

Passport

The Newsletter of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations

Volume 36, Issue 3, December 2005



Inside...

Fear and Loathing in Lubbock, Texas
History for the Intelligence Community
Learning to Bow and Recycle

...and much more!

Passport

The Newsletter of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations

Editorial Office:

Mershon Center for International Security Studies
1501 Neil Avenue
Columbus OH 43201
passport@osu.edu
614-292-1681 (phone)
614-292-2407 (fax)

Executive Director

Peter L. Hahn, The Ohio State University

Editor

Mitchell Lerner, The Ohio State University-Newark

Production Editor

Julie Rojewski, Mershon Center for International Security Studies

Editorial Assistant

Brian Kennedy, The Ohio State University

Cover Photo

Vietnam War protestors Veterans for Peace at the March on the Pentagon, October 21, 1967.
Photo by Frank Wolfe. Courtesy of the Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library, Austin, Texas.

Editorial Advisory Board and Terms of Appointment:

Dennis Merrill, University of Missouri--Kansas City (2003-2005)
Nicholas Evan Sarantakes, Texas A&M University--Commerce (2003-2006)
Carol Anderson, University of Missouri--Columbia (2005-2007)

Passport is published three times per year (April, August, December), by the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations, and is distributed to all members of the Society. Submissions should be sent to the attention of the editor, and are acceptable in all formats, although electronic copy by email to passport@osu.edu is preferred. Submissions should follow the guidelines articulated in the Chicago Manual of Style. Manuscripts accepted for publication will be edited to conform to *Passport* style, space limitations, and other requirements. The author is responsible for accuracy and for obtaining all permissions necessary for publication. Manuscripts will not be returned. Interested advertisers can find relevant information on the web at: <http://www.shafr.org/newsletter/passportrates.htm>, or can contact the editor. The opinions expressed in *Passport* do not necessarily reflect the opinions of SHAFR or of The Ohio State University.

The editors of *Passport* wish to acknowledge the generous support of The Ohio State University, The Ohio State University--Newark, the Mershon Center for International Security Studies, and University College--Dublin.

Passport

The Newsletter of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations

Volume 36, Number 3, December 2005

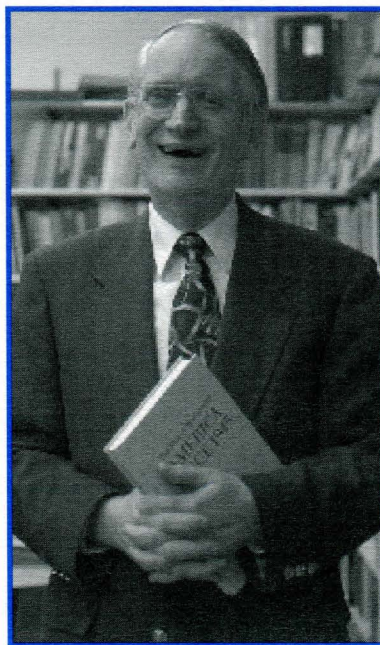
In This Issue

- 4 Thoughts From SHAFR President David L. Anderson
- 5 Fear and (Self) Loathing in Lubbock, Texas, or How I Learned to Quit Worrying and Love Vietnam and Iraq
Robert Buzzanco
- 15 Learning to Bow and Recycle
Tom Zeiler
- 17 Making History Relevant for the Intelligence Community
Colonel William J. Williams, USAF
- 22 The View from Ottawa: Researching U.S. Foreign Policy in Canada
Greg Donaghy
- 24 What We Teach and Why We Teach It: Indications and Opportunities from the SHAFR Survey on Teaching
Richard Hume Werking and Dustin Walcher
- 34 2006 SHAFR Conference Scheduled for the Land of Oz
Ted Wilson
- 36 Program Update for SHAFR's 2006 Annual Meeting
Frank Costigliola
- 38 The Diplomatic Pouch
- 55 The Last Word
Peter L. Hahn

Thoughts from SHAFR President David L. Anderson

In my SHAFR presidential address, I argued that officials who make or influence national security decisions today largely dismiss or are seemingly unaware of the majority of historical scholarship on the Vietnam War. There is a vast literature on the war, most of which maintains that American military intervention in Vietnam was a mistake in its origins and its conduct. This prevailing scholarly interpretation, based upon a realistic assessment of U.S. power and interests in Southeast Asia, is challenged, however, by a minority view that accepts uncritically the assumption that the deployment of American armed forces in Vietnam in pursuit of the idealized goal of human freedom in the world was justifiable. In this minority view, the mistake that Washington made in Vietnam was not that it entered the political conflict there but that the United States did not win the war. Although disagreement among historians is normal and intellectually healthy, the way in which these academic debates are understood and employed by policymakers should be of concern to everyone. Most American leaders today accept the minority interpretation among scholars and are more likely to ask how the United States could have won the Vietnam War rather than why the United States was in Vietnam in the first place.

For better or worse, diplomatic historians are not policymakers. We are authors and teachers who try to make the past speak to the present in a meaningful way. To the extent that we can influence policy making, it is through higher education and through our role as academics and public intellectuals. More specifically, we can better inform a reasoned public discussion of foreign policy through greater engagement with our own colleagues in the historical profession. In many ways, this interaction has been underway for several years as the social and cultural questions and theoretical approaches of diplomatic historians have extended far beyond the field's traditional concentration on policy history and state-to-state relations. Michael Hogan, in his SHAFR presidential address, urged us to conceptualize our field as American international history as our work increasingly contextualizes American history and diplomacy in the total international setting. The expanding attention to race,



ethnicity, gender, area studies, language, literature, popular culture, subaltern studies, American studies, and other interdisciplinary approaches makes our work increasingly important to scholars in many fields who are grappling with global issues.

Just as SHAFR members embrace the diversity of international history, SHAFR as an organization seeks to work collaboratively with university history departments that recognize the significance of the history of foreign relations within the curriculum they offer. To that end, the SHAFR Council has approved a policy of supplying free of charge the society's membership address lists to any department running a search in diplomatic/international history and of advertising jobs in our field in *Passport* and on our web-site, also free of charge. We

will also occasionally advertise in *Perspectives* and the *OAH Newsletter* our willingness to provide this service. This initiative gives visibility to our field, encourages departments to consider hiring in our field by publicizing SHAFR's vibrancy, and is a service to our members, especially those who are job-hunting.

In addition, I have received a most welcome message from Ed Linenthal, the new editor of the *Journal of American History*. Ed writes: "I hope you will encourage bright folks you know who are working on projects likely to be appropriate to the broad readership of *JAH* to think about submitting to us. I am VERY interested in expanding the kinds of essays we publish. . . . I will be in your debt if you do mention whenever and to whomever my desire to be welcoming to diplomatic history." I encourage SHAFR members to give due consideration to Ed's invitation.

To have leaders who are able to use historical knowledge accurately in the making of foreign policy decisions, the study of American foreign relations must remain central to historical study of the total American experience. To ensure that future leaders who face war and peace decisions are educated in the causes and course of the Vietnam War and the Iraq War and in the lessons learned from the history of violent and non-violent American engagement with the world, diplomatic history and diplomatic historians must be part of the mainstream of historical study in the United States.

Fear and (Self-) Loathing in Lubbock, Texas, or How I Learned to Quit Worrying and Love Vietnam and Iraq

Robert Buzzanco

The United States lost the Vietnam War because “the American people came to hate the war” and, hence, “they hated themselves.” One might expect such an observation from a talk-show host or new-age guru, yet those words were uttered not by television’s Dr. Phil, but by Dr. Keith Taylor of Cornell University, one of our more esteemed historians of Vietnam studies.¹ Dr. Taylor’s belief (which cannot truly be called an analysis) reflects an increasing trend in studies of the Vietnam War toward attempts at rehabilitating southern Vietnam² and its leaders, justifying the American war on Vietnam, and devising better excuses for the failure to defeat the Vietnamese Communists and retain a state below the seventeenth parallel.

Taylor expressed his views recently at the Vietnam War Symposium sponsored by the Vietnam Center at Texas Tech, where such ideas, which are increasingly popular in public discussions of Vietnam, have become the *de facto* party line. Separate from the professionally run archives there, the center clearly resembles a right-wing think tank, although it seeks academic legitimacy and claims to represent views on Vietnam, as its director James Reckner says, from across the political spectrum. While it is true that Reckner has given a voice to officials from the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and some antiwar groups such as the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW), the vast majority of voices heard at center events represent the far right to the near right. In the past decade or so, the center has featured a laundry list of hawkish military and diplomatic officials,

representatives of the southern Vietnam and Laos regimes, a number of representatives from POW-MIA groups, the Swift Boat Veterans, and a host of scholars defending the war and castigating those who opposed it. At the conferences³ I have attended, well-established and respected scholars like George Herring, Randall Woods, and David Anderson seem to have constituted the left fringe of the proceedings—probably a unique experience for all of them. Since the center was established by a number of Vietnam veterans and has included a number of influential retired officers and government officials on its board, this bias is neither surprising nor illegitimate, but representatives of the center in Lubbock have a duty to make their mission and purpose clear.

Of course, the issue is bigger than what goes on in Lubbock. Over the past few years there has been a revival of Vietnam revisionism. While the war was undeniably unpopular while it was being fought, in the 1980s Ronald Reagan called it a “noble cause,” and Army Colonel Harry Summers published the best-selling *On Strategy* to defend the war and give impetus to the “stabbed in the back” thesis that has become *de rigeur* among many conservatives. Just in the past half-decade or so, scholars and researchers like Michael Lind, Lewis Sorley, Ed Miller, Mark Moyar, Ron Frankum, B. G. Burkett and Glenna Whitley, and Keith Taylor, among others, have argued that the war was indeed a noble cause, that Vietnam below the seventeenth parallel was a viable and stable state, that the war was not fought disproportionately by the poor, that the U.S. military won in

the field but was undermined at home, and that poor decisions and leadership in the United States—not the skills and appeal of the Vietnamese Communists—were the main reason for American failure. Today, with the United States facing increasingly dismal prospects in Iraq, such messages cannot be dismissed merely as poor history, for they are being used in the political arena to justify not only the war in Indochina in the 1960s and 1970s, but American foreign policy and intervention per se.

Refighting the Last War

The best-known scholarship on the Vietnam conflict produced in the decade or so after the war ended, such as the work of George Herring, George McT. Kahin, and Gabriel Kolko, was highly critical of the war, and most of the books on the war published since then have tended to be critical of U.S. policy on many levels. In the early 1990s, however, historians began to reappraise and apologize for John F. Kennedy’s role in Vietnam, arguing that the young president was actually committed to withdrawing U.S. troops.⁴ More recently, Philip Catton, Ed Miller, and others have suggested that America’s hand-picked leader in southern Vietnam, Ngo Dinh Diem, was actually a capable leader, and his ouster and death, sanctioned by the United States, was a major mistake, for he was developing a stable regime below the seventeenth parallel. Indeed, at a session chaired by Keith Taylor during the 2004 meeting of the Society of Historians of American Foreign Relations (SHAFR), Ron Frankum and Mark Moyar

spoke glowingly of Diem, with only a few concerned questions from the audience of experts.⁵

In the late 1990's B.G. Burkett and Glenna Whitley, Lewis Sorley, and Michael Lind, among others, published forceful justifications of the war and revised existing interpretations of the men who led and fought it. In their view, American soldiers suffered from "stolen valor" and had their "history" and their "heroes" robbed from them by the media, politicians, and activists who opposed the war. Moreover, Lind and Sorley contend that the United States actually won the war militarily but lost because weak politicians were unwilling to defend southern Vietnam against the 1973-1975 onslaught from the North. They also argue that American intervention in Vietnam was in fact essential to the containment of communism during the Cold War.⁶

Most of the recent work on Vietnam is still critical. However, it would be a mistake, perhaps a grave one, to write off the revisionist authors as a fringe element. The positions they have taken received powerful reinforcement in the public sphere during the 2004 election campaign, when the Republican-funded Swift Boat Veterans for Truth successfully attacked, if not smeared, the Democratic candidate, Senator John Kerry, a Vietnam vet himself and the recipient of three

Purple Hearts. Though Kerry tried to highlight his Vietnam service, traveling with a "band of brothers" who had served with him on a swift boat in the Mekong Delta and turning his nominating convention into a military parade, the Swift Boat vets charged that he had lied to receive two of his medals and claimed that his 1971 antiwar testimony (which Kerry ran away from) as spokesman for the VVAW was disloyal.

Nearly thirty years after the war ended in a victory for the National Liberation Front and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in April 1975, Vietnam was once again a compelling national political issue. Kerry had hoped to use his story of Vietnam to take him to the White House, but the Swift Boat vets created an alternative version of both Kerry's service and the war. The battle over a war in Indochina that had been so painful and costly decades ago was once again joined.

Keith Taylor's Vietnam: Emotions without Evidence⁷

Amid the power of the Swift Boat attack on Kerry, which was mounted, ironically, in defense of an administration headed by two draft-dodgers, questions about the history of Vietnam take on a new urgency and importance. If a tragic war that

was so unpopular while being fought can be presented so positively and can affect a presidential campaign in a subsequent generation, then there are historical forces at work that need to be reckoned with.

Keith Taylor is not recognized as a leading scholar of the war period, but his views are well received and representative of a much larger body of scholars and public figures—from the Texas Tech people to the Swift Boat vets—who are spoiling for a fight, or a re-fight, over Vietnam. Accordingly, it is essential to look at the arguments Taylor makes and repudiate them forcefully and quickly.⁸ As these new versions of Vietnam's history gain currency and are taught in high school and university classes, they may facilitate more invasions. After Iraq, perhaps the United States will take on Iran, North Korea or Venezuela.

What is immediately striking about Taylor's critique is its passion and anger. He is mad at Kennedy and Johnson for what he believes were half-hearted efforts to win in Indochina. He is upset at those without his "sense of honor" who dodged the draft, and he is disturbed by those who did not support the war, even if it was "a consequence of poor leadership." His arguments, like those of many other revisionists, are based on emotions, on what he *feels* should have happened, on sympathy, pity, or

U.S. in the World

Rank open. **Washington University in St. Louis** wishes to appoint an innovative historian of American interactions with the world. We seek a scholar who construes the history of foreign relations broadly, addressing the social, economic, cultural, and political dimensions of American engagement in world history, with attention to the mutual influences of "global" and "national" developments. Candidates may work in any period, including colonial British North America in a world-historical context. Some teaching and research competence in political history is expected; otherwise, we welcome applicants concentrating in any sub-specialty. The successful candidate will also be expected to teach a world history survey course. Review of applications will begin November 1, 2005, and will continue until the position is filled. Please send cover letter, c.v., and three letters of reference (under separate cover) to Prof. Howard Brick, Chair, U.S. in the World Search Committee, Dept. of History, CB 1062, Washington University, 1 Brookings Drive, St. Louis, MO 63130. Washington University, an AA/EOE committed to achieving diversity among its faculty, strongly encourages women and members of minority groups to apply.

hatred for the soldiers, Vietnamese, U.S. leaders, or antiwar protestors—hence his belief that self-loathing Americans caused the United States to fail in Vietnam. But it is a huge leap to say that virtually an entire nation and a generation hated America and hated themselves. The vast majority of those who opposed the war did so for well-considered reasons, and among them were “average Americans” such as ministers, businessmen, students, military officers, and many thousands of soldiers. Many of the most radical showed their respect for our society and customs by refusing draft induction and accepting the consequences. To say that Americans hated their society and themselves is intellectually immature and an insult to those who tried to stop the war because of the way it was ripping apart Vietnam and American society.

Yet Taylor maintains that he is proud that he is “not among the self-loathing Americans who notice people in other countries looking to us for leadership and see nothing but neocolonialism and imperialism.” Just where are all these people who are looking to “us” for leadership? Surveys often show that over 90 percent of people in other countries are hostile to American actions, institutions or symbols. Maybe Taylor should look at, say, southern Vietnam, where so many people were apparently so eager for U.S. leadership that they took up arms to attack those of their countrymen who collaborated with the Americans, staged a series of *coups d’etat* to oust American client regimes, and waged a brutal long-term war against U.S. forces. Taylor’s opinions on Vietnam sound much like those of George Bush and others who, in the aftermath of 9/11/01, decided that the attacks in New York and Washington occurred because “they” hate “us” because “we have freedom” or because “we’re so good.”

The emotional underpinnings of Taylor’s views surface once again when he takes up the subject of the way the war was fought. One of the bigger flaws in American planning for Vietnam, we learn, was a “lack of attention.” As Taylor says, “I believe that Kennedy made bad decisions about Vietnam because he was

not paying sufficient attention and Johnson did so because it was not his priority.” Yet one of the problems for those researching Vietnam is the sheer mass of material dealing with the war, probably many millions of pages. This massive record testifies to the vast amount of attention given to Vietnam by national leaders and confirms its priority in state affairs. Yet Taylor “believes” that American leaders suffered from attention-deficit disorder, that Kennedy, who saw Vietnam as a way to reclaim credibility lost in Laos and Cuba, and Johnson, who agonized over the war daily and probably went to an early grave because of the stress it caused him, did not take Vietnam seriously enough.

Taylor also believes that the United States was trying to help the southern Vietnamese establish democracy, and he laments that the “governments opposed to a non-Communist Vietnam were able to mobilize their populations without regard to dissent.” Does he mean to say that the nations of Western Europe and Scandinavia opposed to the war were also “opposed to a non-Communist Vietnam” and did not allow political dissent within their systems? He goes on to assert that “one of the fundamental long-term aims of the United States was to develop the right to dissent” in southern Vietnam, as in other countries around the world. One cannot really mock this view, because it is too repugnant to be humorous. Are we to really believe that Castillo Armas, the Shah of Iran, Suharto, Pinochet, Middle Eastern monarchs, Israeli authorities in Palestine, the South African apartheid regime, Pol Pot and others supported by the United States were developing the right to dissent, or that the very authorities who produced McCarthyism, COINTELPRO, and Homeland Security were trying to extend democracy? One expects to encounter such opinions on right-wing talk radio or in the books of John Gaddis,⁹ but not in the lecture halls of Cornell.

Taylor’s tirades do not stop at Vietnam. He also emotes about 9/11 and the current war. Because we have hated ourselves ever since Vietnam, he says, we were vulnerable and the

terrorists knew it. “9/11 happened because we were weak.” Now, with the war in Iraq foundering, Taylor is having a bad flashback, because he sees the so-called Vietnam Syndrome resurging: “I saw people at pointy-headed universities indulging as self-hating Americans,” and “it seemed awfully familiar.”¹⁰ Again, emotions run into the brick wall of history. Even if a “Vietnam Syndrome” really existed (which is doubtful) or, if it did, lasted more than a few years, one cannot look at U.S. global policies for the past two and a half decades and proclaim them weak. Consider American arms sales to Iran, meddling in Afghanistan, and support for terrorism in Latin America in the 1970s and 1980s. From Reagan’s illegal wars in Latin America, to the Gulf War and sanctions afterwards, to the invasion of Iraq, the United States has not been reluctant to use military power in the past three decades, and military spending remains enormous. The Pentagon’s current \$441 billion annual budget exceeds the rest of the world’s military spending *combined*.¹¹

More significant, however, is that when Taylor asserts that the terrorists struck on 9/11 because the United States was weak, he is substituting affective concepts like weakness and evil for historical analysis. Al-Qaeda’s actions are unjustifiable, but it is perilous to ignore the motives and history behind them. To untold numbers throughout the world, the proximate causes of 9/11—American bases in Saudi Arabia, U.S. support for Israel’s repression of Palestine, and the destructive sanctions against the people of Iraq—rang true. To most people across the globe, 9/11 did not happen because the U.S. was “too weak” but for precisely the opposite reason: because it so indiscriminately used its strength and power against weaker countries. Even if Taylor is right, and “pointy-headed” professors and activists (a category which apparently excludes mild-mannered professors of Vietnamese history at Cornell) are now upset because the United States has awakened from its weakness and is giving the world the leadership it seeks, it is folly to try to explain away the U.S. defeat in Vietnam and doubts about American

policy in Iraq simply as products of self-loathing and weakness without examining the reasons for the enmity that so much of the world feels for the United States.

Even if the defense of Vietnam put forth by Taylor and the other apologists for the war is emotive and bathetic, emotions and symbols are powerful and real to believers, and therefore it is important to look critically at their arguments. Facts may be “stupid things,” as Ronald Reagan once said (in an alleged misstatement), but evidence does have more legitimacy in our epistemology than do values or desires. So what then are Taylor’s specific points along the continuum of self-loathing anti-Americanism?

He begins by claiming that there are “three axioms” in the dominant antiwar interpretation of Vietnam “subsequently taken up at most schools and universities as the basis for explaining the war.” They are, first, that there was no legitimate non-Communist government in Saigon; second, that the United States had no legitimate basis for intervention in Vietnam; and finally, that the United States could not have won the war under any circumstances. This is the “ideological debris” of the antiwar movement, not “sustainable views supported by evidence and logic.” But how did Taylor arrive at his conclusions? Were they the result of vast research in presidential libraries, poring over documents in the National Archives, long sojourns to study the holdings of military collections? No, he says. “What enabled me to do this,” to conclude that these axioms were “debris,” was “that I finally came to terms with my own experience.” So there we have it: Taylor’s long and intimate journey—from soldier, to grad student in Ann Arbor, where he “simply subscribed to the dogmas of the antiwar slogans then fashionable,” to professor at an elite university who has seen the light about America’s noble purpose in the world—is the basis for his “evidence and logic.” But let us test these axioms and Taylor’s other claims using the criteria of evidence and logic.

Taylor asserts that it is a “foundational tenet of the Communist

version of national history” to say that Ho Chi Minh represented the only “legitimate or viable” government in Vietnam after 1945. He also claims that the southern government, under Ngo Dinh Diem and his successors, had established a real state. What does the evidence say?

If we are to believe George Herring, David Anderson, George Kahin, Gabriel Kolko, Dave Marr, William Duiker and many others, Ho Chi Minh and the Viet Minh, both nationalist and Communist, ultimately led the resistance to French colonial rule and to Japanese occupation, politically and militarily. We know that Ho advocated inclusion, often defying his more sectarian comrades, and was willing to join forces with any individual or group opposing the French.¹² We know that in 1945 and 1954 Ho declared Vietnam independent, quoting from the U.S. Declaration of Independence, and made overtures through the OSS and in private letters to Harry Truman appealing for American support but was ignored.

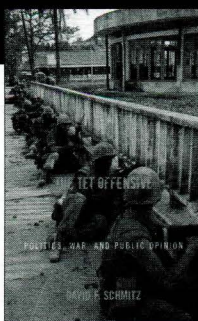
We also know that virtually every American official understood that Ho was overwhelmingly popular and would easily win any real election, as even President Dwight Eisenhower conceded.¹³ The subsequent history of the war testifies to the appeal and effectiveness of the nationalist-Communist coalition. By almost any “expert” standard, the contemporary consensus about Ho’s popularity, along with the durability of his appeal, would constitute evidence of legitimacy and viability.

