

Volume 42, Number 1, April 2011

# Passport

*The Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations Review*

## NINETY DAYS INSIDE THE EMPIRE

A NOVEL

BY WILLIAM APPLEMAN WILLIAMS

### Inside...

A Roundtable on William Appleman Williams's  
*Ninety Days Inside the Empire*

The Khmer Rouge Tribunal and Guantanamo

The Anglo-Celtic Divide in American Foreign Relations

...and much more!

# Passport

*The Newsletter of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations*

## Editorial Office:

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

## Executive Director

Peter L. Hahn, The Ohio State University

## Editor

Mitchell Lerner, The Ohio State University-Newark

## Production Editor

Julie Rojewski, Michigan State University

## Editorial Assistant

David Hadley, The Ohio State University

## Cover Photo

*Ninety Days Inside the Empire*. Courtesy William Appleman Williams Papers, Oregon State University Libraries.

## Editorial Advisory Board and Terms of Appointment

Elizabeth Kelly Gray, Towson University (2009-2011)

Robert Brigham, Vassar College (2010-2012)

George White, Jr., York College/CUNY (2011-2013)

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

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

© 2011 SHAFR

# Passport

The Newsletter of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations

Volume 42, Number 1, April 2011

## In This Issue

- 4    [Novels as a Way of Life: A Roundtable Discussion of William Appleman Williams's \*Ninety Days Inside the Empire\*](#)  
Elizabeth Cobbs Hoffman, J. Todd Moye, Barbara Foley, and Jeremi Suri
- 11   [The Great Anglo-Celtic Divide in the History of American Foreign Relations](#)  
Thomas A. Breslin
- 14   [Using Digitized Documents in the Teaching of The University of Wisconsin's \*Foreign Relations of the United States Series\*](#)  
Vicki Tobias, Richard Hume Werking, Brian Clancy, Robert M. Morrison, and Nicole Phelps
- 22   [The Khmer Rouge Tribunal and Guantanamo](#)  
Kenton Clymer
- 24   [Statement of Thomas Blanton, Director, National Security Archive, George Washington University, to the Committee on the Judiciary U.S. House of Representatives](#)
- 28   [SHAFR Council Meeting Minutes](#)
- 34   [The Diplomatic Pouch](#)

# Novels as a Way of Life: A Roundtable Discussion of William Appleman Williams's *Ninety Days Inside the Empire*

Elizabeth Cobbs Hoffman, J. Todd Moye, Barbara Foley, and Jeremi Suri

## Review of *Ninety Days Inside the Empire*, by William Appleman Williams

Elizabeth Cobbs Hoffman

**N***inety Days Inside the Empire* is the worst novel you will (n)ever read. But literature's loss may be biography's gain. Certainly, any reader influenced by William Appleman Williams (and who hasn't been?) will never again see him in quite the same way.

In fairness, it is important to recognize that this is both a first novel and an unfinished one. Williams may never have dreamt we would read this draft, available now to millions on the Internet. But even so, it is obvious that Williams had no instinct for fiction.

*Ninety Days Inside the Empire* tells the stories of a dozen or so men and women at a naval air station in Galveston, Texas. The drama centers on race, chronicling the tensions felt by most black Americans and some white Americans at the end of World War II, when the juxtaposition of Jim Crow and Roosevelt's "Four Freedoms" placed racism in a brighter, clearer light.

Williams's saga has plenty of potential. Outraged by social inequalities and the depredations of white men on black women, an interracial group of pilots, mechanics, and civilians embarks on a quest to raise consciousness and take the first painful steps towards integration—prodded along the way by President Harry Truman's executive order to integrate the armed forces. Some of Williams's characters (mostly white ones) get beaten up in the process, but in the end their efforts have an important effect.

What makes this a bad novel is Williams's inability to keep the

characters straight for the reader and tell their story in an intelligible fashion. (Let's hope he didn't lecture this way to undergraduates.) He leaps dizzyingly from one point of view to the next, forcing the reader to see events through one set of eyes after another. As a consequence, it is hard for the reader to identify with the dozen or so "main" characters, who come and go like commuters pouring through revolving doors at Grand Central Station.

Although Williams begins with black characters and is careful to include them throughout, white pilots are the central players—particularly Kerry "Cat" Wye, a hot shot navigator, and Nathan "Run-Run" Reis, a Jewish pilot and Cat's best friend. Such a narrative choice was natural for Williams, since the experiences of these characters most closely mirror his own life in the Navy. Williams also trained to become a pilot, though a back injury ultimately prevented him from earning his wings.

In addition to his problems with narrative structure, Williams struggles with realistic character development. This is especially noteworthy with regard to racial and gender stereotypes. Because the author is at pains to expose social prejudice, his own stilted clichés sometimes make the reader cringe. Writing in the 1980s about the 1940s, Williams's tone doesn't appear to have been much affected by the four decades in between. For example, in an encounter between the "rich" Jewish pilot Nathan Reis and an Indian, the Native American exhibits the eerie omniscience and sage wisdom typically associated with the "Noble Savage." When an acquaintance explains to the Indian that the urban Easterner has never met a Native American, the chief intones:

"I know. He has never seen my

kind before."

He turned to Nathan. "You are a Jew. Our tribes have been treated badly, but you are with good people. When the time comes you take care of them. He tossed his blanket over his shoulder without fluffing a feather in his headdress and walked away" (69).

Women come across as equally wooden in the narrative, where they spend most of their time in bed having amazing sex with the dashing pilots. (Who would have guessed?) Almost all of them are perky, "one-man" women with hearts of gold, except for a South Texas landlady (a racist, of course) who is a foul-mouthed, bridge-playing, alcoholic nymphomaniac. Think Mrs. Robinson meets Cornelia Wallace.

So what makes this novel worth wading through?

Williams was perhaps the most influential Americanist of the twentieth century. His ideas shaped several generations of self-described Revisionists. They also shaped the perception of intellectuals around the world about the nature of American foreign policy. This makes him a worthy object of historical (or at least historiographical) study in his own right.

*Ninety Days Inside the Empire* shows Williams at his most Midwestern. As European historian George Mosse once observed (quoted by Jeremi Suri in *Passport*, September 2009), a peculiarly Midwestern sensibility informed Williams's feeling about America as a "lost utopia," sold out by Eastern elites.

"I got to do what I think is right," the pilot Mitch tells his wife Carolyn (before undressing her, of course, for another manly round of epic love-making). "I believe in all that stuff I got in Wisconsin. . . . And maybe even half of what I learned at The Navy's School for Wayward Boys" (58).

The conviction that one must do what is “right” fueled the Civil Rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s and led “people of good will” from all races to lay down their prejudices and cooperate in making a better America. Williams believed deeply in the possibility of a reformed nation, as this novel makes plain. But it also reveals his struggle between cynicism and idealism and his propensity, perhaps, to believe that when it came to American foreign (as opposed to domestic) policy, the cynics inevitably had it right. Romantics, a main character suggests, would tell us “everything worked out just dandy.” Cynics missed much historical complexity, “including most of the human nuances,” yet they “edged closest to reality” (35). But can reality be “real” without human nuance? The character’s admission may be a clue to Williams’s own scholarly blind spots.

This is where biography comes into play. Williams graduated from Annapolis in 1945. Although he served briefly in the Pacific, he came in at the tail end of the war. For him, the terrible, global ordeal was practically over before it started. Perhaps for this reason Williams was more keenly aware of domestic than foreign enemies. External threats are non-existent in *Ninety Days Inside the Empire*, while internal ones are frighteningly real—particularly the racists who betray the American dream. He depicts foreign enemies, to the extent that they enter the narrative at all, merely as victims, like the Japanese bombed at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The demons with which America must wrestle are internal only.

Williams is particularly critical of the American “empire,” of which the Negro elders and mechanics in his novel are perspicaciously aware. They are unusually conversant with the events of 1898 (fifty years earlier), and with Woodrow Wilson’s foolish war in 1917 to “save the world for democracy” (77). As one mechanic observes, if not for the color of his skin, he might well have helped “manage the empire” (25). Here, too, stereotypes intervene. The oppressed are endowed with superior insight and morality (even vocabulary!) than well-intentioned Wisconsinites, who are slow to learn their lessons.

But as every scholar knows, we are all prisoners of our times. *Ninety Days Inside the Empire* gives us a glimpse of the living man behind the scholar. William Appleman Williams came to maturity at a pivotal point in American history, and his outrage at the nation’s failings helped inspire

it to “do better,” as John F. Kennedy liked to say. No William Faulkner, Bill Williams nonetheless remains one of our most important historians.

*Elizabeth Cobbs Hoffman is the Dwight Stanford Professor of American Foreign Relations at San Diego State University, and a National Fellow at Stanford University’s Hoover Institution.*

### Review of William Appleman Williams’s *Ninety Days Inside the Empire*

J. Todd Moye

As a civil rights historian who has no more than dabbled in the historiography of American foreign relations, I was not familiar with the work of William Appleman Williams before Mitch Lerner asked me to review Williams’s unpublished novel, *Ninety Days Inside the Empire*. I have since learned that Williams was by all accounts a gifted and provocative writer, a deep and original thinker, an academic who took mentorship especially seriously, and a (mostly) beloved colleague. So I take no pleasure in reporting that his unpublished novel is unpublished for a reason.

