138
engerman@brandeis.edu

SHAFR 2004: CALL FOR PAPERS

Borderlands, Frontiers, Peace, and War

The Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations (SHAFR) will hold its annual conference at the University of Texas and the Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library in Austin, Texas, June 24-27, 2004. The Program Committee extends an invitation to all persons interested in the broad field of diplomatic history to submit panels or individual paper proposals, or to attend the conference and join the ongoing discussion about diplomacy and diplomatic history.

The 2004 conference will highlight some of the recent innovations in cultural history, cultural studies, and military history as they pertain to diplomatic history under the theme of borderlands, frontiers, peace, and war. Proposals are encouraged from scholars in these areas, and proposals are also encouraged from other areas of inquiry, including politics, economics, and inter-state relations.

Deadline: December 1, 2003. Send proposals via e-mail, fax, or mail to:

**Christopher Jespersen, SHAFR Program Committee Chair
Department of History
North Georgia College & State University
Dahlonega, GA 30597
tcjespersen@ngcsu.edu
(706) 864-1873 - fax
(706) 864-1903 - phone**

All submissions must have the following information: session name, paper titles and abstracts (no more than 100 words per paper), a one-page vita for all participants, and contact information for all participants. The contact information is extremely important and must include a working e-mail address and a current phone number.

By-laws of The Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations

[Ed. note: Revisions to these By-Laws will be the subject of a referendum, to be held in conjunction with the Autumn 2003 election of officers. Please save these pages for reference during that referendum.]

Article I: Membership

Section 1: Any person interested in furthering the objects of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations as set forth in the Certificate of Incorporation shall become a member upon submitting an acceptable application and paying the dues herein provided.

Section 2: The following are the classes of membership in the Society: Regular, Student, Life, and Institutional. The specific qualifications of each class of membership shall be established by the Council.

Section 3: Annual dues for Regular, Student, and Institutional members shall be established by the Council.

Section 4: (a) All members in good standing, except institutional members, shall have the right to attend, participate in, and vote in all of the Society's meetings and to vote in its elections. Each member shall be supplied without additional charge one copy of each issue of Diplomatic History and the newsletter while he is a member, and shall have such other privileges as may be prescribed by the Council.

(b) Membership in good standing is defined as paid membership certified by the Executive Secretary-Treasurer at least thirty days before participating in an election or in the Annual Membership Meeting.

Section 5: Any member whose dues become three months in arrears shall be automatically suspended.

Section 6: Dues are payable in advance of the first day of each year. New membership shall become effective at the beginning of the calendar year in which application is received and dues are paid except that dues paid after August 31 shall be applied for the following year.

Article II: Officers, Elections, and Terms of Office

Section 1: The officers of the Society shall consist of a President, a Vice-President, and an Executive Secretary-Treasurer.

Section 2: The President and Vice-President shall be elected for terms of one year each, beginning on January 1. The Vice-President shall be an automatic nominee for the office of President the following year, although contesting nominees may be offered in accordance with provisions of the By-Laws.

Section 3: The Executive Secretary-Treasurer shall be appointed by the Council to serve at the pleasure of the Council.

Section 4: In the event of the death, resignation or disability of the President, the last to be determined by a

majority vote of the Council, the Vice-President shall succeed to the Presidency until the following January 1. Since the office of Vice-President will then be vacant, the Council by majority vote may designate one of its own members to act as chairman of meetings in the President's absence. A Vice-President who succeeds to the Presidency under the provisions of this section shall still be an automatic nominee for the next year's Presidency. If the Presidency, while filled by the elected Vice-President under the terms of this section, shall again become vacant, the Council, by majority vote, shall designate a President ad interim to act until the office is filled by an annual election.

Section 5: (a) Elections shall be held annually by mail ballot. The candidate for each office who receives the highest number of votes is elected. When more than two nominees are slated for a particular office, a run-off election will be held between the candidates with the two highest vote totals.

(b) The Nominating Committee shall present the name of the outgoing Vice-President as an automatic nominee for the office of President.

(c) The Nominating Committee shall also present a slate of two candidates for each of the following offices: Vice-President, members of the Council, graduate student member of Council (in appropriate years), and member of the Nominating Committee.