Taylor’s argument about the viability of southern Vietnam as a state, which was the gist of the 2004 SHAFR panel mentioned above (with Philip Catton and others agreeing in print), is more troubling. Just as disturbing as the assertions that were made during that session, which the panelists essentially conceded were not backed by hard evidence, was the lack of critical commentary from the audience, which was full of scholars of the Vietnam War. Politeness has its place, but it would not have been bad form to point out that these assertions flew in the face of what we know and have no basis in fact.¹⁴

Lamenting the “good old days” of Ngo Dinh Diem is the first of the revisionists’ tactics. Diem, they argue, was not a puppet of the United States and was on the verge of developing a real state below the seventeenth parallel. But we know that while in office he created a kleptocracy, and the Ngo family put 78 percent of the American aid it received between 1956 and 1960 into the military budget, while using no more than 2 percent on health, housing, or welfare programs, which are essential to modernization.¹⁵ To solidify their power, Diem and his brother Nhu formed the Can Lao, or Personalist Party, made the military responsible for protecting the family regime, closed newspapers, retook land that had been redistributed to peasants, militarized the civil order, and imprisoned and executed tens of thousands of alleged dissidents.¹⁶

By the early 1960s Diem’s repressive regime had set into motion two major lines of opposition. Clearly, his attacks had had an impact on the guerrillas, and besieged southern cadres pressured the Politburo in the north to establish the National Liberation Front (NLF). But more important, Diem had alienated so many southerners that he had also prompted a broad internal campaign against his rule that has been overlooked by the apologists. Not only did many southerners join the NLF, Diem’s own military and government officials began to seek his ouster. The opposition political parties and the *coups d’etat* staged against him were organized not by the Communists, but by *his own people*. Finally, it was *his own generals* who overthrew and killed him in November 1963, with U.S. acquiescence. And in the aftermath of the *coup* it was generals in the ARVN, not Ho or the Viet Cong, who staged an *opera bouffe* in Saigon featuring about a dozen governments over the next fifteen months. How does this add up to stability, legitimacy, or effectiveness? How does providing the Ngo family junta with billions of dollars in aid and military equipment, and tolerating Diem’s repression until late 1963 constitute abandonment? How does the ouster of Diem, by *his own people*, constitute a grave turning point in a war that was inexorably

Diplomatic History at Its Best



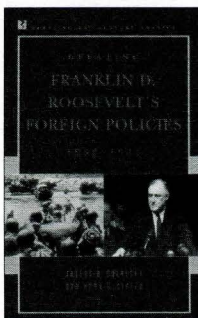
The Tet Offensive Politics, War, and Public Opinion

By David F. Schmitz

"David Schmitz has provided a sound, compact, and fast-paced account of the critical phase of the Vietnam War, nicely blending military, political, diplomatic, and economic developments. This book should prove appealing to students and general readers alike."

—Robert J. McMahon, Ohio State University

Vietnam: America in the War Years series
ISBN 0-7425-4486-9 \$18.95 paper
ISBN 0-7425-4485-0 \$60.00 cloth



Debating Franklin D. Roosevelt's Foreign Policies, 1933-1945

By Justus D. Doenecke and Mark A. Stoler

"Among our best, and most provocative scholars who are writing on the FDR years, Justus Doenecke and Mark Stoler are also distinguished teachers. In this book their scholarship and teaching skills mesh to provide alternative overviews of Roosevelt—accompanied by well-chosen, revealing documents—that will trigger debates inside and outside of the classroom."

—Walter LaFeber, Cornell University

Debating Twentieth-Century America series
ISBN 0-8476-9416-X \$19.95 paper
ISBN 0-8476-9415-1 \$65.00 cloth



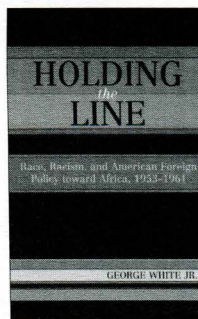
Mission Italy On the Front Lines of the Cold War

By Richard N. Gardner

"Richard Gardner's book about his time as ambassador to Italy during my administration is a dramatic, accurate account of one of the most difficult and successful diplomatic missions in the history of the Cold War."

—former president Jimmy Carter

September 2005, 320 pages
ISBN 0-7425-3998-9 \$29.95 cloth



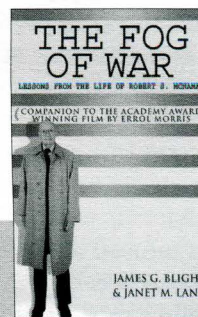
David M. Shoup A Warrior against War

By Howard Jablon

"Skillfully blending biography and context, Professor Jablon illuminates core intersections of American diplomacy with economic factors and military power during the past seventy-five years."

—Harold Hyman, Emeritus, Rice University

Biographies in American Foreign Policy series
ISBN 0-7425-4487-7 \$35.00 cloth



The Fog of War Lessons from the Life of Robert S. McNamara

By James G. Blight and Janet M. Lang

"This fascinating book is rich with lessons for leaders, citizens and students. It is hard to put down. I hope that more of our leaders will pick it up."

—Joseph S. Nye, Jr., author of *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* and former Assistant Secretary of Defense in the first Clinton Administration

ISBN 0-7425-4221-1 \$17.95 paper
ISBN 0-7425-4220-3 \$55.00 cloth

Holding the Line Race, Racism, and American Foreign Policy Toward Africa, 1953-1961

By George White, Jr.

"An interesting and engaging exploration of the malleability of race in American culture and foreign policy during the Eisenhower administration. George White, Jr. has helped to illuminate the pathology of the American Dilemma as it confronted the disintegration of both colonial rule in Africa and the Jim Crow regime in American life."

—Cary Fraser, Penn State University

ISBN 0-7425-3383-2 \$27.95 paper
ISBN 0-7425-3382-4 \$75.00 cloth

Robert A. Taft Ideas, Tradition, and Party in U.S. Foreign Policy

By Clarence E. Wunderlin, Jr.

"Clarence Wunderlin has applied his unexcelled command of Taft's vast documentary record to produce an engaging biography amply confirming the continuing appropriateness of the Senate's mid-century judgment."

—Richard A. Baker, author of *The Senate of the United States: A Bicentennial History*

Biographies in American Foreign Policy series
ISBN 0-7425-4490-7 \$24.95 paper
ISBN 0-7425-4489-3 \$70.00 cloth



800-462-6420 • WWW.ROWMANLITTLEFIELD.COM

Rowman & Littlefield Publishers
An Independent Publisher for the 21st Century

headed toward failure from the first?

If the rehabilitation of Diem is the first of the revisionists' tactics, then the claim that southern Vietnam was a viable state is surely the second. James Carter has shown compellingly in his dissertation, "Inventing Vietnam: The United States and State-Making in Southeast Asia," that there never was a *real* state below the seventeenth parallel, one that could exist on its own without massive infusions of American military and economic aid, without Americans building both a political and physical infrastructure, creating a currency, covering up for the defects of its leaders, staging phony elections, dropping 4.6 million tons of bombs on an area the size of New Mexico, and so forth. Nationhood involves more than a titular head of state and an army. It requires sovereignty, a degree of consensus, development, and international legitimacy, among other criteria, and since southern Vietnam lacked the essentials, the United States had to try to invent them, with results that were really not surprising to those who were involved in decisions about Vietnam at the time.

Taylor would argue, of course, that Carter is merely one more "pointy-headed" scholar. But Senator Mike Mansfield was an expert on Vietnam and an early Diem supporter, and in 1965 he said that the United States was "no longer dealing with anyone [in Saigon] who represents anybody in a political sense. We are simply acting to prevent a collapse of the Vietnamese military forces which we pay for and supply." That same year Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge said that there was "no tradition of a national government in Saigon. There are no roots in the country. . . . I don't think we ought to take this government seriously. There is no one who can do anything. We have to do what we think we ought to regardless of what the Saigon government does."¹⁷

In early 1965, Johnson, who was apparently giving Vietnam a modicum of attention, considered committing combat troops, but General William Westmoreland was skeptical, observing that "we would be occupying an essentially hostile foreign country." General

Victor Krulak, the Marines' Pacific Commander, expressed himself more bluntly to the undersecretary of the Navy, saying that "despite all our public assertions to the contrary, the South Vietnamese are not—and have never been—a nation."¹⁸ Even more striking was the observation of a young congressman from Illinois in 1966. "Twelve years have elapsed since we began contributing economic assistance and manpower to . . . Vietnam," he said. "Yet, that nation continues to face political instability, lack a sense of nationhood, and to suffer social, religious, and regional factionalism and severe economic dislocations. Inflation continues to mount, medical care remains inadequate, land reform is virtually nonexistent, agricultural and education[al] advances are minimal, and the development of an honest, capable, and responsible civil service has hardly begun." Thus Donald Rumsfeld laid out in some detail a strong argument against the viability of the southern state.¹⁹

Robert "Blowtorch Bob" Komer, pacification guru and hawk, did not pull any punches either. "Hell, with half a million men in Vietnam, we are spending twenty-one billion dollars a year, and we're fighting the whole war with Vietnamese watching us; how can you talk about national sovereignty?" Paul Warnke, a defense department official and longtime establishment policymaker, agreed, pointing out that "the people I talked to [in Vietnam] didn't seem to have any feeling about South Vietnam as a country. We fought the war for a separate South Vietnam, but there wasn't any South and there never was one."²⁰

After the rehabilitation of Diem and "South" Vietnam, Taylor and his colleagues employ the last tactic of the revisionist campaign. They look at Vietnam from an American perspective and find that the United States had a legitimate basis for intervention and could have been successful had it chosen different strategies, political and military. But again, there are stupid facts in the way.

Taylor seems to argue that American intervention in Vietnam was legitimate because "nurturing baby democracies

in a world awash with tyranny" is the duty of the United States. Calling the Diem regime "democratic" is a bastardization of the term, but more to the point, there are international conventions governing the rights of a nation to intervene in the affairs of another. On that score it is difficult to see any justification for the U.S. invasion of Vietnam. Even if one accepts the legitimacy and viability of the southern state, Vietnam was at best (or worst) a civil war, and with no sanction from the United Nations or any other controlling body, America's military invasion does not meet the test for accepted intervention.²¹

Of course, the right to intervene ultimately becomes a political question. For the Kennedy and Johnson invasion of Vietnam to have been legitimate, however, it would have had to have a coherent rationale, a clear goal, and a viable strategy. Perhaps most important, there would have had to have been international recognition of the need for such action. But those criteria just do not exist in the record. The U.S. failure to attract "many flags" to the war effort is well established.²² Only through the carrot of military contracts and other economic compensation did the United States persuade South Korea, Australia, and New Zealand to join the war. There was no international support for the intervention, nor was there any definite goal in mind other than to prevent the people of Vietnam from choosing the leaders they wanted, because those leaders were almost certainly going to be Communists.

Folded into Taylor's argument that the war was legitimate is the belief that it was winnable. He blames the outcome of the war on "poor strategic thought and deficient political courage," and he throws several barbs at the antiwar movement. It is not clear how Taylor measures LBJ's deficiency in courage, but he appears to believe that LBJ decided to "persuad[e] the enemy to give up rather than [do] what was necessary to obtain victory." He refused to mobilize the economy for war and call up reserves, and he "allow[ed] war policy to be inhibited by a misreading of the likelihood of Chinese intervention."

This is pretty standard stuff, promoted by Richard Nixon and others since the early 1980s, and scholars have dealt with it all.²³

I suspect it would surprise the millions of Vietnamese who lost loved ones to hear that LBJ merely decided to “persuad[e]” the enemy to give up rather than take measures “necessary to obtain victory,” whatever they might have been. Indeed, the claim that Johnson’s initial forays into Vietnam were “gradual” or “limited” ignores fundamental political and physical realities. What kind of commitment should Johnson have made in those crucial months of 1964 and 1965? 500,000 soldiers? Would Congress or, more important, the public have supported such a massive commitment to such a small, peripheral country? Even during the crucial July 1965 deliberations on the war, the military’s biggest disagreement was over the activation of reservists, not troop numbers. And where would all these troops and arms and equipment have gone, had Johnson not pursued “limited war” and “graduated escalation?” As late as 1966, with nearly 400,000 U.S. troops in country, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara still described Vietnam as “primarily an agricultural country; the only major port is Saigon. The deployment of large U.S. military forces, and other friendly forces such as the Korean division, in a country of this sort requires the construction of new ports, warehouse facilities, access roads, improvements to highways leading to the interior of the country and along the coasts, troop facilities, hospitals, completely new airfields and major improvements to existing airfields, communications facilities, etc.”²⁴

Obviously, we have to judge the war by what we do know. We know that most military officials were never enthused or optimistic about the war and had grave misgivings about the political and military conditions in Vietnam. We are aware of the skill and tenacity of the enemy, and his ability to strike, melt back into the population, and quickly hit again. We agree that the Vietnamese enemy had an impressive capacity to withstand huge casualties and had a sturdy

reserve that could be called on to replenish losses. We know that the physical infrastructure of southern Vietnam was so underdeveloped that it could not have sustained a more rapid or massive deployment of U.S. manpower. We know that the world—including traditional U.S. allies—either did not support or openly opposed the invasion. We know that the war took a huge toll at home. Over 58,000 Americans died, and government spending on the war led to a global financial crisis. We know that the United States unleashed the greatest concentration of firepower ever used against a small country and ended by training most of its destructive power upon its putative ally, Vietnam below the seventeenth parallel. And we know that southern Vietnam never had a stable government, billions of American dollars and half a million American soldiers notwithstanding.

What don’t we know? First, we don’t know how the People’s Republic of China would have reacted to a more aggressive war. It would have been folly to try to predict Mao Zedong’s actions during the Cultural Revolution. Nor do we know how American soldiers, who were beset by drug problems and racial conflict and were often opposed to the war themselves, would have responded to more aggressive missions and higher casualty rates. We cannot say for certain how the rest of the world would have responded to an even more destructive American intervention in Indochina. And, perhaps most important, we have no idea what the fallout at home would have been to a more rapid escalation of a war that never went well and was highly unpopular and costly. Just because Keith Taylor says that the war was winnable, that Kennedy and Johnson did not pay enough attention to Vietnam, that China would have sat idly by, that a more dynamic strategy or a strategy of pacification (which is it?) would have made the difference, does not make it so.

Finally, Taylor and the other revisionists take aim at the antiwar movement, antiwar politicians, and the media. Had Americans supported the war and not been so self-loathing,

U.S. troops would have been able to fight without restraint or undue political considerations and with higher morale, and they would have succeeded in Vietnam. Again, this view takes agency away from the Vietnamese Communists and places the outcome of the war squarely in America’s hands. It also substitutes right-wing apologia for research and evidence. As Taylor himself points out, the majority of the American people supported the war strongly up until the Tet Offensive in early 1968. In fact, the army’s own study of media matters found that the press was not unduly adversarial or aggressive for the most part, that, “government and media first shared a common vision of American involvement in Vietnam” until the war turned sour and journalists became more critical.²⁵ Similarly, most politicians were on board at the outset, as evidenced by the overwhelming votes in favor of the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution. And public opposition to the war was and is not a clean-cut proposition. While millions of Americans from all walks of life opposed the war, plenty supported it as well, and many held negative views of both the war and antiwar protestors. Often, if the war seemed to be going well, more people supported it; when things seemed to be going badly, the numbers in opposition rose. The Vietnamese, not the Americans, held the initiative, militarily and politically.

But Taylor and others like Lind and Sorley persist in their analysis. Tet was a great American victory undermined at home, they contend, ignoring Joint Chiefs of Staff Chair Earle Wheeler’s view that “it was a very near thing” and Army Chief Harold K. Johnson’s admission that “we suffered a loss, there can be no doubt about it.”²⁶ And so it goes. The withdrawal of 1973 and defeat of 1975, they argue, was another case of political officials and the American people, in effect, surrendering while on the verge of victory. Weak politicians, confused media, and self-loathing antiwar Americans dominate this ideological discourse. The Vietnamese could have had an effective government if only Ngo Dinh Diem had not been ousted. The

government of southern Vietnam was stable and legitimate. Never mind that it was so internally riven that it changed heads of states and regimes on a regular basis and had to be maintained by American money and blood. Attention-deficit suffering U.S. leaders also deserve fault for not fighting to win, although no one seems to know what that means, nor can they describe it, since it did not happen.

Memory and History

"The struggle of man against power," the Czech playwright Milan Kundera wrote, "is the struggle of memory against forgetting." And so, thirty years after the liberation or fall of Saigon, we are still struggling to determine what we should remember about Vietnam and whether it has any lessons to teach us today. If Swift Boat partisans and self-loathing explanations come to dominate the discourse over this past war, if the ideological detritus of the Texas Tech Vietnam Center gains more public and academic acceptance, then the doors are open to the increased politicization of history in support of interventions and wars, and the legacies of those who fought the war and fought against the war are stained. If the war in Vietnam can simply be explained away by labeling its opponents as "self-hating" or accusing them of "weakness," we have lost our history and abdicated our responsibility to learn from the mistakes of the past and to help create a better world. The distance between My Lai and Abu

Ghraib, as we have seen, is not as great as it might seem.

If one of Taylor's self-hating antiwar Americans were to stand up and say "all American soldiers in Vietnam were baby-killers and war criminals," that person would, with justification, be summarily and harshly repudiated. Yet those who support the war can make ugly blanket statements about self-hatred and anti-Americanism among those who opposed the war in Vietnam or the invasion of Iraq and pass them off as Ivy League scholarship. I will continue to rely on evidence, the archives, the work of George Herring, George Kahin, Gabriel Kolko and others. I cannot help but conclude that Vietnam was a moral and political disaster, and that it is essential that we remind everyone we can of that, if only to make sure that those who would use Vietnam for other purposes, like justifying war and interventions and human-rights abuses, do not do so without challenge.²⁷

Robert Buzzanco is professor of history at the University of Houston.

He would like to thank James Carter, Ginger Davis, and Bill Walker for their comments and suggestions on this article. A version of this piece first appeared in Counterpunch, in April 2005. It is reprinted here with permission.

Notes:

1. Taylor is the author of *The Birth of Vietnam* (Berkeley, 1983, reprinted 1991), which has become one of the standard histories of Vietnam up to the tenth century in English. His field is Vietnam studies, which is distinct from Vietnam

Travel-To-Collections Grant Program

SHAFR Council recently established a new Travel-to-Collections Grants Program to promote research by doctoral candidates and by untenured faculty members in the field of U.S. foreign relations history.

A limited number of grants (up to \$1,000 each) will be awarded annually to help defray the costs of domestic or international travel necessary to conduct research on significant scholarly projects. Applicants must be actively working on dissertations or post-doctoral research projects dealing with some aspect of United States foreign relations history.

For more information, visit <http://www.shafr.org/prizes.htm> or contact the SHAFR Business Office at shafr@osu.edu. The annual deadline for applications is April 15. In most years, awards will be decided and issued by June 30.

Save The Date!



2006 SHAFR Conference
June 23-25, 2006

University of Kansas
Lawrence, Kansas

War studies and generally focuses on Vietnam's history before the arrival of European colonialists.

2. As I have written elsewhere and will explain below, I think it is proper to describe the area of Vietnam below the seventeenth parallel, the demarcation line established by the United States, the Soviet Union, and the People's Republic of China, among others, at the 1954 Geneva Conference, as southern Vietnam rather than the Republic of Vietnam [RVN] or the Government of Vietnam [GVN]—as U.S. officials and, subsequently, U.S. scholars have. To call the area below the seventeenth parallel the RVN or GVN conveys a level of legitimacy that I believe does not exist. That southern Vietnam was a viable and real state is a key point in the analysis set forth by Taylor and others. Needless to say, I think otherwise, as do many other historians of Vietnam. On this point, see especially Gabriel Kolko's *Anatomy of a War* (NY, 1985) and a dissertation recently completed under my supervision at the University of Houston by James Carter titled "Inventing Vietnam: The United States and State-Making in Southeast Asia." Carter shows with impressive evidence that the United States did not conceive of Vietnam as an independent state but as a project, a country to be essentially invented both politically and physically—in terms of its government, infrastructure, currency, foreign affairs and other accoutrements of a modern state.

3. Information about the center and its past events can be accessed at <http://www.vietnam.ttu.edu/vietnamcenter/index.htm>. Despite the appearance of some speakers critical of the war, it is hard to look at rosters of past events and not see a decided right-wing tilt.

4. Arthur Schlesinger's Pulitzer Prize-winning *A Thousand Days* (NY, 1965), which was published before the massive escalation that went terribly wrong, deals with Vietnam rather matter-of-factly, but in 1978, with the outcome known, he argues in *Robert Kennedy and His Times* (NY, 1978) that JFK was preparing a withdrawal or de-escalation. See also John Newman, *JFK and Vietnam* (NY, 1992); Howard Jones, *Death of a Generation* (NY, 2003); Robert Dallek, *An Unfinished Life* (NY, 2003); Fred Logevall, *Choosing War* (Berkeley, 1999); David Kaiser, *American Tragedy* (Cambridge, MA, 2000); and Lawrence Freedman, *Kennedy's Wars* (NY, 2002). For a thorough repudiation of these Kennedy apologists, see Noam Chomsky, *Rethinking Camelot* (Boston, 1993), and Lawrence Bassett and Stephen Pelz, "The Failed Search for Victory: Vietnam and the Politics of War," in Thomas Paterson, ed., *Kennedy's Quest For Victory* (NY, 1989),

Passport December 2005

223-52.

5. Philip Catton, *Diem's Final Failure* (Lawrence, KS, 2003); Miller and Moyar papers presented at Texas Tech conferences on Vietnam; Ron Frankum and Mark Moyar papers delivered at 2004 meeting of the Society of Historians of American Foreign Relations, Austin, Texas. Unfortunately, the papers from that session have not been posted on the H-Diplo website at <http://www.h-net.org/~diplo/reports/>.

6. B. G. Burkett and Glenna Whitley, *Stolen Valor* (Dallas, 1998); Michael Lind, *The Necessary War* (NY, 1999); Lewis Sorley, *A Better War* (NY, 1999).

7. I would like to thank my good friend William O. Walker III, now at the University of Toronto, for helping me develop my thoughts on this section. Taylor, by making an emotive argument resting on this concept of self-loathing, is engaged in what International Relations/Political Psychology scholars call attribution theory. If "we" don't like a particular group, then "they" are "disposed" to act against "our" interests, like those who opposed the war. It then becomes only a short, illogical leap of faith to identify them as self-loathing, thereby creating an adversarial "other." Those in "our" favor, the well-meaning Diem clique or American soldiers who "wanted to win the war," for example, fail but are well intended. It is the "situation" in which they find themselves that makes failure more likely. That situation is compounded by the self-loathers. The responsibility for failure never rests with America's authoritarian clients or with U. S. officials.

The "self-loathing" paradigm has contemporary resonance as the spectrum of permissible dissent over U.S. adventurism increasingly narrows—and that is why the lines of thought opened by the Texas Tech crowd and Keith Taylor are in fact quite important, despite the small numbers of their proponents thus far. The recourse to seeking charges of treason, real or metaphorical, against those who oppose Bush's foreign policy is a way of stifling dissent in the name of the new American century. Terror is too dangerous for there to be freedom at home while it is pursued via intervention abroad.

8. The subsequent critique of Taylor will be based on his article, "How I Began to Teach About the Vietnam War," *Michigan Quarterly Review*, Fall 2004, his talk at the Texas Tech conference, "When Americans Hate Themselves: Another Way to Remember the Vietnam War," and an article about the Taylor presentation in the *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, 19 March 2005, pp. A1 and A8.

9. See John Lewis Gaddis, *Surprise, Security, and the American Experience*

(Cambridge, MA, 2004); and Gaddis, *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History* (NY, 1997). Even many establishment thinkers, such as David Kennedy and the late James Chace, have taken issue with Gaddis's work, which puts the onus of the Cold War solely on the Soviet Union, apologizes for apparent American misdeeds in that era, and contends that Americans have acted out of a desire to extend liberty and freedom globally. Listen to the Gaddis-Kennedy exchange at http://www.nytimes.com/audiopages/2004/07/25/books/20040725_GADDIS_AUDIO.html. See Chace's review of Gaddis, "Empire, Anyone?" *New York Review of Books*, 7 October 2004, excerpt at http://www.nybooks.com/articles/article-preview?article_id'17454.