Set in Galveston, Texas, in 1948, *Ninety Days* is the story of three white Air Force officers, one African American enlisted man, a local African American preacher, and a local white attorney who, with their family members, build a local civil rights movement from scratch. They do so despite resistance from local whites and in the face of indifference, if not outright opposition, from the institution of the U.S. Navy. According to Kerry Ahearn’s introduction the plot of the novel is at least semi-autobiographical, and Williams had Galveston stand in for Corpus Christi, the South Texas city where he had been stationed as a Navy pilot trainee from 1945 to 1946.

Williams may already have seen racial prejudice first-hand while a high school student in Missouri or a midshipman at Annapolis or in his other wartime assignments in the U.S. Navy, but his stint in South Texas would have provided him with a memorable introduction to Jim Crow (and “Juan Crow”) segregation, southern-style poverty, and their attendant injustices. It is easy to imagine how such an experience would have helped shape the worldview of a historian who made a special point of highlighting our national hypocrisy when it came to dealing with race and class. (My understanding of Williams’s body of work has been shaped in

large part by N. Gordon Levin Jr.’s review of Williams’s *History as a Way of Learning*, in which Levin writes of “Williams’ central conception of American diplomacy as having been shaped by the effort of American leaders to evade domestic dilemmas of class and race through an escapist movement: they used world politics, he feels, to preserve a capitalist frontier safe for America’s market and investment expansion.”<sup>1</sup>)

A good novelist could do a lot with Williams’s cast of characters and basic plot outline. The U.S. Armed Forces—the point of the spear of Williams’s “Empire”—were on the cusp of major change in 1948. Following a raft of postwar retirements the armed forces had assembled a new generation of civilian and military leadership. Seeking election and in need of black votes in 1948, President Harry Truman issued Executive Order 9981, which had the (long-term) effect of desegregating the armed forces. The tensions present among an older generation of Navy officers from the all-white era and a younger generation less hidebound by tradition, between whites and blacks in the service, and between racist local whites and the representatives of the Empire, offer more than enough fodder for compelling fiction.

Williams the novelist does not realize that promise. Key elements of his cast and plot sound to my ear off-key—for starters, his timing. The decade of the 1940s was a productive period for the NAACP in Texas, as its legal team laid the foundation for the major desegregation decisions of the 1950s. In the case of *Smith v. Allwright* (decided in 1944) the NAACP persuaded the justices of the U.S. Supreme Court that the Texas Democratic Party’s practice of excluding black would-be voters from primary elections violated the terms of the Fifteenth Amendment. In *Sweatt v. Painter* (decided in 1950) the organization’s lawyers convinced the high court that the state’s system of separate-but-equal legal education violated the terms of the Fourteenth Amendment. The Texas State Conference of Branches oversaw an aggressive membership drive that made Texas the state with the second-highest number of individual NAACP members by 1949, and a number of active chapters did stage productive voter registration campaigns in the latter half of the decade in Texas. But the atmosphere of mass mobilization—complete with church rallies, alternative newspapers, and the like—that Williams created here seems to me a phenomenon of later decades.

It may be ironic that there *was*

major civil rights organizing on the grassroots level in Corpus Christi in 1948, but it involved Latinos instead of African Americans. Dr. Hector P. Garcia organized hundreds of local Mexican American World War II veterans into the American G.I. Forum, an advocacy organization that did for Mexican Americans roughly what the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was already doing for blacks. The G.I. Forum lobbied for greater G.I. Bill benefits and increased Mexican-American representation on local draft boards. In 1949 they turned the Felix Longoria affair into a national *cause célèbre*. The remains of Private Longoria, who had been killed in the Philippines in 1945, were shipped home to nearby Three Rivers, Texas, for final burial, but the local funeral home director refused to serve Mexican-Americans. Dr. Garcia brought national attention to the injustice, and Lyndon B. Johnson, then a newly elected U.S. senator, arranged for Longoria to receive a hero's burial at Arlington National Cemetery. It was an important victory for the nascent local Latino civil rights movement, which the G.I. Forum augmented with an aggressive legal strategy over the coming decades. Mexican Americans are absent from Williams' story.<sup>2</sup>

According to Kerry Ahearn's introduction, Williams considered his wartime experience to have been transformative. "Along with a handful of other Annapolis graduates . . . I became a political activist in support of the tiny black movement struggling for economic and social justice [in Corpus Christi]. It was unquestionably a major experience in my life." While many white veterans could say something similar of their experiences, in that the war changed profoundly the way they saw the world around them, few of them became political activists as Williams's characters do. This is not to say that the behavior of the white protagonists in *Ninety Days* struck me as entirely unbelievable.

In my own research on the Tuskegee Airmen, the African Americans most responsible for integrating the U.S. Air Force, I came to admire a white officer named Noel F. Parrish more than an objective historian probably should, and I kept glimpsing aspects of Parrish's experience as I read *Ninety Days*. Parrish, then a colonel, commanded Tuskegee Army Air Field, the black airmen's training facility, during World War II. He was more of a lobbyist than an activist. He did not organize off-base in Alabama, though he did protect his airmen's interests

in the face of local white racist violence, and he seems never to have shied away from an argument with a white supremacist. Parrish waged bureaucratic warfare at the Pentagon after combat ended and was as responsible as any other individual for convincing Air Force brass that the service needed to desegregate.<sup>3</sup>

Parrish had more native intellectual curiosity, commitment to simple decency and justice, and guts than any other white figure I came across in my research on the Air Force. He also earned a Ph.D. in history from Rice University after retiring as a brigadier general and had a second career as a history professor at Trinity University in San Antonio, where he taught military history and U.S. foreign affairs. Parrish had much in common with Williams's characters—and with Williams. I don't know it for a fact, but I am relatively certain that Parrish would have admired Williams' scholarship. In any case, having been introduced to Parrish as a historical figure I was prepared to believe in Williams's characters—Mitch, Cat, and Run-Run. But the characters still felt flat and unrecognizable to me.

In any case, focusing on white officers in this scenario was probably a mistake. It was blacks who bore the brunt of desegregation over the course of many years—in the Air Force, the Navy, Major League Baseball, and every other national institution. Henry Calhoun Blake ("Mr. Hank") is the only African American Navy man in the novel. An enlisted man and an engine mechanic, he is by far the least developed of Williams's characters. It is possible that a more fully developed Mr. Hank could have carried the novel through to a more successful outcome, but a black officer would have made for an even more compelling character. How might such a character rationalize his service of "the Empire," given the inferior treatment he receives from his superiors, his fellow officers, the white enlisted men on base, and the civilians around him? What moral quandaries would that tension produce? More interesting ones than the dilemmas readers are presented with in *Ninety Days*, I suspect. In any case, I find it hard to ignore Williams's inability to write with more feeling and inquisitiveness about a black man in uniform. Surely the author of *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy* had the necessary historical imagination, and I don't doubt that Williams's own experience in the Navy gave him the requisite life experience, even though he may never have come in contact with

black officers while in uniform.

Who in *Ninety Days* represents the Empire and who the colonized? The answer to the second part of the question is not quite clear, but Williams does succeed in creating a portrait of an imperial venture in which the center cannot hold. Just as in his published nonfictional work, in the novel the internal contradictions inherent in the empire's creation myth and in its behavior toward both its servants and its subjects are so great as to be unsustainable for much longer. (Gunnar Myrdal called this the American dilemma.) The Cold War would soon place these contradictions under klieg lights, as when the Soviet propaganda machine distributed photographs of Emmett Till's mutilated body in his open casket throughout the unaligned Third World.

Interestingly enough, Noel Parrish realized that the Soviets would use racial discrimination against the United States before almost anyone else did. Parrish was a member of the inaugural 1946 class of the U.S. Air Force's Air Command and Staff College, where the main requirement he had to fulfill was a research thesis. Parrish titled his thesis "The Segregation of Negroes in the Army Air Forces," and he made sure everyone knew he had modeled both his research methodology and his central arguments on Myrdal's *An American Dilemma*. (He also complained throughout his career that he could never find anyone else at the officers' club who could discuss Myrdal with him over drinks. Noel Parrish was my kind of guy.) He argued passionately that the armed services would have to desegregate not because segregating troops by race was immoral (though he believed it was), but because it was economically inefficient and because it could be used against the United States in the Cold War to devastating effect. To illustrate this last point he wrote of a particular experience from his wartime experience in Alabama:

Mr. Abol Amini, member of parliament of Iran, and Mr. Majid Movaqar, publisher of the daily newspaper Mehre Iran [*sic*], visited Tuskegee Air Field with a party of Iranians under the guidance of the State Department in 1945. Mr. Moqavar was pro-American and pro-British, Mr. Amini was pro-Russian. The former tried to argue that the effective and expensive Negro training program

was an example of democracy in action. His pro-Russian counterpart asked embarrassing questions: "Why were negro [*sic*] pilots and officers kept apart from the rest of the Air Forces? Were they not also citizens of a democracy? Could the reason be that their complexions were dark?"<sup>4</sup>

Williams would have appreciated the anecdote and latched onto its implications. He might even have worked it into one of his articles or books. Perhaps the best we can say of his unsuccessful novel is that it makes us appreciate that thought-provoking nonfiction all the more. We can be glad that William Appleman Williams didn't quit his day job.