(d) Additional nominees for any office shall be placed on the ballot when proposed by petition signed by twenty-five members in good standing; but such additional nominations, to be placed on the ballot, must reach the Chairman of the Nominating Committee by September 15.

(e) The Chairman of the Nominating Committee shall certify the names to be placed on the ballot to the Executive Secretary-Treasurer by October 1. The Executive Secretary-Treasurer shall mail the completed election ballot to the membership not later than October 15 for return to him by December 1. The election results, certified by the Nominating Committee, shall be announced at the Annual Membership Meeting.

Article III: Powers and Duties

Section 1: The President shall supervise the work of all committees, formulate policies for presentation to the Council, and execute its decisions. He shall appoint the members of the Membership and Program Committees and of special committees, commissions, and boards. He shall sign all documents requiring official certification. The President shall be ex officio a member of the Council and shall preside at all Membership and Council meetings at which he is present. A retiring President shall retain membership on the Council for three years after the expiration of his term of Office as President.

Section 2: The Vice-President shall preside at Membership and Council meetings in the absence of the President and shall perform other duties as assigned by the Council. The Vice-President shall be ex officio a member of the Council.

Section 3: The Executive Secretary-Treasurer shall have charge of all Society correspondence, and shall give notice of all Council meetings. He shall keep accurate minutes of all such meetings, using recording devices when deemed necessary. He shall keep an accurate and up to date roll of the members of the Society in good standing and shall issue a notification of membership to each new member. He shall see that the By-Laws are printed periodically in the newsletter. He shall submit all mail ballots to the membership and shall tabulate the results. He shall retain those ballots, for possible inspection, for a period of one month. He shall give instructions of the Council to the new members of committees when necessary. Under the direction of the Council, he shall manage all funds and securities in the name of the Society. He shall submit bills for dues to the members

and deliver an itemized financial report annually to the membership. He shall have custody of all records and documents pertaining to the Society and be responsible for their preservation, and shall prepare an annual budget for approval by the Council. The Executive Secretary-Treasurer shall be ex officio a member of the Council, but without vote.

Article IV: The Council

Section 1: The Council of the Society shall consist of (a) those officers or former officers of the Society who, in accordance with Article III of the By Laws, serve ex officio as members of the Council; (b) six members (three year terms) elected by the members of the Society; and (c) two graduate student members (three year terms) elected by the members of the Society. In the event of a vacancy on the Council caused by death or resignation, the vacancy shall be filled at the next annual election.

Section 2: The Council shall have power to employ and pay necessary staff members; to accept and oversee funds donated to the Society for any of the objects of the Society stated in the Certificate of Incorporation; to appoint the Executive Secretary-Treasurer; to arrange for meetings of the Society; to create, in addition to committees named in the By-Laws, as many standing or ad hoc committees as it deems necessary to fulfill its responsibilities; and to transact other business normally assigned to such a body.

Section 3: The Council may reach decisions either at meetings or through correspondence filed with the Executive Secretary-Treasurer, provided that such decisions have the concurrence of two thirds of the voting members of the Council.

Article V: Committees

Section 1: The Nominating Committee shall consist of three members in good standing who hold no other office in the Society and shall be elected for a term of three years, except that members of the first Nominating Committee shall be appointed by the President to terms of one, two, and three years, respectively. The Chairmanship shall be held by the member with the longest years of service, except that when two or more members have equal length of service the President shall designate which of them shall serve as Chairman. If a post on the Nominating Committee becomes vacant through death, resignation, or ineligibility through acceptance of an office in the Society, the President shall appoint a member to fill the post until the next annual election, when a replacement shall be chosen for the unexpired term.

Section 2: The Membership Committee shall consist of members in good standing, appointed by the President for a term of three years; except that for the purpose of establishing and maintaining a regular rotation of membership on the Committee the President may, as appropriate, appoint members for a term shorter than three years. 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 five members in good standing appointed by the President for a term of one year. Two co-chairpersons shall be designated, one to oversee the program and one primarily responsible for local arrangements.

Section 4: The Endowment Committee shall have responsibility for (1) recommending investment management and policy to Council; (2) serving as SHAFR's advisory board to the investment management firm approved by Council; (3) monitoring the endowment investments; (4) reporting regularly (at least twice a year) to Council on the status of the endowment investments. The membership of the Committee will be three members appointed by the President (each serving three-year rotating terms, with the senior member normally Chair)

and the Executive Secretary-Treasurer as an ex officio member.

