

Passport

The Newsletter of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations

Volume 37, Issue 1, April 2006



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Reflections on the Cold War and the War on
Terror

New Evidence from Vietnam

Doing Research in Europe

...and much more!

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Cover Photo

President George W. Bush greets the audience after delivering remarks on the war on terror, Friday, Nov. 11, 2005 at the Tobyhanna Army Depot in Tobyhanna, Pa.
White House photo by Eric Draper. Courtesy of www.whitehouse.gov.

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The Past is More Than Prologue: Reflections on the Cold War and the War on Terror

Marc J. Selverstone

From virtually the moment the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon occurred, commentators sought to locate September 11, 2001, within a broader historical narrative.¹ Aside from the parallels several observers drew between the Barbary Pirates and al Qaeda, or Pearl Harbor and 9/11, it was the Cold War that was cited most frequently as the relevant historical analogue. Supporters as well as critics of the Bush administration found sources of strength in that conflict, especially in its earliest phases, for what both regarded as important battles that lay ahead.² From the reorganization of the national security state to the growth of executive power, from the creation of a bipartisan consensus to the characterization of the enemy itself, the Cold War struggle against Communism provided pundits, scholars, and policymakers with a model for how to move forward in the post-9/11 environment.

But this conversation between the two eras has been decidedly one-sided—a monologue, as it were. If history is supposed to be a dialogue with the past, then at some point historians will need to reverse the flow. They have made a start; 9/11 has helped focus more attention, for instance, on the dynamics of “blowback” and U.S. policy on counterterrorism.³ But the lion’s share of this commentary has invoked the past merely as prologue. It is time to turn this situation on its head and begin to ask just what, if anything, the War on Terror can help us learn about the Cold War. Three questions, drawn from the post-9/11 era and employed heuristically, may help to shed light on this matter.

I. “Why Do They Hate Us?”

This question was perhaps the

most pointed one on people’s lips immediately following 9/11. In their initial responses, as well as some recent ones, writers were almost uniform in charging that Americans were targeted because of who they *are*—that war had been declared on the United States because of the freedoms it holds dear.⁴ Over time, as passions cooled, commentators began to pay more attention to the various causes of terrorism. Even the Bush administration, while not backing away from its belief that al Qaeda were wholly to blame for 9/11, saw the need to address the wider roots of terrorism. Inherent in these more recent inquiries was the notion that terrorists hate Americans for what they *do*. Much of that hatred was believed to stem at least in part from U.S. support of Israel in its struggle with the Arab world and the Palestinians, American backing of autocratic regimes throughout the oil-rich Middle East, and the continued presence of U.S. troops in Saudi Arabia long after the end of the 1991 Gulf War.

As the pendulum swung between these two explanations, responses began to converge, with some observers arguing that the United States is hated because what it *is* and what it *does* cannot be disentangled.⁵ Whether condemning the very notions of secularism, materialism, and liberalism, on the one hand, or the byproducts of these values on the other, terrorists regard all of these dynamics as inherently Western and ultimately American. That linkage fueled the rage that led to the events of 9/11. It is not unreasonable, then, to suggest that the deeply unsettling impact of modernity itself is what seems to lie at the root of the new Islamic terrorism, an impulse that some commentators have taken to calling “religious totalitarianism.”⁶

These are not the first totalitarians

to emerge from the disruptions of modernity. Communism and Nazism both gained traction in response to the social convulsions attending the modern age. If this new brand of totalitarianism is indeed detritus from the Cold War, its appearance suggests that there might be good reason to regard both the Cold War and the world war that preceded it as part of a larger struggle to grapple with the shock of modernity. A small but growing literature exists on this subject, much of which focuses on the post-1945 period and employs modernization theory to understand the Cold War in terms of the forces loosed by industrialization and modern state construction.⁷

But this narrative can be carried back at least to the October Revolution of 1917. The battle for the world’s “hearts and minds” that V.I. Lenin and Woodrow Wilson began to wage in earnest that year, a battle their successors continued throughout the 1920s and 1930s, grew out of the seismic disruptions of the Great War and intensified during the Great Depression—events that were themselves outgrowths of broader developments which, collectively, have been equated with the rise of modernity. The ideological battle between capitalism and communism intensified in the postwar world as East and West sought to win political allies, and continued to rage during the 1950s and 1960s amid efforts to shape the economic and political futures of the developing world. Fast-forward to the problems besetting the modern Middle East, with its great disparities in wealth and political opportunity, and the cultural inroads made in that region by the West. These societal challenges were created and subsequently magnified by dynamics stretching back at least to the turn of the century that transformed both the nations of the Middle East and the

international system. All of which is to suggest that modernization theory, which has offered a useful lens for understanding the microhistory of the Cold War, may also prove helpful in establishing the Cold War itself as part of a broader continuum, with the present era constituting yet another battle in the Wars of Modernity.

II. "What's the Matter With Kansas?"

This was the query that Thomas Frank posed as he sought to uncover the reasons, outside of judicial intervention, for George W. Bush's victory in the 2000 presidential election.⁸ While Frank focused much of his study on the dominance of cultural issues over economic ones—a dynamic very much in play in the 2004 campaign as well—that more recent contest apparently turned on matters related to foreign policy. Fear—and not just concern about threats to "traditional" values, but real, palpable fear about issues of life and death—was paramount in the 2004 election. John Kerry, the Democratic challenger, was simply unable to convince a majority of voters that he both understood that fear and could be trusted with addressing it. In fact, Kerry's description of future terrorist attacks on U.S. interests as a lamentable yet inevitable "nuisance" played right into the Republican strategy of questioning his ability to understand the challenge facing the country.⁹ How could Kerry adequately defend America if he persisted in treating those who would fly airplanes into buildings—and conceivably do much worse—as mere irritants? Didn't he know there was a *war* going on? A war against *terror*?

This last question has sparked a fair amount of debate, as commentators have regularly taken issue with the declared object of America's wrath. Terror is hardly a fit target for attack, the argument runs, for it is a tactic, not an ideology or political doctrine. Focusing on the method as opposed to the madness behind it ignores the more complex dynamics that give rise to such behavior and ultimately limits our effectiveness in combating it.¹⁰ But comparatively few observers have probed the first assumption built into

the "War on Terror" label. Is this really a *war*? If so, how did it come to be seen as one and what are the consequences of treating it as such?

Within twelve hours of the 9/11 attacks, the Bush administration christened the new reality confronting America as a "War on Terror."¹¹ Countless news outlets repeated the phrase, hammering it into the national consciousness. Popular acceptance of the notion that the United States was now at war had profound consequences for American political culture as well as for efforts to prevent future assaults on U.S. interests. Much of that impact was structural. The administration seized the opportunity to redesign the national security establishment, alter the nation's approach to civil liberties, draw broader veils of secrecy over executive branch measures and deliberations, and lay the basis for wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. But couching the nation's response to 9/11 as a "War on Terror" also allowed the administration and its allies to marginalize policies, such as those put forward by John Kerry, that downplayed a military response in favor of diplomatic, bureaucratic, financial, and legal options. In so doing, the Republicans were able to tap into the public's sense of existential fear and persuade the electorate that only a leader who understood the gravity of the situation could be trusted with the nation's welfare.¹²

What is so intriguing about the Republicans' apocalyptic rhetoric is that their standard-bearer is not a politician with a Spenglerian take on history but one whose outlook is precisely the opposite. And it is not only George W. Bush who is endowed with great confidence about America and its ability to remake the world. As James Mann has written, several key members of the Bush team share a deeply held sense of optimism.¹³ Their perspective, moreover, was not just the private worldview they brought to policymaking. It was the foundation of their reelection strategy in 2004.

What are we to make of such optimism when it is combined with rhetoric intended to instill fear in the electorate? How are we to square the

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apparent disconnect between a public that is terrified about what the future holds yet remains gung-ho about the administration's ambitious foreign policy agenda? If we could ask the question again, what really *was* going on with Kansas last November?

The relationship between the attitudes of policymakers and the American public, and our difficulty in readily explaining it, harkens back to a similar dynamic from the early Cold War that is deserving of more scholarly attention. Perhaps the relevant historical question might be, "What was the matter with Kansas in 1947?" One such problem might have been the pervasive sense of angst hanging in the air, an affliction that several contemporaries labeled the dominant mood of the time.¹⁴ Policymakers shared that feeling, with George Kennan perhaps the best known of those who were dubious about America's ability to wage a cold war over the course of at least a generation. But more central to that outlook was a shared pessimism about the prospects for democracy elsewhere in the postwar world. Certainly the strength of West European Communist parties, as well as those linked to nationalist movements in developing nations,

gave Truman officials pause. But it was the unpredictability of democracy, as well as the looming menace of communism, that American statesmen found so threatening. With the "whole political economy of freedom" up for grabs in 1947, as Melvyn Leffler has written, Truman sought to dramatize the challenge facing America in bold and provocative terms.¹⁵ His administration, as various scholars have indicated, may have oversold the costs of U.S. inaction.¹⁶ But how much did his anticommunist program, outlined in his congressional address on aid to Greece and Turkey, need to be magnified to make it consonant with the scope of America's insecurity?

This debate is far from settled. Scholars have long noted the yo-yoing of policymakers' rhetoric and public attitudes, with one leading the other at one point and then the situation reversing itself.¹⁷ Attractive as it might be, this "push-pull" model is too simplistic, for the Truman administration seems not to have magnified that general sense of anxiety so much as focused it, doing for the American public what the Long Telegram did for American public servants. A more rigorous analysis of 1940's political culture, examining what Americans were reading in their living rooms, hearing on their radios, seeing in the theaters, and learning in the classroom—for starters—would deepen our understanding of how that generation heard the president's message.

Absent from this cultural mix of the early Truman era was a neat, descriptive name for the challenge facing the United States. Although the American public had clearly soured on its wartime alliance with Moscow—the percentage of those who expected Soviet cooperation in postwar affairs had dropped from 52 percent in September 1945 to 25 percent in March 1947—there was as yet no name for the troubled relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union. In other words, the public had yet to learn it was in a "cold war" with the Kremlin.¹⁸ By way of comparison, the phrase "War on Terror" entered the national consciousness at the same time as the actions that led to its emergence. President Bush lent that

term official sanction and it remains to this day the leading, if not the only, name for the post-9/11 epoch. The term "cold war," on the other hand, seeped into the lexicon over the course of several years, reflecting the history of the events it sought to describe.¹⁹ When media sources invoked it, they did so only occasionally by attaching the "so-called" qualifying prefix: the "so-called Cold War."²⁰ Aside from instances in which it was used by various left-leaning publications critical of U.S. policy toward the Soviets, the term never had the pejorative connotations attached to the "so-called War on Terror," which is a staple of overseas commentary and Internet blogs, and has also appeared in Bob Herbert's columns for the *New York Times*.²¹ More to the point, Truman's message to Congress outlining his anticommunist program actually preceded widespread familiarity of the term "cold war" by at least six months, suggesting, perhaps, that popular recognition of the new international reality, as codified in an easily identifiable term, had little bearing on early Cold War policymaking.²²

Would the same have been true for George Bush had he not locked in the notion of a War on Terror? What is the relationship between recognition that a new reality exists and the consciousness that takes shape alongside it? Could a "Cold War consciousness" emerge without the notion of a cold war underlying it? Did the identification of the postwar reality as a "Cold War," which was showing up with greater frequency in the pages of newspapers and magazines in 1948, actually limit opportunities to engage the American public in a more searching dialogue about the nature of international communism? In short, was at least one dimension of *the* Cold War contingent on popular recognition of a "cold war"? Given our current experience with the War on Terror, this might be a question worth considering.

III. "Are You With Us or Against Us?"

This third and final question, phrased most forcefully by President Bush as a declarative statement, was

THANKS!!

SHAFR and *Passport* wish to thank Ed Goedeken of the Iowa State University Library System for his many years of hard work on behalf of SHAFR members. Ed has compiled the annual list of dissertations relevant to diplomatic history, which has run in the newsletter since 1989. From now on, the list will appear on the SHAFR website, rather than in print, and can be accessed at: <http://www.shafr.org/publications.htm>

raised within days of the attacks and offers clear parallels to the language of the Cold War.²³ Much of the post-9/11 rhetoric, in fact, with its invocation of an American mission, its anti-neutralism, its definition of the enemy (and its definition of friends, for that matter), hearkens back to familiar Cold War themes. While this particular question speaks most clearly to the matter of anti-neutralism, its formulation is so stark as to throw a spotlight on the matter of rhetoric itself.

One of the more striking characteristics of the president's rhetoric in the days and weeks following 9/11 was its religious cast. To be sure, Bush sought to avoid classifying the War on Terror as a religious war or even a war between civilizations. America's enemy, he declared, was neither Islam nor the Arab world, nor the people of any particular nation. Yet his repeated reference to "evil" as the impetus for the attacks—he invoked the concept four times in his radio address on 9/11—suggests that there was indeed a religious dimension to this conflict.²⁴ At one time, the president even characterized America's response to 9/11 as a "crusade," explicitly invoking images of Christian warriors routing the infidels.²⁵ None of this should come as a surprise; Bush's faith is well known, having been documented frequently both during and since the 2000 campaign.²⁶ Indeed, the president's belief that the invasion of Iraq would restore liberty—what he described as "God's gift to humanity"—suggests that Bush thought he was carrying out the Lord's will on Earth.²⁷

This sense of divine mission was similarly evident in the Cold War and has long been a staple of writing on America's cultural response to that conflict. Historians have explored an array of related topics, including the influence of figures such as Billy Graham, Francis Cardinal Spellman, and Reinhold Niebuhr; the rise in religious affiliation and attendance at houses of worship; and the wide range of public ceremonies suffused with religious content, from prayer breakfasts to an amended Pledge of Allegiance.²⁸ But with few exceptions,

the majority of this work has focused on the 1950s.²⁹ There has been no comparable outpouring of literature on the late 1940s that incorporates this religious dimension—and certainly none that aims at a comprehensive account of America's early postwar response to the Soviet challenge. With all that has been written in the past several years about George W. Bush and his public appeals to faith, the role that faith plays in his approach to the world, the administration's courting of religious communities, and the manner in which the War on Terror has been framed by a religious narrative, scholars might do well to refocus their energies on how a comparable dynamic informed America's response to the U.S.S.R.—and not just in the 1950s, when the battle lines had hardened, but in the late 1940s, when the emerging international reality had yet to coalesce.