10. Taylor in *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, 19 March 2005, A8.

11. See graph at <http://www.globalissues.org/images/USvsWorld2004Top25.gif>; *New York Times*, 14 May 2005.

12. See, for instance the older biography of Ho by Jean Lacoutre, or the more recent and comprehensive work of William Duiker.

13. Dwight D. Eisenhower, *Mandate for Change, 1953-1956* (NY, 1963), 337-38; see also Army Plans and Operations position paper, "U.S. Position with Respect to Indochina," 25 February 1950, Record Group 319, G-3 0981 Indochina, TS, in National Archives. Also in Robert Buzzanco, *Masters of War* (Cambridge, MA, 1996), 31.

14. Lest anyone ask "well, why didn't you speak out," I have to admit to walking out of the room briskly just moments before the entire panel ended. On more than one occasion I have spoken up—"pissed in the punch bowl," as a friend describes it—and frankly don't like the role of crank. There were many others who could have contributed and I didn't see the need to do so and begin the equivalent of an intellectual pie fight. Perhaps I was craven, but I'd probably do the same again. And in some way, this article is my penance for my silence in Austin.

15. David Anderson, *Trapped by Success* (NY, 2002), 133.

16. The following treatment of Diem is taken from Buzzanco, *Vietnam and the Transformation of American Life* (Malden, 1999), 56-58.

17. Mansfield quoted in George Kahin, *Intervention* (NY, 1986), 345. Lodge quote in *Foreign Relations of United States, Vietnam, III, 1965, 193*, and also in Carter, "Inventing Vietnam."

18. Westmoreland and Krulak quoted in Buzzanco, *Masters of War*, 190 and 257.

19. Rumsfeld in "An Investigation of the U.S. Economic and Military Assistance Programs in Vietnam," *42nd Report by*

the Committee on Government Operations, October 12, 1966, 127.

20. Komer quoted in Lloyd Gardner, *Pay Any Price* (Chicago, 1995), 303. Warnke quoted in Christian Appy, *Patriots* (NY, 2003), 279.

21. See especially Telford Taylor [a prosecutor at Nuremberg], *Nuremberg and Vietnam: An American Tragedy* (NY, 1970), and Richard Falk, ed. *The Vietnam War and International Law*, 4 vols. (Princeton, 1968, 1969, 1972, 1976).

22. See Christos Frentzos's dissertation at the University of Houston, "From Seoul to Saigon: U.S.-Korean Relations and the Vietnam War."

23. Richard Nixon, *No More Vietnams* (NY, 1985). See also William Westmoreland, *A Soldier Reports* (NY, 1976); Harry Summers, *On Strategy* (Novato, CA, 1982); Guenter Lewy, *America in Vietnam* (NY, 1978); Norman Podhoretz, *Why We Were in Vietnam* (NY, 1982).

24. McNamara quoted in *Hearings before the Committee on Armed Services and the Subcommittee on Department of Defense of the Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate, 89th Congress, 2nd Session, January - February 1966*, 12.

25. Quote is from promotional materials for William Hammond, *Reporting Vietnam:*

Military and Media at War (Lawrence, KS, 1998).

26. On this topic, see chapter 10, "The Myth of Tet: Military Failure and the Politics of War," in Buzzanco, *Masters of War*.

27. The importance of this issue was reinforced recently when the editors of *H-Diplo*, the listserv in our field, refused to allow a colleague to post a referral to my original article in *Counterpunch* because, they said, it was inappropriate to the field and presentist. How can an article about a major research center on Vietnam and the way historians look at the war not be appropriate? The editors also refused even to engage my questions about this decision. With such gatekeeping, we should all be concerned about the nature of the history we do.

REGINA BOOKS

Missed Opportunities: *U.S. Diplomatic Failures and the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1947-1967*. Candace Karp. Paper \$17.95. p.308 **SHAFR Price (paper) \$10.00**

The Quest for Missile Defenses, 1944-2003. Richard Dean Burns & Lester H. Brune. Cloth \$34.95. Paper \$17.95. p. 290. Photos. **SHAFR Price (paper) \$12.00**

A Twentieth-Century Odyssey: Memoir of a Life in Academe. Norman A. Graebner. Cloth \$36.95/Pap. \$ 17.95 p. 219. Photos. **SHAFR Price (paper) \$12.00**

A Diplomatic History of the Philippine Republic: *The First Years, 1946-1961*. p. 321. Reprint paper \$19.95 **SHAFR Price (paper) \$12.00**

The U.S. & Post-Cold War Interventions: Bush & Clinton in Somalia, Haiti and Bosnia, 1992-1998. Lester Brune. xii, 177p. \$17.95 **SHAFR Price (paper) \$10.00**

America and the Iraqi Crisis, 1990-1992. Lester H. Brune. xii, 212p. \$15.95 **SHAFR Price (paper) \$10.00**

Empire On the Pacific: A Study in American Continental Expansion. Norman A. Graebner. 278p. Reprint ed. (1983) \$14.95 **SHAFR Price (paper) \$9.00**

Cuban-Caribbean Missile Crisis of October 1962. L.H. Brune. 160p. \$15.95 **SHAFR Price (paper) \$10.00**

U.S. Security Policy Under Clinton and Bush:

Continuity and Change. Chae-Jin Lee, ed. p. 143. Paper \$15.95. **SHAFR Price (paper) \$9.00**

Changing Asia-Pacific Region: Strategic & Economic Issues. Chae-Jin Lee, ed. 162p. **SHAFR Price (paper) \$9.00**

Korea: Dynamics of Diplomacy. Byung Chul Koh, ed. 178p. \$15.95 **SHAFR Price (paper) \$9.00**

The Cold War—Reassessments. Arthur L. Rosenbaum & Chae-Jin Lee, eds. 214p. Essays by J. L. Gaddis, W. Stueck, D.W.P. Elliott, R. L. Garthoff, W. C. Wohlforth, L. M. Hansen. \$15.95 **SHAFR Price (paper) \$9.00**

U.S.-China Relations & the Bush Administration: *A New Paradigm or Continuing Modalities.* A.L. Rosenbaum, ed. 156p. \$15.95 **SHAFR Price (paper) \$9.00**

America & the Indochina Wars, 1945-1990: A Bibliographical Guide. L.H. Brune & R.D. Burns, comps. 353p. Cloth \$39.95 **SHAFR Price (cloth) \$13.00**

Theodore Roosevelt and the International Rivalries. R. A. Esthus. 165p. \$14.95 pap. **SHAFR Price (paper) \$9.00**

Into the Dark House: American Diplomacy & the Ideological Origins of the Cold War. Joseph M. Siracusa. 273p. \$14.95 **SHAFR Price (paper) \$9.00**

Send Master Card/Visa info. or check to:
Regina Books, Box 280, Claremont, CA 91711

Tel: (909) 624-8466 Fax: (909) 626-1345

—add postage (\$2.50 1st bk, \$1.00 add'l bks—

Learning to Bow and Recycle

Tom Zeiler

Within twelve hours of arriving in Tokyo, Japan, I got my first taste of a different culture. It was typical of the experiences that lie at the soul of the Fulbright program.

Up early our first morning, I looked out the window of our second-story apartment to see a garbage truck approaching. We had accumulated some cans, bottles, and magazines during the trip over, and so, doing the sensible thing, I put them in a bag and simply dropped it from the window on a waiting pile of trash in the street below. OK, so I'm a heathen (and the Fulbright staff rightly admonished me), but the learning curve shot up when the sacred rite of Tokyo garbage recycling soon became apparent. A few days later, when I walked out the trash, some neighbors joined me at the curb for instruction on the intricacies of recycling. Combustibles are not to be mixed with noncombustibles; big plastic bottles are put in separate bins from small ones; and never combine cans with glass bottles. Never, ever throw a bag from a window.

Whenever I took out the trash over the next year, two or three women from the block would miraculously appear to assist me; if I were a stranger before, now I was an infamous, though redeemable, interloper on harmony and correct process, which the Japanese hold so dear. This was my first lesson in Fulbright-style "mutual understanding," and my education never ceased.

The lesson my family and I will remember best is that perspective is important. First off, we learned more about the United States and ourselves, gaining a view of America that comes from living abroad. Sure, we missed the Red Sox triumph (though luckily I was able to watch it in the offices of Major League Baseball Japan), and we seemed remote from the presidential election, but it was stimulating to

place events at home within an Asian context.

Second, the more we grasped at customs and behavior, the more questions we had about Japan. Yet everyone was so accommodating to us, even the watchdog recyclers, that groping toward discovery was enlightening in itself. Above all, we seized the chance to make the most of a very different culture. My wife, for example, took Japanese language lessons, calligraphy, flower arrangement, and pottery, while also working out under the gaze of Arnold at a Gold's Gym. I dabbled in longbow archery, although I realized my personality lacks the appropriate Zen qualities. Still, it was just pure fun to do these things, and they enabled us to meet new people outside and inside of the workplace.

Fulbright fellowships come in varying forms, depending on what is offered in the country of choice. Japan offers half-year or full-year (eleven months) teaching-only grants (for those of us who have no language skills and/or knowledge of the country), research support (you must be able to conduct your work in Japanese, which can be facilitated by partnering with a native academic), or a combination of the two.

As a lecturer, I split my four-course-per-semester load (a graduate seminar, an undergraduate seminar, and two lecture courses) between two universities, teaching ninety-minute classes in each course once a week. I had the freedom to teach whatever subject I wished, although the challenge of teaching in English to students who listened politely but clearly did not understand much of what I said necessitated strategizing about lectures. My students were generally more competent at reading than understanding the spoken word, and certainly speaking was their weak point. This has to do with

their English training as well as their customary deferential behavior in class. The language barrier required adaptation on my part. I had students write down answers to questions so they could read them in class, and I taught them how to conduct a debate but allowed it to take place in both English and Japanese phases.

Still, I think undergraduates are undergraduates wherever they are in the world. These students might have slept a bit more in class (apparently, Tokyo residents get fewer hours of sleep at night than anyone else on earth), but they greeted me charmingly in unison when I entered the room and expressed a sense of wonderment when my wife and I invited a group of fifty from both universities to our apartment for a party. They had never visited a professor's house, and they were thrilled by such relaxed American attitudes. It was great for us, too, for they adopted our children, and each one brought food or drinks, even after I told them not to bring a thing. Yet on the whole, the Japanese students were very much like American students. They smiled and chattered before class, loved to socialize with professors and each other at drinking parties, tried every trick (all disappointingly familiar to me) to avoid working or taking exams, and dressed in styles that made me kick myself for throwing away my bell-bottom jeans years ago. Many of the guys wore ski caps, which has always struck me as odd. But I'm getting older.

Being in Japan during the sixtieth anniversary of the end of World War II, as controversy about Japan's role in the conflict erupted in Asia, provided us with excellent classroom opportunities to discuss history's relevance. I learned the depth of Japanese pacifism when we discussed the atomic bombings, and I discovered

the extent of the appreciation the Japanese have for American policies after World War II and their widespread disgust with American policies today. Thus, as in any good teaching experience, we all learned, students and professor.

Beyond teaching, the Fulbright program provides a world of opportunities. Paying for a year in Tokyo was an initial worry, but the program gave us a healthy housing allowance, a stipend that more than accounted for the prohibitive costs of the city, full school tuition for both children, and an extra family allowance. Conference travel and teaching support money were available, if needed. We thus lived very comfortably and were able to travel extensively. We visited much of Japan by taking two ski trips, traveling to an island three hours south of Tokyo, and spending numerous

Are you missing an old issue of *Passport*? Are you laying awake at night worried about your incomplete set? Do you feel like other historians are mocking you because of your partial collection?

Don't Despair!

Copies can be ordered through the *Passport* Business Office at 1501 Neil Avenue, Columbus, Ohio, 43210, or by email at passport@osu.edu.

Orders are \$3.00 per issue for domestic delivery, \$4.00 for international delivery. Many articles can also be found online at www.shafr.org.

weekends away with new friends (both Japanese and foreign) and even some University of Colorado alumni. We also went to Guam, and from Guam I took off with three planeloads of veterans and their families to spend a day on Iwo Jima (a moving experience that commemorated the sixtieth anniversary of that horrendous battle). We also spent two weeks over Christmas in Vietnam and two more in April in China.

In addition, because I teach a course on American history and baseball, and because the Japanese are baseball-crazy, the public affairs section of the American Embassy in Japan sent me to the five consulates around the country to speak on U.S.—Japanese relations and Seattle Mariners outfielder Ichiro Suzuki. That experience introduced me to a variety of people—journalists, fans, sports executives, and television reporters—I would not have otherwise encountered on campus. There were educational advantages, too. Because I had contacts with the embassy and with Major League Baseball's Japan office, I hosted former Mets manager Bobby Valentine, now captain of a Japanese team, in one of my classes. As one of America's major celebrities in Japan, he created quite a stir.

But what about family life? Specifically, how did the kids manage with all these new experiences? Just fine. Our children, a boy of eleven and a girl age seven, made friends with many Japanese and other students at their English-speaking international school, learned Japanese, and certainly discovered the meaning of living in a huge metropolis as they suffered through a one-hour commute, each way, on two trains and a bus. They did this alone, for Tokyo is very safe, although their two grandmothers are still scolding me for maltreatment of their grandchildren. Their daily trip included a train change in Shinjuku station, reportedly the busiest station in the world, with three million people going through it every day. Only once did they get separated. They remembered the emergency plan, however: get off at the next stop and wait until your sibling arrives on the following train. My seven year old daughter jumped on a train one morning and the doors

closed before her brother could enter. She got off, crying, in Ikebukuro, a station with a scant two million daily visitors, and nobody came up to help (unfortunately, many Japanese whose English is poor are afraid to make a situation worse by intervening, even when they see a child in distress), but her big brother rescued her a few minutes later when his train arrived. I have yet to tell their grandmothers about this event out of a fear of being banished from the family. Still, the kids were no worry, and even essential at times, for like dogs in a park, they attracted attention from the kid-crazy, cute-obsessed Japanese, and prompted conversation.

A willingness to adjust is the key to a wonderful time overseas. We knew as little about Argentina, our first Fulbright experience, as we did about Japan, but it did not matter. The Fulbright program is perfect for the blissfully ignorant! In Japan we soon became expert at enjoying an onsen (hot springs), bowing and saying "excuse me" in almost every sentence, and making our way around the most efficient urban transportation system in the world. We had wonderful food (including great Italian and French food and some things that are better left to fraternity houses, such as cod sperm sac), spent a lot of money, saw amazing things, and participated in community events. For instance, I was recruited one day to carry an extremely heavy portable shrine, called a mikoshi, into our local Shinto temple; because I was taller than everyone else I had to carry most of the weight. The best thing was that there was always somebody around to help us adjust and learn.

Fulbrights are for scholars and students of all post-secondary school ages. For information on getting started on the application process, check out the Fulbright website at <http://exchanges.state.gov/education/fulbright/commiss.htm>. And remember to separate those newspaper inserts from the main sections when you take out the trash.

Tom Zeiler is professor of history at the University of Colorado at Boulder.

Making History Relevant for the Intelligence Community

Colonel William J. Williams, USAF

Why should a government agency have a history office? No government agency is required by law to have one. The Federal Bureau of Investigation did not even have a historian on its staff for most of the 1990s, and only recently did it reestablish a history office. Those federal agencies that employ historians do so not to comply with laws or regulations, but because they believe that there must be some value in establishing a history program.

Of what value is a history office to a government agency? Sherman Kent, a history professor from Yale who left academia to play a major role in the early development of the Central Intelligence Agency, addressed this issue in 1952. "In my view," Kent said, "the only reason for reconstructing the history of a government agency is to further the operational efficiency of that agency. This cannot be history for history's sake. It must be history for the improvement of today's and tomorrow's operations."

I first saw this quotation during a visit to the CIA history office shortly after I became Chief of the Center for Cryptologic History at the National Security Agency. As a career intelligence officer in the Air Force, I never expected to have an opportunity to run a government history office. I did, however, have a lifelong interest in history. I had majored in the subject as an undergraduate and during a break in my military career earned a master's degree in history. After several years as an intelligence officer, I made use of my master's degree and applied for a position on the history faculty at the Air Force Academy in Colorado Springs. Accepted for duty at the Academy, I was later selected for a government-sponsored Ph.D. program and earned my doctorate at the University of Washington. I taught history for several more years

at the Academy and then returned to the "line of the Air Force" and other intelligence assignments.

As the time approached for my final Air Force posting before retirement, the commandant at the NSA's National Cryptologic School saw my military record and noted my intelligence background as well as my doctorate in history. Having a Ph.D. in history himself, he wanted the history program at NSA to have a greater impact on the organization, and he invited me to take on the task of expanding its purview. Seeing this as a great opportunity to bring together my backgrounds in intelligence and history, I applied for the position.

My immediate challenge, after arriving at the NSA headquarters complex at Fort Meade, Maryland, was to figure out what the history office should do. To learn from those already supervising history programs in the intelligence community, I visited the historians at the Defense Intelligence Agency, National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency, Central Intelligence Agency, the Army's Intelligence Security Command, and other defense-related agencies. It was the CIA program, however—and Sherman Kent's quote—that most intrigued me.

I asked the chief historian at CIA to give me an example of how his history office improved "today's and tomorrow's operations." In response, he showed me a point paper his historians had recently prepared to meet a requirement he had received from the CIA's leadership. At that time, both the CIA and the Department of Defense (DoD) were preparing to conduct operations related to the global war on terrorism. Coordination between the two organizations was obviously important, and as the CIA's senior leaders began this process they asked the history office to produce

a summary that showed how the CIA and DoD had cooperated on similar operations in the past. The CIA leadership was not looking for a 200-page monograph in a year and a half, but for a 5- to 7-page executive summary in a week and a half.

I was impressed with the product. Organized into major points, it was brief and easily read, and it included appendices offering additional information. I remember thinking how well prepared the CIA would be for any discussions with the DoD, and I imagined a scenario in which DoD representatives might say, "Let's do it this way," only to have a CIA official respond, "We tried something like that in 1980, but it didn't work for these reasons. We believe this approach provides a better way to proceed."

The CIA's history office, of course, is not the only one that provides this type of historical support to its leadership. At the Pentagon, the Air Force's history office has a detachment that constantly responds to historical inquiries from the most senior levels of the Air Staff. The Army's Center of Military History (CMH) provides the same type of service. Over the past few years, for example, the CMH has produced 2- to 5-page information papers on topics such as "historical examples of [American forces] disarming insurgents," "the Army's experience with constabulary duty," and "public perceptions of U.S. efforts at adjudication of alleged crimes committed by members of the armed services against foreign nationals." One only has to think of the Army's ongoing activities in the Balkans and Mideast to see the relevance of such information to current operations.

This, in short, is the kind of historical support that can make a history program relevant and valuable to a government agency. And this is the kind of historical support the Center for Cryptologic History should

provide at the NSA. One of the first things needed to achieve this goal was a clear mission statement. The CCH is fortunate to have a relatively large staff for a history office—six historians and a three-person publication shop. We did not, however, have a clearly defined mission. The staff helped develop a two-part statement that addresses what the center should be doing:

- Provide objective, meaningful historical support to the National Security Agency/Central Security Service leadership and workforce to enhance decision making, cryptologic knowledge, and *esprit de corps*.
- Preserve and advance an understanding of cryptologic history for the United States Intelligence Community, the Department of Defense, other government agencies, academia, and the general public.

Part of the second section is admittedly “history for history’s sake,” but providing support to Clio at large while focusing primarily on the agency’s requirements is also in the federal government’s (and the nation’s) interest.

One challenge at the NSA was that with one notable exception—the National Cryptologic Museum—the history program did not have a very high profile among the workforce. The museum, which is located on the site of an old motel just outside the NSA fence line, opened to the general public in December 1993 and hosts more than 50,000 visitors a year. It is supported with NSA resources and personnel, and it is the most visible part of the agency’s history program, yet it is not part of the history office. It falls under the Public Affairs Office in the NSA’s Corporate Communications Strategy Group. The Center for Cryptologic History, meanwhile, is associated with the National Cryptologic School in the agency’s Associate Directorate for Education and Training. The third part of the history program—the archives—is subordinate to the NSA’s Office of Policy, which also supervises the records management program.

To help ensure that these different parts of the history program function

in a coordinated and effective manner, the NSA created a high-level advisory group, the NSA Advisory Board’s History, Literature and Museum Panel, to oversee all parts of the agency’s history program. The panel’s members include the heads of each of the three organizations that “own” a part of the history program (the National Cryptologic School, Corporate Communications, and the Office of Policy), the chiefs of staff of the agency’s major operational divisions, senior executives from a variety of agency directorates, a flag-rank military officer, two senior retired officials, and two senior-executive representatives from the CIA. The panel’s charter calls for it to “provide recurring assessments of the [NSA] history program” and to submit “an overall evaluation of the history program” annually to the NSA’s Director, Lieutenant General Michael V. Hayden. The panel is also tasked with making “recommendations for improving [the] impact and effectiveness” of the history program.

The History, Literature and Museum Panel helps give the history program visibility at the agency’s highest level and also demonstrates the importance the NSA’s top leadership assigns to history. But the existence of the panel and support for history from the topmost leadership are not enough to make the history program successful or relevant. The Center for Cryptologic History is now focusing on creating a culture among the workforce and through all levels of management in which there is an awareness of the agency’s history and an appreciation for the value a historical perspective can provide.

A powerful way to increase the visibility of history is to take advantage of the capabilities of what has become the single most important piece of equipment on almost every employee’s desk: the computer. Like other government agencies, the NSA has an internal computer network that ties together all the agency personnel working at Fort Meade, as well as those assigned to field sites away from the Baltimore/Washington, D.C., area. The first thing an NSA employee is likely to do after arriving at work is to turn on the computer and log onto

“NSA Net.” The webpage that comes up initially, the “NSA Daily” page, provides links to key sites, information about recent developments of interest to the work force, short illustrated articles, and a regular feature called “History Today.”

Every workday, “History Today” provides a different historical vignette that relates in some way to cryptology. The popularity of this feature among NSA employees has been nothing short of astounding. Many employees report that it is the first thing they read every morning. Several very senior executives have told me that when they are out of the office for travel or vacation, they make it a point to catch up on the “History Today” articles they missed while they were away. Tag lines at the bottom of the feature suggest CCH publications or products that provide additional information on the historical story, and the center receives requests every day—sometimes dozens, sometimes even hundreds—for copies of historical publications. Employees can also send questions or comments about “History Today” to CCH, and they do, almost every day. Informal surveys rarely turn up anyone who is not familiar with this historical on-line feature.

“History Today” has been a tremendously powerful tool for increasing the visibility of cryptologic history at the NSA. It also reveals that there is a latent interest in history among a very large number of employees, and that if historical information is easy to access and presented in an interesting way, as it is on “History Today,” there will be a ready audience for it.

CCH has also taken other steps to raise the visibility of the history program for the workforce. One important initiative has been to start an orientation program at the National Cryptologic Museum for every newly hired NSA employee. In the past, new employees would report to an administrative in-processing facility where parking was hard to find, and their first impression of the NSA was a blizzard of paperwork. Now the new hires’ first day begins at the museum, where they are welcomed by a senior executive, given the oath of office, and then sent off for

2005 SHAFR ELECTION OF OFFICERS

Congratulations to the following individuals who were elected by the SHAFR membership to serve in the offices indicated:

President

Randall B. Woods
University of Arkansas

Vice-President

Richard H. Immerman
Temple University

Council

Stephen G. Rabe
University of Texas at Dallas

Mark A. Lawrence
University of Texas at Austin

Craig Daigle
George Washington University

Nominating Committee

Priscilla Roberts
University of Hong Kong



an hour-long guided tour of the museum. The message emphasized in the tour is that their cryptologic predecessors changed the history of the world. Some are skeptical about this claim at first, but when they see how brilliant cryptologists broke the ciphers and codes used by the Germans and Japanese during World War II and how the intelligence derived from these sources helped to defeat the Axis powers in campaign after campaign, they can appreciate the importance of the work they are about to begin. Critique forms from the new hires who take the museum tour are overwhelmingly enthusiastic and positive. Many, in fact, mention their desire to return to the museum later (perhaps with family and friends) to learn more about their cryptologic heritage.