Article VI: Diplomatic History

Section 1: The Editor of Diplomatic History shall be appointed by the President with the approval of the Council for a term of at least three years and not exceeding 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 of shorter than three years.

Article VII: Amendment

Section 1: Amendments to the By-Laws may be proposed by twenty-five members in good standing or by any member of the Council.

Section 2: Once proposed, amendments must be approved by a majority vote of Council and a concurring majority vote of those participating in a mail ballot.

Article VIII: Meeting

Section 1: There shall be an Annual Membership Meeting open to all members of the Society in good standing. Notice of the final time, place, and agenda of the Annual Membership Meeting shall be mailed by the Executive Secretary-Treasurer to each member of the Society at least thirty days prior to that meeting.

Section 2: Resolutions tentatively approved at the Annual Membership Meeting shall be submitted by the Executive Secretary-Treasurer directly to the full membership of the Society by mail ballot for final approval.

The Mershon Center for the Study of International Security and Public Policy at The Ohio State University invites applications for residential fellowships. The center is especially interested in projects dealing with any aspect of the following broad themes:

- 1) the use of force and diplomacy in international relations;
- 2) the study of political and economic decision-making that affects war and peace;
- 3) culture and identity and their impact on national security; and
- 4) law and the institutional management of violent inter-group conflict that might arise from a variety of causes, including conflicting material interests, normative beliefs, or resource scarcity and usage.



Visiting Scholar Fellowships

The Mershon Center hosts visiting scholars each academic year. The Center is open to visits of one to two months, a quarter or an entire academic year. Compensation is negotiable and will depend on length of stay and rank. Mershon Center will provide an office, computer, and access to Ohio State library resources. Applications will be reviewed starting December 15, 2003 until the positions are filled. For full consideration all materials should be submitted by that date. Application information is available at www.mershon.ohio-state.edu. The Mershon Center is an AA/EOE. Send application materials to Visiting Scholar Fellowship, Attn: Viki Jones, The Mershon Center, 1501 Neil Ave., Columbus, Ohio 43201.

Post-Doctoral Fellowships

This is competition for one-year, residential post-doctoral fellowships during the 2004-2005 academic year. Mershon provides a \$32,000 stipend plus University benefits, an office, a computer, and an \$1,800 budget for travel and research expenses. Only Ph.D.s earned since June 30, 1998 are eligible. Applications will be reviewed starting December 15, 2003 and will be considered until the positions are filled. For full consideration all materials should be submitted by that date. Full application information is available at www.mershon.ohio-state.edu. The Mershon Center is an AA/EOE. Send application materials to, Postdoctoral Fellowship, Attention: Viki Jones, Mershon Center, 1501 Neil Ave., Columbus, Ohio 43201.

IN MEMORY

Dr. Wesley Marvin Bagby, III
(1923-2002)

Wesley M. Bagby III, Professor Emeritus of History at West Virginia University, passed away at his home on Friday, June 7, 2002 at the age of 79. Born on June 15, 1922 in Albany, Georgia and raised in Savannah and in Elk Park, North Carolina, Bagby was the son of Wesley M. Bagby II, a Methodist minister and high school principal, and Essie Loven Bagby, the daughter of North Carolina State Representative Edwin Loven.

Bagby received his B.A. (1943) and M.A. (1945) from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and his Ph.D. from Columbia University (1953). He taught briefly at the public schools of Anne Arundel County, Maryland, Landon School for Boys in Washington, D.C., Pfeiffer Junior College, Wake Forest College, the University of Tennessee, and University of Maryland in Newfoundland. He joined West Virginia University (WVU) in 1956 and retired in 2001 after 45 years of dedicated and distinguished service to the University.

Bagby authored seven books, including *The Road to Normalcy* (1962), considered the leading work on the presidential campaign and election of 1920; *The Eagle-Dragon Alliance: America's Relations with China in World War II* (1992); and *America's International Relations Since World War I* (1999). He also wrote numerous scholarly articles and reviews for leading historical publications.