These questions—"Are You With Us or Against Us?," "What's the Matter with Kansas?," and "Why Do They Hate Us?"—may not have comparable relevance to the Cold War, but they do speak to the current condition. As such, they have a resonance not unlike other questions that scholars have asked over the course of the previous half-century. During that time, developments within the profession, as well as in the world at large, generated successive waves of historical revision on the Cold War, offering greater perspective on the origins and evolution of that conflict. Recently, of course, the emergence of a new set of political realities following the shocks of 1989 through 1991 had a significant impact on Cold War historiography. Apparently, more recent political realities have yet to make their mark on the field. Thus far, historians of the Cold War have done an admirable job of bringing the past into the present. At some point, they will need to reverse the process and shine the light of the present—in the questions they ask—more consciously back on the past.

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would like to thank his colleagues David Coleman and Kent Germany for their thoughts on this essay.

Notes

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7. Nick Cullather, "Damming Afghanistan: Modernization in a Buffer State," *Journal of American History* 89, www.historycooperative.org, June 13, 2005; Cullather, "Modernization Theory," in Michael J. Hogan and Thomas G. Paterson, eds., *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations*, 2nd ed. (New York, 2004), 212-20; Michael Latham, *Modernization as*

Ideology: American Social Science and "Nation Building" in the Kennedy Era (Chapel Hill, 2000); David C. Engerman et al., eds., *Staging Growth: Modernization, Development, and the Global Cold War* (Amherst, MA, 2003).

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9. Matt Bai, "Kerry's Undeclared War," *New York Times Magazine*, October 10, 2004, p. 45.
10. See, for instance, Friedman, "The Real War"; Peter Beinart, "Ask Not," *New Republic*, August 16, 2004; Walter Laqueur, "The Changing Face of Terror," in Robert J. Art and Kenneth N. Waltz, eds., *The Use of Force: Military Power and International Politics*, 6th ed. (New York, 2004), 450-58.
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12. In an interesting twist, the administration now seems to be debating the nature—rhetorically, at least—of the post-9/11 project. Eric Schmitt and Thom Shanker, "U.S. Officials Retool Slogan for Terror War," *New York Times*, July 26, 2005, www.nytimes.com.
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18. Department of State, "American Opinion Reports," 11 April 1947, cited in Leigh, *Mobilizing Consent*, 161.
19. For inquiries into the history of the term "Cold War," see H-Diplo discussion logs,

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21. For example, see "Promoting Torturer's Promoter," *New York Times*, January 7, 2005, p. 23; "Torture, American Style," *New York Times*, February 11, 2005, p. 25. The *Times* itself used the phrase in an editorial, "The Rule of Law at Gitmo," November 10, 2004, p. 24.
22. Walter Lippmann's columns responding to George Kennan's "X-Article" were published in late 1947 under the title, *The Cold War: A Study in U.S. Foreign Policy* (New York, 1947).
23. Bush declared that "every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists." Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People, September 20, 2001, www.whitehouse.gov.
24. Statement by the President in Address to the Nation, September 11, 2001, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/>; Radio Address of the President to the Nation, 6 October 2001, www.presidency.ucsb.edu; "Remarks Announcing the Most Wanted Terrorists List," *Public Papers of the Presidents: George W. Bush, 2001, vol. II*, October 10, 2001, p. 1213.
25. Brian Kates, "W. Vows Crusade vs. Terrorism," *Daily News*, September 17, 2001, p. 5, Lexis-Nexis.
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27. Cannon, "Bush and God." See also Bob Woodward, *Bush at War* (New York, 2002), 67.
28. See Stephen J. Whitfield, *The Culture of the Cold War* (Baltimore, 2nd ed., 1996), Chapter 4; Richard M. Fried, *The Russians are Coming! The Russians are Coming!: Pageantry and Patriotism in Cold War America* (New York, 1998).
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Update on Vietnam's "New Evidence"

Pierre Asselin

In "New Evidence from Vietnam," an article published in the December 2004 issue of *Passport*, I mentioned the recent publication of a collection of Vietnamese documents entitled *Van kien Dang: Toan tap* (Party documents: Complete works; hereafter referred to as *VKDTT*). The collection consists of instructions, resolutions, and guidelines from core members and organs of the Vietnamese Communist Party (VCP) and its previous incarnations, mainly the Indochinese Communist Party and the Vietnamese Workers' Party, on a wide range of domestic and international issues. As of mid-December 2005, National Political Publishers (NPP) had released several more volumes, extending the series to 1981 (Volume 42). According to officials at NPP, the last volume they have planned is Volume 49, which will appear in 2006 and will take the series to 1988. There are still no definite plans to publish the series in English.

For those interested in Hanoi's response to the American intervention in the South from 1954 to 1975 or to the air war against the North that began in 1965, NPP recently published a compilation of sixty-five party and government documents relevant to those topics. Entitled *Ve dau tranh thong nhat nuoc ta* (On the Struggle to Reunify the Fatherland), this single-volume compendium includes some of the best documents from *VKDTT*, along with materials from various other sources, including the collected works of Ho Chi Minh and Le Duan, who was head (or "first secretary") of the party throughout the period of direct American military intervention. It also features a series of original works and excerpts from sources previously published by Vietnamese scholars, diplomats, party members, and military staff. Of the edited volumes published on the American war in Vietnam, this one may be the

most indispensable.

Among the most revealing documents reproduced in this compilation are: (1) a resolution drafted by the Party Central Committee in late March 1965, some three weeks after the deployment of the first American combat forces in South Vietnam and the beginning of the sustained bombing of the North, on the "situation and urgent responsibilities" facing the Revolution in the new context; (2) excerpts from a January 1968 Party Central Committee resolution discussing various dimensions of the upcoming "general offensive" (i.e., the Tet Offensive), including its implementation and projected outcome; (3) a March 27, 1972 Politburo cable to southern revolutionary leaders, discussing the party's interpretation of, concerns over, and strategy for undermining the American policy of Vietnamization; (4) a September 20, 1972 cable to the Central Office for South Vietnam (*Trung uong Cuc*, the party's central command in the South) from Le Duan, suggesting the imminent finalization of a peace settlement with the United States and delineating the office's responsibilities following the settlement's signing; and (5) a series of seven cables sent by the Politburo to southern military commanders between March 27 and April 22, 1975, outlining the party's strategy for completing the "liberation" of the South by defeating the South Vietnamese armed forces and the Saigon regime that commanded them. Collectively, these and other documents offer invaluable insights into the policymaking process in Hanoi during the war. Most important, they answer myriad questions that have long perplexed American diplomatic historians by revealing the party's position on various military, political, and diplomatic issues and disclosing

the "real" motivations behind some of the most momentous decisions the party made, such as launching the Tet Offensive in early 1968 and completing a negotiated agreement with the United States in the fall of 1972.

There is also good news for diplomatic historians who cannot access primary materials in Vietnamese. Earlier this year, The Gio Publishers (TGP) released *75 Years of the Communist Party of Vietnam (1930-2005): A Selection of Documents from Nine Party Congresses*. This book contains more than a thousand pages of documents and is an invaluable tool for those interested in accurately tracing the course of the Vietnamese Revolution.¹ It also features a concise, official history of the VCP and a detailed chronology, both of which are useful to scholars trying to understand the mindset of Hanoi policymakers during and after the war with the United States. While some of the materials in this volume appeared in whole or in part elsewhere, this is the most accurate and comprehensive collection of its kind to date. A generous and substantively comprehensive section on the 1960 National Party Congress will be of interest to those seeking new insights into the origins of the insurgency in South Vietnam. Besides demonstrating the extent to which ideological considerations inspired foreign and domestic policymaking in Hanoi during a crucial stage of the Revolution, the documents reproduced in this section reveal the importance the party accorded to the development of a socialist economy in the North, even as tensions in the South escalated. Since conditions at the time militated against holding national congresses—the next one did not take place until after reunification in 1976—some of the priorities set by the party in 1960 served to inform

North Vietnamese policymaking for the duration of the war, and scholars will find amidst these materials the *raison d'être* for some of the most consequential initiatives undertaken by Hanoi immediately before and during its war against the Americans and their Saigon "puppets."

One particularly incisive document featured in the new volume is the political report submitted by the Central Committee and disseminated to delegates to the 1960 congress. Reproduced in its entirety, it offers an interesting overview of the war against France and the Geneva negotiations that ended it. It also discusses at length the effort to build socialism in the North after 1954, offering fascinating details about issues ranging from the development of heavy industry — which the Central Committee believed had to be achieved "at all costs" — to the "promotion of a broad mass movement of artistic and literary creation" to facilitate the fulfillment of revolutionary tasks by the membership and the masses.² With respect to the situation in the South, the report predicts continued "interference" by the United States, which would culminate in "the unleashing of a new aggressive war, in an attempt to conquer our country and to transform it into a spring-board for the struggle against the socialist camp, undermining the national liberation movement in South-east Asia and world peace." Under the circumstances, the Central Committee felt that building socialism in the North was vital, since "the more solid and stable the North becomes, the more chance we have of frustrating the warmongering and aggressive schemes of the US imperialists and their henchmen."³

Also available in English and published recently (2004) by TGP is a book by Nguyen Dy Nien entitled *Ho Chi Minh Thought on Diplomacy*, which considers the history of and inspirations for Vietnamese communist foreign policymaking before, during, and after the war against the United States. For those unfamiliar with it, *Ho Chi Minh Thought* (*tu tuong Ho Chi Minh*) is

essentially a syncretic "ideological foundation" derived from Ho Chi Minh's writings and deeds as well as other sources, particularly the writings and philosophies of Marx, Lenin, and Mao. The VCP declared it an official and integral part of its ideological platform at the 1991 National Party Congress. It is increasingly *de rigueur* in Vietnam these days as the party seeks to legitimate itself and certain of its domestic and foreign policies by invoking Ho's name and alluding to his legacy. Besides tracing the evolution of Ho Chi Minh Thought as it pertains to foreign policymaking, this book presents crucial insights into the theoretical and ideological underpinnings of the strategies and tactics employed by North Vietnamese leaders to prevail over their indigenous and foreign enemies between 1954 and 1975. While scholars and researchers will appreciate this work, excerpts from it could also be useful to those teaching the war in American colleges and universities. Because of the persistent dearth of English language materials addressing the Vietnamese experience generally and the communist perspective specifically, presenting the American war in Vietnam from a balanced and nuanced point of view has been a challenge for many of us. This book, however, is accessible enough to give students a relatively clear sense of the Vietnamese foreign policymaking process and is in many ways an excellent introduction to the forces that guided and, in some respects, continue to inform the conduct of Vietnam's communist leadership in the international arena.

Lastly, a note on acquiring these and other texts. While NPP does not offer particularly good service for individual buyers from overseas, its books are available in bookshops throughout Vietnam. The best selection, however, is at NPP's own bookstore, located in Hanoi at 24 Quang Trung Street (tel: 84-4-9422008, fax: 84-4-9421881). Books from TGP may be ordered from overseas via e-mail at thegioi@hn.vnn.vn, telephone at 84-4-8253841, fax at 84-4-8269578, or mail at 46 Tran Hung Dao Street, Hanoi, Vietnam.

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Notes

1. Lest Westerners forget, the Vietnamese Revolution is not a finished project; the "march to socialism" remains, by official account, an ongoing affair in the Socialist Republic of Vietnam today.
2. "Political Report of the 2nd Central Committee to the Congress," in *75 Years of the Communist Party of Vietnam (1930-2005): A Selection of Documents from Nine Party Congresses* (Hanoi: The Gio Publishers, 2005), 212, 219.
3. *Ibid.*, 181.

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Eurotrip 2004

Michael Creswell

In 2004 I was fortunate enough to receive a generous grant from my university to conduct field research. My quest for documents took me near and far, but mostly far. What follows is a short account of my experiences, offered in the hope that it might aid budding scholars planning research trips of their own.

England was my first destination. The flight to London was overbooked, however, so the airline requested volunteers to take an alternate flight that would whisk them to Glasgow, Scotland. There they would change planes for London. For their troubles, volunteers would receive a \$600 voucher for future flights or a check for \$400 issued right on the spot. I opted for the latter and flew to Glasgow. Although I arrived in London's Gatwick Airport three hours after the airline had promised (and three hours after my luggage had arrived), I was still \$400 richer than when I had left the United States. Fortunately, my travel plans were flexible. This experience leads me to suggest including a measure of flexibility in travel plans, as the opportunity to earn money or travel credit by switching flights will go far toward stretching the very limited budget of most researchers.¹

After purchasing a train ticket for central London, I darted off to check into my bed & breakfast. Getting around London is straightforward. Travel passes for the underground and city buses can be purchased at any tube station. London is divided into zones, so travelers must make sure to purchase the proper ticket. For example, National Archives (formerly the Public Record Office) is located in Zone 3. Accordingly, researchers staying in Zone 1 must ask for a ticket valid for Zones 1, 2, and 3. For more information, see <http://tube.tfl.gov.uk/>.