Our hope is that the exposure provided by "History Today" and the museum orientation for new hires will help create a culture of historical awareness among the NSA workforce. Other initiatives designed to accomplish this goal include historical posters that are part of a "History in the Hallways" project, a cryptologic history course offered several times a year, historical articles in NSA's quarterly publication for employees and their families (*The Key*), and a user-friendly historical website on the internal network. These initiatives help us move towards accomplishing two goals in our mission statement: enhancing cryptologic knowledge and *esprit de corps*. But it is also the history program's mission to enhance decision making, and this requires getting the NSA's leaders at all levels to appreciate the value of having a historical perspective.

One way to do that is to introduce a history component into leadership training at the NSA. A historical approach to teaching leadership is common in professional military education programs at non-commissioned officer academies, command and staff schools, and the war colleges. At the Air Force Academy, both the Behavioral Science Department and the History Department offer courses designed to help cadets hone their leadership abilities, the former by focusing on

behavioral research and models, the latter by studying how (and why) historical leaders succeeded and failed. Career military personnel, in both the officer and enlisted ranks, have long believed that it is worthwhile to study great military leaders of the past such as Alexander the Great, Hannibal and Caesar; or George Washington, Napoleon, and Lord Nelson; or George Marshall, Douglas MacArthur and Dwight Eisenhower. Learning why such leaders were sometimes victorious in combat, and why sometimes they were not, is a central aspect of professional military education.

At the National Security Agency, most leadership training at the National Cryptologic School's Center for Leadership focuses on the behavioral science approach. What behavioral skills does a leader need? What types of exercises and discussions can help students learn those behaviors and put them into practice? This kind of training can lead to powerful learning experiences, and feedback from those going through the NSA's leadership courses has been positive. But there is also a growing recognition that history can provide a useful complement to this type of leadership training.

NSA supervisors being groomed for eventual promotion into the senior executive ranks participate in what is called the "Senior Leadership Candidate Development Program." History is now becoming a part of the curriculum for these leaders of the future. For example, they recently participated in a day-long history session that included a couple of short presentations on cryptologic successes and failures during World War II, a case study on Pearl Harbor that enabled them to see problems with the way intelligence was disseminated prior to the attack, and a classified case study that put them into the position of historical NSA leaders who had to deal with a serious problem in intelligence reporting. Those participating found these historical cases fascinating learning experiences, and their feedback on the critique forms was extraordinarily positive. Similar case studies are now being used in the orientation program

for NSA's newly elevated senior executives.

Plans are also underway to take the senior leadership candidates on what the Army calls a "staff ride" to the Antietam battlefield. There they will learn how intelligence—both very good and very bad—played a central role in shaping the way General McClellan maneuvered the Army of the Potomac. And by understanding how McClellan interacted with his intelligence leaders (Pinkerton detectives hired by the Union forces), the NSA's future leaders will gain some valuable insights into issues that still challenge intelligence professionals and commanders today.

Working with the NSA's Center for Leadership to introduce history into such programs helps the Center for Cryptologic History create a historical awareness among selected members of the agency's current and future leadership. Our intent is to have these leaders find their engagement with history to be worthwhile so that they recognize the value of having a historical perspective as they make decisions that will shape today's and tomorrow's cryptologic operations. As more leadership candidates go through these programs, it is our hope that our ability to create a culture in the agency's top levels that values history and uses it to help accomplish the agency's mission will increase.

Our ultimate goal is to have NSA leaders turn to us for historical support as they plan and conduct operations. History offices at CIA, the Army, and the Air Force (and, I am sure, other agencies) have been generally successful at accomplishing this. At NSA we still have much to do to get to this level of providing historical support to decision-makers, but establishing a culture of history is not an overnight process. The steps we have taken, however, have been positively received, and we are encouraged by the progress we have made.

There is more, of course, to the NSA history program than what has been discussed here. We have prepared illustrated lectures for courses at the National Cryptologic School, given guest lectures at war colleges, supported the creation of museum displays, helped prepare

training videos with historical themes, put together history webpages for NSA's unclassified website (www.nsa.gov), provided a representative to the Interagency Working Group on Nazi and Japanese War Crimes, helped NSA organizations learn how to document a crisis, conducted hundreds of oral history interviews, and sponsored a biennial cryptologic history symposium open to the general public (the next one is scheduled for October 2005). We have also published numerous pamphlets, brochures, and monographs on cryptologic history at both the classified and unclassified levels.

Does the NSA get a return on its investment in its history program? Unfortunately, there are no easily available statistics to which we can point. The worth of a history program cannot be measured like win-loss records or batting averages in baseball. The true measure of success will be how effectively the National Security Agency accomplishes its mission and whether the experience of the past helps the agency conduct its operations. The Center for Cryptologic History is taking steps to make the history program more visible and relevant at the NSA, but much remains to be done. What is encouraging is that no one has told us to stop (or significantly cut back) what we are doing, and we are often asked to provide additional historical products and services. That trend suggests we are going in the right direction.

Col. William J. Williams has served as the Chief of the Center for Cryptologic History at the National Security Agency.

Lunch in Philly at the AHA!

Saturday, Jan. 7, 2006 12:00 p.m.
Maggiano's Little Italy
1201 Filbert Street

Bernard Trainor

*Lieutenant General, USMC (Ret) and
Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign
Relations*

will deliver the keynote lecture,
**“Operation Iraqi Freedom
and the U.S. Military”**

The luncheon price is \$20; for a ticket, mail a check (payable to SHAFR) by Dec. 30, 2005 to SHAFR Business Office, Ohio State University, 106 Dulles Hall, 230 West 17th Avenue, Columbus, OH 43210.
Seating is limited.

Direct Subscriptions to *Passport* May Be Purchased or Renewed for 2006

*Rates: delivery in the United States: \$20.00
delivery outside the United States: \$30.00*

Passport is published three times per year: April, August, December. Order by March 1, 2006 to guarantee delivery of all three issues.

To subscribe, send a check (payable to SHAFR) to SHAFR Business Office, Department of History, Ohio State University, 106 Dulles Hall, 230 West 17th Avenue, Columbus OH 43210 USA. Direct inquiries to passport@osu.edu.

The View from Ottawa: Researching U.S. Foreign Policy in Canada

Greg Donaghy

While Canadian records are an obvious and necessary source for American historians working on bilateral relations with Canada, I am often surprised by the dismissive reaction of many scholars of U.S. foreign policy to the suggestion that a visit to Ottawa might add considerably to their research. Few countries in the world have such similar political, cultural, and economic values as Canada and the United States. This convergence has made them especially close allies for much of the period since 1945. In the decade after World War II, Canada's relative economic and military strength made it a useful American ally in NATO, where it was one of the three founding nations, and at the United Nations, where its accomplished foreign minister, Lester B. Pearson, was often helpful in American efforts to mobilize the world body behind the West. Canada was the fourth largest Western contributor to the conflict in Korea, was active at the 1954 Geneva Conference, and enjoyed a unique perspective on the wars in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia by virtue of its membership in various international supervisory commissions, which lasted until the spring of 1973.

While Canadian power faded during the 1960s as Europe and Asia recovered fully from the war, Canada remained an active internationalist and a willing, if sometimes difficult, U.S. partner. A committed peacekeeper, Canada was involved in almost every international peacekeeping operation between the Suez Crisis of 1956 and the disintegration of Yugoslavia in the early 1990s. Canadian troops were kept particularly busy minding Western interests in the Middle East and Cyprus from the mid-1960s to the late 1980s. Successive Canadian governments pursued a strong free-trade policy and actively cooperated

with Washington to promote a liberal international trade order through multilateral instruments like the GATT/WTO, the OEEC/OECD, and the World Bank. This shared outlook on the world economy accounts in part for President Gerald Ford's decision to sponsor Canada's membership in the G-7 in 1975.

From the American perspective, Canada's contribution to the U.S. effort to create a liberal world order has been important on occasion but rarely decisive. Usually, Washington could afford to proceed as it wished, without paying too much attention to its much less populous northern neighbor. This has never been true for Canada, whose economic or political fortunes have often been profoundly affected—sometimes inadvertently—by American decisions. Consequently, Canadian policymakers have made it a priority to know what their American colleagues were thinking and doing the world over. Canadian politicians, diplomats, and soldiers, as well as trade and treasury officials, have cultivated close, productive relations with their American counterparts, sometimes attending the same graduate schools and frequenting the same vacation retreats in northern Canada or Florida. Comparing notes and trading information, Canadians worked hard at developing an appreciation of the divisions among American policymakers, of the distribution of power in Washington, and of the likely course of American policy. The Library and Archives of Canada (LAC) in Ottawa contains many of their observations and conclusions and represents an extraordinarily rich source of documentary information on the evolution and implementation of American foreign policy.

Researchers interested in examining Canadian records should begin at the LAC's webpage, [http://www.](http://www.collectionscanada.ca/index-e.html)

[collectionscanada.ca/index-e.html](http://www.collectionscanada.ca/index-e.html), where an online finding aid, dubbed ArchiviaNet, can help scholars both identify and order the government and private records that they need. Those interested in international affairs should focus first on the departments of External Affairs (Record Group 25), Trade and Commerce (RG 20), Finance (RG 19), and National Defence (RG 24). The records of the cabinet and the Privy Council Office (RG 2), which oversees policymaking within the bureaucracy and provides nonpartisan advice directly to the prime minister, are also vital. With the exception of Privy Council Office (PCO) records, material from each of these departments through to the 1980s has been shipped to the LAC, though not all material has been entered into the online finding aid. This is especially true of the LAC's more recent accessions. The PCO declassifies cabinet documents and minutes under a thirty-year rule, with the latter available online at the LAC website. It has also retained its central registry files for the period after 1959. Researchers who do not find what they are looking for should contact the responsible archivist. Names and contact information will be provided if researchers request this information through the Reference Inquiry Form found at: <http://www.collectionscanada.ca/contact/index-e.html>.

Having identified the relevant records, researchers should be careful to order them by file rather than box or volume number as this will hasten declassification, an often slow and confusing challenge at the LAC. Not all material transferred to the archives is declassified by the originating department, which leaves it to LAC staff to review and release material in response to individual requests. This process proceeds in accordance with the provisions of Canada's access to

information and privacy legislation, modeled on similar U.S. laws, and may include lengthy consultations with the originating department and other governments, depending on the nature of the files under review. Rising demand over the past few years has placed a severe burden on the LAC, which, despite recent efforts to address this problem, still has a declassification backlog of almost eighteen months.

Researchers should not get too discouraged, however, on learning that a requested file is "closed" and must be processed through the LAC's infamous "Access to Information Unit." "Closed" can actually mean several different things. As the open/closed description is normally applied at the box or volume level and not to individual files, access officers may find that a requested file is actually open, transfer it to an interim box, and make it quickly available. "Closed" may also refer to a file that has been reviewed and partly declassified since closed material is normally stored with its original file. In this case too, a review officer would remove the closed portion of the file, place the remainder in an interim box, and make it available, normally within a few weeks. Unfortunately, however, "closed" sometimes means precisely that, and the long wait times involved in clearing material can make it very difficult for historians working on more recent or specialised topics. Needless to say, it can be very useful to consult regularly with access staff on the status of requests. Researchers may even wish to point out similar records from other collections that are available elsewhere.

The personal papers of Canadian politicians and officials are not subject to the access and privacy legislation, although LAC archivists normally apply the spirit of the legislation to government documents within private collections. While collections from policymakers active in the 1950s and the 1960s are largely open, more recent collections remain closed, requiring researchers to seek access from donors or their literary heirs. Nevertheless, the rules governing personal collections often remain a little more flexible than the regime

in place for official papers, and with the help of a supportive donor and a friendly archivist, researchers can find their way into a surprising number of collections.

Although working conditions and service at the Library and Archives of Canada have declined over the last decade or so, it remains a congenial place to conduct research. The bright and airy reading room, with its panoramic views over the Ottawa River, remains one of the best working spaces for researchers in the world. Open from 7 A.M. to 11 P.M. seven days a week, the LAC's reading room is also one of the most accessible. Unfortunately, as most of its material is now stored off-site, retrieval times are often long, with material ordered after 10:30 A.M. usually unavailable until the following morning. A decision to move much of the LAC staff to a new suburban facility means that archivists too will soon be off-site, with obvious consequences for researchers needing assistance. Photocopying is permitted but is neither cheap nor fast. Regular orders, which can take as long as eight weeks to process, cost 40 cents Cdn/page, while overnight rush orders can be had for 80 cents Cdn/page. In contrast with most major archives, the LAC is still wrestling with the question of digital cameras, which remain banned.

There are other sources for good material on international affairs in Ottawa. Several government departments, including the PCO, Foreign Affairs, and Environment Canada, offer informal access programs through which senior graduate students and academics are sometimes allowed to consult closed material on a background basis. Although normally restricted to Canadian citizens, these programs have occasionally been able to help American scholars gain limited access to restricted Canadian records on a number of subjects, including the trafficking of illegal drugs, North American environmental regulation, and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The Directorate of History and Heritage (DHH) at the Department of National Defence operates a small but excellent military archive, which

contains a good deal of material on continental defence as well as on NATO and Canadian peacekeeping operations. Happily, DHH has its own declassification authority, which means that records can often be made available expeditiously. DHH maintains a website at:

http://www.dnd.ca/hr/dhh/engraph/home_e.asp. The Bank of Canada, the country's central monetary agency, also maintains a very good archive, with considerable material on international financial issues. More information on the Bank's archives can be found at www.bankofcanada.ca/archives/english.

Finally, researchers who cannot get to Ottawa might be interested to learn of the series Documents on Canadian External Relations (DCER), published by the Historical Section of Foreign Affairs Canada (FAC). Inspired by *FRUS*, the Canadian series is designed to give scholars a comprehensive record of the government's major foreign policy decisions and their underlying rationale. The first six volumes, which stretch from 1909 to 1939, trace Canada's effort to become an autonomous dominion within the British Empire. Volumes 7 through 11 document Canadian diplomacy during World War II, while subsequent volumes, which now cover the period until the late 1950s, follow Canada's diplomatic fortunes in the Cold War, which provides them with a thematic unity. Widely available in libraries in the United States and Europe, recent volumes are also posted online at www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/department/history. A limited number of printed volumes for the post-1945 period may be purchased through Government of Canada Publications at <http://publications.gc.ca/control/publicHomePage?lang=English>.

Greg Donaghy is Head of the Historical Section, Department of Foreign Affairs Canada.

What We Teach and How We Teach It: Indications and Opportunities from the SHAFR Survey of Teaching

Richard Hume Werking and Dustin Walcher

When confronting the SHAFR Survey of Teaching several months ago, some of our colleagues may have been reminded of Samuel Johnson's famous assessment of John Milton's *Paradise Lost*: "None ever wished it longer than it is." If so, the connection is understandable. The survey contained 106 questions, not counting those in the supplement, and some of them were open-ended. Nevertheless, some 150 hardy souls responded and completed many of the questions, furnishing data on more than three hundred courses dealing with the history of American foreign relations.

SHAFR's Teaching Committee conducted the survey from April to June of this year, with indispensable support from the SHAFR Business Office. As noted in the introductory letter from Teaching Committee chair Mark Gilderhus, the purpose of the survey was to ascertain what courses were being taught and how they were being taught. Members were encouraged to respond to the survey via the SHAFR website, while a paper version was published in *Passport*. Six respondents chose to use the paper version, and their responses were entered into the online database by the graduate assistant.

Unfortunately, it is not possible to determine the survey's response rate. Although SHAFR has about 1,500 members, a large number of these individuals do not teach, according to SHAFR executive director Peter Hahn, and hence would not have been in a position to respond. Moreover, since SHAFR does not maintain data on its members showing occupation, longevity of teaching experience, highest degree earned, etc., it is far from certain how representative the respondents are of the whole SHAFR membership or even that portion of the membership that teaches undergraduates.

This article provides a summary of some of the survey results. We encourage you to view for yourself the responses available on the SHAFR website at www.shafr.org. Along with a copy of the questionnaire, numbers and percentages are posted for the responses to the questions for which respondents were asked to select a single answer (e.g., "type of college/university where you teach"), and there are lists of answers to the more open-ended questions (e.g., descriptive titles of courses offered). A follow-up article analyzing correlations among some of the variables and responses may appear in a future issue of *Passport*.

Part I

The web survey was divided into three parts to enable respondents to answer one part at a single sitting and take up other parts later. Part I of the web version comprised questions 1-69. Part II continued the main body of the survey and had its own numbering sequence, 1-37. Part III, the survey supplement, was designed to gather for additional courses the same information sought in portions of Parts I and II.

Section I. Faculty and Institution Information

Numbers on the left below are the question numbers used in the web version of the survey; answers are not provided here for every question.

3. **Member of SHAFR?** Yes: 99%. No: 1%. (N=151)

4. **Year that you began teaching at the college level?** The answers in the aggregate were surprising: the median year (with half the respondents beginning teaching before, half after) was calculated to be 1993. Three-quarters of the respondents began their teaching career in 1981 or later, one-quarter in 1999 or later. The earliest year given was 1962, the most recent 2005 (four such respondents). (N=153)

5. **Highest degree?** Ph.D.: 90%. Master's: 9%. Baccalaureate ("B.A. Honours"): 1% (a single respondent). (N=154)

7. **Full-time/Part-time?** Full-time: 87.5%. Part-time: 12.5%. (N=152)

8. **Male/Female?** Male: 82%. Female: 18%. (N=150)

9. **Type of college/university where you teach?** (N=154)

- Doctoral/research: 46%
- Masters: 24%
- Baccalaureate: 20%
- Community College: 5%
- Other: 5%

10. **Length of school's term?** (N=151)

- Semester: 85%
- Quarter: 11%
- Other: 4%

Section II. Basic Course Information

In this section, respondents were asked to answer six questions about each of their undergraduate courses that deal to a significant degree with the history of U.S. foreign relations. The main body of the questionnaire was designed to collect information for three courses, and the supplement had space for three more. Hence the frequent appearance of three question numbers on the left in this section.

These numbers track the pertinent questions in the main part of the survey; where applicable, the few answers from the supplement (which drew seven respondents) have been folded in. In the sections below (questions #12 through #64 and in Part II, #2 through #23), the answers to a particular question have almost always been combined for all courses. With about 150 respondents and a total of 323 courses identified, the "typical" respondent thus provided information on two courses.

In a couple of instances, the process of rounding resulted in percentages that do not total exactly 100%.

12., 18., & 24. **Descriptive course title?** Some 207 of the 323 responses fell into one of five categories, as follows:

- a. Twentieth-century U.S. Foreign Relations: 64 (with chronological coverage usually beginning with the 1890s, or 1900, or the 1910s)
- b. 1945 to present: 45
- c. Vietnam: 44
- d. U.S. Foreign Relations, beginnings to present: 27
- e. U.S. Foreign Relations, beginnings to 1914 or 1920 or 1900: 26

13., 19., 25. **Distance education?** No: 97%. Yes: 3%. (N=313)

14., 20., 26. **Typical class size?** (N=309)

- a. fewer than 18 students: 18%
- b. 18-30 students: 36%
- c. 31-50 students: 29%
- d. 51-80 students: 6%
- e. more than 80 students: 11%

15., 21., 27. **With teaching assistants?** No: 81%. Yes: 19%. (N=313)

(Hence 54% of these classes had 30 students or fewer. While 17% had more than 50 students, 19% had teaching assistants.)

16., 22., 28. **Typical enrollment by major?** Mix of History and other majors: 87%.

History majors only: 7%. No History majors: 6%. (N=310)

17., 23., 29. **Typical enrollment by level of student?** (N=314)

- Chiefly juniors or seniors: 70%
- Chiefly sophomores or juniors: 13%
- Chiefly freshmen or sophomores: 7%
- Other: 10%

Section III. How Courses Are Taught

A. Required Materials

31., 32., 33. **Principal textbook?** Responses numbered 305. Of these, 253 indicated use of a textbook. The two most commonly used texts were Paterson, Clifford, and Hagan, *American Foreign Relations: A History* (with 50 references) and Walter LaFeber, *The American Age* (with 28). The full list is available on the website.

34., 35., 36. **Other principal readings that are especially important or interesting?** Of the 273 responses, only 9 indicated that no additional reading was used. For details, see the website.

37., 38., 39. **Principal viewing/listening?** Of the 199 responses, 37 indicated that they did not use such materials. Again, see the website for details.

40. **In addition, any especially effective primary sources?** There were seventy responses, with most of them listing one or more documents; eighteen responses noted the use of various online collections. Most frequently cited was the time-honored *Foreign Relations of the United States*, including its online version, with 19 mentions.¹

One particularly interesting example offered by a respondent: “*NY Times* front page article from Dec. 1943 that discussed plan of sending interned Japanese-Americans to the midwest to teach farmers to bathe and be clean is always a hit.”

B. How Courses are Taught: Types of Assignments

41., 49., 57. **Research papers (i.e., students going beyond specified readings)?**
(N=255)

10 or more pages each, including primary sources: 49%

Fewer than 10 pages each, including primary sources: 26%

10 or more pages each, secondary sources only: 15%

Fewer than 10 pages each, secondary sources only: 11%

(Hence at least 255 of the 323 identified courses (79%) required research in materials beyond those specified by the professor; of these, three-quarters required research in primary sources.)

42., 50., 58. **Book reviews?** No: 53%. Yes: 47%. (N=298)

43., 51., 59. **Article reviews?** No: 76%. Yes: 24%. (N=291)

44., 52., 60. **Other writing assignments from specified readings?** (N=227)

Fewer than 5 pages each: 67%

5-10 pages each: 25%

More than 10 pages each: 9%

45., 53., 61. **Require use of electronic resources?** No: 65%. Yes: 35%. (N=308)

46., 54., 62. **Require examination of specialized websites?** No: 77%. Yes: 23%. (N=304)

47., 55., 63. **In-class student presentations?** No: 54%. Yes: 46%. (N=308)

48., 56., 64. **Group projects?** No: 78%. Yes: 22%. (N=307)

65., 66. **Do you use ‘how-to’ books for any classes? If so, which one(s)?**

No: 71%. Yes, recommended: 20%. Yes, required: 9%. (N=148)

Forty-one responses provided specific examples. The most frequently referenced works were William Strunk, Jr. & E. B. White, *The Elements of Style* (16 respondents); Richard Marius, *A Short Guide to Writing About History* (7); Jules Benjamin, *A Student’s Guide to History* (6); and Kate Turabian, *A Manual for Writers* (6).

67., 68. **Do you use course-management software for any classes? If yes, for what purposes?**

No: 54%. Yes: 46%. (N=149)

The most common uses were to post syllabi (94% of respondents did so), to post assignments (91%), and to send students email (75%). Other possibilities were chosen or offered by fewer than half the users.

Part II.

Section III C. How Courses are Taught: Use of In-Class Time

Respondents were asked to provide the percentage of time spent in class on six activities for each course they identified above. Naturally, such percentages varied according to the size and type of class taught.