In 1965, 1966, and 1968, Bagby was elected by alumni classes as one of WVU's three "most effective" professors and in 1967 he was elected by the WVU faculty as one of twelve "outstanding" faculty members. In 1992 he received the Benedum Distinguished Scholar Award and the Golden Key National Honorary Society Golden Apple Award for Outstanding Teacher. Bagby received Fulbright Lectureship Awards in Taiwan (1975) and the People's Republic of China (1982). He served as president of the WVU chapter of A.A.U.P. and the WVU Faculty Club, as state chair of the Consortium for Political Research sponsored by the American Historical Association, chair of the University Committee on Social Studies, and acting chair of the History Department.

Bagby was very active in political and community activities. He was a member of Wesley United Methodist Church where he served as a Sunday School teacher and gave guest sermons. He was also a member of the Morgantown City Council and the Morgantown Human Rights Commission, guest editorial writer for the Dominion-Post, and an alternate delegate to the Democratic National Conventions of 1964 and 1968. He was an outspoken political voice against the Vietnam War, having cautioned as early as 1954 in a letter to *The New York Times* against U.S. involvement. His views made him a sought after lecturer and he gave invitational lectures at more than twenty colleges and universities.

Bagby was preceded in death by his mother, father and step-mother, Paunee R. Bagby, and brothers Franklin and Edwin Bagby and Jay Meyers. He was survived by his wife of 33 years, Janice Locey Bagby, sons Wesley Bagby IV and Steven Bagby, sister Sybil Adams, brothers Joseph Bagby and Dr. Richard Bagby, and nieces and nephews.

Dr. Wesley M. Bagby III was deeply loved and respected by his family, friends, colleagues, and former students, and his passing has been met with tremendous sorrow by all who knew and loved him.

—Mrs. Wesley M. (Janice) Bagby

The Last Word...

Mitchell Lerner, Editor

When Executive Editor Peter Hahn and I sat down recently to discuss the new layout for the SHAFR newsletter, one of the questions we considered was the format of the final page. After Peter rejected my proposal to use it as a medium to celebrate the Boston Red Sox, we agreed on the creation of a rather informal column to be used by SHAFR members to address topics pertinent to our discipline. Hence, “The Last Word” was born—part bully pulpit; part Chautauqua tent; part bartender. Here is your chance at the microphone. Complain, praise, admonish, entertain, whatever you want to say to the community of diplomatic historians, as long as you can do it in no more than 600 words. Contact the editors with any ideas you have for “The Last Word.” And although Peter and I are likely to reserve the space for ourselves on a not too infrequent basis, it, like the rest of *Passport*, is designed to serve the needs of the SHAFR community. And it, like the rest of *Passport*, will succeed only to the extent that the community participates. “The Last Word,” I suppose, and *Passport* itself, will be what you make of it.

It seems fitting, then, that the purpose of the first column is to recognize the many who have played a role in bringing the newsletter to where it is. The biggest “thank you” must be directed to Dr. William Brinker of Tennessee Technical University. Dr. Brinker retired recently as editor after 24 years of exceptional service. Under his



leadership, the newsletter became a vital part of our profession, providing a forum for everything from personal news and SHAFR information to historiographical and interpretative debate. Diplomatic historians at all levels owe Dr. Brinker a debt of gratitude for his commitment, skill, and leadership. It would be an under-

statement to say that he will be missed.

Many others have played important roles in the newsletter’s transition from Tennessee Tech to Ohio State. Peter and I have been generously supported in numerous ways by the faculty and administration here at Ohio State, and especially by the Mershon Center for the Study of International Security and Public Policy. A number of students, notably Jennifer Walton and Bryan Stout, have assisted in the early stages of the project. Three members of SHAFR—Deborah Kisatsky, Dennis Merrill, and Nick Sarantakes—have given their time to agree to serve as an advisory board. My mentor, Bob Divine, had nothing to do with the newsletter, but everything to do with me being here to edit it. And without the guidance of our production editor, Julie Rojewski, I no doubt would have taken an axe to my Powerbook a long time ago. Others, too numerous to name, have helped us get through this difficult transition period in disparate ways. None of them, of course, are culpable for any errors found within this first issue. Those would be the sole responsibility of Peter Hahn.