My first research visit was to the London School of Economics (LSE)

Archives to examine the papers of Ernest Davies. I had already contacted Sue Donnelly (sdonnelly@lse.ac.uk), the head archivist, to tell her when I would arrive at the archives, which is located in the LSE Library. She reserved a place for me in the reading room, explained how to obtain a temporary pass to enter the library, and told me what the hours were. Space in the reading room is limited to approximately a dozen researchers, so it is wise to contact the LSE Archives in advance to reserve a place.

Working in the LSE Archives is refreshingly easy. Documents are kept in a strong room next to the reading room and can be fetched in minutes. The staff will photocopy documents that are not in bound volumes. Laptop computers and digital cameras are allowed. Many of the LSE Archives' catalogues are available on the web (<http://www.lse.ac.uk/library/archive/>), and researchers should consult these catalogues beforehand to plan their research agenda and make the best use of their time in London. Planning ahead also relieves the unfailingly cheerful and cooperative archival staff of the burden of trying to find pertinent holdings for researchers.

Researchers should, as a matter of course, contact each archive they plan to visit at least two months in advance. Although certain archives allow visitors to turn up and begin work almost immediately, other archives operate more deliberately. For example, even though one may submit a form electronically asking for permission to use the French Foreign Ministry Archives, the electronic response will indicate that a letter granting formal permission will be sent within two weeks. It would be best to have that letter in hand upon arrival.

In general, researchers should ask beforehand if laptop computers or digital cameras are allowed and what

type of plug and voltage system is used. It is usually cheaper and quicker to buy an adapter before leaving home.

On the first of September I departed London for Paris. Instead of flying, I took the Eurostar, the high-speed train that travels underneath the English Channel. Prices for the Eurostar rise sharply the closer to the date of travel they are purchased, so I bought my ticket online well before September 1 (www.eurostar.com). I boarded the Eurostar at London's Waterloo Station. Less than three hours later I arrived at Gare du Nord in Paris.

As I would be in Paris all of September, I purchased a "Carte-Orange" travel card valid for a month on the city's bus and metro system. This card requires a passport-size photograph. Though many metro stations have photo booths, the time-conscious researcher is well advised to bring photos. And as with London, Paris is divided into zones, so researchers should check to see in which zone the archive they will be using is located.

The following day I made my way to the *Archives Nationales* (AN). The regular reading room of the AN was closed for extensive repairs, which meant that I had to consult documents in the *Hôtel de Soubise* (60, rue Francis-Bourgeois), located on the other side of this large complex. Four years had passed since I had last done research at the AN, so I had to renew my reader's card. There is a twenty-euro fee for researchers who wish to obtain a card valid for a year (ten euros for researchers with a valid student ID). Fees are waived entirely for researchers who simply intend to use the AN for one day.

After renewing my card, checking my belongings, and obtaining a seat number, I traipsed upstairs to the majestic, though non-air-conditioned, reading room. I immediately

presented myself to the président de la salle, as one should do in every French reading room, to show my documentation and to inquire how to order documents.

One wall of the reading room is lined with catalogues containing the inventories of the collections held at the AN.² Also in the reading room are two computer terminals used to order documents. Documents ordered in the morning should arrive in the early afternoon. After orders are placed, a card (talon) about the size of a business envelope will arrive at the desk where orders are retrieved. Visitors simply give a staff member the reader's number from their reader's card and ask if any cartons await them. In principle, researchers who wish to begin working immediately should be able to reserve cartons online ten days in

advance. The web address for the AN is: www.archivesnationales.culture.gouv.fr/chan

One should bear in mind that in many cases authorizations to consult certain collections expire after a year or two. Unfortunately, I allowed one of my authorizations at the AN to lapse and had to resubmit a request, which entailed completing a relatively detailed form. Also, because the rules of most archives—including the AN—change over time, procedures may not remain the same from year to year.

There are two vending machines on the ground floor of the AN, but the selection is meager. Visitors might prefer to purchase lunch beforehand and stow it away in a locker. Bringing lunch will save not only time but perhaps money, as a number of the cafes and restaurants in the neighborhood (*le Marais*) are relatively

expensive. However, inexpensive sandwiches can be purchased at any *boulangerie*. arrange a meeting with him, and I gladly accepted. On September 29 I arrived at M. Faure's lovely Paris apartment, and he ushered me into his study, where he patiently answered my questions for over an hour. He was also gracious enough to allow me to record our conversation and to pose for photographs. I am grateful for M. Faure's indulgence because such interviews constitute a primary source and can help supplement or fill in gaps in the written record.

Researchers who work on a recent period and would like to conduct an interview should consult *Who's Who* to obtain an address, write to their intended subject with a description of their project, and ask if he or she would agree to sit for an interview. Foreign researchers often have an advantage in this area because interviewees see them as less likely to stir up trouble by reopening old wounds or pressing a political agenda.

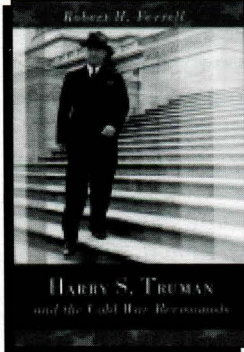
My current research project, which explores U.S.–French relations during the early 1950s, contains a component that requires supplemental research in the military archives. I therefore trekked to the magnificent *Château de Vincennes*, home to the archives of the French Army (<http://jomave.chez.tiscali.fr/adgenwebb/shat.html>), the Navy (www.servicehistorique.marine.defense.gouv.fr/), and the Air Force (http://perso.club-internet.fr/parabelle/serv_hist/shaa.htm). Given that I was reading private papers of French generals, I worked in the *Pavillon du Roi* rather than in the building most researchers use. The reading room for private papers is actually the office of the staff that oversees the private collections, and space limits the number of researchers to three or four at most. Laptops are allowed, but photocopying or photographing documents is forbidden. The office closes for one hour at noon, obliging researchers to leave the building, but fortunately there are some good cafes and restaurants in the neighborhood.

While in Paris I also did research at the *Centre d'Histoire de l'Europe du Vingtième Siècle* (CHEVS), a research center that contains an archives section. CHEVS controls access to the papers of many important people in French political life (Leon Blum

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Truman, the Cold War, and NATO

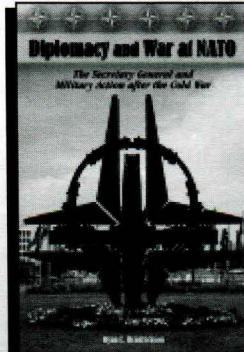


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and Michel Debré, for example) and in the academy (André Siegfried), as well as the papers of major French political parties (the Mouvement Républicain Populaire and the Union Démocratique Socialiste de la Résistance). Some of the collections are housed at CHEVS (56, rue Jacob) and can be consulted there. Other collections are located at the Archives Nationales, though permission to consult them must be obtained through CHEVS. To learn more about the collections controlled by CHEVS, go to www.sciences.po.fr/recherche/chevs/. Contact Mme. Dominique Parcollet, the director of the archives, at dominique.parcollet@sciences-po.fr, for additional information and to schedule an appointment.

I spent the bulk of my time at CHEVS reading the papers of Alexander Parodi, a secretary general of the French Foreign Ministry (1949-1954), and Wilfried Baumgartner, who served as the governor of the Bank of France (1949-1960). I am grateful to M. Jean-Noël Jeanneney, who was kind enough to grant me permission to consult the Baumgartner papers as well as to make photocopies.

My final stop in the city of lights was the French Foreign Ministry, the famed Quai d'Orsay. Researchers should contact the Foreign Ministry well before their trip (<http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/archives.gb/index.html>). I also recommend bringing along a letter of introduction (in French) from the head of one's department. The archive may want to keep the original, and other archives might also ask for a letter of introduction, so it is best to bring a few copies.

Once at the Foreign Ministry, visitors should present themselves at the reception window to request access to the archives. After filling out a card and surrendering their passports, they will be given a badge. However, they can enter the reading room only on the hour and must wait for a member of the archival staff to escort them. Likewise, researchers who are ready to leave the building must wait until the hour to be escorted down to the entrance, where they can retrieve their passports.

On their initial visit to the Foreign

Ministry reading room, researchers should tell the staff that they would like to view the inventory. They will be given a place number and should then present themselves to the *président de la salle*, who will give them a reader's card. After registering and perusing the inventory, they should go to the computer terminal in the reading room and order their documents. Barring an emergency, their documents will be ready the next morning.³

The reading room is large enough to accommodate approximately thirty researchers. There are four microfilm readers in a room connected to the reading room. Although readers have the option of leaving the ministry to eat lunch, most choose to bring lunch and eat in the basement, where there are vending machines.

The next stop on my research tour was Brussels, where I planned to work at the archives of the Ministère des Affaires Étrangères et du Commerce Extérieur (MAECE). Researchers should write in advance to Ms. Françoise Peemans, the longtime head of the archives at the MAECE, stating the subject, the period, and the goal of their research (archives@diplobel.fed.be). Using that information, she will select documents for the researcher to examine.

Constructed about seven years ago, the large, modern-looking building that houses the archives service is a significant improvement over its previous home. The reading room, which is open Monday through Friday from 9:00 to 4:00, can accommodate fifteen to twenty researchers.

Researchers can order photocopies, although no more than a third of each dossier may be copied. Each copy costs 15 to 25 centimes, depending on size of the document (A4 or A3). Microfilm copies cost 30 centimes. There are no vending machines available to researchers, but there is a kitchen next to the reading room that includes a sink, a water cooler, and a refrigerator where visitors may store their lunch.

Many archives have their quirks, and the MAECE is no exception. Every day at 1:00 P.M., baroque music blares from the hallway into the reading room for a minute or two.

Though curious, I never ventured to ask why.

While in Brussels, I also did research at the NATO Archives. The bus ride from downtown Brussels to NATO headquarters takes about thirty minutes. Archivist Anne-Marie Smith (nato.archives@hq.nato.int) handled all the steps necessary to ensure that I would receive access to the building. Researchers are given a CD ROM on which they read the documents. Some documents are also on microfilm. The archives will make up to eighty photocopies a day at no charge. The reading room, which is complete with up-to-date computers, can handle about seven researchers at a time. There are now two cafeterias on the premises; the larger one, which offers a greater range of choices, is located in the main building, and there is a smaller one in the building in which the reading room is located.

Ms. Smith was kind enough to arrange for me to meet Paul Marsden, who is the NATO archivist. The three of us sat down for coffee and discussed the progress the NATO Archives has made in the few years it has been open, as well as the areas in which work remains to be done. For example, the records of North Atlantic Council meetings from 1949 to 1965 are available, as are documents of the Military Committee from 1949 to 1969; the next release will cover the period from 1966 to 1972. However, the potentially very important inter-delegation communications and internal memoranda remain classified. A pilot for the declassification and release of three hundred files of such records is currently underway.

There are numerous places to stay in Brussels. I recommend searching online for a room. In general, the least expensive places to stay are youth hostels. Some are as inexpensive as twenty-five euros a night, although at that rate visitors will probably have to share a room. I found a three-star hotel (Hotel Van Belle) about a twenty-five-minute walk from *La Grande Place*, the heart of downtown Brussels. From there it is a thirty-minute bus ride to NATO and a twenty-minute walk to the Foreign Ministry. I paid fifty euros a night for my room, which was small but clean and comfortable. A

breakfast buffet was also included. Surprisingly, there was a line on the bill for a gratuity, something that I had never seen on a hotel bill. I was unsure how much to leave, and the gentleman at the front desk offered no clues ("Whatever you think is appropriate"), so I left ten euros. While on the subject of gratuities, I should remind readers that it is the custom to tip in restaurants in Belgium but not in France. I was less than gently reminded of this fact by a Belgian waiter.

After my stay in Brussels, I returned to the Parisian apartment of a friend,

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

Guy Champagne, for what I assumed would be a restful night before taking a brief vacation. Sometime after going to bed, I was awakened by a noise. After a few moments I discovered the building was on fire. Instinctively, I reached for my laptop computer, digital camera, and the tape of my interview with Maurice Faure (though I was not sufficiently organized to grab my photocopied documents). Unable to leave through the front door due to the heat and smoke, we waited for the firemen to extend a ladder up to the floor below ours. (For some reason our floor had no balcony, so we had to jump down to the floor below.) Surprisingly, the fireman allowed Guy to carry my computer down the ladder. The firefighters quickly brought the blaze under control and prevented it from spreading. Sadly, they were unable to save one woman, who perished in the fire. The survivors were given temporary shelter in a nearby government building.

I learned a valuable lesson that terrible night: although such events cannot be predicted, travelers should nonetheless plan for emergencies. These steps are especially important if they are visiting an impoverished region where resources for fighting fires are limited or absent altogether. They should map out an escape route and keep their valuable belongings (passport, wallet, computer, medication, etc.) where they can easily be found. Researchers should back up data by sending it to themselves as an email attachment.⁴ It is also a good idea for travelers to make sure they are covered by insurance in case of injury or illness, and it is helpful if they have access to the address and number of a local physician who speaks their language. I suffered a minor injury in the fire, but luckily I found a physician, Dr. Didier Maufroy, who accepts walk-in patients. Moreover, he charged me only twenty euros—quite a bargain.