Below are the percentages for each activity, across all course types and course sizes. The answers for each question were copied onto a spreadsheet and sorted in order to determine the median and quartile values (the values between the median and one end of the range). The last figure in the long row is the number of "zero" answers that respondents gave for the activity.

For example, for "professor's lecture" half the responses provided 50% or a lower figure, while half gave 50% or a higher figure; the percentages ranged from 0-95% (with no one claiming to lecture for 100% of the time); one-quarter of the responses were at 37.5% or below, three-quarters at 70% or below; and 17 of the 286 usable responses reported that zero time was spent on this activity.

These and other data may be analyzed more thoroughly in a future article. For instance, one would generally expect more lecturing in classes with larger enrollments, less in smaller classes. But our analysis in this article does not distinguish between what is done in or with classes of different types and sizes.

Questions 2-23 in Part II were devoted to this section of the questionnaire.

Professor's lecture: M=50%. Range: 0-95%. Q1: 37.5%. Q3: 70%. # of "0": 17.
(N=286)

Class discussion: M=25%. Range: 0-96%. Q1: 15%. Q3: 33%. # of "0": 1.
(N=275)

Small group activities: M=5%. Range: 0-38%. Q1: 0%. Q3: 10%. # of "0": 77.
(N=178)

Student presentations: M=5%. Range: 0-60%. Q1: 0%. Q3: 10%. # of "0": 76.
(N=193)

Viewing or listening to audiovisuals: M=10%. Range: 0-33%. Q1: 5%. Q3: 15%. # of "0": 35.
(N=212)

Testing or other evaluation: M=5%. Range: 0-25%. Q1: 3%. Q3: 3%. # of "0": 42.
(N=235)

SHAFR Activities at the Annual Meeting of the Organization of American Historians April 2006 Washington DC

Reception (cash bar)
Thursday, April 20, 2006
5:00-7:00 pm

Luncheon
Friday, April 21, 2006
12:00-2:00 p.m.

Kristin Hoganson of the University of Illinois will deliver her Bernath Lecture, "Stuffing It: Adding Consumption to the History of U.S. Foreign Relations."

SHAFR will also announce the winners of the 2006 Stuart L. Bernath Book Prize, Robert Ferrell Book Prize, Myrna Bernath Book Prize, Stuart L. Bernath Lecture Prize, and Stuart L. Bernath Article Prize.

Tickets to the luncheon must be purchased in advance from the OAH. Details will appear in OAH registration materials.

Two of the replies to the **Comments/Clarifications?** question in this section were as follows:

"I tend not to use videotapes, but provide visuals through PowerPoint that spark discussion. I have found that student presentations vary so significantly in quality that they can waste time. When I do arrive in lecture at a topic I know a student is writing about, I ask them to lead the discussion (briefly), if I feel they are capable."

"Students have to do research for a character within one of seven groups (press, US military, US government, Peace protesters, South Vietnamese, NLF, North Vietnamese) and then they are responsible for an end of the semester press conference set in December 1969. Notes (with citations) and bibliography are due as well."

Section III D. How Courses Are Taught: General

In this section, respondents were asked to respond to a series of open-ended questions. The results may be viewed on the SHAFR website. The questions and a few of the answers are reproduced below.

24. What topics, themes, or interpretive frameworks most interest your students currently? (e.g., World War II, gender, NGOs, personalities of leaders, military, economics?)

(N=130)

"US military intervention/foreign policy, globalization, human rights."

"Students are most interested in anything that can be related to the present. They also like the novels and technological-moral issues, and a certain segment are always into the wars, especially World War II, Vietnam, and the Civil War."

"Students enjoyed Cold War themes (reflecting my own interests) in the foreign policy class; overall, students really get into political history and even military history, though I cover less of that in my surveys; interestingly enough, though, they tend to do better on social history topics when exam time comes."

"My personal reactions, particularly how wrong my opinions have often been, to political, economic, and diplomatic events since about 1960."

25. Are there new topics, themes, or interpretive frameworks that you expect to introduce into one or more of your courses in the next year or two?

(N=92, with 72 responding in the affirmative)

"In an undergraduate class of 250 students it's difficult to be fancy. As we move on, I am more and more inclined to start the course from 1945 and come up to the present rather than stop at 1991."

"What I want to ensure is students think critically about foreign policy and have support from documents for their positions. I have added more on the Middle East."

"I tried tourism, which turned out to be a big flop."

26. Are there new required readings or viewing materials that you expect to introduce into one or more of your courses in the next year or two? (N=85)

"Nick Cullather's book on Guatemala, mentioned by Robert Shaffer in that good December *Passport* article."

"Not thrilled with Sherry, which at times is too much a polemic and a bit heavy on the holy race-class-gender trinity. But no other book covers the breadth of subjects that he does over as long a period. In the past, I have used "The Manchurian Candidate" in place of "Dr. Strangelove" for the Cold War class, and I hope to introduce "The Fog of War" this year, using materials developed by SHAFR."

"Was contemplating Kristin Hoganson's book on the Spanish-American War; I can only feasibly switch out one book a semester given my own work load, so that's one I may consider in the future; perhaps Walter Hixson's *Parting the Curtain* to integrate culture and diplomacy."

"I change my readings every semester/year to stay fresh. Also to defeat plagiarism-repeat papers."

27. Are there new assignments? (N=72)

"More research--lost skill."

"The kind of assignment Shaffer discussed in that article--especially having students compare Bemis with Williams."

"Smaller, more frequent writing assignments, sometimes written in the first person as a memo recommending a specific policy to the president at a key turning point."

"I often require students to create a "Major Problems" chapter on a topic not covered in the assigned reader--complete with introductions, documents, essays, and bibliography."

"None that I've planned. I feel 'bad' about not assigning a research paper, but our students actually can work with primary sources quite well given our own departmental emphasis; I assign book reviews in part because they are less equipped to deal with secondary sources and understanding their use in developing new arguments or areas of research, not to mention framing big historical issues."

"I have begun to insist on non-American (translated) primary sources to be included in final papers. They are available on the web. In some cases I am asking for foreign-language sources. I am working with colleagues in the modern languages department to link assignments using foreign-language primary documents. This is an issue we need to take more seriously, even at the undergraduate level."

"No. The revised papers (after class discussion and my personal critique) tend to be of very high quality."

28. Are there new in-class teaching methods? (N=68)

"Not really. I enjoy, maybe too much, explaining the concepts and ironies in international affairs. What could be more fun than Reagan and Gorbachev?"

"Using more in-class, low-stakes writing assignments to assess how well students are absorbing material."

"Expanding small group assignments, including peer review of written work."

"Introducing 'syndicates' for fortnightly meetings. Students will work in the same group over the course of the semester and present their findings to the class."

"This dog is too old to learn new tricks. I get by just fine with a map and a piece of chalk."

"No--the ones I use appear to continue to work very well."

29. If applicable to your situation, in a few words please describe how the advent of electronic resources (e.g., full-text journal articles, primary sources, other websites) has affected your teaching or how your students learn. (N=94)

"JSTOR is their nearly unique source of articles and reviews here. They are very well versed in using the web--the challenge is to implant circumspection in choosing legitimate sources of information."

"They/we do not have access to JSTOR etc. I try to keep them off the computer and into their books."

"Nothing has had a greater impact on my undergraduate teaching, and on undergraduate research, than this. I am able to get 75-80 undergrads (with TA support) per class to do nothing but research assignments--no exams, etc. but all research--which would not be possible for me to do without electronic access to research materials. These projects start small, with assigned topics (for example a short paper on the use of the internet in public diplomacy by a nation other than the USA) and build to an individual 20 page research paper by the end of the quarter."

"Not at all--don't use them."

"Very important to me. My courses are moving towards full web integration, with online discussion groups, links for each week's readings, and extensive use of JSTOR and pdf-format articles."

"I really don't care for internet sources and I discourage my students from using them in papers."

"At a small liberal arts college with a small library, electronic resources have allowed the teaching of research techniques in upper level seminars that more closely approximate those at large universities. As a result, I am finding it easier to get students into graduate programs and, once there, they tend to thrive because they have already seen all the necessary research tools."

"Great! Except for Google, which is a temptation unto 'evil.'"

"It has not affected my teaching at all. It HAS affected how my students conduct research."

"I use material available on the web in all my classes. Online maps have been extremely helpful. I play Johnson audio tapes, available through the CSPAN web site. I give assignments that ask students to use various web resources, such as documents on the Korean War available on the Harry S. Truman Library web site, as the basis of analytical writing assignments."

[The next two comments brought home to the survey's principal composer an unconscious assumption built into the question's wording that reflected the fact that he went through school and began his teaching career decades ago.]

"As a new professor, I make extensive use of electronic resources, but this isn't 'new' to me, it's just how I was trained as a student from the mid-1990s-present."

"Full text journal articles, digitalized sources and web sites have been available since before I started teaching. I take them for granted, as do my students, and we avail ourselves of them."

30. If you require your students to use these electronic resources, which ones do you consider most important? (N=66)

Heavily represented in the answers are websites of one kind or another, JSTOR, other journal articles, and the *Foreign Relations* series.

31. Are there other materials you would like to see available online, or more easily accessible online than at present? (e.g., all of the *FRUS* series, certain collections of photographs) (N=79)

In the closest thing to unanimity found in the answers to this survey, 60 of the 79 respondents specified the *Foreign Relations* series.

There was also this reply: "Not certain, as I prefer that they learn to use the library and open books."

34. In what ways is your teaching evaluated other than the traditional end-of-semester student evaluations? (e.g., mid-term student evaluations, "one-minute papers," peer visits to classes) (N=98, with 28 explicitly indicating none)

Peer visits were mentioned by 44 of the respondents (not including those cases when they seemed to be used only as part of the promotion process).

35. With enough time and resources, what would you like to do differently, if anything, in terms of topics/themes/frameworks, materials, assignments, in-class activities, evaluation, or other? (N=96)

The most frequently identified areas were the following: thirteen respondents would like to do more with discussion, twelve would do more group work, and ten more writing.

36. SHAFR AND TEACHING

The last section of the survey invited respondents to tell the Teaching Committee how SHAFR might assist them with their teaching. Once again, all responses are on the SHAFR website. The respondents to this question appeared strongly interested in

having SHAFR help to support their teaching.

The SHAFR Task Force on Teaching is considering recommending to the SHAFR Council a number of initiatives to promote and support teaching, such as a regular column in *Passport*, workshops or programs at annual meetings, and the like. A "Syllabus Initiative" has begun, is growing, and is accepting contributions at <http://www.shafr.org/syllabusinitiative.htm>.

What topics would you most like to see addressed by these activities (e.g., use of particular documents or types of documents, especially worthwhile audiovisual products, bibliographic instruction combining the traditional with the modern electronic library, innovative assignments or in-class activities, etc.), and in what venues? (N=97)

"Survey students five or ten years after graduation and ask them what they learned in college that's been especially worthwhile, and why; and what changes they'd suggest."

"A SHAFR web site that would offer not just links to other sites that have primary materials, but primary materials themselves, which would include anything in the public domain such as maps, charts, photos, documents, etc."

"All the listed topics would be GREAT. Also: assessing Web sites²; 'lessons learned' from long-time successful professors."

"It would be terrific to see more essays in *Passport* or *DH*, and SHAFR panels devoted to the art of teaching. I have always felt that those of us at liberal arts colleges are on the fringes of SHAFR."

"Novel ways to approach certain topics; examples of interesting/different assignments; lists of monographs undergraduates can grasp and will read. This could be presented at the SHAFR or even through special email--teaching bulletins."

"A more extensive web portal dedicated to teaching resources and links."

"I'd like to see sessions at SHAFR conferences about teaching. Other major professional associations have such sessions. Topics to be addressed could include new electronic resources and new kinds of assignments that electronic access makes available. I'd also like some attention to readings that have been particularly successful. I'm always looking for books and articles that stimulate student interest."

"Document use, use of technology, assignment sharing (including in-class activities), good AV items would all be good topics. The *Passport* column would be good, esp. focused on teaching, encouraging presentations at the annual meetings (perhaps even an open sharing session), or update "column" distributed via H-Diplo."

In order to avoid summoning again the ghosts of Samuel Johnson and John Milton, this report is now concluded. Although complete responses are available on the SHAFR website, the Teaching Committee hopes that this article will provide SHAFR members with a useful overview of the survey. As noted above, additional analyses of the survey results may appear in future issues of *Passport*.

Readers with questions, comments, or suggestions are invited to contact either author (see addresses below) or the Teaching Committee via chair Mark Gilderhus of Texas Christian University (M.Gilderhus@tcu.edu).³ The committee expresses its appreciation to all who took the time to respond to the survey. We believe that it will have been time well spent if the survey and its results contribute to the growing conversation about teaching the history of American foreign relations.

Richard Hume Werking is Library Director and Professor of History at the U.S. Naval Academy in Annapolis (rwerking@usna.edu). He was the survey's principal designer. Dustin Walcher is a doctoral candidate in the History Department at The Ohio State University (walcher.8@osu.edu). He designed and implemented the web version of the survey and managed it once it was launched.

The authors would like to thank the many individuals who made the survey possible: Peter Hahn, Mitchell Lerner, and Julie Rojewski of the SHAFR Business Office; George D. Kuh, Thomas F. N. Laird, and John Kennedy, all of Indiana University, who shared generously their expertise, drawn partly from their experience conducting the Faculty Survey of Student Engagement and similar surveys; the Ohio State University Library; Professor Keith Swigger, Texas Woman's University; Dr. Peter Gray, Director of Academic Assessment at USNA; Professor Craig Symonds of the USNA History Department; Robert Robinson, doctoral candidate in history at The Ohio State University, who set up the web pages on the SHAFR site; and the many other individuals at USNA, The Ohio State University, and elsewhere who provided advice, other assistance, and encouragement.

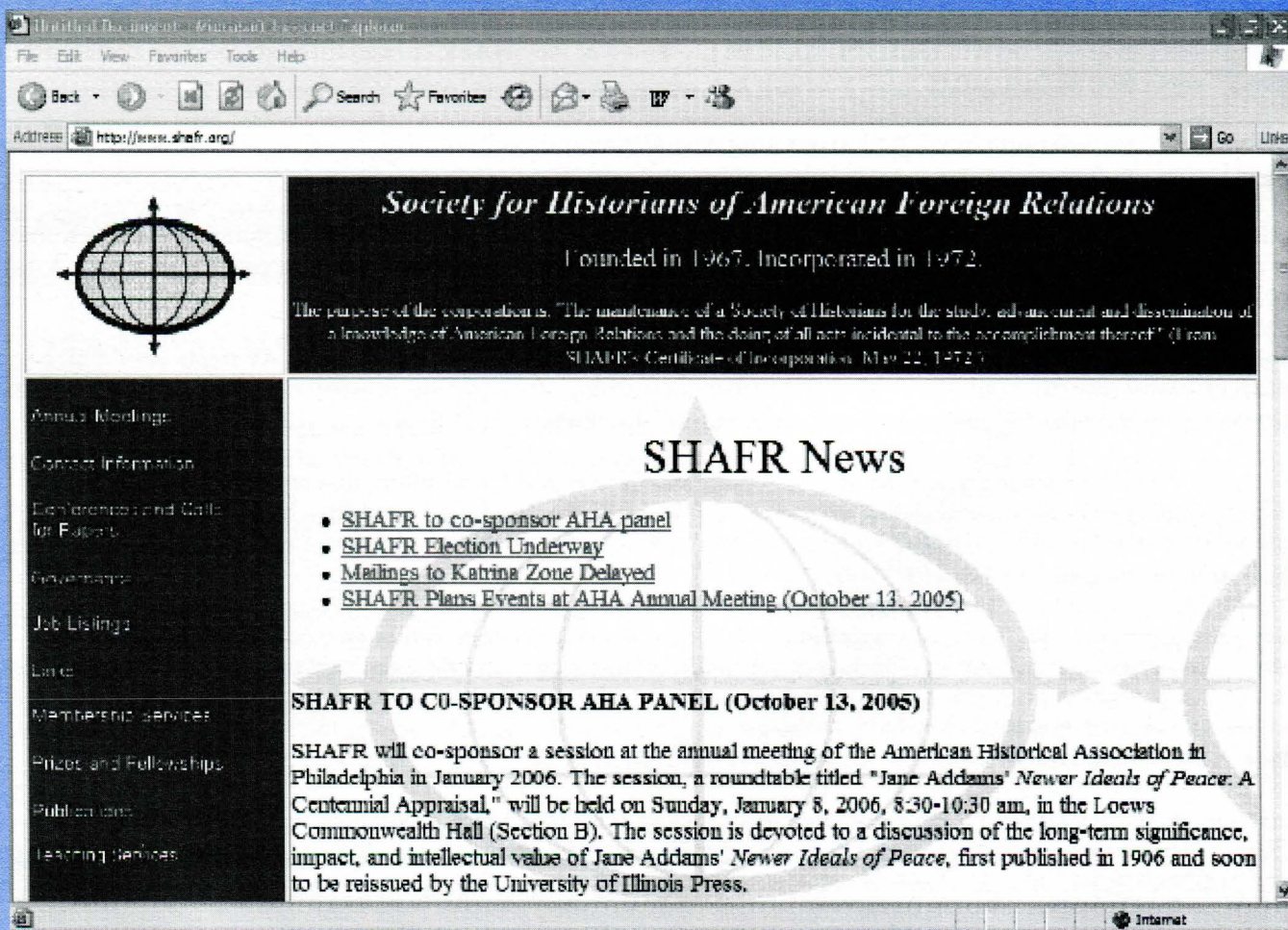
¹ The Department of State website (<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/frus/c1716.htm>) identifies 53 *FRUS* volumes in electronic form,

only four of them with coverage before the Kennedy administration (three for portions of the Eisenhower administration and one for the Truman years). The State Department apparently has no plans to go back and digitize the older volumes, so the University of Wisconsin Library is attempting to fill this gap by digitizing *FRUS* volumes covering the years before 1961. As of this writing, 157 of them are available on the website of the UW Library at <http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/FRUS/About.shtml>.

² Teachers who would like assistance in assessing websites will probably appreciate *Choice* magazine's ninth annual issue reviewing what it considers "some of the most important sites in major disciplines." A book-reviewing journal, perhaps best known to faculty in all disciplines for its "reviews on cards," *Choice* has been published since 1964 by the Association of College & Research Libraries. See *Choice*, Web IX, vol. 42, no. 12 (2005), 4-5, for details about this annual web-review issue. Many SHAFR members will likely be interested in some of the worthwhile sites reviewed in the History, Geography, Area Studies, Political Science, and International Relations sections of this same issue (see pp. 187-217).

³ In addition to Mark Gilderhus, members of the Committee are: Carol Jackson Adams, Ottawa University; Catherine Forslund, Rockford College; Mitchell Lerner, The Ohio State University–Newark; John McNay, University of Cincinnati; Richard Werking, U.S. Naval Academy; and Thomas Zeiler, University of Colorado.

Please take a look at the redesigned SHAFR website!



It features the same web address, www.shafr.org, and a new, easier-to-navigate look

SHAFR AT THE AHA



SHAFR is planning two major functions at the 2006 Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association in Philadelphia:

Reception (cash bar)

Friday, Jan. 6, 5:30-7:30 pm in Loews, Commonwealth Hall, A-1

Luncheon

Keynote Lecture

Bernard Trainor

Lt. General, USMC (Ret) and Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations

"Operation Iraqi Freedom and the U.S. Military"

Saturday, Jan. 7, 12:00-1:45 pm.

(Co-sponsored by Blackwell Publishers)

At Maggiano's Little Italy, 1201 Filbert Street

(a short walk from the convention center and hotels)

The Bernath Dissertation Fellowship and the Gelfand-Rappaport Fellowship will be awarded.

The luncheon price is \$20, which includes a hearty five-course meal served family style, unlimited coffee/tea/soft drinks, gratuity, and tax. To obtain a ticket to the luncheon, please mail a check (payable to SHAFR) by Dec. 30, 2005 to SHAFR Business Office, Ohio State University, 106 Dulles Hall, 230 West 17th Avenue, Columbus, OH 43210.

SHAFR will also co-sponsor a session at the AHA meeting in Philadelphia. The session, a roundtable titled "**Jane Addams' Newer Ideals of Peace: A Centennial Appraisal,**" will be held on Sunday, January 8, 2006, 8:30-10:30 am, in the Loews Commonwealth Hall (Section B). The session is devoted to a discussion of the long-term significance, impact, and intellectual value of Jane Addams' *Newer Ideals of Peace*, first published in 1906 and soon to be reissued by the University of Illinois Press.

Panel participants include co-chairs **Berenice A. Carroll** and **Clinton F. Fink** and presenters **Harriet Hyman Alonso**, City College and Graduate Center, CUNY; **Joyce Blackwell**, St. Augustine's College; **Blanche Wiesen Cook**, John Jay College and Graduate Center, CUNY; **Sandi E. Cooper**, College of Staten Island and Graduate Center, CUNY; and **Marilyn Fischer**, University of Dayton.

2006 SHAFR Conference Scheduled for the Land of Oz

Ted Wilson

Yes, Dorothy, the Society of Historians of American Foreign Relations annual meeting will convene next summer in Kansas. As the call for papers recently sent to all members of the society indicates, the next SHAFR conference is scheduled for June 23-25, 2006, at the University of Kansas (KU). The program committee, headed by Frank Costigliola of the University of Connecticut, is making excellent progress in organizing a stimulating list of scholarly sessions and special events, and we trust that many of you will join us in Lawrence.

My happy assignment as local arrangements chair is to extend a cordial invitation in this brief space on behalf of the SHAFR Council, the Local Arrangements Committee, and KU to come to historic Lawrence for the conference. We also invite you to take advantage of the opportunity, should that prove appealing, to conduct research in one of the various repositories at KU or within easy driving distance. And finally, we offer the special thrill of a sojourn in Lawrence, now and for the foreseeable future pluckily upholding its "free soil" traditions.

Lawrence, KU, and the Surrounding Region

Lawrence, Kansas is a community of 80,000 located some thirty-five miles west of the Kansas City metropolitan area and twenty-five miles east of Topeka, the Kansas state capital. Founded in the 1850s chiefly by "Free Staters," settlers sponsored by Amos Lawrence and the New England Emigrant Aid Society, Lawrence was an outpost of abolitionism huddling on the slopes above the Kansas River. It was at the center of the conflict known as "Burning Kansas" and thus played a pivotal role in the coming of the Civil War. Arising from the ashes

after being burned and pillaged by Quantrill's Raiders in August 1863, Lawrence secured its future three years later by winning the bid for the first public university when Kansas achieved statehood. Though many had hoped that Lawrence would be named the state capital or at the very least be assigned the state prison, over time Lawrencians became reconciled to the university atop Mount Oread, a hogback ridge rising ninety feet above the Kansas River bluffs.

One hundred and forty years later, Lawrence is flourishing, celebrating its diversity and doggedly protecting its identity as a political and cultural oasis against the westward march of the Kansas City metropolitan area. A recent article in the *National Geographic Traveler* singled out Lawrence as one of four dynamic river towns worth a visit. "Set in undulating green hills, with public artwork on every corner, sophisticated shops, and a wide range of live music every night of the week, the vibrant college town of Lawrence blows the Kansas-is-flat-and-boring stereotype right out of the water," the article proclaimed. "A variety of boutiques, galleries, coffee houses, book stores, and bistros create a "boho-hip feeling" along the town's main thoroughfare, Massachusetts Street, or "Mass," as it is known." Since Lawrence has been avowedly "wet" since the 1970s, there is also a plethora of bars (of special note is the Free State microbrewery) catering to students, locals, and visitors.