J. Todd Moyer is Associate Professor of History at the University of North Texas and former Director of the Tuskegee Airman Oral History Project.

Notes:

1. N. Gordon Levin, "Review: The Open Door Thesis Reconsidered," *Reviews in American History* 2, No. 4 (Dec. 1974), 598-605.
2. See Carl Allsup, *The American G.I. Forum: Origins and Evolution* (University of Texas Center for Mexican American Studies Monograph 6, Austin, 1982) and Patrick J. Carroll, *Felix Longoria's Wake: Bereavement, Racism, and the Rise of Mexican American Activism* (Austin, 2003).
3. See J. Todd Moyer, *Freedom Flyers: The Tuskegee Airmen of World War II* (New York, 2010).
4. Moyer, 147.

**The Historian as Novelist:  
William Appleman Williams's  
*Ninety Days Inside the Empire***

Barbara Foley

It has been a long time since I have encountered the thinking of William Appleman Williams, whose *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy* had a strong influence on me when I was coming of age as a political being during the era of the Vietnam War. I have been reading *Ninety Days Inside the Empire* with considerable interest and no small amount of appreciation.

The great strength of Williams's novel is its use of multiple characters whose intersecting lives embody the totality of the society in which they move. This novelistic genre, the descendant of the nineteenth-century realistic novel (think Balzac, whom Marx greatly admired), has proven useful to many radical novelists interested in portraying social and historical contradictions and in focusing on the emergence of a collective class protagonist. As I read *Ninety Days*, I found myself wondering whether Williams had been acquainted with such antiracist

While certain characters are highly valorized—the aforementioned couples, the retired jurist "Marsh"—Williams is less interested in exploring characters who nobly transcend racial prejudice and exhibit class consciousness than he is in examining the process by which change, whether incremental or dramatic, occurs.

proletarian novels as Grace Lumpkin's *A Sign for Cain* (1935) or William Rollins's *The Shadow Before* (1934), both of which similarly create large casts of characters—black and white, male and female, working class and governing class—that embody the historical dialectic of the day. As

Kerry Ahearn notes in his useful introduction, moreover, Williams makes ample use of narrative interiorization, thus exposing the reader not only to interactions among characters but also to their thoughts and preconscious impulses. This modified stream-of-consciousness technique injects a modernist element into what is otherwise a fairly traditional novelistic form.

Focusing on the beginnings of the civil rights movement in Corpus Christi, Texas, in the late 1940s, *Ninety Days* explores a broad range of social dynamics that are played out in both military and civilian settings at a time when traditional hierarchies of race and gender were losing some of their credibility with significant sectors of the population. The novel's dispersed focus functions rhetorically to involve the reader in sympathetic identification with a broad range of characters who are at once social types and distinct individuals. The opening chapter, for example, features Maggie Blake, an African American working-class woman who has recently been sexually assaulted by white thugs, in conversation with her husband, "Mr. Hank" (many of the characters have folksy nicknames). Throughout the narrative, paralleled marital situations of various white and African American couples besides the Blakes—Lette and the Reverend, Mitch and Caroline Taylor, Kerry

("Cat") and Susan Wye—underline these couples' common experiences of intimacy and sexual pleasure, stress and alienation: marriage does not recognize the color line.

The interracial movement that develops on both the naval air base and in the community involves individual and group transformations. While certain characters are highly valorized—the aforementioned couples, the retired jurist "Marsh"—Williams is less interested in exploring characters who nobly transcend racial prejudice and exhibit class consciousness than he is in examining the process by which change, whether incremental or dramatic, occurs. For instance, the Lees—the petty-bourgeois African American couple who run the only store in "Nigger Town"—move slowly toward relinquishing their opportunistic connection with the white supremacist power structure. Cat—Williams's autobiographical stand-in—metamorphoses from a nice guy with democratic impulses into a committed activist. *Ninety Days Inside the Empire* persuasively illustrates how history is made by the rank and file; it is a profoundly anti-elitist book.

It is primarily in his portrayal of characters among ruling elites that Williams fleshes out the theory of U.S. history for which he is famous. The financier Ralph George Crown is shown manipulating Texas politicians in order to siphon off Mexican oil into his ever-growing business empire. At the apex of the domestic racial hierarchy, Crown exemplifies Williams's thesis—explored at length in his major scholarly works—that the principal impetus behind U.S. history is the continual imperative to expand beyond the nation's borders. Crown's somewhat troubled interactions with Charles Burton, the more conservative of two candidates for Senate, indicate, however, that all is not peaceful in the ruling class. Burton favors "managing change" and "playing by the rules," while Crown represents a rogue wing of the ruling class. Added to this mix of more-or-less villainous characters are Tommy Downs, the racist sheriff; the sycophantic base commander Alexander Breckinridge, "the Admiral"; Barry Clay, the liberal senatorial candidate torn between antiracist sympathy and political opportunism; and the FBI agent Theodore Coffin, whose obsessive search for communists blinds him to the great urgency of ferreting out stable and effective antiracist leaders. (Williams clearly took lessons from Dickens in naming his characters.) Shuttling between

local-level gerrymandering and imperialist geopolitics, Williams displays the meaning of his title: the contradictions inside the empire embody in microcosm its exploitative global reach.

While *Ninety Days* successfully fulfills a number of its political and novelistic goals, it is marred by a number of flaws in both conception and execution. Williams was hardly an expert writer of fiction. Throughout the novel, the trope of going down a “lonesome road”—a road not so lonesome, it turns out, if one has the company of allies and lovers—is laid on with a trowel. The narrator’s voice engages in needless replication of colloquial speech when reporting the thoughts of his working-class characters. Although it is conceivable that Maggie would say, “I’se comin’ home, Mr. Hank,” the narrator’s statement that “Mr. Hank had remembered to get the fixins for pink gin for Maggie” sounds implausible. Such mishandling of narrative perspective is at once jarring and patronizing.

Williams’s handling of key incidents in the novel’s plot is at times clumsy and confusing. The opening sequences juxtaposing the experiences of aviators in the sky with civilians on the ground are disorienting, giving the feel more of jump-cut movie scenes than of novelistic threads and bearing out Gore Vidal’s judgment—reported by Ahearn in his preface—that *Ninety Days* would have made a better movie than novel. As the plot develops, Williams misses the opportunity to build upon established complications and contradictions. The episode in which Richie Dillon, a none-too-bright and sexually obsessed racist, contemplates kidnapping the daughter of Mitch and Susan, is unprepared for and leads almost nowhere; while the scene in which Cat is brutally beaten, presumably paired with Dillon’s fantasized kidnapping as an act of real rather than imagined violence, is not shown to produce the transformative understanding that its climactic placement requires. The sequence of events that enables Mitch and Cat to vanquish Breckinridge, who would like to keep the base Jim-Crowed, is not clearly delineated. The means by which Cat’s torturers are identified—he simply overhears them conversing in the jail—and then revealed also to have been the men who previously attacked Maggie, are contrived. The novel’s finale, which shows Mitch and Cat flying off to California, supplies a feel-good ending between two white buddies that leaves the novel’s civil rights

plot in limbo. That Williams at this point chooses to bring in a cameo portrait of a historical character, the anti-militarist Colonel Clifford Nord, enables the text to make mention of the horrors of Dresden, Hiroshima, and Nagasaki; but the device reinforces the artificiality of the novel’s conclusion.

Many of these problems are no doubt attributable to Williams’s lack of experience as a novelist. But some of the novel’s awkward moments may speak to Williams’s failure fully to meet the political challenge he has set for himself. As the novel progresses, there appear fewer and fewer passages displaying the thought processes of African American characters. Maggie and Mr. Hank, Lette and the Reverend continue to have significant roles in the plot, but the reader is less frequently exposed to their thoughts and feelings as Mitch and Cat take over. Similar shortcomings accompany Williams’s portrayals of women. The narrative voice at times displays a distinctly masculinist set of priorities: in first describing Maggie, for instance, Williams writes, “Depending on your fantasy, perfect right or just a tad heavy.” Despite the leading roles that various women are shown to play in organizing the community and publishing the antiracist newspaper, the wives are all shuttled off to the side at the novel’s end, and the reader is left with two white guys traversing the not-so-lonesome road together. While the multiple-protagonist and interiorized-consciousness narrative technique of *Ninety Days* permitted Williams to explore social contradictions from various points of view, he was unable to sustain this wide-angled vision and ends with the materials with which he is most familiar and comfortable.