My research in France completed, I returned to England on October 21. Back in London I caught a train to Cambridge University, where the Churchill Archives Centre is located. Situated on the grounds of Churchill College, the centre is a short bus ride

or a long walk from the railway station in Cambridge, and there are shops in town where those who want to enjoy the fresh air can rent a bicycle.⁵ The reading room in the centre can accommodate approximately a dozen people, but researchers should still notify the archivists in advance to reserve a seat. Documents are stored next to the reading room, so orders can be filled promptly. Photocopies and laptop computers are permitted. To learn more about the Churchill Archives Centre, researchers should visit the website: www.chu.cam.ac.uk/archives/.

Doing archival research has often afforded me the occasion to meet interesting people. This trip was no exception. While at the Churchill Archives Centre, I met Ambassador Kishan S. Rana, a former senior Indian diplomat who at one time was posted to the United States. He is a delightful fellow who has forsaken the rough and tumble of diplomacy for the placid world of academia. The author of *Inside Diplomacy* (2002), Ambassador Rana is currently a professor emeritus and runs a website of interest to diplomatic historians: www.diplomacy.edu. Such meetings should encourage researchers to carry business cards with them. I had run out of cards, but fortunately, Ambassador Rana had his cards with him.

As with history itself, my experiences were unique to me. Other researchers, traveling at different times, working on different topics, visiting different archives, operating under different budgetary restraints, will undoubtedly have different experiences. Nevertheless, I hope that recounting my experiences will make the task of researching abroad a little less daunting for others.

Michael Creswell is an associate professor of history at Florida State University. He would like to thank Max Friedman, Darrin McMahon, Nicholas Sarantakes, and David-Mark Thompson for their helpful suggestions in preparing this essay. The author sends his deepest gratitude, however, to the many archivists who helped to make his job easier and more productive.

Notes

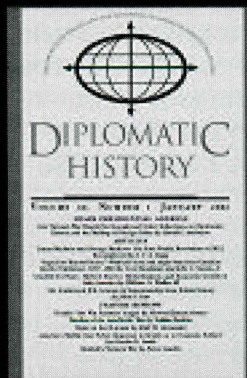
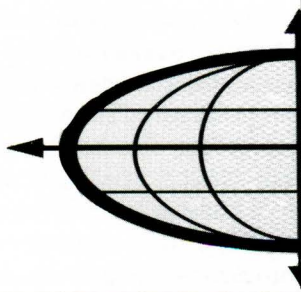
1. British Airways occasionally advertises special offers for flights to Europe. Sign up to receive this information at www.ba.com.
2. Researchers should be forewarned that a limited number of indexes are found on the AN website. They would do well to identify the archivist who deals with the collections of interest to them. That person might be able to point them toward items they might have otherwise overlooked.
3. For a useful guide to the Foreign Ministry Archives, see Paul M. Pitman, *A Short Guide to the Archives of the Quai d'Orsay* (Paris: Association des amis des archives diplomatiques, 1993), which can be purchased in the reading room.
4. Researchers could also lose their work because of theft or computer malfunction. Last year my laptop crashed while I was in Paris. Fortunately, I was able to recover the information.
5. For more information about visiting Cambridge, see www.colc.co.uk/about/visitors.html.

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Researching Modern International History in Madrid

David A. Messenger

Scholars who research and write about the foreign affairs of Iberia are, quite naturally, drawn to the histories of the great Spanish Empire. Many of them treat post-imperial Spain as an aberration from the rest of Europe. However, some historians now believe that Spain remained an important presence in the international community long after the slow decline of Spanish power that began in the late seventeenth century and was apparent to all by the time of the French Revolution.¹ This new perspective on the importance of post-imperial Spain has not led to a mad rush into the archives of Iberia. Yet there are many topics of interest from the post-imperial era that are deserving of more attention, including the 1823 French intervention against Spain's liberal government; the colonial wars Spain fought alongside France in Morocco in the 1920s; the Spanish Civil War and its international implications; and the semi-fascist dictatorship in post-1945 Spain, delicately balancing its commitment to authoritarian rule with its participation in the Atlantic Alliance.

International historians and SHAFR members who are interested in foreign affairs in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries will be drawn to Madrid for the wealth of archival material available there. The *Archivo Historico Nacional* has a limited number of state documents concerning foreign affairs, most especially relating to the last third of the eighteenth century and the Napoleonic era. The majority of relevant documents, however, are held in smaller archives. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs maintains its own archive inside its offices at the *Palacio Santa Cruz*, just off the Plaza Mayor in the center of the city. This is the primary archive for anyone researching world policy since the late eighteenth century. Its main holdings consist of the paperwork produced by

members of the Foreign Ministry in Spain and across the world, but it has important special collections as well. One of these is the collection of papers from the Republican government-in-exile between 1939 and 1954, which documents the Republicans' failed effort to find international support for their cause in the aftermath of the Spanish Civil War. Additionally, the collection of personal papers, called *Archivos Particulares*, holds the records of Juan Negrín, who was prime minister during the Civil War (1937-39). For those wishing to pursue a topic in greater depth, the *Archivo General de la Administración*, just outside of Madrid in Alcala de Henares, holds records from a variety of government entities, including Foreign Ministry files from the years 1711 to 1981 from embassies, legations and consulates. Files from the Washington embassy and important American consulates like New York will be of special interest to SHAFR members. For those interested in the diplomacy of imperialism and decolonization, the records of the Diplomatic Cabinet of the Spanish High Commission in Morocco (1909-1956) are also housed in Alcala.

Both archives are easy to access. Two photographs are required, plus a passport or national identification card, and researchers are asked to take a few minutes to fill out an information form. Both archives provide lockers for jackets and other items, and both allow researchers to begin ordering documents and doing research the first day. For those who are accustomed to working in major archival repositories such as the National Archives in College Park or the National Archive-Public Record Office outside of London, these two archives will seem quaint, but their small scale makes them enjoyable places to work.

However, their small size also

means that there are some practices here with which researchers may not be familiar. Unlike the larger archives and libraries in Madrid, such as the *Archivo Historico Nacional* and the *Biblioteca Nacional*, which have much more in common with facilities like the National Archives in College Park, these two archives have yet to give up the afternoon siesta. The Foreign Ministry archive closes at 2:00 P.M., the one in Alcala at 2:30 P.M., and neither reopens. So visitors must be sure to arrive close to opening at 9:00 A.M. and 8:30 A.M., respectively. In reality, this is not a difficult circumstance to adjust to: soon enough the motivated historian comes to relish the lengthy meal and rest that will follow a half-day of research!

The photocopying process is another somewhat archaic ritual at the Foreign Ministry. While photocopying is quite inexpensive, researchers cannot do it themselves. They indicate what they want photocopied from a file, and the staff will take it away and have copies made in a week or so. Researchers must ask when their copies are ready; there is no notification process. And before the staff will actually hand over the photocopies, payment must be deposited in a bank around the corner. This can be frustrating for anyone who tries to get photocopying done at the end of a visit to Madrid, as I did. Luckily for me, wonderful archivists and workers expedited the normal process to have my copies ready before my departure.

The photocopying situation aside, the *Archivo General* in the Foreign Ministry is a pleasant place to work. There are desks for thirty-two researchers, and most now have plugs for computers. Three microfilm readers are also available. The reading room staff is very friendly, especially once visitors establish themselves as regulars. Documents are organized into two sections: *Archivo Historico*,

for documents from the mid-to-late eighteenth century through 1931, and *Archivo Renovado*, for documents from 1931 on. In addition, there are a number of special collections, such as that of the Republican government-in-exile. For the *Archivo Renovado*, which is the one I have worked with, ordering is done by computer. Documents appear within fifteen to thirty minutes. While only one set of documents can be ordered at a time, the speed with which they are retrieved means there is really little time spent waiting. The online ordering system is efficient but frustrating. Rather than offer a comprehensive search guide online, it operates by keyword search. It is impossible to see a complete listing of files, so researchers can never be quite sure they have all the references they need. And because the numbering system of the *Archivo Renovado* is not organized in an obvious way, simply ordering one set of files after another numerically will not guarantee that researchers will see everything of relevance. The only way to be comprehensive is to experiment with keyword searches.

The secondary archive in Alcalá de Henares, the *Archivo General de la Administración*, is a forty-minute train ride from Madrid's Atocha train station. Trains leave every fifteen to forty minutes throughout the day. From the Alcalá train station, the archive is a fifteen-to-twenty-minute walk through the modern part of the city. Alcalá is the birthplace of Miguel de Cervantes and a traditional university town. The Old Town, which is about a ten-minute walk from the archive, is a great place to find wonderful and inexpensive restaurants.

Like the Foreign Ministry archive in Madrid, the *Archivo General de la Administración* is small, with forty-seven seats, ten of which have plugs for computers, and one microfilm reader. Most researchers come to use a variety of government sources, with only a few using the "Embassies, Legations and Consulates" section of Ministry of Foreign Affairs materials. Photocopying is done on site and is again fairly reasonable. The reading room staff here is a bit stricter than

at the Foreign Ministry in Madrid, allowing pencils only and forbidding the use of dictionaries or other books at the desks. The archivists are very approachable, however, and they know the collection well. There are two sets of finding aids one must consult before a document can be ordered, and the archivists will guide researchers through them quite quickly.

As noted, both archives register researchers upon arrival; all that is needed is a passport or national identity card and two photographs, and researchers can begin working that day. Since the *Archivo General de la Administración* is part of the Ministry of Culture's archive system, it issues the National Research Card, which is good at all ministry-run archives in Spain; the Foreign Ministry is one of the few government departments that operates its own archive.

Much can be found at these archives, which are especially underused when it comes to nineteenth- and twentieth-century international history (the same is true of the Archive of the Spanish Civil War in Salamanca). Very few non-Spaniards seem to have discovered them. However, research at these

institutions can be frustrating. Their small size creates some problems. In addition, if researchers are working on a fairly secretive dictatorship like that of General Francisco Franco, they will often find large gaps in the documentation, which probably reflect that government's general disregard for record-keeping more than any desire to expunge the record. The frustration engendered by these gaps, of course, is sometimes compensated for by the excitement of finding something significant and substantial. Researchers who come to these archives determined to work through the complications and frustrations may find that their persistence ultimately pays dividends. If it does not, they will at least have enjoyed many long afternoon meals and spent time in one of the liveliest and most inviting of Europe's capital cities.

David A. Messenger is an Assistant Professor of History at Carroll College.

Note

1. Sebastian Balfour and Paul Preston, eds., *Spain and the Great Powers in the Twentieth Century* (London, 1999) 1.

The syllabus initiative on the SHAFR website is designed as a teaching resource for SHAFR's membership and friends. It contains a repository of syllabi submitted by SHAFR members from their own courses which may be used as a reference by those preparing to teach foreign relations history. The syllabi are organized by graduate and undergraduate courses, and then subdivided by the type of course (e.g. chronological, thematic).

Syllabus Initiative

@

www.shafr.org

Please consider contributing your syllabi to this valuable database. This project will provide a useful resource only if members of SHAFR are willing to share their syllabi with the broader community. To submit a syllabus, email it as an attachment to webmaster@shafr.org, or mail a paper copy to the SHAFR Business Office, 106 Dulles Hall, 230 W. 17th Avenue, Columbus, Ohio 43210.

The American Foreign Policy Center at Louisiana Tech University

Brian Etheridge

Starting a new project and not sure where to begin? Looking for a way to polish off your research in the final stages of a manuscript? Consider visiting the American Foreign Policy Center at Louisiana Tech University in Ruston, Louisiana.

The American Foreign Policy Center possesses excellent resources for the study of U.S. foreign relations, especially for the post-1945 period. The principal collection contains approximately 3,200 reels of microfilm and over 2,000 microfiches. Comprised of public and private papers from the Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon administrations, the collection includes material on China, Cuba, El Salvador, Formosa/Taiwan, France, Germany, Guatemala, Indochina, Japan, Lebanon, Nicaragua, Palestine/Israel, the Soviet Union, Spain, and several Caribbean states. Plans call for an aggressive expansion of the Center's holdings in the next several years. Drawing records from the National Archives and several presidential libraries across the country, and supplemented by the book, journal, and U.S. government document holdings of the Prescott Memorial Library, the Center represents an ideal "one-stop shop" for those either embarking on or wrapping up a project. For more information on the collection, please visit the Center's website at http://history.latech.edu/afpc_files.

In 2003 the Center announced the establishment of a fellowship program to encourage outside research in its holdings. Over the last three years, the Center has proudly awarded \$1000 fellowships to both junior faculty and graduate students to

help defray costs associated with travel to and research in Ruston. By hosting scholars working on projects from Americanization in France to border diplomacy with Mexico, the Center has played an important role in supporting new research on the cutting-edge of foreign relations history.

The Center is pleased to invite applications for the 2006-2007 academic year. To eliminate confusion and maximize resources, the Center has replaced the previous semi-annual deadlines with a single deadline of May 15. As before, both faculty and graduate students are encouraged to apply. Applications should include a detailed project proposal of no more than three pages, a curriculum vitae, a budget, and two letters of support. A successful applicant will be expected to offer a brief presentation on the project and his/her findings in the Center at the conclusion of the stay. Please send applications to Brian Etheridge at the Department of History, Louisiana Tech University, P.O. Box 8548, Ruston, LA, 71272. Please direct all inquiries to Dr. Etheridge at briane@latech.edu or 318.257.2872.

Created in 1989, the American Foreign Policy Center at Louisiana Tech University is a joint initiative of the Department of History and Prescott Memorial Library. In addition to its research holdings, the American Foreign Policy Center sponsors research fellowships, periodic lectures and programs on world affairs.