SHAFR 2006 will be held in the recently refurbished Kansas Union and nearby Adams Alumni Center on the eastern edge of the main campus, a ten-block walk from downtown. Parking will be provided between the Union and the Alumni Center. The KU campus, sprawling across and down all sides of Mount Oread, has been acclaimed as among the most beautiful in the country

and features such attractions as the Spencer Museum of Art, the Spencer Rare Books Library, the Hall Center for the Humanities, and the Dole Institute of Politics. KU currently enrolls 29,000 students—26,000 of them on the Lawrence campus—and has internationally known programs in international relations, Russian, East European, and Eurasian Studies, Latin American Studies, and East Asian Studies.

Collections of significant interest to scholars of American foreign relations at KU include the papers of Kansas senators Robert Dole, Frank Carlson, and James Pearson, the papers of international affairs commentator Ernest Lindley, the Wilcox Collection of political ephemera, especially valuable for the American peace movement, and Vietnam protest literature. The Kansas State Historical Society in Topeka houses the papers of numerous individuals and agencies relevant to the history of American foreign policy. And of course, Lawrence is centrally located for those desiring to work in the Harry S. Truman Presidential Library in Independence, Missouri, the Federal Area Records Center in Kansas City, the Combined Arms Research Library at Fort Leavenworth, and the Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library in Abilene, Kansas.

Getting Here

Lawrence is reached easily by automobile. The city is located between Kansas City and Topeka and has three exits off Interstate 70 (the Kansas Turnpike). Just a forty-minute drive to the east, Kansas City is a crossroads for I-70, I-35, and I-29. The most convenient airport is Kansas City International Airport (MCI), located north of Kansas City and a little more than an hour from Lawrence. All of the main rental car companies have

offices at MCI, and pickup/dropoff is relatively painless. MCI is served by such major airlines as American, Continental, Delta, Frontier, Midwest, Northwest, Southwest, United and US Airways. Shuttle service from several operators is available (the price is currently \$29-\$30 one way and \$59-\$60 round trip), and contact numbers will be provided well in advance of the meeting so that bookings can be confirmed.

Accommodations

Blocks of rooms for attendees have been reserved in two downtown hotels, the historic and recently renovated Eldridge, housed in a building that dates back to the Civil War era, and the Marriott Springhill Suites, a nearby riverfront hotel. These hotels are conveniently located to Massachusetts Street and shops and restaurants. The conference rate ranges from \$77.00 (double occupancy) at the Springhill Suites to \$120.00 (all suites) at the Eldridge. Blocks of rooms have also been reserved in several motels on the west side of campus, with prices in the \$55.00-\$70.00 range, including breakfast. Although all hotels and motels are within walking distance of the campus, free shuttle service will be available each morning and evening. Shuttles will also be available to transport attendees to and from the opening reception/plenary session at the Dole Institute on Friday evening and the social occasion that will close SHAFR 2006 at the Lied Center on KU's west campus on Sunday evening.

Culinary Options

SHAFR 2006's scheduled events include the opening reception/plenary session at the Dole Institute, a luncheon on Saturday, June 24, in the Kansas Union, at which Randall Woods will deliver his presidential address, a Sunday luncheon at the Union featuring Professor Mahmood Mamdani of Columbia University, and a Sunday evening social occasion, with Kansas City-style barbeque and all the trimmings, in the Lied Center (air-conditioned and with great vistas) on KU's west campus. For lunches

and evening meals, Lawrence presents a wide array of dining options: Thai (sample Zen Zero's noodles or the upscale menu at the Thai House, both on Mass), innumerable Tex-Mex restaurants, several well-regarded and inexpensive Indian restaurants, various Chinese, Mongolian, Japanese, and Asian fusion eateries (the oddly named "Scarlet Orchid" is excellent), Italian (both pizza/pasta and such upscale locales as Teller's and Paisano's), numerous steak and chop houses (Ten in the Eldridge and the Hereford House, to name but two), Kansas City-style barbeque, and, for serious foodies, Pachamama's just off Mass. Liquid refreshment may be found along Mass in restaurants, brewpubs, and bars offering live music, such as the Bottleneck, the Eighth Street Taproom, the Gaslight Tavern, and the Jazzhaus.

Area Attractions

The Kansas City metropolitan area is home to many cultural and educational venues. Of particular note are the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, the Kemper Gallery, the Kansas City Art Institute, the Liberty Memorial and Museum (the nation's official World War I memorial), the KC Jazz Museum, and summer programs at the Starlight and Lyric theaters. For those who enjoy the ambience

of a major league stadium (and are willing to watch a Triple-A team), the Kansas City Royals will be hosting the Milwaukee Brewers over that weekend at the "K," located on the east side of Kansas City, Missouri.

The SHAFR 2006 Local Arrangements Committee:

Ted Wilson, Professor of History, University of Kansas, Chair

Carol Jackson Adams, Assistant Professor of History, Ottawa University

Nicole Anslover, doctoral student, University of Kansas

Alice Butler-Smith, Assistant Professor, School of Advanced Military Studies, Fort Leavenworth

Dennis Merrill, Professor of History, University of Missouri-Kansas City

Hal E. Wert, Professor of History, Kansas City Art Institute

Lawrence Yates, Emeritus Professor, Combat Studies Institute, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth.

Ted Wilson is professor and chair of the History Department at the University of Kansas.

FREE LIST-SHARING FOR JOB ADVERTISEMENTS

SHAFR Council recently decided to provide SHAFR's e-mail and postal mailing lists, free of charge, to any academic department in the world that is running a job search in diplomatic or international history.

SHAFR members are encouraged to notify departmental or search committee chairs of this new program and to encourage them to make use of these mailing lists.

Questions can be addressed to Peter L. Hahn, SHAFR Executive Director, at shafr@osu.edu.

Program Update for SHAFR's 2006 Annual Meeting

Frank Costigliola

On behalf of the SHAFR Program Committee, I am pleased to report that the program for the 2006 annual meeting of SHAFR, to be held June 23-25 at the University of Kansas in Lawrence, will include several noteworthy sessions and events. The committee is working hard to make the 2006 conference memorable and it encourages every member of SHAFR to attend.

The program will consist of a core of conventional sessions on all aspects of U.S. diplomatic/foreign relations history in all areas of the world and in all time periods. The quality of the panels so far organized suggests that conference attendees will have a rich menu of sessions from which to choose.

The conference will also feature several signature events:

● On Friday, June 23 there will be a trip to the Harry S. Truman Presidential library. The tour at the Truman library is designed particularly for SHAFR members who have not yet had a chance to do research there. A similar excursion to the Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential library is planned for Monday, June 26.

● At the Saturday luncheon, SHAFR President Randall Woods will deliver his presidential address, entitled "Politics and Idealism: Lyndon B. Johnson and International Affairs."

● A plenary panel will feature Walter LaFeber and Emily Rosenberg speaking on the historical roots of post-9/11 foreign policy. Michael Hunt and Robert Schulzinger will comment, and Arnold Offner will chair the panel.

● A second plenary is entitled "Doing International History across the Scholarly Generations," and it features Mark Bradley, Carolyn Eisenberg, Robert McMahon, and

Jeremi Suri. The two senior scholars, Eisenberg and McMahon, will each present a paper that critiques the work of one of the younger scholars, and vice-versa.

● Mahmood Mamdani of Columbia University, an eminent scholar of Africa and of human rights issues, will give a talk at the Sunday luncheon. Matthew Connelly will introduce Mamdani.

● Seven additional panels are already organized. Robert Brigham, George Herring, and Fredrik Logevall will present a session entitled "Reading Vietnam." Peter Hahn, Mary Ann Heiss, and Douglas Little are doing a panel on the Middle East. Nathan Citino, David Ekbladh, and Nils Gilman (with David Engerman as commentator) will offer "Modernization, Liberalism, and the Totalitarian Threat." There will be a panel on Korea with Greg Brazinsky, James Matray, Yasuyo Sakata, William Stueck, and Robert Wampler. A panel entitled "Empire, Globalization, and Sport" will feature Theresa Runstedtler, Sayuri Guthrie-Shimizu, and Thomas Zeiler giving papers, with Christopher Endy as commentator and Walter LaFeber as chair. Former graduate students of Robert Ferrell -- including Garry Clifford, Arnold Offner, and Theodore Wilson -- will present a session honoring and appraising the work of this giant of our field. Lawrence Kaplan will offer a perspective as Ferrell's near contemporary. There will be a roundtable on the challenges of making the transition from Ph.D. student to employed professional. The panel consists of recent Ph.D. recipients Curt Cardwell, Scott Laderman, Jennifer See, and Douglas Selva.

While the deadline for submitting paper/panel proposal passed on December 1, it might prove possible for the committee to consider

additional proposals on a space-available basis. And while the deadline for graduate students to apply for assistance from the conference travel fund has also passed, it is possible that surplus funds might still be available in early 2006. Interested parties may contact me to consult on either of these matters.

In addition to offering a sterling program, the 2006 conference will also feature many opportunities to enjoy a good time, as Ted Wilson and the rest of the local arrangements committee have arranged a blue grass band, a barbeque, and many other chances to get to know one of the great mid-west college towns. (See preceding article for more details.)

If you have questions about the conference program, please contact any member of the committee:

Frank Costigliola, University of Connecticut, frank.costigliola@uconn.edu, SHAFR2006@uconn.edu, tel. 860-486-4356; fax 860-486-0641

George White, Jr., University of Tennessee Knoxville, jwhite16@utk.edu

David Engerman, Brandeis University, engerman@brandeis.edu

Dennis Merrill, University of Missouri-Kansas City, merrilld@umkc.edu

Katherine Sibley, St. Joseph's University, sibley@sju.edu

Randy Sowell, Harry S. Truman Library, randy.sowell@nara.gov

Frank Costigliola is professor of history at the University of Connecticut, Storrs.

GRADUATE STUDENT CONFERENCE TRAVEL FUND

In 2005, SHAFR adopted a program designed to ease the burden of travel to SHAFR conferences by graduate students who are presenting papers. This program solicited contributions from SHAFR conference attendees and allocated the donated funds for distribution to five students who presented papers at the annual meeting in College Park, Maryland. A letter from one of the recipients, reprinted below, demonstrates the intrinsic value of this program.

Contributions to this fund for the 2006 annual meeting in Lawrence, Kansas are welcomed at any time. Donors may use the tear-off sheet below for their convenience. Please mail checks (payable to SHAFR) to the SHAFR Business Office, Department of History, Ohio State University, 106 Dulles Hall, 230 West 17th Avenue, Columbus, OH 43210. Upon request, receipts will be provided for tax-deduction purposes.

September 21, 2005

Dear Members of SHAFR,

My name is Garret Martin and I am a fourth year history PhD student at the London School of Economics and Political Science, working on French foreign policy between 1963 and 1968.

Back in the fall 2004, I organised a panel for the 2005 SHAFR conference that was to be held at Archives II in College Park, Maryland. I was thus very happy back to hear in January that my panel proposal had been accepted, especially considering how this would be the first time that I presented a paper at a SHAFR conference.

However, my participation was questioned once it became clear that neither my department nor my university would be able to either pay for the costs of plane ticket to Washington or pay for my housing costs there. The funds they had available were barely sufficient to cover the costs of research trips I needed to make in France for my dissertation.

In the end, thankfully, I was able to come to the SHAFR meeting thanks to a very generous \$500 student travel grant from the conference organisers, which went a long way towards paying for my travel costs.

The conference, as I expected, proved to be very stimulating and interesting. It was a great place to exchange ideas and get feedback, and naturally I very much plan to come back in future years. Moreover, I want to thank again the various benefactors of SHAFR, whose aid enabled me to come to the conference. Hopefully plenty of other students, facing the same problems that I did, will be able in years to come to take advantage of this kind of support and overcome any financial difficulties.

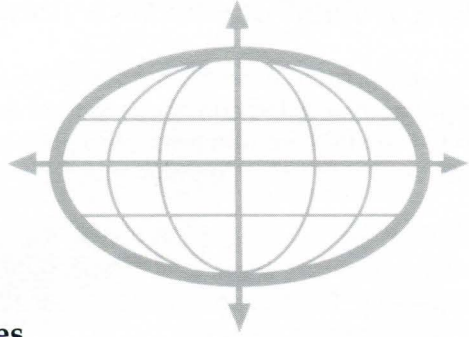
Sincerest regards,
Garret Martin

My contribution to the Graduate Student Travel Fund:

\$10 \$25 \$50
 \$100 \$250 \$500 other
 check if receipt desired

Name and address

The Diplomatic Pouch



1) Personal and Professional Notes

Guenter Bischof received the University of New Orleans Alumni Association Senior Research Award. He will begin a term as chairman of the University of New Orleans History Department in 2006.

John Gaddis (Yale) received a 2005 National Humanities Medal (see photo below).

Salim Yaqib has accepted the position of Associate Professor at the University of California—Santa Barbara.



President George W. Bush and Laura Bush stand with 2005 National Humanities Medal recipient John Lewis Gaddis, historian, Thursday, Nov. 10, 2005 in the Oval Office at the White House. White House photo by Eric Draper; www.whitehouse.gov.



2) Research Notes

New *FRUS* Volume

The Department of State has released *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969-1976, Volume E-5, Documents on Africa, 1969-1972*, as an electronic-only publication. This volume is the latest publication in the subseries of the *Foreign Relations* series that documents the most important decisions and actions of the foreign policy of the administrations of Presidents Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford. Volume E-5 is the third *Foreign Relations* volume to be published in this new format, available to all free of charge on the Internet.

This volume documents the foreign policy of the Nixon administration toward Sub-Saharan Africa, 1969-1972, with the exception of Southern Africa, which will be covered in a *Foreign Relations* print volume to be published later. The largest chapter in this volume deals with the challenges faced by the Department of State and the Nixon administration during and after the Nigerian civil war. The principal issue was how to channel humanitarian aid to Biafrans, without undermining the U.S. policy of non-intervention in the civil war. Included in this chapter are documents that illuminate President Richard Nixon's personal views on the humanitarian crisis there. The second largest chapter is on the Horn of Africa and U.S. relations with Ethiopia and the Somali Republic. The United States became increasingly identified with Emperor Haile Selassie's government and U.S. relations with the pro-Soviet Union Somali Republic deteriorated markedly. The chapter on Burundi highlights another humanitarian crisis: the large-scale massacres of civilians condoned by the Burundi Government in late 1972. The Department of State and the Nixon administration were slow to realize the nature of this tragedy. Given a policy of non-intervention, and the fact that the massacres were drawing to a close when the tragic nature of the events was brought to its attention, the Nixon administration decided that realistically there was little that it could do to ameliorate the situation. The downward spiral of U.S. relations with Uganda and its erratic President, Idi Amin, is covered in a separate chapter. Zaire and its President Mobutu, who was then considered by Washington a staunch friend in a key central African country and a relative success story in Africa, has its own chapter. U.S. relations and policy toward other sub-Saharan African countries not mentioned above, if significant, are covered in the first chapter on general African policy. The volume, including a preface, list of names, abbreviations, sources, annotated document list, and this press release, is available on the Office of the Historian website (<<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/frus/nixon/e5>>).

For further information contact:

Edward Keefer
General Editor of the *Foreign Relations* series
(202) 663-1131
fax (202) 663-1289
history@state.gov



North Korea's Nuclear Project

The National Security Archive has posted on its website Electronic Briefing Book No. 164, a collection of recently declassified documents that shed new light on the ups and downs of U.S. efforts to deal with the security threat posed by North Korea's nuclear program. Compiled by Dr. Robert A. Wampler, director of the Archive's Korea Project, these documents, dating from the first Bush and Clinton administrations, underscore the cycles of optimism and pessimism that have marked U.S.-North Korean relations since the end of the first Bush administration. They trace the trajectory of relations between 1992 and 2000, including:

- * The cautious optimism expressed in the State Department in mid-July 1992 over the future prospects for productive talks with North Korea;
- * The efforts to understand Pyongyang's reversion to a hard-line stance with the IAEA over its nuclear program by early 1993;
- * The subsequent decline of relations to crisis proportions until the 1994 Framework Agreement established a new basis for constraining North Korea's nuclear weapons aspirations;
- * The efforts to determine the extent of North Korea's dire economic situation, the surprising lack of impact these problems had on the loyalty of the North Korean people to the regime, and the way in which concerns for stability on the peninsula could lead the U.S. and its allies to help Pyongyang avoid total economic collapse, rather than seek regime change;
- * The period of renewed optimism, marked by both the Framework Agreement, the start of peace talks in 1996, and Secretary of State Madeleine Albright's historic trip to Pyongyang in October 2000 to meet with North Korean leader Kim Jong Il.

The optimism that North Korea could be dealt with diplomatically perhaps found its most remarkable expression in the assessment of Kim Jong Il provided to Albright by Stapleton Roy in mid-2000 on the occasion of the summit meeting between the two Korean leaders. Roy painted a picture of North Korea and its leaders, including the late Kim Il Song, that accented not the ideologically rigid or paranoid, but the ability to respond flexibly and rationally to changes on

the Korean peninsula, an ability Roy said was at the root of the remarkable longevity of the North Korean regime, "independent and prickly" though it might be.

For more information, please visit the website at <http://www.nsarchive.org>.



Alexander Yakovlev and the Roots of the Soviet Reforms

The National Security Archive has posted on its website Electronic Briefing Book No. 168, containing recently released documents from the Yakovlev Collection of the State Archive of the Russian Federation. Alexander Nikolaevich Yakovlev was probably the best known "architect of perestroika." Soviet ambassador to Canada, then member of the Politburo and Mikhail Gorbachev's closest adviser, he could rightfully be called the "Father of Glasnost." Starting in 1985, he served as head of the Central Committee's Propaganda Department, and in 1986 became secretary of the Central Committee in charge of ideology and in 1987 a full member of the Politburo. His role in promoting freedom of the press, political openness and democratization has been widely noted by observers of the Soviet political process of the late 1980s.

Recently released documents from the Yakovlev Collection of the State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF) show the unprecedented scope of issues on which Alexander Yakovlev exerted influence within Soviet decision-making circles under Gorbachev. Although we usually associate Yakovlev with glasnost and democratization, it becomes clear from the record that he was also a key reformer when it came to arms control and the Soviet economy. The documents also show that Yakovlev's position was quite developed and consistent very early on, when the rest of the Soviet reformers, including Gorbachev himself, were not yet willing to look beyond the existing one-party system.

For more information, please visit the website at <http://www.nsarchive.org>



New CWIHP Working Paper

The Cold War International History Project announces the publication of *Working Paper No. 46, Moscow's Surprise: The Soviet-Israeli Alliance of 1947-1949*, by Laurent Rucker. Rucker's carefully documented analysis draws on a large body of Russian archival records to illuminate when, why, and how Moscow's foreign policy during the early years of the Cold War took the surprising turn of support for the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine. Rucker concludes that Moscow's unexpected alliance with the Zionist movement can be explained by geopolitical and ideological factors. Having been virtually absent from the Mediterranean basin and the Near East since 1917, the Soviet Union as early as 1943 began to believe that supporting the Zionist cause would assist it to gain a foothold in the region. Such a policy would weaken the British position in the area, exacerbate American/British tensions, and enhance the status of the Soviet Union among Jews around the world. As a consequence, from 1947 to 1949, the Soviet Union provided essential political, military, and demographic support for the Zionist movement. The collapse of the alliance by 1949 was a consequence of Soviet internal factors more than of a new strategy in the Middle East, which would only be formed in 1955 through rapprochement between Khrushchev and Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser.

To download the paper, go to the CWIHP home page (www.cwihp.org) and click on the "Publications" link on the website.



New CWIHP Working Paper

The Cold War International History Project announces the publication of *Working Paper No. 48, 1962: The Eve of the Left Turn in China's Foreign Policy*, by Niu Jun, Professor at the School of International Studies, Peking University. Drawing on newly available sources within China, Niu Jun attempts to establish the precise relation between domestic and international factors that led to the sharp turn leftward in PRC foreign policy in the early 1960s. After examining the impact of the turbulence in Chinese foreign policy in the late 1950s, he discusses the reasons for the adjustment in foreign policy embarked on in 1960 and the characteristics and nature of the changes in Chinese foreign policy in 1962. He argues that the left turn did not result primarily from difficulties in the international environment, but rather from the interaction between domestic politics and the general guidelines the leadership adopted for foreign policy. In particular, it was the struggle over how to assess the disastrous Great Leap Forward that led most decisively to the change of course in foreign policy.

To download the paper, go to the CWIHP home page (www.cwihp.org) and click on the "Publications" link on the website.



America Abroad Media (AAM) seeks an historian to oversee and participate in the production of in-depth historical segments for international affairs radio and television programs.



Responsibilities include:

- Coordinating and performing in-depth research on historical topics in international affairs and US foreign relations;
- Drafting scripts and organizing the program format;
- Collecting and analyzing historical audio clips for the program;
- Supervising and leading the research and production process.

Additional Qualifications:

- PhD in history required; emphasis on American foreign relations desired;
- Thorough knowledge of scholarly literature and archival records of US foreign relations;
- Excellent writing, research, and critical thinking skills;
- Proficiency in MS Office software suite.

AAM is a fast-paced work environment that requires the ability to multi-task. The historian will work directly with the president of America Abroad Media.

Salary will be commensurate with junior faculty position in history.

To Apply: E-mail/Mail cover letter, resume, references, and writing sample to:
Jobs

America Abroad Media
1025 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Suite 1000
Washington, DC 20036-5405

Fax: 202-828-1281 E-mail: jobs@americaabroadmedia.org

No phone calls, please.

3) Announcements

Cold War Prize Competition

The John A. Adams Center at the Virginia Military Institute is pleased to announce that it will again award prizes for the best papers dealing with the United States military in the Cold War era (1945-1991). Any aspect of the Cold War is open for consideration, with papers on intelligence, logistics, and mobilization especially welcome. Please note that essays on the Korean War, on Vietnam, on counterinsurgency and related topics are all eligible for consideration. First place will earn a plaque and a cash award of \$2000; second place, \$1000; and third place, \$500.

Entries should be tendered to the Adams Center at VMI by 31 May 2006. Electronic submissions are welcome. The center will, over the summer, examine all papers and announce its top three rankings early in the fall of 2006. The *Journal of Military History* will be happy to consider those award winners for publication.

Contact:

Professor Malcolm Muir, Jr., Director
John A. Adams '71 Center for Military History and Strategic Analysis
Department of History
Virginia Military Institute
Lexington, VA 24450
muirm@vmi.edu
540-464-7447/7338
Fax: 540-464-7246



Sherman Family Prize in Force and Diplomacy

The Center for the Study of Force and Diplomacy at Temple University is now accepting submissions for The Edwin H. Sherman Family Prize in Force and Diplomacy. The prize will be awarded to an original research paper on a contemporary or historical subject that addresses the intersection of force and diplomacy in international affairs. The paper must have been written by an undergraduate student between August 30, 2004 and May 30, 2005, and submitted for course credit at any college or university. The recipient of the Sherman Family Prize will receive a \$500 award. For consideration, appropriate papers, along with one letter of support from a faculty member, must be sent electronically to Jay.Lockenour@Temple.Edu as well as mailed in hard-copy and postmarked no later than February 1, 2006, to:

Sherman Prize Committee
The Center for the Study of Force and Diplomacy
913 Gladfelter Hall
Temple University
1115 W. Berks Street
Philadelphia, PA 19122-6089



Amos Perlmutter Prize

The editors and publisher of *The Journal of Strategic Studies* are pleased to announce the first annual Amos Perlmutter Prize. The prize, named in memory of the founding editor of the journal, will recognize the best essay submitted for publication to *The Journal of Strategic Studies* by a junior faculty member (Lecturer or Assistant Professor). The winning author will receive a prize of £250 or \$500, depending on the author's country of origin.