That Williams should prove unable to transcend the limits of his given identity, despite the best of intentions, is not especially damning: not too many writers, of any gender or “race,” manage to occupy an Archimedean standpoint in relation to the subjectivities of a broad cast of characters. It is possible, however, that some of the shortcomings in Williams’s handling of point of view and plot reveal problematic features of the political point of view guiding the novel. In particular, Williams’s view of the United States as intrinsically expansive and mercantilist—and racist, to be sure, in its relation to the darker-skinned peoples of the globe—may have diminished his understanding of the dynamics of domestic racism. While *Ninety Days* is full of allusions

to a class-based understanding of racism in its divide-and-conquer dimension, it reveals little about the political economy of racism. Moreover, while *Ninety Days* offers a heart-warming portrayal of nascent multiracial civil rights activity, it stresses community over struggle—to the point, indeed, where the motif of going down the “lonesome road” with like-minded comrades displaces examination of the political and economic forces sustaining Jim Crow. The novel’s racist characters are repellent in various ways, but there is little analysis of the domestic structures of power that support them; Crown cannot stand in for all of U.S. capitalism. When Richie Dillon and the men who brutally assaulted both Maggie and Cat are exiled from Corpus Christi—Richie is “shipped off to Brownsville”—the contradiction that these sexist and racist characters embody is, to a degree, shipped out of the novel. We know that they will make trouble elsewhere; the empire must and will expand. But Williams’s preoccupation with the international dimension of U.S. imperialism—his thesis that the nation’s adventures and conquests overseas have functioned historically as an escape from its internal contradictions—may have prevented him from grappling more fully with the meaning of capitalist class rule right within the heart of the empire.

One final point. The text of *Ninety Days Inside the Empire* that is electronically available at the Oregon State University Library is accompanied by many photographs that produce a somewhat bizarre effect. Throughout the text there appear pictures of various military insignia and types of aircraft, as well as of prominent figures in U.S. history. Thurgood Marshall appears when the text treats the emerging NAACP; Naval Air Force badges of honor accompany descriptions of Mitch and Cat as they jet through the skies. These “illustrations,” in my view, not only give the text the aura of an introductory history textbook but also imply a valorization of military rank and prowess in warfare and an odd bowing to the heroes of history that are substantially at odds with the novel’s critical take on militarism and with its dignified representation of the largely anonymous masses who make history. Williams clearly formed deep friendships in the armed forces, took pride and pleasure in piloting aircraft, and was profoundly moved by his experiences in the postwar civil rights movement. But given the thrust of his career as a radical critic of the empire, these visual accompaniments



to his novel are more than slightly anomalous. I suggest that if *Ninety Days Inside the Empire* is reformatted for further distribution these pictures be removed.

The novel is interesting enough to stand on its own.

Barbara Foley is Professor II of English and American Studies at Rutgers University, Newark.

### *Empire, Sex, and their Limits*

Jeremi Suri

All good historians become novelists. This is particularly true for scholars of politics and decision-making. Pouring through the archives, reading countless minutes of meetings, and studying speeches for close meaning, the historian is reminded of the impenetrability of the human mind. We can readily describe what people did, but *why* remains a mystery. Human motivation is infinitely complex, contingent, and perhaps chaotic. Even the most rational government leaders act for reasons that defy easy assessments of interest and ideology. That is, of course, the source of our business as historians. Even with full access to the sources—whatever that means—we will continue to argue about motivations. We will never agree. We will always have new books to write about old subjects.

Writing about William Appleman Williams proves this adage in two ways. First, Williams's *oeuvre* casts a long shadow over recent scholarship, especially as it challenges historians to re-examine government motivations for war and peace. With more sophistication than many of his contemporaries, Williams interrogated the wellsprings of American power in the twentieth century. His analysis of what he called the "*Weltanschauung* underlying American diplomacy" emphasized an explosive cocktail of profit-seeking patriotism, fear, and hubris. His diagnosis of America's "tragic" fall from democracy into empire reflected the unintended consequences of what appeared to citizens as appropriate and legitimate motivations. "America's humanitarian urge to assist other peoples is undercut—even subverted—by the way it goes about helping them." Williams's books, particularly *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy*, are efforts to expose and reform—or at least shake—American motivations.<sup>1</sup>

Second, Williams would be the first to admit that he had a *Weltanschauung*

of his own. He never claimed objectivity or even impartiality in his scholarship. In retrospect, that might be one of his most endearing features. Williams always had a moral purpose in his research. He always conveyed an appreciation for the roads not taken, the paths closed by decision-makers who failed to question flawed assumptions. Most of all, Williams always encouraged his students—his undergraduates and his Ph.D.s—to form their own *Weltanschauung* of power, their own theory for making sense of an ever-more complicated world. Both Williams's scholarship and the man himself were creatures of complex motivations. Williams and his writings were much more than "history as a way of learning." They manifested history as a way of living.<sup>2</sup>

One of Williams's last books, *Empire as a Way of Life*, made this point, highlighting the assumptions about expansion, control, and conquest that had infected various parts of American life, even for critics. The intrepid advocacy of freedom had, according to this analysis, become associated with selfish and self-serving motives that actually denied freedom in many cases. Proponents of the American mission were not necessarily liars, nor were their critics prophetic truth-tellers. Instead, Williams argued that the entire debate was trapped in an imperial framework that narrowed policy options to *degrees* of rather than *alternatives* to expansion, control, and conquest.<sup>3</sup>

This is the intellectual context for Williams's unpublished novel, *Ninety Days Inside the Empire*. The story is set around the naval air base and the African American community in Galveston, Texas in 1948—an analogue for the community in Corpus Christi, Texas, that Williams lived in as a naval aviator-in-training between 1945 and 1946. The plot of the novel does not involve war or diplomacy, but struggles over power within the community—"inside the empire." The contending parties include big business (symbolized by gas and oil magnate Ralph George Crown), military interests (led by Admiral Alexander Breckinridge), progressive-liberal white professionals (most compelling, Commander Wilbur Mitchell Taylor and Lieutenant Kerry Trevor Wye), and African Americans newly empowered by their war contributions (especially Reverend Robert Griffin Jones).

These groups begin the novel in conflict over control of their community. Reacting to calls for more equality by African Americans and

contrary claims about communist "spies" from an overzealous FBI informant, Senator Charles Burton comments, "This is a political problem, not a spy problem. We're not at war anymore, but the war changed most everything. The Admiral would probably agree that the war and those bomb tests out in the Pacific mean that even war has changed" (53).

Demanding a more representative voice, the African Americans in Williams's novel publish a new newspaper (*The Freedom News*) and support an opposition candidate for Senate. Most of all, they echo Williams's rejection of the previous domestic deviations from democracy justified by the maintenance of empire abroad. The old African American wise man, Wendell Rogers, speaks for the author:

I had a granddaddy and his two brothers who went off to war to free the Cubans and the people out there in the Philippines and they got killed and nobody got freed. Then my father went off to help Mr. Wilson save the world for democracy. He came home early; dead before all that savin' the world never happened and we buried him in a pine box in Florida. . . . Now all that talk about saving the world does puff people up pretty big. Hot air does confuse the brain (76).

Speaking to a nascent civil rights movement that includes white progressives and blacks, Rogers exposes the imperial *Weltanschauung* that they are up against:

It is too bad that our leaders don't talk as straight as they did when my granddaddy and his brothers got themselves killed for freedom. Back then they used the word empire. Well, that's what we got now—empire. Everybody thinks that empire has only got to do with other folks, most of 'em bad. . . . That's what most folks think of as being the empire. Us fightin' off the bad ones. But that's only half the story. . . . That's the other part of the empire, and we's right there in the middle. We want to live without those arrows. We want freedom here at home, and we want to be helpin' other people, not

bombing their home places  
like out there in the Pacific  
(76).

Of course Rogers and his community do not get what they demand in the novel. Their supporters, especially Lieutenant Wye, suffer indignities and direct attacks from local thugs. Concerned for his business investments, however, Ralph George Crown and his associates find expedience in compromise. They eliminate the most racist and abusive white figures from town. They promise the African American community better living conditions. Most of all, they enforce the “rules” that allow some basic personal and community security in return for continued work within the status quo.

Admiral Breckinridge, the most pathetic figure in the novel, clings to this position as he seeks to reduce racial violence but also limit the implementation of desegregation on his naval base. Breckinridge is an early Eisenhower Republican who wants to hold the line, to preserve the empire through carefully controlled reforms. Eisenhower, of course, wins, and the consensus on moderation means that the African Americans in Galveston get a little more, their white supporters move to San Francisco, the Admiral gets promoted, Crown gets richer, America fights more wars overseas, and, most of all, the profit-seeking patriotism of the *Weltanschauung* remains intact. Liberal consensus, as Williams and others called it, crowds out radical reform. Williams’ ambivalent treatment in the novel of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), a quintessential liberal organization, captures the author’s regrets over the triumph of what he sees as imperial moderation.