Brian Etheridge is Assistant Professor of History at Louisiana Tech University and Research Director for the American Foreign Policy Center.

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MARC TRACHTENBERG

This is a practical guide to the historical study of international politics. The focus is on the nuts and bolts of historical research—that is, on how to use original sources, analyze and interpret historical works, and actually write a work of history. Two appendixes provide sources sure to be indispensable for anyone doing research in this area. The aim throughout is to throw open the doors of the workshop so that young scholars, both historians and political scientists, can see the sort of thought processes the historian goes through before he or she puts anything on paper. Filled with valuable examples, this is a book anyone serious about conducting historical research will want to have on the bookshelf.

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Changes in the Mary Ball Washington Chair in American History at University College-Dublin

Carmel Coyle

The Mary Ball Washington Chair in American History was established as a full-time professorship in the School of History and Archives at the University College Dublin in 1979. It is an endowed Chair for which funding was initially provided by the Alfred I Du Pont Foundation, the American Ireland Foundation and by American and Irish business interests through the good offices of the then American Ambassador to Ireland, H.E. Ambassador John Moore.

The creation of the Chair has enabled UCD to bring distinguished professors in the field of American History to the college each year, thereby firmly establishing the field as a core academic discipline in the School of History and in the wider academic life of the college. Since 1986 the chair has been filled each year by a US academic under the Fulbright Distinguished Chairs Programme. This makes the MBW Chair one of the oldest Chairs in the international Fulbright Distinguished Chairs Programme. Over the years the post has been filled by very eminent scholars of American History and Foreign Policy from a wide range of US states and colleges, many of whom have retained on-going links with UCD.

This award has previously been advertised under the Fulbright Distinguished Chairs Program. Going forward it has been decided to fill the position through the Fulbright Traditional Scholars Program. The main reason for this change is to open the award to a wider pool of applicants. However, the UCD School of History remains particularly interested in receiving applications from scholars in the field of US foreign policy. The recipient of the award will hold the title of Mary Ball Washington Chair in American Studies. As in the past, applications are welcomed from

mid-career faculty members as well as distinguished senior scholars.

The award is for a full academic year and the stipend will be €50,000, inclusive of travel and accommodation. This is a higher level of grant than for other US scholar awards (typically €37,000) to reflect the fact that the recipient will hold a Chair position. The Chair will teach three courses at advanced undergraduate and/or postgraduate level, supervise postgraduate research students and assist with tutorials, and to participate in the overall academic environment of the School and University.

The School of History & Archives in UCD is a long-established and very dynamic center of excellence in teaching and research. With almost 30 full-time academic staff, the School offers a wide range of undergraduate modules — in Irish and European history from the fifth century to the present day, and in American, Australian and Asian history from the eighteenth century onward. There are 1,000 students enrolled in undergraduate programmes. Teaching is carried out in an environment that encourages discussion and debate in small tutorial and seminar groups, and that involves regular contact with staff. At postgraduate level the School has over 130 diploma, master's, and doctoral students, and offers the only professional education of archivists in Ireland.

Further information on the School, and the research interests of staff, is available at <http://www.ucd.ie/historyarchives/>. The contract person for the Mary Ball Washington Chair is the Head of School, Professor Michael Laffan (mlaffan@ucd.ie) who will issue a letter of invitation to suitable candidates.

Applicants for all of the US Scholar awards must be US citizens. The Council for International Exchange

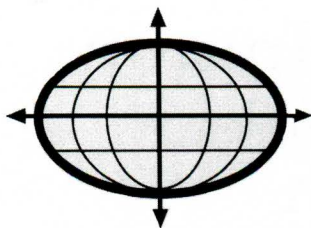
of Scholars (CIES) is responsible for the initial screening of candidates. For application forms and further information please see: http://www.cies.org/us_scholars/us_awards/

The Irish-US Fulbright Commission will be happy to assist potential applicants with any enquiries about the award, or about any aspect of living in Ireland. Please contact admin@fulbright.ie. The Commission's website is www.fulbright.ie.

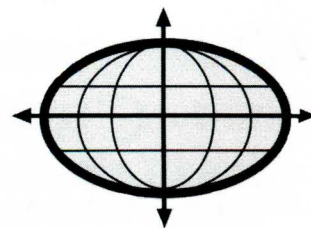
Carmel Coyle is Executive Director of the Irish Fulbright Commission.

Holders of the Mary Ball Washington Distinguished Fulbright Chair in American History at University College Dublin

Glenda Riley	1986/87
Lawrence E. Gelfand	1987/88
Merrill Peterson	1988/89
Peter S. Onuf	1989/90
Stephen G. Rabe	1990/91
Walter Nugent	1991/92
Joan Hoff	1992/93
Thomas McCormick	1993/94
Ingrid Winther Scobie	1994/95
Theodore A. Wilson	1995/96
Elaine Tyler May	1996/97
Kevin G. Boyle	1997/98
Harvard I. Sitkoff	1998/99
Robert J. McMahon	1999/00
Mark Hamilton Lytle	2000/01
Terry Anderson	2001/02
Elizabeth Cobbs Hoffman	2003/04
Mitchell Lerner	2004/05



SHAFR Council Meeting



Friday, January 6, 2006

12:15-1:45 pm

Jefferson Boardroom, Loews Hotel
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Present: David Anderson, Frank Costigliola, Craig Daigle, Brian Etheridge, Peter Hahn, Richard Immerman, Mark Lawrence, Fredrik Logevall, James Matray, Joe Mocnik, Robert Robinson, Robert Schulzinger, Katherine Sibley, Mark Stoler, Randall Woods (presiding), Thomas Zeiler

Business Items

1. Recap of motions passed by e-mail votes

Woods reported that Council had approved three motions via email since the last Council meeting in June 2005. Woods reported that Council had approved a well-deserved increase in compensation for the Executive Director and he indicated that the vote was unanimous and enthusiastic.

Council also approved a program to offer free advertising for jobs in U.S. diplomatic/foreign relations history on the SHAFR website and in *Passport*. To publicize this service, ads will be placed in *Perspectives* and the *OAH newsletter*. It was also reported that SHAFR had paid a nominal sum to be listed in the *AHA's Directory of History Departments, Historical Organizations, and Historians*.

Finally, Council voted to endorse a lawsuit filed by the National Security Archive seeking access to the President's Daily Briefs.

2. Motion to set disbursement amount for Travel-to-Collection grants in 2006

Referring to background information circulated in advance by e-mail, Matray reported that Council needed to decide how many travel grants to offer for the upcoming year. At the last meeting it was suggested that 10 percent of the annual increase of the endowment would be devoted to this purpose. After the growth of the preceding year, the total for both endowments is roughly \$990,000.00. Each endowment earned roughly \$45,000.00 for a total increase of \$90,825.00. Matray recommended that Council consider funding ten grants of \$1,000.00 each. Costigliola asked whether SHAFR was still spending enough of its earnings to maintain tax exempt status. Woods said that he was considering appointing a committee to make sure this issue is considered adequately. This would give Council time to make reasoned decisions rather than decide during Council meetings how to spend sufficient funds. A motion was made and seconded to authorize ten grants of \$1,000.00. The vote was unanimous in the affirmative.

3. Motion to rename the Travel-to-Collections Grants as "Samuel F. Bemis Research Grants"

Anderson moved to rename the Travel-to-Collections Grants in honor of Samuel F. Bemis. Bemis was considered an appropriate choice because of his history as an early leader in the field and as a model of multi-archival research. The motion was approved unanimously.

4. Motions re. funds at 2006 SHAFR conference

Hahn reminded Council that it had approved a one-time allocation of \$1,500.00 to a Graduate Student Travel Fund for the 2005 SHAFR annual meeting. Of this allocation, \$1,275.00 was recouped through fundraising associated with the conference registration. Hahn proposed that Council consider renewing the program with another \$1,500.00 contribution for travel to the 2006 Annual Meeting. Costigliola mentioned that as program chair for 2006 he had so far received nine applications for travel aid.

Hahn further suggested that Council consider offering a reduced registration fee for high school teachers. Anderson suggested that charging a smaller amount rather than allowing free registration would help assure that attendance was viewed as a meaningful opportunity. In addition to this price adjustment, the local arrangements committee might reach out to local high school teachers in some other way. Stoler moved to offer secondary school teachers and students a rate of \$30.00 for pre-registration and \$40.00 for on site registration, half the rate proposed for graduate students.

Both motions passed unanimously.

5. Motion to approve 2006 annual budget

Hahn distributed copies of the 2005 financial report and proposed 2006 budget for the Business Office. He also explained some features of the profit and loss summary for 2005. The net income for the business office was \$23,205.00. The office was mistakenly sent \$7,500.00 in 2005 for the electronic issue of the Guide instead of the \$5,000.00 that was expected. The extra \$2,500.00 will be applied to next year. Incidentally, the last two copies of the 1982 Guide were sold. The funds received from Blackwell represented a significant increase over the previous year. This figure will climb much higher under a new contract. The present growth is largely from consortia sales and online per-article sales. The SHAFR 2005 conference was put in this budget for the first time. The meeting at College Park netted about \$3,400.00. These earnings can be seen as helping to offset the costs for luncheons and receptions SHAFR puts on at the AHA and the OAH. The savings account was untouched in 2005. The endowment grew 9.7%. Total assets for the organization increased to over \$1,000,000.00 during the year. Hahn stressed that the proposed budget for 2006 contained only estimates subject to revision during the course of conducting SHAFR's business. Council approved the 2006 budget unanimously.

Reports

6. *Diplomatic History* Contract Committee

Woods gave a thorough report on the ongoing negotiations between the *Diplomatic History* Contract Committee and the four presses that have made bids for the next publication contract. A lengthy discussion followed, touching upon the terms of the offers made and the services offered. Woods and other committee members indicated that they are evaluating proposals on the basis of projected income, quality of membership services, and willingness to consider creative options for increasing the circulation of the journal. It was clarified that the committee would aim to circulate a written report to Council by about May 1 and that Council would consider its options and reach a decision at its meeting in Lawrence in June.

7. *Diplomatic History*

Schulzinger reported that *Diplomatic History* is flourishing. The editorial board will now have annual meetings. The journal received about 90 submissions last year. The editorial staff is working to expand the temporal range of the journal by including more articles on 19th century topics. More submissions from international scholars have been coming in. The editors have also been working to integrate the editorial board more completely. The board has three new members: Klaus Larres, Chris Jespersen, and Frank Costigliola. One of the bidding publishers asked external reviewers to comment on the quality of the journal. The reviewers noted that the articles showed high quality but remained U.S.-focused, and they suggested broadening the temporal scope as well. Some also noted a whining tone in discussions of the state of the field of diplomatic history.

8. Electronic version of the Guide

Zeiler circulated a copy of the annual report. Most of the chapters have been updated through 2005. ABC-CLIO is still deciding how it will appear and be accessed on the site. An updated guide should be available to all SHAFR members by July.

9. Membership Services Web-site

Etheridge circulated a handout that analyzes site usage over time for the member services site hosted by Blackwell. So far 240 members have registered, and 82 of those have also registered their research interests. It was suggested that Hahn consider sending out paper requests for member information. Etheridge explained that 1,400 unique visits to the site have occurred so far. Other statistics were also included. The most requested sites were for membership renewal and accessing *Diplomatic History*. Logevall wondered if a mass email might be helpful. Hahn said it would be simple to do, and we could also put a new ad in *Passport*.

10. *Passport*

Hahn circulated a written report from Mitch Lerner which indicated that *Passport* enjoyed a banner year. Lerner will seek another publication grant from the Mershon Center at Ohio State University to subsidize publication in 2006-7. Hahn added that Woods, as President, had recently signed a letter reappointing Lerner editor for another three years. Hahn also added that Doug Little will sit on the editorial board in 2006-8. Costigliola suggested shifting the production schedule to ensure that information about SHAFR annual meetings appears in a timelier manner, perhaps by advancing the December issue to November. Hahn agreed that he and Lerner would take that idea under advisement.

11. 2006 annual meeting

A written report from Ted Wilson was circulated. Costigliola said interest in going to Kansas is a bit of a problem and shifting the typical dates for the conference toward the weekend is another problem. The program committee tried to compensate by pre-loading the schedule on the opening and closing nights with eminent panels. Costigliola described some of these high-profile panels. 43 additional panel proposals and 19 individual paper proposals have been received. SHAFR will sponsor a Friday morning visit to the Truman library and a Monday morning visit to the Eisenhower library. Hahn pointed out that the written report suggested a budget with a profit of \$4,200.00; however, recent telephone updates from Sara Wilson and Ted Wilson indicate that a small loss should be anticipated. Much of this loss may be made up through a grant from KU. Immerman asked for a sense of whether panel submissions were coming from senior people. Costigliola answered that most are from junior scholars and graduate students.

12. 2007 annual meeting

Anderson reported that the 2007 Annual Meeting will be hosted by Georgetown, pending final confirmation. David Painter is helping to make local arrangements. Steve Rabe and Doug Little have agreed to co-chair the program. Logevall asked about the possibility of moving the D.C. conference to a convention center. Sara Wilson will be doing some more research on this issue. Logevall pointed out that the location of the 2005 meeting at the National Archives created some considerable problems.

13. Endowment

Matray reported that the slight dip discussed at the last meeting has been easily overcome. Matray passed a sheet explaining where the endowment funds are invested. He also suggested that Woods advertise the Bemis grants using H-Diplo.

14. Bernath Dissertation Grant

Hahn reported that the prize committee will award the Bernath Dissertation Grant to Peter Shulman and Robert McGreevey. Also, the committee wanted some guidance on whether this award should be reserved for SHAFR members.