To be considered for the prize, authors should submit manuscripts to the editors, Thomas G. Mahnken (tmahnken@jhu.edu) and Joseph A. Maiolo (joe.maiolo@kcl.ac.uk), between August 1, 2005 and June 30, 2006. All submissions should conform to the journal's scope and style. The winner will be notified by September 1, 2006 and the results will be announced in the pages of this journal.

Contact:
Dr. Joseph Maiolo
Editor, *The Journal of Strategic Studies*
Norwegian Institute for Defence Studies
Tollbugata 10
N-0152 Oslo
Norway



Berlin Seminar

Bradley University's annual Berlin Seminar will be held from May 28 through June 3, 2006. This program is intended for academics interested in the history and contemporary culture, society, economy, and politics of Germany and Europe. Centered at the European Academy in Berlin-Grünwald, the seminar activities include discussions with leaders from the realms of academia, culture, business, and politics. There will also be guided trips to points of historical and contemporary interest, including Dresden. All sessions are conducted in English or with a professional translator. The cost is \$1300, which includes room and board in Berlin, the seminar program, and day trips. Applications are due by January 30, 2005. For further details and an application form, please visit our website at www.bradley.edu/academics/las/his/Berlin or contact:

Prof. John A. Williams
309-677-3182
johnw@bradley.edu



East Asian Security Short Course in Beijing for U.S. Scholars

"China Confronts East Asian Security Issues" is an NSF-supported (free tuition), five day Chautauqua short course for college and university faculty and advanced graduate students that will be held at Foreign Affairs University in Beijing, June 12-16, 2006. It will provide an opportunity to engage in direct discussions of emerging East Asian security issues with Chinese diplomats, scholars, military, and ministerial officials. Applications will be available soon on the web but details will be sent now to persons submitting e-mail requests.

Contact:

Prof. Les Paldy
Stony Brook University, SUNY
205 Harriman
631-632-7026
Fax: 631-632-7809
lester.paldy@stonybrook.edu
<http://www.chautauqua.pitt.edu>



Pakistani Security Policy Course in Islamabad for U.S. Scholars.

"Pakistan's Security Perspectives: An In-Country View" is an NSF-supported (free tuition), five day Chautauqua short course for college and university faculty that will be held in Islamabad June 19-23, 2006. It will provide a rare opportunity to engage in direct discussions of issues of vital interest to the U.S. and Pakistan with Pakistani scholars, scientists, military, and ministerial officials. Applications will soon be available on the web but details will be sent now to faculty submitting e-mail requests.

Contact:

Prof. Les Paldy
Stony Brook University, SUNY
205 Harriman
631-632-7026
Fax: 631-632-7809
lester.paldy@stonybrook.edu
<http://www.chautauqua.pitt.edu>



The Age of Imperialism, 1800-1914

Contributors are sought for the encyclopedia project *The Age of Imperialism, 1800-1914*, a two-volume work due to appear with Greenwood Publishing in 2007. The entries are to range from 150-600 words in length and will deal with major and minor land and naval engagements as well as with international treaties. As most entries will be short, contributors capable of writing multiple entries will be favored.

C.C. Hodge
Dept. of Political Science
University of British Columbia-Okanagan
Kelowna, BC Canada V1V 1V7
250-764-0199
Fax: (250) 470-6001
Email: chodge@shaw.ca



CFP: The Global Cold War

The Cold War Studies Centre (CWSC) of the London School of Economics and Political Science, the Center for Cold War Studies (CCWS) of the University of California Santa Barbara, and the Cold War Group (GWCW) of the George Washington University, in cooperation with the History Faculty at Cambridge University, are pleased to announce their 2006 International Graduate Student Conference on the Cold War, which will be held in London Thursday-Saturday, 6-8 April 2006. The sessions will take place at the LSE and at the British National Archives at Kew, on the edge of London.

The conference is an excellent opportunity for graduate students to present papers and receive critical feedback from peers and experts in the field.

We encourage submissions by graduate students working on any aspect of the Cold War, broadly defined. Two page proposals, including a brief academic C.V., should be submitted to cwh@lse.ac.uk by 15 January 2006. Successful applicants will be expected to email their papers by 1 March 2006. Further questions may be directed to the conference coordinators, Garret Martin and Louise Woodroffe, at the aforementioned e-mail address.

The conference sessions will be chaired by prominent members of faculty from above universities. Other members of faculty interested in serving in this capacity or as discussants should contact the conference coordinators directly. The accommodation cost of students-applicants will be covered by the organisers. For other organisational updates, please check the CWSC website regularly.

In 2003, CCWS and GWCW first joined their separate spring conferences, and two years later, CWSC became a co-sponsor.

The three centres now hold a jointly sponsored conference held at each campus in alternating years. For more information on participating institutions, please visit the respective Web sites:

<http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/CWSC> for the CWSC;

<http://www.ieres.org> for GWCW;

<http://www.history.ucsb.edu/projects/ccws> for CCWS;

<http://www.hist.cam.ac.uk> for Cambridge University



CFP: Re-assessing Suez Fifty Years On

The University of Hull's Maritime Historical Studies Centre is sponsoring a conference on the Suez Canal crisis, to be held 26 July 2006.

The nationalization of the Suez Canal in 1956 triggered one of the gravest international crises since the Second World War. The fiftieth anniversary of the Suez crisis in 2006 presents an ideal opportunity to re-visit and reassess this seminal episode in post-war history. Moreover, at a time when the Middle East once again holds the world's attention, a re-examination of Suez, and its contemporary relevance, is particularly appropriate. Papers are welcome on all aspects of the Suez crisis, its causes, and its consequences.

Of special interest are contributions on the international context and repercussions of Suez, but domestic perspectives are also encouraged. Please send abstracts of 100-150 words, by 28 February 2006, to:

Dr. Simon C. Smith
Department of History
University of Hull, Hull
UK
HU6 7RX
s.c.smith@hull.ac.uk
01482 465172
Fax: 01482 466126



CFP: *Yale Journal of International Affairs*

Yale Journal of International Affairs offers scholars an excellent opportunity to highlight their research in a new forum devoted to the discussion of current issues in international affairs. We encourage submissions from faculty, postdoctoral researchers, graduate students, and practitioners.

The *Journal* welcomes submissions dealing with any issues in contemporary international affairs. Double-spaced, 3,000-5,000-word articles, as well as 1,000-2,000-word review essays on recent books, may be submitted to: yjia@yale.edu.

For more information, please consult www.yale.edu/yjia.



CFP: *Cold War History*

As the Cold War ended in the early 1990s, scholars of contemporary international affairs started taking a new look at the basic conflicts that had dominated the latter part of the twentieth century. Over the last fifteen years a new historical literature on the Cold War era has come into being, greatly helped by the increase in access to archives and other source materials in most countries of the world, from the former Communist states in Europe, to China, South Africa, and elsewhere.

Cold War History is a new journal, based in the Cold War Studies Centre at the London School of Economics, and which was recently re-launched with a new format and design. It aims to make available to the general public the results of recent research on the origins and development of the Cold War and its impact on nations, alliances and regions at various levels of statecraft, as well as in areas such as the military and intelligence, the economy, and social and intellectual developments.

The new history of the Cold War is a fascinating example of how experts -- often working across national and disciplinary boundaries -- are able to use newly available information to refine, or in some cases destroy, old images

and interpretations. *Cold War History* aims at publishing the best of this emerging scholarship, from a perspective that attempts to de-center the era by paying special attention to the role of Europe and the Third World. The journal welcomes contributions from historians and representatives of other disciplines on all aspects of the global Cold War and its present repercussions.

For any information or to submit an article, please send email to the following address: cwh@lse.ac.uk.

You can also visit our webpage at the following address: <http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/titles/14682745.asp>.



CFP: *International Social Science Review*

The *International Social Science Review* invites submissions of manuscripts in history, political science, sociology, anthropology, economics, international relations, criminal justice, social work, psychology, social philosophy, history of education, and cultural geography. Articles must be based on original research, well-written, and not exceed thirty pages in length (including endnotes, double-spaced, written in Times New Roman 12 font). Endnote formatting and style must conform with Kate Turabian, *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations* (6th ed.) and *Chicago Manual of Style* (15th ed.), respectively. Authors interested in publishing in the journal are asked to submit three hard copies of their manuscript (e-mail attachments will not be accepted), contact information (phone number, mailing address, and e-mail address), and an abbreviated c.v. to:

Dean Fafoutis
Editor, *International Social Science Review*
Department of History
Salisbury University
1101 Camden Avenue
Salisbury, MD 21801
(410) 546-6004



Encyclopedia of U.S. Presidents and International Relations

Applications are welcome from prospective authors who would like to write one or more entries, especially on 19th century presidents, for the forthcoming *Encyclopedia of U.S. Presidents and International Relations*, to be published by ABC-CLIO. Carl Hodge, Okanagan College of the University of British Columbia, and Cathal J. Nolan, Boston University, are the editors of this work, which is forthcoming in late 2006. A good number of senior scholars have already committed to write entries on most of the major foreign policy presidents, though one or two of these remain open to new contributors. Each entry will follow a time line that we will provide, and certain formatting rules. We are looking for balanced, comprehensive essays (of varying length) that note major accomplishments and failures, policy issues, and problems, and that record scholarly disagreements in the literature without necessarily taking one side over another. If you are interested in writing for this project please contact us at the e-mail address provided below. You should provide a brief synopsis of your scholarly background and experience and an indication of which U.S. president(s) you might like to write about.

Carl C. Hodge and Cathal J. Nolan
International History Institute
Boston University
Room B-13, 725 Commonwealth Avenue
Boston, Massachusetts 02215
(617) 353-1165
ihi@bu.edu



Herbert Hoover Library Association Travel Grants

The Herbert Hoover Presidential Library Association annually awards travel grants for researchers to defray the cost of travel to West Branch, Iowa to conduct research at the Hoover Presidential Library. Although there is no specific dollar limit, grants have ranged up to \$1,500 per applicant in recent years.

Funding priority is given to well-developed proposals that utilize the resources of the Hoover Presidential Library. Finding aids for the Library's holdings are available at www.hoover.archives.gov. Applicants must consult with an

archivist prior to submitting an application. The archival staff can be reached at hoover.library@nara.gov or at 319-643-5301. The application deadline is March 1, 2006.

Contact:

Patricia Hand
Hoover Presidential Library Association
P.O. Box 696
West Branch, IA 52358
319-643-5327
pathand@hooverassociation.org
<http://www.hooverassociation.org/grants.html>



Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum Grants

The Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute supports a program of small grants-in-aid, not to exceed \$2,500, in support of research on the "Roosevelt years" or clearly related subjects. Grants are awarded each spring and fall. The deadlines for grant submissions are February 15 and September 15. Funds are awarded for the sole purpose of helping to defray living, travel, and related expenses incurred while conducting research at the Roosevelt Library.

The grants program is particularly designed to encourage younger scholars to expand our knowledge and understanding of the Roosevelt period and to give support for research in the Roosevelt years to scholars from the emerging democracies and the Third World.

Applicants should write:
Chairman, Grants Committee
The Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute
4079 Albany Post Road
Hyde Park, NY 12538



U.S. Army Center of Military History Dissertation Fellowships

The U.S. Army Center of Military History offers three dissertation fellowships each year. One, funded by the National Museum of the U.S. Army, is designed to support dissertations that explore the material culture of the Army; the two others support research in the more general areas of military history. These fellowships include a \$10,000 stipend and access to the Center's facilities and technical expertise. Applications may be obtained by mail from the committee secretary, or downloaded from the Center's website. Applications and all supporting documents must be postmarked no later than 15 January 2006. Applicants are responsible for ensuring that all required documentation is mailed by that date.

Contact:

Secretary, Dissertation Fellowship Committee
U.S. Army Center of Military History
Bldg 35 Fort Lesley J. McNair
Washington, D.C. 20319-5058
william.dobak@hqda.army.mil
<http://www.army.mil/cmh>



The Miller Center Fellowships in Contemporary History, Public Policy, and American Politics

The University of Virginia's Miller Center of Public Affairs is now accepting applications for 2006-2007 Miller Center Fellowships in Contemporary History, Public Policy, and American Politics. Approximately eight stipends of \$18,000 will be awarded to Ph.D. candidates and independent scholars to support one year of research and writing. The work should focus on important public policy questions relating to twentieth century politics and governance in the United States. We encourage applicants from a broad range of disciplines, including, but not limited to, history, political science, policy studies, law, political economy, and sociology. Applications must be postmarked by February 1, 2006. The application and program materials are available on our website at <http://americanpoliticaldevelopment.org>.

For more details on the fellowship program visit: <http://www.americanpoliticaldevelopment.org/fellowship/index.html>.

Please submit applications and direct all inquiries to:

Chi Lam
Managing Director
American Political Development
Miller Center of Public Affairs
2201 Old Ivy Road
P.O. Box 400406
Charlottesville, VA 22904-4406
CKL2Q@virginia.edu



Mershon Center Post-Doctoral Fellowships and Visiting Scholar Positions

Each year, the Mershon Center for International Security Studies at The Ohio State University hosts outstanding scholars with a wide variety of research interests in the field of International Security, and especially as it relates to the Center's main themes: 1) the use of force and diplomacy; 2) the ideas, identities, and decisional processes that affect security; and 3) the institutions that manage violent conflict. The deadline for fellowship applications is Friday, January 20, 2006. For more information, see www.mershon.ohio-state.edu.



Edgar S. Furniss Book Award

Each year, the Mershon Center for International Security Studies at The Ohio State University presents the Edgar S. Furniss Book Award to an author whose first book makes an outstanding contribution to the field of international security studies as it relates to three main themes: 1) the use of force and diplomacy; 2) the ideas, identities, and decisional processes that affect security; and 3) the institutions that manage violent conflict.

The 2005 competition is open to all books copyrighted in 2005. Edited volumes are not eligible. The winner will receive a cash prize and an invitation to address the faculty at the Mershon Center. Submissions from authors or publishing companies are accepted. Entries will be accepted until January 31, 2006. For more information, including a complete list of past winners, please see www.mershon.ohio-state.edu. To submit a book for consideration, please send two non-returnable copies to:

Furniss Book Award
Mershon Center for International Security Studies
The Ohio State University
1501 Neil Avenue
Columbus, OH 43201



4) Reports to SHAFR

Dear *Passport* and Members of SHAFR:

I want to thank you for the honor of receiving the Michael J. Hogan Fellowship for language instruction at the SHAFR annual conference luncheon. I greatly enjoyed speaking with other historians in the field at the luncheon.

I used the Hogan Fellowship this summer to spend a month at the University of Bonn to improve my German skills. I was placed in the Mittelstufe at Bonn, in Group 10 (out of 15). While in Bonn, I worked primarily on my speaking and listening skills, which I am happy to report greatly improved during my month at the University. The program also had afternoon workshops, where I learned about German cultural history from both lectures as well as walking tours through Bonn. The program also had a few excursions to nearby historic cities: Cologne, Aachen, Trier, and Heidelberg.

Following my month in Bonn, I remained in Germany to apply my improved German skills in the archives. I went to the Bundesarchiv in Koblenz and to the National Olympic Committee in Frankfurt. These two trips were a great experience for me, as they were my first ventures into German archives. I found lots of material, particularly on the German side of my dissertation topic, which will complement the material that I found at the National Archives in College Park earlier in the summer.

Thank you, SHAFR, for providing me with the funding assistance to better my German language skills, which was necessary for my dissertation research. The assistance also allowed me to use the money that I had intended to use to pay for the program in Bonn to extend my stay and begin this phase of my dissertation research. I look forward to having an opportunity to present my research, once it is completed, at a future SHAFR conference.

Heather L. Dichter, Ph.D. Candidate, Department of History, University of Toronto



Dear W. Stull Holt Fellowship Committee:

I would like to take this moment to thank all of you on the Fellowship Committee for the wonderful research opportunity provided to me by your grant. My dissertation, *Negotiating Nature and Proclaiming Pan Americanism*, examines the significance of the diplomatic and scientific efforts to create the Convention on Nature Protection and Wildlife Preservation in the Western Hemisphere (CNP) for what it can tell us about hemispheric efforts to protect nature in the 1920s-40s. Having spent the summer of 2004 in Latin America, I decided to return to Argentina in the summer of 2005 to further investigate the early Argentine efforts to establish international conservation regulations with Brazil and Chile so as to broaden my knowledge of Argentina's position in the formulation of the CNP. Before I was awarded the W. Stull Holt Fellowship last May, I traveled to Buenos Aires and had conducted almost three weeks of research in the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Relations, the National Archives, the Archives of the Ministry of Agriculture, and the library at the Administracion de Parques Nacionales.

At the end of that three-week venture, following three rather fruitless trips to the Administracion de Parques Nacionales, I decided to make one final trip to the *biblioteca* in the APN in a last ditch attempt to see if I might find anything pertaining to the CNP or on international conservation efforts in general. The staff at the APN politely invited me in yet again and asked me to wait downstairs outside the office of the librarian while she finished up with a group of students in the library. I made my way down the stairs and stood waiting for the librarian to come down and give me the disappointing news that she had, indeed, searched all of the documents in the building, and had not found anything pertinent to my topic.

While waiting there, I paced around the small closet space outside the librarian's office, and thumbed through the stacks of papers carefully stacked in neat piles on the perimeter of the room. An hour and a half later, when the security guard came downstairs to tell me the APN was closing for the day (the librarian had apparently gone home an hour earlier), I was seated on the floor, with my laptop balanced precariously on a stack of books, and the documents corresponding to the 1920s-40s APN establishment and early Argentine efforts to extend conservation to Brazil spread out in multiple stacks on the floor around me. After two trips to Argentina and countless hours of finagling my way around, under, over and through governmental bureaucracies, I had finally found the jackpot stacked on the floor in the basement of the APN. I was in heaven. As I had received the email from Dr. Weiss concerning the W. Stull Holt Fellowship two days before, I immediately used the money to change the dates of my return ticket home, extending my trip by three weeks. The remainder of the money from the Fellowship went to cover food, rent, and transportation to and from the APN.

For the next three weeks, I combed through the forgotten stacks of documents at the APN and what I found was quite remarkable. By the early 1930s Argentina had a well-formed National Parks Administration and had invested heavily in formulating international agreements with Brazil to protect their shared natural phenomena.¹ The federal government of Argentina made significant efforts to set aside the area around Iguacu falls, along the Brazilian, Paraguayan, Argentinean border.²

These magnificent waterfalls extend almost three miles and are located squarely within the boundaries of these three nations. This series of falls, larger than its north American counterpart, Niagara, had been facing the detrimental affects of erosion brought about by deforestation and development at the turn of the century. Between 1910 and 1934, the federal government of Argentina worked to set aside 75,000 hectares on the Argentine side of the falls and reached out to the government Brazil in 1935 to do the same. Moreover, officials with the Argentine APN encouraged Brazil to set aside large tracts of the Amazon River basin as well to prevent similar problems associated with deforestation from affecting both nature and the local populations.

The correspondence between conservationists in Argentina determined to protect the spectacular falls and Ministry of Agriculture officials in Brazil determined to support economic development in remote locations illuminates important themes in conservation diplomacy, namely the difficulties of enforcement, the problems associated when conservation attempts conflict with economic concerns, and strategic use of conservation attempts in the grand scheme of international relations. In this case, Ministry of Agriculture officials in Brazil expressed their concern that cordoning off the area surrounding Iguacu Falls would negatively affect local industries dependent on forestry extraction. Moreover, they emphasized that Brazil did not have the economic resources to enforce protection measures and ultimately to set the land aside would only encourage illegal harvesting.³ But these discussions also stress that the economic benefits generated in the area near Iguacu were far less than those from produced in the vast reaches of the Amazon River Basin. For Brazil, it was more economically feasible and better for the international relationship between Argentina and Brazil, to work together to protect Iguacu, as Brazil and Argentina shared the falls.⁴ Focusing attention on Iguacu diverted attention from poor forestry practices affecting the Amazon basin that were generating considerably more money for Brazil and that did not immediately and directly affect neighboring nations. Once diplomatic discussions concerning the protection of Iguacu opened, Argentinean conservationists turned their attention away from the Amazon and focused it on Iguacu as they saw it as an attainable goal. As a result, Brazil followed Argentina's lead in 1939, creating a National Park of some 170,000 hectares, and the fate of the Amazon was left for the future.

While not all stacks yielded information directly pertaining to the topic at hand, the information I found in the basement of the APN opened new avenues of thought and research to consider for inclusion in my dissertation. The findings of my research trip have enhanced and expanded the scope of my overall conclusions concerning the complexity and flexibility of the GNP. By the 1930s, in the midst of the global depression, Argentina had a well-developed National Parks System and an established history of working with its neighboring nations to protect places of rare beauty. The framers of the CNP were able to draw from these governmental institutions and previous international discussions to create a treaty which worked within the existing structures of national governments to protect threatened fauna and flora. In Argentina, specifically, members of the National Parks Administration and the Department of Fish and Game were able to utilize the CNP to further expand the size and scope of their national parks system to include wildlife reserves, to promote scientific research and education, and to support it in its attempts to formulate new and more specific conservation treaties between Argentina and its neighbors.

Your grant allowed me to extend my stay in Buenos Aires, giving me time to fully examine the documents in the APN. It was an extraordinary help to this rather financially challenged graduate student trying valiantly to finish a dissertation and I sincerely appreciate your support!

Sincerely,

Keri Lewis, Ph.D. Candidate, Department of History, University of New Hampshire

¹ Information on the establishment of the Parks System in Argentina can be found in a variety of places. One of the greatest troves of documents is in the Archivo General de la Nacion in Territorios Nacionales; Ruiz Moreno, 1900-1924. Legajo, No. 6. Within that set there is a terrific collection labeled "Territorios Nacionales: Proyectos, Economica, Finances, Caminos, Leyes, Decretos, Indios, Correspondencia, etc."

This collection contains a wealth of information concerning the establishment of the parks system during the early conservation movement in 1911. Early efforts to extend protection measures (specifically for migratory birds) to Paraguay in 1911 and Brazil in 1913 are also encompassed in files labeled respectively. A complete list of efforts and their effectiveness can be found in the box labeled, "Territorios Nacionales: Proyecto de Creacion de Policias Fronterizas", 1918.

² Information on Argentine-Brazilian discussions on protection programs for Iguazu and other places can be found in the following: "Nuevos Parques Nacionales: Proyecto de Reservas para la creation de Parques Nacionales en los Territorios Nacionales del Neuquen, Chubut y Santa Cruz." Direccion de Parques Nacionales, Buenos Aires, 1937; Nunez Cabeza de Vaca, A. "Naufragios y Comentarios, Coleccion Austral, Espasa Mexico," Buenos Aires, 1942; Unknown author, "Primeras Jornadas Argenitnas de Parques Nacionales," Administracion de Parques Nacionales, Buenos Aires, 1954. Madalenni, A. "Evolucion Historica del Parque Nacional Iguazu en Administracion de Parques Nacionales," Plan de Manejo del Parque Nacional Iguazu, Buenos Aires, 1988; and Balboa, Carlos Fernandez. "El Parque Nacional Iguazu" Todo es Historia No. 427, Feb 2003, 43-44. I found no information on attempts to work with Paraguay.

³ "Nuevos Parques Nacionales: Proyecto de Reservas para la creacion de Parques Nacionales en los Territorios Nacionales del Neuquen, Chubut y Santa Cruz." Direccion de Parques Nacionales, Buenos Aires, 1937. Biblioteca de Francisco P. Moreno, 690, Santa Fe Avenue, Buenos Aires, Argentina. 24-43.

⁴ Ibid.