The radical alternatives that peek through this pall are populist and anti-capitalist, as one would expect from Williams. The author gives special place to the National Colored Farmers’ Alliance. He refers to the “secular rumpus” activities of this grass-roots organization that was founded in Texas in 1886 to provide sustenance, security, and community for struggling black farmers (81). As part of the larger Farmers’ Alliance movement, it asserted local control of politics, challenged state and federal interventions, and sought alternatives to a capitalist agricultural market that impoverished small landholders. The National Colored Farmers’ Alliance was a radical alternative to empire that inspired civil rights reform after

the Second World War but became much too accommodationist in its later incarnations, according to Williams.<sup>4</sup>

Throughout the ninety days covered by the novel the reader watches conflict become accommodation to empire. This is what the author eloquently calls “the great thing about politics. It never stops. One of the proven perpetual motion machines” (97). There is progress—the lives of African-Americans improve. There is change—the city of Galveston becomes more modern, more open, even a little more integrated. Nonetheless, the fundamentals remain the same. The big business owners, military interests, and community elites continue to enforce a regime of unequal wealth distribution, centralized power, and industrial expansion. Galveston becomes more deeply tied to the empire.

Empire also has a libido for Williams. His novel is filled with extended descriptions of jazz and sex, lots of sex. These were obviously personal interests of the author. They often, however, feel gratuitous. At times, the graphic sexual references make Williams sound a little like a dirty old man. They do not match the characters that he develops. They do not match the sound and feel of the times, at least as Williams reconstructs them. Sex for Williams the novelist is super-energized lust and machismo, not much emotion, connection, or even orgasm. It’s not real.

The artificiality of Williams’ description of sex points to the biggest problem with his novel and much of his scholarship. The analysis is sharp, focused, and sometimes quite persuasive—as in Williams’ scholarly account of the origins of the Spanish-American War and his novelistic reconstruction of Southern electioneering in 1948. The motivations that Williams interrogates, however, defy his over-determined category of empire. Just as the Open Door *Weltanschauung* was only one part of a broader matrix of impulses for expansion in 1898, the structures of empire were only one element in the wider range of influences within post-1945 American society. Williams’ Galveston is too one-dimensional, as is Williams’ American empire as a whole. Where are the “ordinary” citizens? Where are the small business owners? Where are the politicians who are committed to the New Deal, human rights, and *Realpolitik* as serious alternatives to empire? Williams focuses on

an important set of big business, military, and community figures, but their story is not the society of Galveston or American society as a whole. Their story, as told by Williams, underrates the complexity, dynamism, and contingency of capitalism, liberalism, and other political-economic impulses in this period. It’s not real.

More important, even the groups Williams examines closely appear far too simple. This is the novel’s greatest shortcoming. The characters are flat. The same is true for Williams’ scholarly depictions of figures like Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt. They are all too consistent in their desires, too clairvoyant in their interests, and much too manipulative in their compromises for short-term gains. Williams opens a complex analytical lens on the interplay of economic, ideological, and political motives beyond policy, but his explanation of capitalist empire is ultimately too rigid, too predictable, and too incomplete. The addition of jazz and sex in a superficial way does not humanize an unpersuasive set of portraits.

*Ninety Days Inside the Empire*, like Williams’ scholarship as a whole, is a powerful point of departure, worthy of serious attention. It is not a description of human reality with profound verisimilitude or striking imagination. As historian and novelist, Williams is a master provocateur. That is why he endures. Inspired by Williams, we need more creative provocation in scholarship and literature today.

Jeremi Suri is E. Gordon Fox  
Professor of History at the University of  
Wisconsin-Madison.

#### Notes:

1. Quotations from William Appleman Williams, *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2009 edition), 45, 15.
2. See William Appleman Williams, *History as a Way of Learning: Articles, Excerpts, and Essays* (New York, 1974).
3. See William Appleman Williams, *Empire as a Way of Life: An Essay on the Causes and Character of America’s Present Predicament Along with a Few Thoughts about an Alternative* (New York, 1980).
4. For more on the Farmers’ Alliance, its relationship to southern populism, its various organizations, and its legacies, see Steven Hahn, *A Nation Under Our Feet: Black Political Struggles in the Rural South from Slavery to the Great Migration* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003), 412-76.

# The Great Anglo-Celtic Divide in the History of American Foreign Relations

*Thomas A. Breslin*

For over two centuries the ethnic heritage of American presidents has shaped America's foreign policy. From George Washington to George W. Bush, presidential cultural background has been more important than presidential religion, party, age, or national or international political experience in predicting how an American president will act in matters involving war, peace, and alliance making. Changes in presidential ethnicity better explain changes in American foreign policy than changes in political party or international political dynamics.

Two distinct groups with roots in the British Isles have dominated the American presidency and American foreign relations, Anglo-Americans and Celtic-Americans. The struggle between the two cultural groups for political supremacy had its origins in the struggle between Anglo-Saxons and Celts for control of the British Isles. In Ireland and North America, Anglo-Saxon factions used Celts to gain power and to conquer Ireland and North America. England's Celtic allies felt abused by their overlords and many fled Ireland for North America, taking with them bitterness toward the English.

In North America, the Celts contested control by England and Anglo-Americans. The Celts were a militant force in the American Revolution. Then they continued their anti-English agitation in the ill-fated but well-named Whiskey Rebellion against the new Anglo-American government. Mainly settled on the frontier, the whiskey-drinking Celtic-Americans were the sword of the new American republic against aborigines and, once again, against England in the War of 1812.

Anglo-Americans have held the presidency most often. In foreign affairs, the stock in trade of Anglo-American presidents has been the promise of profit from large-scale ventures around the globe, often in competition with the English. Anglo-American presidents have been

self-confident and have taken great risks, including an undeclared naval war against France, the War of 1812, the Civil War, and the two-front war against Germany and Japan. They have occasionally been willing to cut the nation's losses and end lost wars or wars that failed to reach their objectives. John Adams and James Madison immediately come to mind. They were inclined toward good neighborliness. They focused more on Europe and China than elsewhere.

Anglo-American presidents have consistently been very hard on their English cousins. Madison went to war against England; Lincoln and Cleveland threatened to do so; Harding stripped England of naval supremacy; and Franklin Roosevelt set out to destroy England's system of trade preferences for its Commonwealth, a cornerstone of English economic strength.

Celtic-Americans, both Scots-Irish and Irish, have occupied the presidency more often than would be expected, given their share of the population. By and large, Celtic-American presidents have been very different from Anglo-American presidents. They have been inclined to oppose big government and big business, push for neighboring territory and trade, attack weak nations, and get bogged down in wars rather than appear weak by cutting the nation's losses and ending the war. Polk, Andrew Johnson, McKinley, Truman, and Lyndon Johnson come immediately to mind.

In foreign affairs, the stock in trade of Celtic-American presidents, apart from their lust for neighboring territory (the Trail of Tears and Manifest Destiny), has been fear of socialism or communism (Wilson's Red Scare and anti-Soviet expeditions, Truman's McCarthyism, Johnson's Vietnam War). They have also manifested occasional bouts of anti-Catholicism (McKinley's War of 1898, Carter's surveillance of the Latin American Church, and Reagan's opposition to the Catholic

social justice movement in Central America). They have consistently been much easier on England than have Anglo-American presidents. Andrew Johnson tried to patch up differences with England over its support for the South during the Civil War, Truman stopped Franklin Roosevelt's attack on England's Commonwealth, Kennedy gave England Polaris submarine technology, and Reagan helped England keep the Falklands.

Celtic-American presidents have focused on areas different from those their Anglo-American counterparts have focused on. For example, they have concentrated more on Latin America than on Europe. They have also favored trade with Asian lands whose markets were not dominated by England. Jackson stripped Americans involved in the China tea trade of government protection and sought to open markets in other lands, including Japan. Buchanan, an ardent Jacksonian expansionist, promoted arms sales to Japan; and McKinley's "Open Door" notes announced an unwillingness to compete strongly for the China market. American trade with Japan was double that with China, and American trade with the European nations active in China was many times greater than American trade with China.

There have been presidents of mixed Anglo-Celtic background. Grant, for example, was mostly Celtic-American but he identified strongly with his father's Anglo-American culture and dealt sternly with England for its part in arming the American South during the Civil War.<sup>1</sup>

Presidents from other ethnic backgrounds have had difficulty coping with the dynamics of the office. The Dutch-American Martin Van Buren and the two German-American presidents, Hoover and Eisenhower, all brought outstanding records of political, industrial, or military leadership

to the office. Nonetheless all three were overwhelmed by events. Van Buren and Hoover struggled in vain with economic depressions and Eisenhower with a runaway nuclear arms race and an overgrown military-industrial complex.