15. Gelfand-Rappaport Fellowship

Hahn reported that the prize committee will award the Gelfand-Rappaport Fellowship to Heather Dichter.

16. Other Business

Woods offered thanks to retiring Council members Robert Beisner, Mary Ann Heiss, Andrew Rotter, and Scott Laderman.

Woods reminded those in attendance of the reception tonight and luncheon tomorrow.

Respectfully submitted,

Peter L. Hahn

Executive Director

PLH/trr

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2006 SHAFR Conference

Lawrence, Kansas
June 23-25, 2006

- Presidential address by **Randall Woods** of the University of Arkansas.
- Keynote lecture by **Mahmood Mamdani** of Columbia University, an eminent scholar of Africa and of human rights issues.
- A plenary session featuring **Walter LaFeber** and **Emily Rosenberg** speaking on the historical roots of post-9/11 foreign policy.
- A second plenary session featuring **Mark Bradley, Carolyn Eisenberg, Robert McMahon,** and **Jeremi Suri** speaking on generational changes in the field of diplomatic history.
- Excursions to the **Harry S. Truman Presidential Library** and the **Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library.**
- Dozens of other **sessions** on all aspects of American foreign relations.
- Sunday evening barbeque at **Abe and Jake's Landing.**

Additional information, including on-line registration procedures, is available at <http://www.shafr.org/meeting/annual.htm>.

Watch your mailbox!

Registration materials have been mailed to all members.

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.

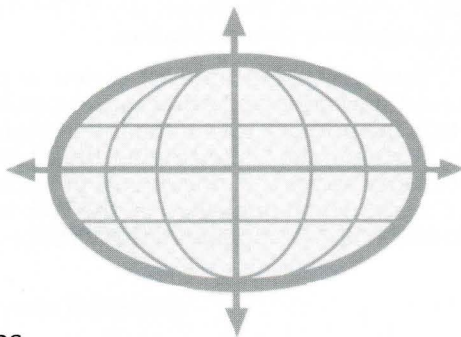
Sincerest regards,
Garret Martin

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

John Dumbrell (University of Leicester, UK) has been awarded the 2005 Richard E. Neustadt Prize for his book *President Lyndon Johnson and Soviet Communism* (Manchester University Press, 2004)

Jason Parker has accepted the position of Assistant Professor at Texas A&M University



2) Research Notes

New CWIHP Working Paper: *The Quarrelling Brothers: New Chinese Archives and a Reappraisal of the Sino-Soviet Split, 1959-1962*

Relying on newly available Chinese archival documentation, this paper, written by Dong Wang, argues that the conventional wisdom about the Sino-Soviet split has underestimated China's strategic need to minimize the rift with the Soviet Union. The paper demonstrates that at least up to early 1961, Chinese leaders had repeatedly intended to repair their relationship with the Soviet Union. Contrary to the conventional argument about Mao being dogmatic and provocative in pushing Sino-Soviet relations into a downward spiral, this paper provides a different perspective, one that suggests that Mao and his comrades tended to be more rational and realistic than we might have thought, and far more reluctant to break with Moscow than people usually believe. The new evidence also shows that it was not for purely ideological reasons that Beijing attempted to avoid a rupture with Moscow, but that the Chinese leadership understood that a rupture in Sino-Soviet relations would impair China's strategic and security interests and would benefit only the United States.

Download the paper from the CWIHP webpage in the publication section at: WWW.CWIHP.ORG



Wiretap Materials Available

Despite objections from then-Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld and then-CIA director George H. W. Bush, President Gerald Ford came down on the side of a proposed federal law to govern wiretapping in 1976 instead of relying on the "inherent" authority of the President because the "pros" outweighed the "cons," according to internal White House documents obtained through the Freedom of Information Act and posted on the Web by the National Security Archive at George Washington University. The posting also includes the TOP SECRET Justice Department reports in June 1976 and March 1977 on the potential criminal liability of the National Security Agency and the Central Intelligence Agency for operations such as SHAMROCK (interception of all international cable traffic from 1945 to 1975) and MINARET (use of watchlists of U.S. dissidents and potential civil disturbers to provide intercept information to law enforcement agencies from 1969 to 1973), as well as key documents brought to light by the Church Committee investigations of intelligence abuses, and a series of National Security Agency documents from the 1990s released under the Freedom of Information Act that describe the limits imposed by FISA and the Fourth Amendment on surveilling U.S. persons. The posting also includes two important studies by the now-defunct Office of Technology Assessment in 1985 and 1995 on the challenges of electronic surveillance and civil liberties in a digital age, as well as a wide range of key documents from the current wiretapping debate.

For more information contact:

Thomas Blanton
202-994-7068
<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/>



National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book No. 176

The final report of East Timor's landmark Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation (CAVR) has found that U.S. "political and military support were fundamental to the Indonesian invasion and occupation" of East Timor from 1975 to 1999, according to the "Responsibility" chapter of the report posted on the Web by the National Security Archive, which assisted the Commission by providing extensive documentation.

The Commission report, entitled "Chega!" ("Enough" in Portuguese), estimates that up to 180,000 East Timorese were killed by Indonesian troops or died of enforced starvation and other causes resulting from the occupation between 1975 and 1999. The "Responsibility" chapter details the primary role of the Indonesian military and security forces, as well as the supporting roles played by Australia, Portugal, the United States, the United Nations, the United Kingdom, and France. The CAVR used more than 1,000 formerly secret U.S. documents provided by the National Security Archive's Indonesia and East Timor Documentation Project, which published on the Web in November 2005 several of the key documents detailing U.S. support for the invasion and occupation of East Timor across five U.S. administrations.

For further information, contact:

Brad Simpson
Director, Indonesia-East Timor Documentation Project
Phone: 443-845-4462
simpson@umbc.edu
<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/>



Prominent Historians, Political Scientists Urge Court to Reverse Lower Court Decision Withholding Two 40-Year-Old Memos to LBJ

The nation's leading history and political science associations, along with a number of prominent scholars of the Presidency and the Vietnam War, filed an amicus brief in a lawsuit brought by University of California, Davis Professor Larry Berman. The case involves Berman's effort to obtain release under the Freedom of Information Act of two nearly 40-year-old CIA memos to President Johnson.

Represented by Matthew W.S. Estes, the scholars seek to alert the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit to the broad implications of the lower court's ruling. In the lower court, U.S. District Judge David Levi held that the CIA may categorically refuse to review for release all President's Daily Briefs, in perpetuity, because the intelligence reports are a protected intelligence method. Further, Judge Levi held that the Briefs also could be categorically withheld because they are protected by a limitless presidential privilege for confidential communications with advisers. The scholars argue that this holding contradicts the Supreme Court's decision in the Nixon tapes cases that privilege erodes over time and Congress's clear finding in the 1978 Presidential Records Act that the privilege no longer applies 12 years after the president leaves office. Moreover, the rationale for the privilege makes no sense in light of the extensive public availability of President Johnson's deliberations, including over 400 hours of tapes of his oval office conversations.

The amici include: The American Historical Association, the American Political Science Association, the National Coalition for History, the Organization of American Historians, the Presidency Research Group, the Society of American Archivists, and the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations, along with noted scholars including Barton J. Bernstein, Robert Dallek, Lloyd Gardner, Fred I. Greenstein, George C. Herring, Jeffrey P. Kimball, Stanley I. Kutler, Walter LaFeber, Anna Nelson, and Robert D. Schulzinger.

For more information contact:

Matthew W.S. Estes, 202-371-7000
Professor Larry Berman 530-752-3076
Thomas R. Burke, Duffy Carolan, Davis Wright Tremaine 415-276-6500
Meredith Fuchs, Thomas Blanton, National Security Archive 202-994-7000



3) Announcements

John M. Olin Postdoctoral Fellowship in Military History and Strategic Studies

International Security Studies at Yale University (ISS) will award one John M. Olin postdoctoral fellowship in the field of military history and strategic studies in the 2006-7 academic year. This fellowship will have a term of one academic year. ISS welcomes applications from both mid-career and junior scholars. Scholars who have previously held an Olin fellowship at ISS are eligible to apply. The total value of the fellowship will be \$50,000. The stipend will vary according to the seniority of the fellow, but will include shared office space and access to Yale facilities. If the fellow's home institution does not provide health coverage, and if funding permits, the fellowship will include single health membership in the Yale Health Plan and limited research and travel support. Fellows must be in residence at Yale. Applicants must have defended their doctoral dissertation by September 1, 2006. Please submit vita, research proposal (describing how the fellowship will be used), transcripts, short (50 page) writing sample, and three letters of reference to Ann Carter-Drier,

Administrator, International Security Studies, Yale University, P.O. Box 208353, New Haven, CT 06520-8353. Finalists may be required to visit Yale for an on-campus interview, or to participate in a telephone interview. Yale University is an AA/EOE. Female, minority and handicapped candidates, and veterans are encouraged to apply.

Contact Info:

Ann Carter-Drier
International Security Studies
Yale University
P.O. Box 208353
New Haven, CT 06520
<http://www.yale.edu/iss>



Department of State, Foreign Relations Series Historian

The Office of the Historian, U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C., is seeking to identify individuals who are interested in researching and compiling the official documentary series, *Foreign Relations of the United States*. Requirements include knowledge of U.S. foreign relations and diplomatic history, proven research skills, and a willingness to work on a variety of geographic areas over time. In particular, those with knowledge and expertise in U.S.-Latin American relations are encouraged to apply. This is an immediate opening for a contract position for one year, with the possibility of further extension(s). Professional historians with Ph.D.s begin at approximately \$50,000, plus health benefits. All appointments must conform to the laws and regulations regarding service with the U.S. government. Candidates must be U.S. citizens and pass background security clearance checks. Interested candidates should send a curriculum vitae and a cover letter describing their qualifications by e-mail to Dr. Erin Mahan, MahanER@state.gov or fax to (202) 663-1289, to her attention. Interviews will be conducted at the LASA 2006 meeting or sooner, if candidates will be in Washington, D.C.

Contact Info:

Dr. Erin Mahan
Asia & Americas Division
Office of the Historian
U.S. Department of State
Phone: (202) 663-1148
Fax: (202) 663-1289
MahanER@state.gov
<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho>



Fellowships: Center for the Study of the Impact of the Cold War on the United States

New York University is pleased to announce the establishment of a new Center for the Study of the Impact of the Cold War on the United States, which will be offering dissertation and post-doctoral fellowships and a number of summer stipends over the next five years. This year we expect to offer one dissertation fellowship, one post-doctoral fellowship, and two summer stipends. Dissertation fellows will receive stipends of \$20,000 for a nine-month academic year; stipends for post-doctoral fellows will be \$40,000; and summer fellowships are \$2,000 per month. One-semester fellowships will be offered at half of the above stipend. Health insurance is also available. Office space will be provided and all fellows will have a formal affiliation with New York University.

The Center's mission is to encourage research on how the Cold War and the red scares shaped domestic political culture and foreign policy. We are particularly interested in proposals that deal with civil liberties, civil rights, academic freedom, political repression, and resistance. Other topics may include: gender relations, internal security, labor relations, foreign policy, and political economy. We also look forward to supporting projects that see the central issue of these years as the U.S. response to revolutionary nationalism and decolonization in Asia, Latin America, and Africa.

The Center is a joint project of Faculty of Arts and Science and the Tamiment Library, a special collection at NYU documenting the history of Labor and the Left. We encourage applications from scholars whose work draws on the collections of the Tamiment Library, <http://www.nyu.edu/library/research/tam>.

In order to apply, please send the information listed below to Dr. Marilyn Young and Dr. Michael Nash (co-directors), Center for the Study of the Impact of the Cold War on the United States, Tamiment Library, New York University, 70 Washington Square South, New York, N.Y. 10012:

1. Copy of curriculum vitae.
2. Short project description (five pages maximum).

3. Statement concerning the relevance of the collections of the Tamiment Library to the project.
4. Two letters of recommendation.
5. Writing samples are also welcome.

Applicants for dissertation fellowships must have passed their comprehensive examinations and expect to complete their dissertations within two years. For more information, applicants are encouraged to contact either Marilyn Young (Marilyn.Young@nyu.edu; 212-998-8610) or Michael Nash (Michael.Nash@nyu.edu; 212-998-2428).



Fellowship: Approaching World History in an Era of Globalization

The Rutgers Center for Historical Analysis invites applications for post-doctoral resident fellowships, to be held during the academic year 2005-6, from individuals engaged in research on topics related to "Planetary Perspectives: Approaching World History in an Era of Globalization."

In recent decades world history has emerged as one of the most visible and dynamic subfields of historical inquiry and has demonstrated a strong appeal to a broader educated public in societies across the globe. The current prominence of this subfield has generated wide-ranging debates over methodologies, periodization, and ways of conceptualizing global perspectives. Scholars have critiqued established modes of geographical representation as well as highly charged core concepts of historical discourse. But however contested the terrain of world history has been, it is clear that most practitioners of this approach to disciplinary inquiry share the conviction that it is essential for the education of an informed, cosmopolitan, and engaged citizenry in an age when the processes of globalization are forging a world community with a depth and intensity never before achieved in the human experience. This project will focus on ways of conceiving, researching, writing, and teaching global history.

Contact:

Professor Michael Adas
Rutgers Center for Historical Analysis
Rutgers – The State University of New Jersey
88 College Avenue, New Brunswick, NJ 08901-8542 U.S.A.
rcha@rci.rutgers.edu
<http://rcha.rutgers.edu>



Cold War Article Prize

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



Amos Perlmutter Essay 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



Contributors Sought: *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.