To the Editors of *Passport*:

In the Fall of 2004, I traveled to Russia as a Fulbright-Hays fellow and as a recipient of the Michael J. Hogan Fellowship (given by SHAFR). Spanning a total of eleven archives in Russia, Hungary, and the United States, my project has sought to understand how governments and dissident groups on both sides of the Iron Curtain used the image of the child to articulate their own Cold War experiences and to assert their political and cultural agendas. This work, entitled *Contested Innocence: The Image of the Child in the Cold War*, meanders through the fields of foreign policy, semiotics, and children's history, and has demanded a truly international perspective towards research, collaboration, and what it means to function as a cultural historian in the field of foreign policy. In this essay, I would like to pass on some of the lessons that I have learned as an American who started resolutely as a Russianist, fell in love with American cultural Cold War history, and has finally (or at least for the moment) found myself caught somewhere in the middle.

My Russian research into the image of the child in the Cold War took me to three major archives in Moscow: the Russian State Archive of Social and Political History (RGASPI), the State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF), and the Russian State Archive of Literature and Art (RGALI). I looked at a wide variety of documents, from young Pioneer meeting minutes to foreign radio broadcasts sent to Africa and the Middle East. Slowly, I was able to begin the laborious process of articulating the cultural Cold War experience from the Russian perspective. My research reinforced the now-common belief that Cold War history, whether political, economic, or cultural, cannot be written from American archives

alone. Moreover, it became clear to me that the study of the Cold War must, in and of itself, also be an analysis of a discourse that once spanned the globe and was based not only on conflicting beliefs but also on underlying cultural and linguistic structures.

It will come as a pleasant surprise to many American historians that the Russian archives are a wonderful place to work. While they are almost always under-staffed and under-funded, they are staffed by some of the most devoted archivists I have ever met. They are efficient, hard-working, and willing to assume your project as their own (once they have realized that you are serious about your research). Unlike many of the federal archives in the United States, the Russian archives are organized in an intuitive, centralized manner that makes finding documents unexpectedly easy. Larger subject groups are separated into *fonds*, which are then delineated further into *opisi* (the equivalent of a box set in the American federal system), and below that - *dela* (similar to folders). Excellent English finding aids are available, especially Patricia Grimstead's *Archives of Russia: A Directory and Bibliography Guide to Holdings in Moscow and St. Petersburg* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2000). Online, the ArcheoBiblioBase (<http://www.iisg.nl/~abb/>) is a first-stop for all research preparation.

Of course, most of the documents held in these archives are in Russian, which can be a deterrent for the most dogged researcher. There are a myriad of ways through which this problem can be overcome, the most obvious of which is to simply learn Russian. Many grants (most obviously the FLAS) offer full-year stipends simply for the study of non-mainstream languages. I used the grant money that I received from SHAFR to continue my language study while I was working in the archives, which not only improved my general language skills, but also provided me with an excellent tutor who could answer research-related questions. While I am of the opinion that graduate programs would do well to hold their diplomatic historians to the same language standards that non-Americanists face, if learning Russian is not possible, there is an entire generation of well-educated, English-speaking students in Moscow and St. Petersburg who can be hired as interpreters. Getting to Russia has also become easier thanks to programs like Praxis (<http://merton.sscnet.ucla.edu/history/getty/professor.html> - led by J. Arch Getty at UCLA) that will, for a small fee, manage your visas, introduction letters, and housing.

What is most important is that the research gets started. In recent years, the Russian archives have faced growing closures. The lack of money combined with an increasingly conservative political environment has meant that many *fonds* that were once open have now been re-classified. Threats of closed archives abound, especially for regional and city archives. The past fourteen years have provided historians with a level of access to Soviet documents that has never been seen before, not even in the United States. But this may not last forever, and researchers who are serious about writing international history will need to get going before the opportunity fades.

American cultural Cold War history has come a long way since the early 1990s. Christian Appy, Margot Henrickson, Jeremi Suri, Walter Hixson, Stephen Whitfield, and many others have bolstered the idea that cultural as well as political and economic conflicts played an important role in determining foreign policy in the Cold War. This is not the case, however, in Soviet history. Russianists who have studied the Cold War (like Vojtech Mastny, Vladimir Naumov, Constantine Pleshakov, and Vladislav Zubok), while doing excellent work in their own right, have not moved beyond political research. In the fields of both cultural and economic history (where are the Russian revisionists?) there is still a vast amount of work to be done. Before political constraints make such research impossible, let me make an argument for the greater depth and insight that can come from doing research in the archives to the east.

Margaret Peacock, PhD candidate, University of Texas at Austin



5) Upcoming SHAFR Deadlines

The Stuart L. Bernath Lecture Prize

The Stuart L. Bernath Lecture Prize recognizes and encourages excellence in teaching and research in the field of foreign relations by younger scholars. The prize of \$500 is awarded annually.

Eligibility: The prize is open to any person under forty-one years of age or within ten years of the receipt of the PhD whose scholarly achievements represent excellence in teaching and research. Nominations may be made by any member of SHAFR or of any other established history, political science, or journalism department or organization.

Procedures: Nominations, in the form of a letter and the nominee's c.v. should be sent to the Chair of the Bernath Lecture Committee. The nominating letter should discuss evidence of the nominee's excellence in teaching and research.

The award is announced during the SHAFR luncheon at the annual meeting of the Organization of American Historians (OAH). The winner of the prize will deliver a lecture during the SHAFR luncheon at the next year's OAH annual meeting. The lecture should be comparable in style and scope to a SHAFR presidential address and should address broad issues of concern to students of American foreign policy, not the lecturer's specific research interests. The lecturer is awarded \$500 plus up to \$500 in travel expenses to the OAH, and his or her lecture is published in *Diplomatic History*.

To be considered for the 2006 award, nominations must be received by February 28, 2006. Nominations should be sent to Penny von Eschen, Department of History, University of Michigan, 029 Tisch Hall, 435 S. State St., Ann Arbor MI 48109-1003; e-mail: pmve@umich.edu.

The Stuart L. Bernath Scholarly Article Prize

The purpose of the prize is to recognize and encourage distinguished research and writing by young scholars in the field of diplomatic relations. The prize of \$1,000 is awarded annually to the author of a distinguished article appearing in a scholarly journal or edited book, on any topic in United States foreign relations.

Eligibility: The author must be under forty-one years of age or within ten years of receiving the Ph.D. at the time of the article's acceptance for publication. The article must be among the first six publications by the author. Previous winners of the Stuart L. Bernath Book Award or the Myrna F. Bernath Book Award are ineligible.

Procedures: All articles appearing in *Diplomatic History* will be automatically considered without nomination. Other nominations may be submitted by the author or by any member of SHAFR.

The award is presented during the SHAFR luncheon at the annual meeting of the Organization of American Historians.

To nominate an article published in 2005, send three copies of the article and a letter of nomination to Jessica Gienow-Hecht, Wilhelminenstrasse 45, 65193 Wiesbaden, Germany. E-mail: gienow-hecht@soz.uni-frankfurt.de. Deadline for nominations is February 1, 2006.



The Michael J. Hogan Fellowship

The Michael J. Hogan Fellowship is designed to promote research in foreign language sources by graduate student members of SHAFR. The fellowship of \$2,000 is intended to defray the costs of studying foreign languages needed for research.

Eligibility: Applicants must be graduate students researching some aspect of United States foreign relations.

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.

Hogan Fellowships are awarded at SHAFR's annual meeting. Recipients of the fellowship must report to the Committee how the fellowship was used.

To be considered for the 2006 award, nominations and supporting materials must be received by April 15, 2006. Submit materials to: Professor Carol Chin, Department of History, University of Toronto, Sidney Smith Hall, 100 St George Street, Room 2074, Toronto Ontario M5S 3G3 CANADA. E-mail submissions to carol.chin@utoronto.ca are welcomed and encouraged.



The W. Stull Holt Dissertation Fellowship

The Holt Fellowship is designed to promote research by doctoral candidates writing dissertations in the field of the history of American foreign relations. This fellowship of \$2,000 is intended to defray costs of travel, preferably foreign travel, necessary to conduct research on a significant dissertation project.

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. Each applicant should include a prospectus of the dissertation, indicating work already completed as well as contemplated research. The prospectus (8-12 pages, double spaced) should describe the dissertation project as fully as possible, indicating the scope, method, chief source materials, and historiographical significance of the project. The applicant should indicate how the fellowship, if awarded, would be used. An academic transcript showing all graduate work taken to date is required, as well as three letters from graduate teachers familiar with the work of the applicant, including one from the director of the applicant's dissertation.

Holt Fellowships are awarded at SHAFR's annual meeting. At the end of the fellowship year, recipients of the fellowship must report to the Committee how the fellowship was used. Such reports will be considered for publication in *Passport*.

To be considered for the 2006 award, nominations and supporting materials must be received by April 15, 2006. Submit materials to: Professor Carol Chin, Department of History, University of Toronto, Sidney Smith Hall, 100 St George Street, Room 2074, Toronto Ontario M5S 3G3 CANADA. E-mail submissions to carol.chin@utoronto.ca are welcomed and encouraged.



SHAFR Travel-to-Collections Grants

The SHAFR Travel-to-Collections Grants Program is intended to promote research by doctoral candidates and by untenured faculty members in the field of U.S. foreign relations history. A limited number of grants (up to \$1,000 each) will be awarded annually to help defray the costs of domestic or international travel necessary to conduct research on significant scholarly projects.

Eligibility: Applicants must be actively working on dissertations or post-doctoral research projects dealing with some aspect of United States foreign relations. Applicants must have satisfactorily completed all requirements for the doctoral degree except the dissertation or must hold the Ph.D.

Procedures: Self-nominations are expected. Graduate students should apply for the Holt Fellowship, as applicants for that fellowship will be considered automatically for Travel-to-Collections grants. The guidelines for Holt applications are above. Untenured faculty members holding the Ph.D. should submit applications modeled on the Holt Fellowship application, minus the academic transcript, making clear their status as faculty members and their interest in Travel-to-Collection funds.

The annual deadline for applications is April 15. In most years, awards will be decided and issued by June 30. At the end of the grant period, a recipient must report to the SHAFR Business Office how the grant was used. Such reports will be considered for publication in *Passport*.

To be considered for a 2006 grant, nominations and supporting materials must be received by April 15, 2006. Submit materials to: Professor Carol Chin, Department of History, University of Toronto, Sidney Smith Hall, 100 St George Street, Room 2074, Toronto Ontario M5S 3G3 CANADA. E-mail submissions to carol.chin@utoronto.ca are welcomed and encouraged.



The Betty M. Unterberger Dissertation Prize

The Betty M. Unterberger Prize is intended to recognize and encourage distinguished research and writing by graduate students in the field of diplomatic history. The Prize of \$1,000 is awarded biannually (in odd years) to the author of a dissertation, completed during the previous two calendar years, on any topic in United States foreign relations history. The Prize is announced at the annual SHAFR conference.

The prize was established in 2004 to honor Betty Miller Unterberger, a founder of SHAFR and long-time professor of diplomatic history at Texas A&M University.

Procedures: A dissertation may be submitted for consideration by the author or by the author's advisor. Three copies of the dissertation should be submitted, along with a cover letter explaining why the dissertation deserves consideration.

To be considered for the 2007 award, nominations and supporting materials must be received by February 28, 2007. Submit materials to Terry Anderson, Department of History, Texas A&M University, Melbern G. Glasscock Building, Room 101, College Station, TX 77843-4236.



The Norman and Laura Graebner Award

The Graebner Award 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 prize of \$2,000 is awarded biannually, in even years. The Graebner Award was established by the former students of Norman A. Graebner, professor of diplomatic history at the University of Illinois and the University of Virginia, to honor Norman and his wife Laura for their years of devotion to teaching and research in the field.

Eligibility: The Graebner prize will be awarded to a distinguished scholar of diplomatic or international affairs. 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.

Procedures: Letters of nomination, submitted in triplicate, should (a) provide a brief biography of the nominee, including educational background, academic or other positions held, and awards and honors received; (b) list the nominee's major scholarly works and discuss the nature of his or her contribution to the study of diplomatic history and international affairs; (c) describe the candidate's career, note any teaching honors and awards, and comment on the candidate's classroom skills; and (d) detail the candidate's services to the historical profession, listing specific organizations and offices and discussing particular activities. Self-nominations are accepted.

Graebner awards are announced at SHAFR's annual meeting.

The next deadline for nominations is March 1, 2006. Submit materials to: Brenda Gayle Plummer, Department of History, University of Wisconsin, 4011 Mosse Humanities, 455 N. Park St., Madison, WI 53706.

6) Recent Publications of Interest

- Bialer, Uri. *Cross on the Star of David: The Christian World in Israel's Foreign Policy, 1948–1967*, Indiana University Press, \$39.95.
- Bischof, Guenter, Anton Pelinka and Michael Gehler, eds. *Austrian Foreign Policy in Historical Perspective* (Contemporary Austrian Studies, vol. 14). New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction 2006.
- Boyle, Peter G. *Eisenhower*, Pearson Longman, \$17.95.
- Boyle, Peter G., ed. *The Eden-Eisenhower Correspondence, 1955–1957*, University of North Carolina Press, \$45.00.
- Brecher, Jeremy, Jill Cutler and Brendan Smith. *In the Name of Democracy: American War Crimes in Iraq and Beyond*, Henry Holt, \$17.00.
- Colas, Alejandro and Richard Saull. *The War on Terrorism and the American 'Empire' after the Cold War*, Routledge, \$125.00.
- Colman, Jonathan. *A 'Special Relationship'?: Harold Wilson, Lyndon B. Johnson and Anglo-American Relations 'at the Summit', 1964–68*, Manchester University Press, \$74.95.
- Cuordileone, Kyle A. *Manhood and American Political Culture in the Cold War: Masculinity, the Vital Center, and American Political Culture in the Cold War, 1949–1963*, Routledge, \$24.95.
- Dallas, Gregor. *1945: The War That Never Ended*, Yale University Press, \$40.00.
- Dauer, Richard P. *A North-South Mind in an East-West World: Chester Bowles and the Making of United States Cold War Foreign Policy, 1951–1969*, Praeger Publishers, \$94.95.
- DeLeon, Edwin, with William C. Davis, ed. *Secret History of Confederate Diplomacy Abroad*, University Press of Kansas, \$35.00.
- Druks, Herbert M. *John F. Kennedy and Israel*, Praeger Publishers, \$64.95.
- Fermin, Jose D. *1904 World's Fair: The Filipino Experience*, University of Hawaii Press, \$24.00.
- Fernández, Damián J. *Cuba Transnational*, University Press of Florida, \$65.00.
- Field, Douglas, ed. *American Cold War Culture*, Edinburgh University Press, \$25.00.
- Foran, John. *Taking Power: On the Origins of Third World Revolutions*, Cambridge University Press, \$29.99.
- Gehler, Michael and Guenter Bischof, Ludger Kuehnardt, and Rolf Steininger, eds., *Towards a European Constitution: A Historical and Political Comparison with the United States*. Vienna: Boehlau 2005.
- Herzstein, Robert Edwin. *Henry R. Luce, Time, and the American Crusade in Asia*, Cambridge University Press, \$32.00.
- Hulsebosch, Daniel J. *Constituting Empire: New York and the Transformation of Constitutionalism in the Atlantic World, 1664–1830*, University of North Carolina Press, \$45.00.
- Hurst, Steven. *Cold War US Foreign Policy: Key Perspectives*, Edinburgh University Press, \$45.00.
- Jain, Devaki. *Women, Development, and the UN: A Sixty-Year Quest for Equality and Justice*, Indiana University Press, \$22.95.
- Johnson, Robert David. *Congress and the Cold War*, Cambridge University Press, \$25.99.
- Kisatsky, Deborah. *The United States and the European Right, 1945–1955*, The Ohio State University Press, \$39.95.
- Kushner, Barak. *The Thought War: Japanese Imperial Propaganda*, University of Hawaii Press, \$45.00.
- Laville, Helen and Hugh Wilford. *The US Government, Citizen Groups and the Cold War: The State-Private Network*, Routledge, \$115.00.
- Legro, Jeffrey W. *Rethinking the World: Great Power Strategies and International Order*, Cornell University Press, \$39.95.
- McFarland, Keith D. and David L. Roll. *Louis Johnson and the Arming of America: The Roosevelt and Truman Years*, Indiana University Press, \$35.00.
- Noer, Thomas. *Soapy: A Biography of G. Mennen Williams*, University of Michigan Press, \$35.00.
- Panaspornpravit, Chookiat. *US-Kuwaiti Relations, 1961–1992: An Uneasy Relationship*, Routledge, \$36.95.
- Petersen, Tore T. *The Decline of the Anglo-American Middle East, 1961–1969: A Willing Retreat*, Sussex Academic Press, \$67.50.
- Philippe, Roger, with Sharon Bowman, trans. *The American Enemy: The History of French Anti-Americanism*, University of Chicago Press, \$35.00.
- Press, Daryl G. *Calculating Credibility: How Military Leaders Assess Military Threats*, Cornell University Press, \$32.50.
- Rabe, Stephen G. *U.S. Intervention in British Guiana: A Cold War Story*, University of North Carolina Press, \$45.00.
- Reynolds, David. *In Command of History: Churchill Fighting and Writing the Second World War*, Random House, \$35.00.
- Rosenberg, Jonathan. *How Far the Promised Land?: World Affairs and the American Civil Rights Movement from the First World War to Vietnam*, Princeton University Press, \$35.00.

- Rothwell, Victor. *War Aims in the Second World War: The War Aims of the Key Belligerents 1939-1945*, Edinburgh University Press, \$25.00.
- Rudalevige, Andrew. *The New Imperial Presidency: Renewing Presidential Power after Watergate*, University of Michigan Press, \$29.95.
- Rugh, William A. *American Encounters with Arabs: The "Soft Power" of U.S. Public Diplomacy in the Middle East*, Praeger Publishers, \$49.95.
- Ruland, Jurgen, Theodor Hanf, and Eva Manske, eds. *U.S. Foreign Policy Toward the Third World: A Post-Cold War Assessment*, M.E. Sharpe, \$26.95.
- Stephens, Elizabeth. *U.S. Policy Toward Israel: The Role of Political Culture in Defining the 'Special Relationship'*, Sussex Academic Publishers, \$67.50.
- Talentino, Andrea Kathryn. *Military Intervention after the Cold War: The Evolution of Theory and Practice*, Ohio University Press, \$26.00.
- Tilchin, William N. and Charles E. Neu, eds. *Artists of Power: Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, and Their Enduring Impact on U.S. Foreign Policy*, Praeger Publishers, \$139.95.
- Vaughan, James. *The Failure of American and British Propaganda in the Middle East, 1945-1957: Unconquerable Minds*, Palgrave Macmillan, \$74.95.
- Weber, Cynthia. *Imagining America at War: Morality, Politics and Film*, Routledge, \$115.00.
- Western, Joe. *Selling Intervention and War: The Presidency, the Media, and the American Public*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, \$18.95.
- White, George. *Holding the Line: Race, Racism, and American Foreign Policy Toward Africa, 1953-1961*, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, \$115.00.
- Williamson, Daniel C. *Separate Agendas: Churchill, Eisenhower, and Anglo-American Relations, 1953-1955*, Lexington Books, \$70.00.

The Last Word

Peter L. Hahn

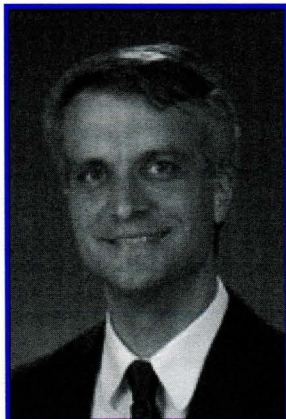
Recently, I took the time to peruse volumes 1-3 of the *SHAFR Newsletter*, which were edited by Gerald E. Wheeler of San Jose State College and published semi-annually between December 1969 and May 1972. I found copies of the six issues in the files that Mitch Lerner and I inherited from William Brinker when we assumed the custodianship of the Newsletter and re-launched it as *Passport* in 2003.

The stark physical form of these earliest newsletters is, by modern standards, quite striking. Each edition ranges from 14 to 30 loose-leaf pages, held between two faded covers by a pair of staples. The text was typed in a single font, black ink on white paper, with the headlines relying on CAPITAL LETTERS and underlining to attract the reader's attention. The cover of the inaugural issue bears small photos of the Executive Office Building and the modern State Department in Foggy Bottom, together with the official, spread-eagled shield of the Department of State of the United States of America.

Despite the physical condition of these newsletters, I found myself enthralled by their contents, which reveal that the Founders of SHAFR exerted an enormous quantity of energy and showed a deep wisdom in establishing the Society and aiming it toward the greatness and vibrancy that it has achieved over the years.

I was especially impressed by the presidential lectures delivered by Alexander DeConde, Richard W. Leopold, and Robert H. Ferrell at the SHAFR luncheons held during the annual meetings of the American Historical Association (AHA) in 1969-1971. These lectures recorded invaluable insights about the history of the field, its major intellectual currents, and its early luminaries. They also summoned the guild to consider newer methodologies and conceptual approaches, to show greater sensitivity to persons of color and non-Western nations, and to hold the government accountable for free and open access to official records. DeConde in particular called SHAFR members to eschew the "elitism and self-satisfying patriotism" of earlier generations and show loyalty "to unbiased scholarship" rather than "home, province, [or] country." Apparently as a result, SHAFR's own, original logo replaced the official seal of the Department of State on the cover of the very next newsletter. (That original SHAFR icon, which lasted until the 1990s, featured a spread-winged eagle with an American flair, although the bird was faded into a shadow and the explicit connection to the U.S. government was removed.)

I was also impressed with a report of a special committee--sanctioned by the AHA, chaired by Ernest R. May, and staffed by several SHAFR members--to study



American-East Asian relations. The work of the committee was testament to the field's new reach into a part of the globe that had come to prominence during the 1960s. In its newsletter report, the committee called for increased study of trans-Pacific relations including "not only diplomacy and power politics but also Christian missions, cultural influences, institutional developments, industry, trade and investment, education, technology, the press, public opinion, literature and thought." One could reasonably assert that the new diplomatic history of the 1990s, with its emphasis on culture, race, gender, and class, might trace one of its roots to this committee.

The early newsletters also indicate that the Founders of SHAFR believed in the principle of multi-national research. Various articles explained the organization and contents of the national archives of the United States, Britain, France, and Germany. And the May committee called for specialists in U.S.-East Asian relations to exploit not only American but also Chinese, Japanese, and Korean sources. These voices thus reinforced the field's standard of multi-national research that has echoed from the Age of Bemis to the modern day.

Finally, the early newsletters also show the energy and vision the Founders devoted to building SHAFR as a viable professional institution. Having established SHAFR in 1967, the Founders set the stage for its incorporation in 1972. They regularly organized foreign relations sessions at conferences of the AHA, the Organization of American Historians, and the Southern Historical Association--sessions containing the seeds of SHAFR's first annual meeting in 1975. The Founders also published the first SHAFR membership roster (edited by Warren F. Kimball), a distant forerunner of our new Member Services Website, and, under the lead of Executive Secretary Joseph P. O'Grady of La Salle College, they adopted bylaws as the foundation of SHAFR governance. The minutes of a business meeting held in April 1971 record a discussion of the need to start a scholarly journal; the first edition of *Diplomatic History*, edited by Armin Rappaport, appeared in Winter 1977.

My perusal of these six newsletters deepened my appreciation and admiration for the Founders of SHAFR. And it inspired me to hope that the Society's ongoing efforts to promote excellent scholarship, professional development, and public service will pay dividends far into the future. That thought should be enough to keep us all working hard and visioning a better future.

Peter Hahn is professor of history at The Ohio State University and Executive Director of SHAFR.