On a larger scale, American history and the history of American foreign relations follow a regular pattern, dividing into Anglo-American-dominated periods and Celtic-American-dominated periods with distinctive characteristics in foreign affairs, including warfare. In periods when they were dominant, Anglo-American presidents fostered a centralized government and undertook risky wars to build a sea-borne commercial empire with a growing industrial sector. In periods when they were dominant, Celtic-American presidents exhibited a fear of centralized government and churches, and preferred to wage limited wars and take land. Presidents not from the dominant group in a given period managed foreign relations in accord with the general tendency of their own culture.

During the first Anglo-American-dominated period—the First Anglo-American Republic, as it were—presidents focused on building a central government, developing the China trade, defending freedom of the seas for commerce in highly risky wars against great powers, and, usually, negotiating with aboriginal tribes to purchase their land. In this period, America paid great attention to Arabia.

In 1828 the hero of the Celtic-Americans, Andrew Jackson, wrested the presidency from the rum-drinking Anglo-Americans. The Age of Jackson, the First Celtic-American Republic, was an era of rapacity directed against aboriginal and Mexican neighbors. The Celtic-Americans' slogan was "Manifest Destiny," a transcontinental nation free of European (i.e., English) influence. In an action that stands in stark contrast to Celtic-American rapacity, during this period an Anglo-American president, Franklin Pierce, purchased the Mexican territory needed to build a transcontinental railroad.

During this era, the focus of America's Asian policy shifted. Jackson moved the focus from China to its neighbors. Some years

later, the administration of Anglo-American President John Tyler pushed to open Chinese ports other than Guangzhou, and another Anglo-American president, Millard Fillmore, "opened" Japan primarily to protect shipwrecked American sailors in the China trade rather than to develop another Asian market. Celtic-American President James Buchanan returned the focus to the Japan market. The era ended when Buchanan was unable to convince an Anglo-dominated Congress to give him the authority to extend American police power over northern Mexico or to combat the secession of the southern states.

On a larger scale, American history and the history of American foreign relations follow a regular pattern, dividing into Anglo-American-dominated periods and Celtic-American-dominated periods with distinctive characteristics in foreign affairs, including warfare.

The Second Anglo-American Republic began with a highly risky but successful war led by Anglo-American Abraham Lincoln to preserve the Union. Lincoln's death brought a Celtic-American vice president, Andrew Johnson, into the White House. Anglo-Americans in the Senate frustrated his plans to annex

present-day Canada and amicably settle differences with England over its support for the Southern cause; indeed, they threatened to remove him from the presidency. This period was focused on internal reconstruction and economic development. It ended with the second administration of Grover Cleveland, who confronted England by calling for Irish autonomy and by challenging an English effort to settle a boundary dispute with Venezuela in its own favor. Cleveland solidified America's position as the paramount power in the hemisphere.

Woe to weak neighbors when a Celtic-American able to marshal congressional support was president! Supported by a strong anti-Catholic base, Scots-Irish William McKinley initiated the Third Celtic-American Republic by choosing to wage war against a very weak Spain and, after an armistice, seizing the predominantly Catholic Philippines in order to "Christianize" them. A guerilla war ensued there. Anglo-American senators staved off the annexation of Cuba. The "Open Door Notes" signaled that yet another Celtic-American president did not want the United States to become too involved in China.

Mostly Celtic-American Theodore Roosevelt continued guerrilla warfare in the Philippines. He made Cuba a protectorate and seized the area that

became the Panama Canal Zone. In an action that was a blow to China, he also intervened in the Russo-Japanese War to help Japan. The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine made the United States a bill collector for English and European holders of Latin American debt. The Anglo-led Senate objected. Roosevelt's Anglo-American successor as president, William Howard Taft, supported Chinese development and used less military force than McKinley and Roosevelt. Sandwiched between two Celtic-American bullies in the pulpit, Taft made "Dollar Diplomacy" his leitmotif in foreign affairs. It was a startling change in the American foreign policy of that period.

Two Celtic-Americans, Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, challenged Taft for the presidency in 1912. Wilson won and quickly remilitarized America foreign policy. He scourged Mexico and the Caribbean and plunged into World War I in support of England. He then applied the lessons learned in the Philippines to controlling the American people, especially Germans and other ethnics with foreign ties.<sup>2</sup> Demonstrating the perennial anti-communism of Celtic-American presidents, Wilson targeted socialists at home and in Russia. He proposed to have America serve as policeman for England through the League of Nations, a role rejected by the Anglo-American-led Senate. This era of American small wars ended with Wilson's presidency and the victory of an Anglo-American, Warren Harding.

From Harding to Franklin Roosevelt, a period that contemporaries labeled "a return to normalcy," Anglo-Americans dominated the presidency. In this Third Anglo-American Republic, Anglo-American presidents planned to expand American trade and take over England's role as leader of the world economy. They supported China and opposed Germany and Japan. Notwithstanding its communism, Franklin D. Roosevelt supported the Soviet Union and, as he fought a high-risk, two-front war, sought to engage the Soviets in the new United Nations organization. Before his sudden death, he also acted to ensure American control of Saudi Arabian oil supplies.

Harry Truman succeeded Franklin Roosevelt and inaugurated the Fourth Celtic-American Republic, a time of nuclear terror, anti-Communist alarms, and armed intervention abroad. Initially, Celtic-Americans savaged the Anglo-American-dominated State Department and launched an attack

on Anglo-American elites that is known today as McCarthyism. Support for the United Nations and for diplomacy itself waned during this period. Ronald Reagan eventually pulled the United States out of UNESCO, the key element in Anglo-American hopes for the UN and the international order.

After Truman, a German-American president, Dwight D. Eisenhower, oversaw a towering buildup of nuclear weapons and the development of plans to use them. It was left to the Celtic-Americans, Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon—with some help from the era's one Anglo-American president, Gerald Ford—to move the country back from the brink of nuclear devastation. However, Ford's successor, Celtic-American Jimmy Carter, gave up much of the progress on nuclear disarmament made by his predecessors. His successor, Ronald Reagan, followed Carter down that dark path before turning back to pursue the goal of nuclear disarmament.

As one might expect in a Celtic-American republic, Japan was America's base in East Asia. Truman refused to continue support for America's anti-Communist allies in China but did support the re-establishment of colonialism in Southeast Asia and a war in the Philippines against Filipino nationalists. He also led the country into war to prop up anti-Communists and he supported the development of the Central Intelligence Agency as a paramilitary organization. Later in this period, Lyndon Johnson would lead the country into war to prop up an anti-Communist regime in Asia.

The Good Neighbor policy went by the board in this period of covert and overt armed interventions in Guatemala, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua and elsewhere in Latin America and the Caribbean. While the Carter administration returned the Panama Canal to Panama, there was a distinct anti-Catholic dimension to the Central American policies of Carter and, more particularly, Reagan. Pushed by evangelical Protestant supporters, Reagan badly damaged the Catholic Church in Central America. Reagan finally lost the support of the American people for the Cold War, an era defined by 70 wars, eight million deaths, and the loss of a huge part of America's civilian industrial base.<sup>3</sup> His departure from the presidency marked the end of the Cold War and the Fourth Celtic-American Republic.

The Fifth Anglo-American Republic began with the election of George H. W. Bush, an Anglo-American. His election marked a return to

"normalcy" for a Cold-War-ravaged United States. For the first time since Franklin Roosevelt's presidency, America cooperated with the Soviet Union. Bush senior paid the Soviets to reduce their nuclear arsenal. He tempered American policy in Central America. In the Anglo-American presidential tradition, he favored China over Japan. Bush senior wanted to control the Mideast's oil and protect the Saudis' promise to conduct oil trade in U.S. dollars, a key to the viability of the American economy. He ignored Congress and used the UN and a coalition approach to liberate Kuwait from Iraq. Watering the seed of a future catastrophe, Bush senior supported the Saudis, who supported Islamic fundamentalists. Embarrassed by his family's financial dealings and a poor economy, he lost re-election to a foreign affairs novice, William J. Clinton.

The Celtic-American Clinton focused on export development, especially arms, and cut spending on diplomacy. He extended nuclear and chemical arms controls, but his effort waned. Clinton still had a Cold War mindset and insisted on expanding NATO. There was a pro-Japan tilt in his Asian policies. Under him, relations with the People's Republic of China were bumpy. In behavior that was unusual for a Celtic-American president, Clinton confronted England and intervened in strife-torn Northern Ireland to bring accord between Irish Catholics and Protestants. In his relations with Congress, Clinton seemed most like another Celtic-American, Andrew Johnson.

An Anglo-American raised in Celtic-American Texas, Bush junior succeeded Clinton. He initially left his father's Anglo-American path by alienating China and building up ties to Japan. Later he returned to the Anglo-American path. Iraq was threatening again to have other countries develop its huge oil supplies and pay in currency other than the dollar. Bush junior perceived this as a major threat and planned for war on Iraq. After the 9/11 attacks on America by al-Qaeda, Bush junior attacked the Taliban government of Afghanistan, host to al-Qaeda. Despite a massive anti-war movement and split in NATO over the impending war, Bush next attacked Iraq. His smashing victory turned sour. The torture of war captives by Americans caused an international uproar. Relations with Latin American nations became strained. Bush persisted; he had Iraq's oil, at great cost to his own and his nation's reputation.