Contact:

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



Contributors Sought: *The Journal of Early American Wars and Armed Conflicts*

Cantadora Press is calling on authors to submit topical articles for *The Journal of Early American Wars and Armed Conflicts*, which publishes scholarly articles on topics related to the military history of the United States from 1607 to the dawn of the American Civil War. The journal is a peer-reviewed, refereed journal with an acclaimed editorial review board.

Please send submission and a current curriculum vitae to the email address below. No hardcopies of papers accepted. All submissions must follow style guidelines as set forth at: <http://www.geocities.com/cantadorapress/submissions.html>

Contact:

Russell D. James, M.A.
Publisher
Cantadora Press
cantadorapress@yahoo.com
<http://www.geocities.com/cantadorapress>



Contributors Sought: *Encyclopedia for International Studies*

Professor Michael Palmiotto of Wichita State University is looking for contributors for an *Encyclopedia on International Security Studies*. Contributors who are willing to write on a pool of topics or who have security as a specialty can make suggestions for topics. The encyclopedia will deal with all aspects of security: private, government, political, geo-political, criminological, psychological, natural disasters, homeland security, financial security, border security, etc.

Contributors should be willing to write essays from 1,000 words to 5,000 words or more. Individuals could contribute essays about more than one topic or collaborate with a colleague. Contributors will receive an honorarium for each topic accepted based on the word count.

Contact:

Dr. Michael J. Palmiotto
Professor of Criminal Justice
School of Community Affairs
Wichita, KS 67207-0135
Phone: (316) 978-6524
Fax: (316) 978-3626
michael.palmiotto@wichita.edu



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 journal, based in the Cold War Studies Centre at the London School of Economics, 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 e-mail to the following address: cwh@lse.ac.uk.

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



CFP: International Conference on the Spanish Civil War

This conference is meant to provide presentations of completed research and a discussion of works in progress related to the Spanish Civil War. We are of course interested in the fields that have drawn the greatest attention, but shall likewise focus on the issues raised by the new generations of researchers, novelists, literary critics, and artists. That is why this is meant to be a comprehensive conference: anybody interested in saying anything about the Spanish Civil War is invited to present a paper and discuss it at this conference.

Papers must be adjusted to the topics set out in the following areas of discussion:

- 1) The rupture of democracy in Spain.
- 2) Politics, war, and foreign intervention.
- 3) Society, economy, everyday life.
- 4) Speeches, myths, images, art, propaganda.
- 5) Victims, repression, exile.
- 6) Legacies and memorials of the Spanish Civil War.

Within these general areas, papers may focus on a wealth of specific topics. Besides the guidelines listed above, papers could focus on: wartime economy, women during the war, revolution and counter-revolution, iconoclasm and anti-clericalism, nationalistic movements, the Church, cultural creations (film, painting, sculpture, poetry, novels), propaganda battles, foreign interventions, military strategies, diplomatic action, labor and production, collectivisation, historiography, etc. All of the papers that are accepted will be grouped together in a number of panels by the Scientific Committee, which may also include panels or papers presented collectively by groups of four or five individuals in the Conference program.

Papers must be sent in no later than June 30, 2006, to:

Rosario González Martínez
The State Society for Cultural Commemorations
Pº de la Castellana 13, 5º drch. 28046 Madrid
Phone: + 34 91 310 00 21
Fax: + 34 91 310 38 56
rgonzalez@secc.es
<http://www.congresoguerracivil.es>



CFP: Security Assistance: U.S. and International Historical Perspectives

The Combat Studies Institute at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas will host a symposium entitled "Security Assistance: U.S. and International Historical Perspectives." This conference is designed to present and discuss historical perspectives on all aspects of security assistance. While much attention will be paid to the U.S. military's historical practice of security assistance operations and policies, the symposium seeks to include discussions of the role of other agencies of the U.S. Government in security assistance as well as the international experience with security assistance programs.

The symposium will be held at the Frontier Conference Center, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, 8-10 August 2006, and will include a mixture of guest speakers, panel sessions, and general discussions.

The Combat Studies Institute invites presentation and panel proposals for this symposium. CSI plans to publish the proceedings of the symposium in an edited volume within four months after the adjournment of the conference. CSI will provide the following travel support for all speakers and panel participants: round trip airfare within the continental United States, lodging, and per diem.

Projected topics include:

The American Experience

- Training and Equipping of Indigenous Forces
- The Role of Advisors
- US and DoD Organization for Security Assistance
- Conventional vs. Special Purpose Forces in Security Assistance
- The Role of Security Assistance in Counterinsurgency
- Information, Psychological, and Civil-Military Operations in Security Assistance Programs

International Perspectives

- Host Nations and U.S. Security Assistance
- Security Assistance: The Experiences of France, Soviet Union/Russia, China and other Nations
- Security Assistance in Latin America and Africa
- Cultural Aspects of Security Assistance

Thematic Perspectives

- Security Assistance During the Cold War
- U.S. Experiences in Korea, Vietnam, El Salvador and Others
- Security Assistance in the Middle East, Africa and Asia
- Observations from the GWOT and other Recent Security Assistance Operations

Please send short proposals (approximately 300 words) for individual papers or panels to CSIconference06@leavenworth.army.mil. Or contact CSI symposium planners at (913) 684-2139 or Combat Studies Institute, Attn: CSI Symposium, 201 Sedgwick Avenue, Ft. Leavenworth, KS 66027. The closing date for proposals is 21 April 2006.



CFP: New Perspectives on War and Society

The 31st annual Great Lakes History Conference, sponsored by Grand Valley State University, will be held in Grand Rapids, Michigan on October 20-21, 2006. All fields of history as well as other disciplines are invited to submit proposals related to this year's theme: "New Perspectives on War and Society." In the last two decades, scholarship on war and its impact on social, political, economic and cultural life has broken new theoretical ground and re-shaped the ways in which historians conceptualize the larger significance of mass violence, trauma, and society. We invite scholars from a wide range of fields and disciplines to exchange ideas and research on this topic.

We welcome papers and arranged panels addressing this year's topic. We encourage comparative work across regions and chronological boundaries. The conference will be organized around themes that have dominated recent scholarship. Papers are encouraged to touch on, but are not limited to, the following:

- Psychological trauma
- Race, violence, and war
- Genocide
- Gender and sexuality
- Social and political consequences of war
- War and revolution
- Economic consequences of war
- Memory and memorialization
- History of the 'home front'
- Health and medicine
- Theories on violence (origins and consequences)
- Brutalization and its effects on social and political systems
- Militarization and its role in society
- Propaganda, media, and perceptions of war
- Terrorism and warfare in the 21st century
- Children in war
- Refugees
- War in film and popular culture
- Literature and war (including narratives, memoirs, and fiction)
- Oral history

If you are interested in presenting a paper, please send an abstract of approximately 200 words and a curriculum vitae by May 15, 2006. Please include your address, email, and phone number. Those interested in commenting on a session should send a CV and indicate areas of expertise. Papers must take no longer than 30 minutes in a 2-paper session or 20 minutes in a 3-paper session. Sessions will last 90 minutes.

Please address all inquiries and abstracts to:

Jason Crouthamel, History
Craig Benjamin, History
Grand Valley State University
1018 MAK 1 Campus Drive
Allendale, MI 49506
crouthaj@gvsu.edu or benjaminc@gvsu.edu



Tuition-Free Faculty Development Short Course: Social Movements and Globalization

This tuition-free, NSF supported Chautauqua short course led by Prof. Jackie Smith of the University of Notre Dame will be held in mid-town Manhattan on June 8-10 to explore the interactive relationships linking global institutions, national politics, and citizen mobilizations. It will look at the UN and global financial institutions and will familiarize participants

with current debates. The course will include a guided tour of the UN and briefings by experts based in New York City. Applications will soon be available on the Chautauqua web site but details will be sent now to persons requesting them.

Contact:

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



Tuition-Free Faculty Development Short Course: China and East Asian Security

"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
phone: 631-632-7026
fax: 631-632-7809
lester.paldy@stonybrook.edu
<http://www.chautauqua.pitt.edu>



Tuition-Free Faculty Development Short Course: Pakistani Security Policy

"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
phone 631-632-7026
fax: 631-632-7809
lester.paldy@stonybrook.edu
<http://www.chautauqua.pitt.edu>



Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library Research Travel Grant

The Gerald R. Ford Foundation awards grants of up to \$2000 each in support of research in the archival collections of the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library, part of the system of presidential libraries administered by the National Archives and Records Administration. The collections are especially rich on U.S. government domestic policies, diplomacy, and national political affairs in the 1970s. A grant defrays the travel, lodging, meal, and photocopy expenses of a research trip to the Library. Application deadlines are March 15 and September 15. Any person with a serious interest in the holdings of the Library may apply. Selection criteria include the scope and pertinence of Library archival collections, project significance, appropriateness of project design, and applicant qualifications. Before you apply, please contact the Library for information about holdings related to your project.

Contact:

Helmi Raaska
Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library
1000 Beal Avenue
Ann Arbor, MI 48109
Phone: (734)205-0559
Fax: (734) 205-0571
helmi.raaska@nara.gov
<http://www.fordlibrarymuseum.gov/library/hpgrants.asp>



LBJ Presidential Library: Harry Middleton Fellowship in Presidential Studies

The Harry Middleton Fellowship was created to support scholarly work in presidential studies and to recognize Harry Middleton's contributions to the Presidential library system. While Middleton Fellows will be able to study at any Presidential library or other facility in the National Archives and Records Administration system, they will develop at least a portion of their work from original research in the collections of the LBJ Library. Postdoctoral candidates may apply, but preference will be given to pre-doctoral candidates whose dissertation research highlights how history can illuminate current and future policy issues.

The LBJ Library will award one \$4,500 Middleton Fellowship for the Fall term and another for the Spring term. The grant periods are June 1 through December 31 for the Fall term, and January 1 through August 31 for the Spring term. Grant applications for the Fall term must be received by March 15; recipients will be announced by the end of May. Grant applications for the Spring term must be received by September 15; recipients will be announced by the end of November.

Prior to submitting a proposal, applicants must contact the Archives, Lyndon B. Johnson Library and Museum, 2313 Red River Street, Austin, Texas 78705 (512-721-0212 or johnson.library@nara.gov), to obtain information about materials available in the LBJ Library on the proposed topic. Applicants proposing research at National Archives facilities in addition to the LBJ Library should include information about which ones they propose to visit and the materials available for research on their topic at those facilities.

Applications are reviewed by a special Faculty Committee appointed by the President of the University of Texas at Austin at the request of the LBJ Library. Applicants for the Middleton Fellowship must submit an application form, which is available at the LBJ Library web page.

Applications should be addressed to:

Grants and Awards-Harry Middleton Fellowship
Office of the Director
The Lyndon Baines Johnson Library
2313 Red River Street
Austin, Texas 78705
512-721-0212
512-721-0170
johnson.grants@nara.gov
<http://www.lbjlib.utexas.edu/>



Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute 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.

Contact:

Chairman, Grants Committee
The Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute
4079 Albany Post Road
Hyde Park, NY 12538
<http://www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/grants.html>



4) Upcoming SHAFR Deadlines

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.



Samuel F. Bemis Research Grants

The Samuel F. Bemis Research Grants are 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 Samuel F. Bemis Research 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 these 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 the *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, Melburn G. Glasscock Building, Room 101, College Station, TX 77843-4236.



5) Recent Publications of Interest

Addas, Michael. *Dominance by Design: Technological Imperatives and America's Civilizing Mission*, Belknap Press, \$29.95.

Barany, Zoltan and Robert G. Moser. *Ethnic Politics After Communism*, Cornell University Press, \$19.95.

Blume, Kenneth. *Historical Dictionary of U.S. Diplomacy from the Civil War to World War I*, Scarecrow Press, \$85.00.

Bronson, Rachel. *Thicker than Oil: America's Uneasy Partnership with Saudi Arabia*, Oxford University Press, \$28.00.

Carlton, David. *The West's Road to 9/11: Resisting, Appeasing and Encouraging Terrorism since 1970*, Palgrave Macmillan, \$74.95.

Chollet, Derek. *The Road to the Dayton Accords: A Study of American Statecraft*, Palgrave Macmillan, \$39.95.

Dreyfuss, Robert. *Devil's Game: How the United States Helped Unleash Fundamentalist Islam*, Metropolitan Books, \$27.50.

Erenberg, Lewis A. *The Greatest Fight of Our Generation: Louis vs. Schmeling*, Oxford University Press, \$28.00.

Ferrell, Robert H. *Harry S. Truman and the Cold War Revisionists*, University of Missouri Press, \$24.95.

Forsythe, David, Patrice McMahon, and Andrew Wedeman. *American Foreign Policy in a Globalized World*, Routledge, \$24.95.

Gaddis, John Lewis. *The Cold War: A New History*, Penguin Press, \$27.95.

Glitman, Maynard W. *The Last Battle of the Cold War: An Inside Account of Negotiating the Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces Treaty*, Palgrave Macmillan, \$69.95.

Gresham, John and Norman Polmar. *DEFCON-2: Standing on the Brink of Nuclear War During the Cuban Missile Crisis*, Wiley, \$27.95.

Gurtov, Melvin. *Superpower on Crusade: The Bush Doctrine in US Foreign Policy*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, \$22.50.

Hahn, Peter L. *Caught in the Middle East, US Policy toward the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1945-1961*, The University of North Carolina Press, \$19.95.

Hendrickson, Ryan C. *Diplomacy and War at NATO: The Secretary General and Military Action after the Cold War*, University of Missouri Press, \$34.95.

Hull, Isabel V. *Absolute Destruction: Military Culture and the Practices of War in Imperial Germany*, Cornell University Press, \$24.95.

Kinzer, Stephen. *Overthrow: America's Century of Regime Change from Hawaii to Iraq*, Times Books, \$27.50.

Johnson, Robert David. *Congress and the Cold War*, Cambridge University Press, \$25.99.

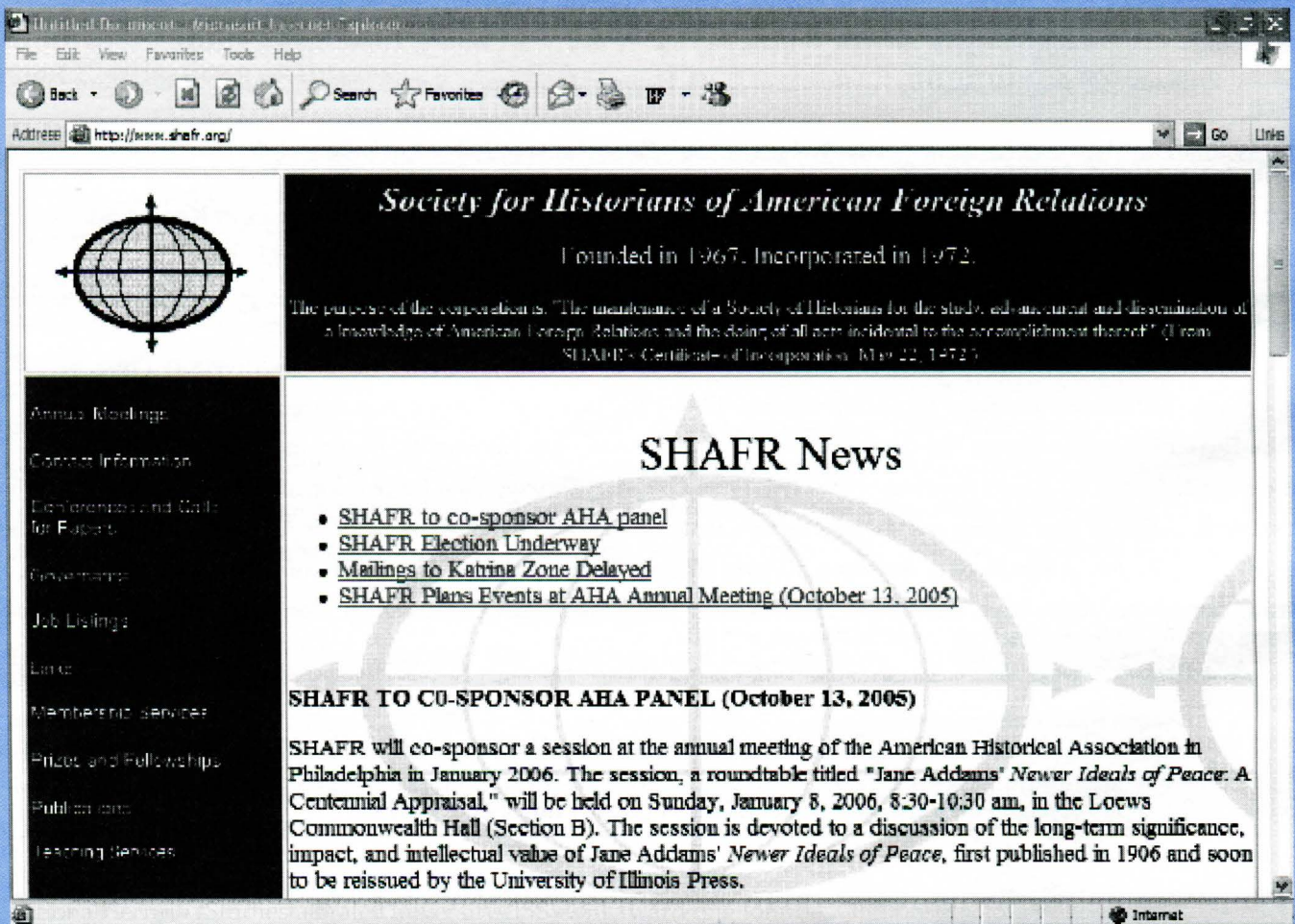
Kirby, William C., Gong Li, and Robert S. Ross, eds. *Normalization of U.S.-China Relations: An International History*, Harvard University Asia Center, \$49.50.

- Kolko, Gabriel. *The Age of War: The United States Confronts the World*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, \$19.95.
- Kotzias, Nikos and Petros Liacouras, eds. *EU-US Relations: Repairing the Transatlantic Rift*, Palgrave Macmillan, \$32.95.
- Kuklick, Bruce. *Blind Oracles: Intellectuals and War from Kennan to Kissinger*, Princeton University Press, \$29.95.
- Lavoy, Peter. *Learning to Live with the Bomb: India, the United States, and Myths of Nuclear Security*, Palgrave Macmillan, \$59.95.
- Lieber, Keir A. *War and the Engineers: The Primacy of Politics Over Technology*, Cornell University Press, \$39.95.
- Martens, Kerstin. *NGOs and the United Nations: Institutionalization, Professionalization and Adaptation*, Palgrave Macmillan, \$74.95.
- May, Ernest R. and Philip D. Zelikow, eds. *Dealing with Dictators: Dilemmas of US Diplomacy and Intelligence Analysis, 1945-1990*, The MIT Press, \$54.00.
- McCoy, Alfred. *A Question of Torture: CIA Interrogation, from the Cold War to the War on Terror*, Metropolitan Books, \$25.00.
- McPherson, Alan. *Intimate Ties, Bitter Struggles: The United States and Latin America Since 1945*, Potomac Books, \$21.95.
- Michta, Andrew. *The Limits of Alliance: The U.S., NATO, and the EU in North and Central Europe*, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, \$24.95.
- Menetrey-Monchau, Cecile. *American-Vietnamese Relations in the Wake of War: Diplomacy After the Capture of Saigon, 1975-1979*, McFarland & Company, \$45.00.
- Nashel, Jonathan. *Edward Lansdale's Cold War*, University of Massachusetts Press, \$24.95.
- Osgood, Kenneth. *Total Cold War: Eisenhower's Secret Propaganda Battle at Home and Abroad*, University Press of Kansas, \$45.00.
- Palmer, Glenn and Colin Dueck. *A Theory of Foreign Policy*, Princeton University Press, \$35.00.
- Patten, Chris. *Cousins and Strangers: America, Britain, and Europe in a New Century*, Times Books, \$26.00.
- Rosenau, William. *US Internal Security Assistance to South Vietnam: Insurgency, Subversion, and Public Order*, Routledge, \$115.00.
- Rugh, William A. *American Encounters with Arabs: The "Soft Power" of U.S. Public Diplomacy in the Middle East*, Praeger Security International, \$49.95.
- Saul, Norman E. *Friends or Foes?: The United States and Soviet Russia, 1921-1941*, University Press of Kansas, \$40.00.
- Schmitz, David. *The United States and Right-Wing Dictatorships*, Cambridge University Press, \$22.99.
- Schwartz, Richard Alan. *The Cold War Reference Guide: A General History and Annotated Chronology with Selected Biographies*, McFarland & Company, \$35.00.
- Schweller, Randall. *Unanswered Threats: Political Constraints on the Balance of Power*, Princeton University Press, \$29.95.
- Sher, Gilead. *The Israeli-Palestinian Peace Negotiations, 1999-2001: Just Beyond Reach*, Routledge, \$34.95.
- Slotkin, Richard. *Lost Battalions: The Great War and the Crisis of American Nationality*, Henry Holt, \$35.00.
- Smith, Martin A. *NATO-Russia Relations since 1991: From Cold War Through Cold Peace to Partnership?* Routledge, \$105.00.
- Stoler, Mark. *Allies in War: Britain and America against the Axis Powers, 1940-1945*, A Hodder Arnold Publication, \$44.50.
- Sweeney, Jerry K., ed. *A Handbook of American Military History*, Second Edition, University of Nebraska Press, \$19.95.
- Tadashi, Yamamoto, Akira Iriye, and Iokibe Makoto, eds. *Philanthropy and Reconciliation: Rebuilding Postwar U.S.-Japan Relations*, Japan Center for International Exchange, \$28.00.
- Talentino, Andrea Kathryn. *Military Intervention after the Cold War: The Evolution of Theory and Practice*, Ohio University Press, \$26.00.
- Westad, Odd Arne. *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times*, Cambridge University Press, \$35.00.
- Woodward, Peter. *US Foreign Policy and the Horn of Africa*, Ashgate Publishers, \$99.95.

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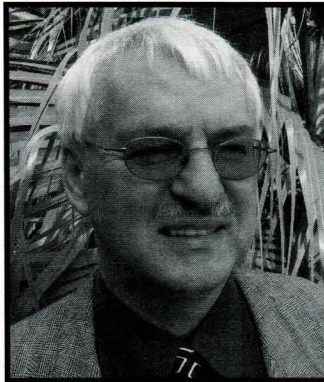
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The Last Word

Günter Bischof



Do we have a branch of diplomatic history that studies national and international politics following major disasters? Of course, diplomatic historians study the planning for peace and peacemaking after major man-made disasters such as war. For the World War I era, classics such as Arthur Gelfand's *The Inquiry* and Harold Nicolson's *Peacemaking, 1919*, come to mind, as do Warren Kimball's *The Juggler* and Walter Isaacson and Evan Thomas's *The Wise Men* for the World War II era. Charles Maier's and Alan Milward's works on post-World War II European reconstruction are similar, model studies. On the domestic front, John Barry's *Rising Tide*, on the Mississippi River flood of 1927, showed how Herbert Hoover's exposure as President Coolidge's "relief Czar" catapulted him into the White House the next year.

I ask this question because Hurricanes Katrina, Rita and Wilma have left a major stretch along the Gulf Coast as large as Great Britain in shambles, covering parts of the states of Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and Florida. With the major destruction of vast parts of New Orleans, the "Crescent City" is now dealing with an unprecedented challenge in rebuilding and reinventing itself.

While there is deep resentment and despair in the New Orleans population about the multiple failures of government on all levels in preparing for hurricanes and "the big one" in general, and in the governmental responses to Katrina and the flooding it induced in particular, the international response to the unprecedented destruction of an American city has been nothing short of astounding. This is where "disaster diplomacy" enters.

Americans seem to have a hard time getting used to the notion that after a disaster like Katrina they might need international relief themselves. Immediately after the storm hundreds of millions of dollars in cash and commodities poured in from more than 100 foreign governments. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice put Ambassador Joseph Sullivan in charge of coordinating the international aid effort. Sullivan has been the "diplomat-in-residence" at Tulane University in 2004-6 and operated out of Baton Rouge in the fall of 2005 to direct the aid where it was needed most. Germany sent engineers to help pump the floodwaters out of New Orleans. France sent divers to clean the port of New Orleans for business. NATO countries sent 24 plane loads of supplies. Apparently, Fidel Castro's and Hugo Chavez's aid offers were declined (not by New Orleansians!).

Offers of international aid have kept pouring into New Orleans (and presumably other parts of the Gulf Coast) long after Ambassador Sullivan shut down his "short term" relief coordination operation. The French government, so maligned in New Orleans for its resistance to President Bush's Iraq intervention that people suggested renaming the historic

"French Quarter" as the "Freedom Quarter", has been offering aid to the tune of 20 million dollars. The French are helping to relaunch renowned culture institutions such as the New Orleans Museum of Art and French language instruction in schools. Paris has started a free "artists-in-residence" program for jazz musicians. The University of Orleans, a partner institution to the University of New Orleans (UNO), has accepted some 60 UNO students for a free semester.

German and Austrian universities have been similarly generous in inviting New Orleans area students from UNO, Loyola, Tulane, and Louisiana State University to their campuses for a free semester. The universities of Marburg, Munich, Cottbus, and Dortmund in Germany have offered free semesters, as well as Innsbruck and Graz in Austria. UNO friends at the University of Innsbruck – a partner university for 30 years – have collected more than \$40,000 in donations to bring UNO students to Innsbruck for a free semester, and also presented checks to UNO faculty and staff members who lost houses.

The idea for a "Marshall Plan in reverse" was taken seriously by the Austrian "Marshall Plan Anniversary Foundation" in Vienna. The Austrian government recently donated one million dollars to UNO for strengthening its international studies programs and to help New Orleans schools affiliated with UNO.

These were welcomed rays of light to a novice chair who spent much of his time at the beginning of the spring term with Katrina-related issues such as finding FEMA housing for his displaced faculty, staff, and graduate students. While two senior members of the UNO History Department retired early, the younger faculty displayed inspiring loyalty to our struggling institution. Young colleagues have already submitted grants for a "Katrina Digital Memory Bank" and a New Orleans/Dutch "comparative floodworks" project. A *Rising Tide*-like work will be written one day and the UNO History Department plans to be in the forefront of collecting the "Katrina Archives" and in making "natural disaster studies" one of its departmental foci. These are opportunities spawned in disaster – for our students too.

This is only the tip of the iceberg of the domestic and international disaster response to Katrina. The domestic recovery and the politics and diplomacy behind it will be fascinating stories for historians to tell one day. It seems to me that the concatenation of earthquake, tsunami, and hurricane relief in 2005-6 and beyond offer fascinating opportunities for historians in the field of "global disaster history" and "disaster diplomacy."

Günter Bischof is chair and professor of history at the University of New Orleans.