Another foreign policy novice, Barack Obama, succeeded Bush junior after support for the Republican Party sank in the German-dominated areas of America. The new president had an unprecedented mix of ethnic backgrounds. It remained to be seen how he would lead the country and whether he had broken the recurring ethnic pattern of Anglo and Celtic-American presidents and epochs or would be just another Van Buren, Hoover, or Eisenhower.

*Thomas A. Breslin is Professor of Politics and International Relations in the School of International and Public Affairs at Florida International University.*

Notes:

1. David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York, 1989), 837.
2. Alfred W. McCoy, *Policing America's Empire: The United States, the Philippines, and the Rise of the Surveillance State* (Madison, 2009), 293-346.
3. George C. Herring, *From Colony to Superpower: U.S. Foreign Relations Since 1776* (Oxford, 2008), 915, n. 143; Seymour Melman, "The Juggernaut: Military State Capitalism," *The Nation*, May 20, 1991, 649, 666-7.

# Using Digitized Documents in the Teaching of The University of Wisconsin's Foreign Relations of the United States Series

*Vicki Tobias, Richard Hume Werking, Brian Clancy, Robert M. Morrison, and Nicole Phelps*

*The editors of Passport would like to thank the SHAFR Teaching Committee for soliciting the following essay. Like other teaching-related articles that have appeared in Passport, this one may also be found on the SHAFR website, under "Teaching Services."*

## Introduction

*At the annual SHAFR Conference in June, 2010, the Teaching Committee presented one of its most successful programs, to a relatively large audience. Ms. Vicki Tobias, Digital Services Librarian at the Digital Collections Center of the University of Wisconsin Libraries, led off with an introduction to the work of the Center, focusing on the production and maintenance of the digitized collection of more than 370 volumes in the Foreign Relations series. She was followed by four panelists who discussed various aspects of using the digitized FRUS in teaching. Presiding at the program was SHAFR Teaching Committee Chair Mark Stoler.*

*During the latter part of the program's time slot, the audience and speakers adjourned to the Memorial Library across the street to visit the Digital Collections Center, tour the operation, and talk with staff. The group was sufficiently large that it had to be divided into two segments, which followed different paths in touring the Center.*

*At the SHAFR luncheon on Saturday, June 26, 2010, SHAFR President Andrew Rotter presented a certificate of appreciation to Ms. Tobias and UW Libraries director Kenneth Frazier. It reads as follows:*

*"The Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations acknowledges with gratitude the diligent service of [the recipient] in digitizing and posting on the Web the content of the U.S. State Department's Foreign*

*Relations of the United States series covering the century between 1861 and 1960. That accomplishment has greatly facilitated teaching and researching the history of U.S. foreign relations, to the benefit of the American people and the larger world community alike."*

## Digitizing the Foreign Relations of the United States Series

*Vicki Tobias*

**L**ocated in Madison, Wisconsin, the University of Wisconsin Digital Collection Center (UWDCC) was founded in 2001 to create and host digital resources that support instruction or research. Twelve full-time staff (including librarians, archivists, technology specialists, and other information professionals) and a host of well-trained student staff work cooperatively to complete projects within this fast-paced, deadline-driven production environment. Digital collection materials originate from campus libraries, archives, or individual faculty and include rare books, photograph and slide collections, serials, archival collections, maps, posters, audio, and video. Collection strengths include various area studies, decorative arts and materials culture, Wisconsin state and local history, natural sciences, and UW campus history. Funded by both the UW System and UW Madison General Library System, the group has completed over four hundred projects to date and publishes new content each month. Materials hosted in the UW Digital Collections are freely available to the public.

In 2003, the UWDCC embarked on an ambitious multi-year project to

explore a new low-cost, high-volume digitization workflow using the *Foreign Relations of the United States* series (FRUS) as our guinea pig. This pilot project included volumes only through 1900. FRUS volumes were collected from multiple libraries throughout the city and state, disbound into individual pages using an old-fashioned book guillotine, and scanned on a high-speed scanner. In order to facilitate this work, the UWDCC developed new automated processes to create metadata (necessary to display the volumes within an online book platform) and achieve complete image and metadata quality control.

Analysis of data collected from the pilot project revealed an insignificant savings in cost and efficiency from this high-speed scanning workflow. As a result, the UWDCC outsourced subsequent FRUS scanning work to Preservation Resources, a digitization service provider affiliated with the Online Computer Library Center. The UW Madison government documents librarian, Beth Harper, worked cooperatively with other member libraries to collect additional volumes through 1960. Image quality was commensurate with previous "in house" efforts, and outsourcing a large quantity of materials (approximately two hundred volumes) allowed for the acquisition of additional digitization projects within the group.

The UWDCC completed FRUS in 2008, digitizing and hosting a total of 375 volumes covering the years between 1861 and 1960. The collection is available from the UW Digital Collections Web site at <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/FRUS>. A few gaps remain, and these volumes will be added as they are acquired for

the project.

The UWDC began gathering usage statistics in 2004, measuring individual sessions within its collections. In 2004, *FRUS* received 15,605 use sessions, and the UW Digital Collections (total) received 1,163,843. In 2010, *FRUS* received 1,111,112 use sessions, and the UW Digital Collections received 15,601,787. Clearly, use of online resources in general has increased in the last decade, and this pattern holds true for the UW Digital Collections. Of particular interest are statistics that show a remarkable increase in *FRUS* use in the past two years. In 2008, *FRUS* received 245,655 use sessions, while in 2010 UWDC tracked nearly four times as many use sessions for this collection, logging 1,111,112. Increased marketing and outreach efforts by UWDC staff and ongoing promotion by SHAFR and, in particular, the SHAFR Teaching Committee members may account for some of this growth.

Major development projects currently underway at the UWDC include the following: (1) a new platform to host digital content, allowing images, texts, audio, and video to be searched together; (2) a new Fedora-based infrastructure (repository) for storing digital objects; (3) new and greatly improved search capabilities; (4) a new Joomla-based content management system to host a redesigned UWDC website; (5) migration to a MODS-based metadata scheme (allowing for greater object description and preservation standards for digital objects); and (6) merger with MINDS@UW, our institutional repository that is a faculty self-submit online archive.

*Vicki Tobias is Digital Services Librarian at the University of Wisconsin Digital Collections Center.*

### **Teaching with the University of Wisconsin Libraries' *Foreign Relations of the United States***

*Richard Hume Werking*

I can't remember just when it was that I learned that the University of Wisconsin Libraries had begun to digitize the *Foreign Relations* series, but it was at some point during a sabbatical in 2004. I was delighted to discover that the UW libraries, which I knew well from my time in graduate school at Wisconsin in the 1970s and with which I had stayed in touch over the years, had taken on this very important and useful project. (As this audience undoubtedly knows, the State Department's Office of the Historian began to publish *Foreign*

*Relations* in digital as well as print-on-paper format with the Kennedy administration volumes in the 1990s.) When I contacted UW library director Ken Frazier (partly because I was interested in our library at the Naval Academy doing more with digitization), I was surprised to learn that the UW libraries did not have a grant to fund this huge undertaking. Instead, they were taking it out of hide.

The project and the university seemed to me to be a really good match. Both UW and the state of Wisconsin have long had a tradition of public-spirited and substantive work on behalf of the larger public good. Moreover, the university has also had a long tradition of excellence in the field of American diplomatic history, including on the faculty such well-known names as Fred Harvey Harrington, Howard K. Beale, John DeNovo (who was my major professor), Tom McCormick, John Milton Cooper, Jeremi Suri, and, probably best-known, William Appleman Williams, who like Lloyd Gardner, Walter LaFeber, and Tom McCormick, trained under Harrington. Indeed, Tom once told me that in the late 1950s Williams had read the entire *Foreign Relations* series and had at least turned every page in the *Congressional Record*.

When I spoke to Ken Frazier about his library's project, he steered me to Vicki Tobias and the Digital Collections Center. After conversations with Vicki and Ken, I spent some time during the next year or two poking around with contacts at the Government Printing Office and the Institute for Museum and Library Services, to see if we might be able to come up with money to fund the digitizing of those many volumes that remained. I wasn't successful. Meanwhile Ken, Vicki, and their colleagues continued to churn out the digitized volumes.

SHAFR actually might have contributed some moral support to this effort. At one point Ken told me that it was important for the UW librarians, who were determining priorities for digitizing, to know that the digitized materials were significant contributions to teaching and scholarship, and he said that a letter from SHAFR to him and to the acting library director that year (the multi-talented Frazier was at that time acting Chief Information Officer for the whole university) might help give the *Foreign Relations* series a high priority. SHAFR Executive Director Peter Hahn graciously wrote a letter emphasizing how important this undertaking was to the work of SHAFR's members, and it is my

understanding that the letter helped.

Such cooperative action is an example of one of my hobbyhorses: the possibility of libraries and professional associations collaborating on projects of mutual interest. Another example, which we just began to talk about in our Teaching Committee meeting this morning, is the possibility of libraries and scholarly associations working together to preserve, in electronic form, bibliographies of secondary works. Any of you who share my frustration about one publisher's treatment of recent editions of a well-known book on the Cold War (dropping the bibliography, claiming to maintain a website containing same, and then failing to do so) will know what I mean.

Moving to matters more directly related to teaching, one event in particular underscores for me the enormous value of this project for our work. In the winter of 2006 I was in China with a delegation of librarians from the Association of College and Research Libraries, visiting our Chinese counterparts. We were in Shanghai, sitting in the back row of a classroom where a member of our delegation was providing an introductory overview of U.S. libraries for our Chinese colleagues, and I decided to travel, virtually, back to the United States. Using a library computer, I got onto the UW libraries website and into the *Foreign Relations* series in order to undertake a rescue mission. I needed to help one of my students in the sophomore research course I was teaching, a former Marine enlisted man, who was struggling to make progress on his paper topic. In terms he certainly would have understood, although I didn't share the metaphor with him, I was trying to drag a tired foot soldier, struggling under a full load, toward the finish line after an all-night march.

Coincidentally, my student was working on U.S.–China policy in the late 1940s and the State Department's "White Paper on China" of 1949. So there I was, in the library of a university in Shanghai, in a room full of Chinese and visiting Americans, reading the correspondence associated with the drafting and distribution of the White Paper, especially the disagreements between Secretary of State Dean Acheson on the one hand and Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson and the Joint Chiefs of Staff on the other. As you may know, Johnson in particular thought it was a lousy idea to issue any such document, and he made that clear in his correspondence with the secretary of state. The whole

scene—reading this correspondence while in China and among the Chinese—was something of an out-of-body experience for me. In the end, I was able to email my student with some directions derived from my explorations, with good results.

I have written before about the importance of arranging for engagement and encounters in teaching, including, as Bill Williams put it once in a piece he wrote for the *OAH Newsletter*, sending undergraduates “off into the bowels of the library to read other people’s mail.” This immersion into substantive primary sources is exactly the sort of encounter that prompts student engagement with the subject and really brings it to life.

Project Intrex at MIT in the 1970s and other user studies in the library literature have shown repeatedly that proximity to library resources greatly increases the likelihood of their getting used. We have all been used to that truism in terms of physical proximity, but as we know, it also applies to virtual proximity. Digitized materials like the *Foreign Relations* series are seeing increased use. The example of my use, in China, of important documents in the history of U.S.–China relations demonstrates the benefits of having easy access to materials online and having the ability to direct students to those materials—all without leaving one’s desk.

In the research seminar I mentioned, I consistently give the students a series of four assignments designed to familiarize them with library resources. The final one requires them to use the *Congressional Record*, the *Public Papers of the Presidents*, and the *Foreign Relations* series. For the last few years I have asked them to compare the paper and electronic versions of the *Foreign Relations* series. The results?

One of my better students was quite enthusiastic, noting that UW’s digitized version “seemed to be vastly more efficient than the paper copy. It allows for easy accessibility and the ability to print out the desired pages and mark them. The paper copy would be superior only in the event of technical failures associated with the electronic copy.” Note, by the way, that he still likes working with the paper copies, but the storage mechanism he prefers is electronic.

Although there is a widespread impression that college students always prefer online to print on paper, I haven’t found that to be the case. In fact, most of my students (though not all, obviously, given the testimony you just heard) prefer to browse through bound volumes to

encounter something of interest. But if they have a particular subject in mind and want to find information about it, they prefer to go online. And of course they appreciate the convenience of going online when a paper copy isn’t readily available, as I did when I found myself in Shanghai helping a student in the United States get across that finish line.

*The author would like to thank Thomas McCormick, University of Wisconsin, for his contributions to this piece.*

*Richard Hume Werking is Professor at the United States Naval Academy.*

### Assignment on the Origins of the Korean War

*Brian Clancy*

This is a third-year undergraduate assignment on the American entry into the Korean War. It combines the explanatory essays in chapter one of *Major Problems in American Foreign Relations, Volume II: Since 1914* with the University of Wisconsin’s Digital Collections FRUS. Students are cast in the role of presidential advisor and must analyze FRUS online documents then make the case for an explanatory essay that best explains the American entry into the Korean War.

#### Course material

a) A copy of *Major Problems in American Foreign Relations, Volume II: Since 1914* (Edition 6 or 7)

b) A copy of the assignment (Attachments “A” & “B”)

c) University of Wisconsin Digital Collections, FRUS, Korean War, Volume VII. Web address: <http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/FRUS/FRUS-idx?type=article&id=FRUS.FRUS1950v07&did=FRUS.FRUS1950V07.I0008&q1=Korean%20War>

d) For additional background material including oral histories, chronology, key player biographies, and additional documents, direct student to The Harry Truman Library’s *The Korean War: Week of Decision*: [http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study\\_collections/korea/large/koreav1.htm](http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/korea/large/koreav1.htm)

#### Teaching Objectives:

- 1) Introduce/improve students’ knowledge of digitized collections
- 2) Deepen student analytical skills.
- 3) The short assignment allows students to spend more time editing.
- 4) Have some addictive fun with primary documents!

#### Execution:

##### Step 1

Professors should first have students read and discuss the different approaches to studying U.S. foreign relations in chapter 1 of *Major Problems in American Foreign Relations, Volume II: Since 1914*. Once students have a sound foundation of those arguments, they are ready to tackle the assignment.

##### Step 2

Cast students in the role of a powerful Washington attorney and private presidential advisor. (Think Abe Fortas or Clark Clifford) Give students a copy of the instructions (presidential phone message, attachment “A”) and the list of primary documents drawn from the FRUS online at the University of Wisconsin Digital Collections (attachment “B”).

##### Step 3

Ask students to read the documents looking for a trend that best supports one of the explanatory essays in chapter one of *Major Problems*. (I instruct students to winnow out an enabling factor from a sea of contributing factors.) Have students write the president (that’s you!) a four-page memo offering their analysis about what drove the Truman administration to war in June 1950.

#### Example:

*Clifford, Student Smith, and Warnke  
Attorneys and Counselors at Law  
815 Connecticut Avenue  
Washington, D.C., 20006*

*July 26, 1965*

*Dear Mr. President,*

*After consulting the documents you sent me, I have concluded that President Truman chose to wage war in Korea for economic purposes. Allow me to elaborate...*



Optional:

To make this assignment more challenging, incorporate additional government documents available online at the Harry Truman Library: [http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study\\_collections/korea/large/koreaweek1docs.htm](http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/korea/large/koreaweek1docs.htm).

### Student Instructions

Assignment: Outbreak of the Korean War, June 24-July 1, 1950

Clifford, (your name), and Warnke  
Attorneys and Counselors at Law  
815 Connecticut Avenue  
Washington, D.C., 20006

Phone Message

July 24, 1965

From: President Johnson  
Taken By: Your personal secretary

President Johnson called while you were at the Metropolitan Club. He's heading to Camp David for the weekend and would like your private advice on a pressing foreign policy matter. As you're aware, the president is contemplating sending American ground forces to South Vietnam.

Given your service to President Truman and your expertise on Cold War related issues, the president specifically wants to know what drove the Truman Administration to war in South Korea in June 1950. Your answer will help White House speechwriters prepare an address for the president on the Vietnam situation. To refresh your memories of Korea, the President has sent over a series of primary documents from the June 25 to July 1, 1950 period. Some will be more useful than others, but you can judge them for yourself.

President Johnson wants your four-page assessment by (your due date) so his assistant Jack Valenti can include it in his nightly reading package. The president added that he would be pleased if you could join him at the LBJ Ranch next week for cocktails and a high-speed driving tour of the Texas Hill Country.

Attachment "B": List of Assignment Primary Documents:

Source: University of Wisconsin Digital Collections. *Foreign Relations of*

*the United States, 1950. Korea: Volume VII (1950) The Outbreak of Hostilities in Korea; response of the United States and the United Nations to events in Korea, June 24-30, 1950.*

Web Address: <http://digiocoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/FRUS/FRUS-idx?type=article&id=FRUS.FRUS1950v07&did=FRUS.FRUS1950V07.I0008&q1=Korean%20War>

- 1) Telegram the Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Kirk) to the Secretary of State, June 25, 1950, p. 139.
- 2) Telegram the Secretary of State to the Embassy in the Soviet Union, June 25, 1950, p. 148.
- 3) Memorandum of Conversation by the Ambassador at Large (Jessup) June 25, 1950, p. 157. (Omit General McArthur's attached memo regarding the annexation of Formosa)
- 4) Telegram Bolen to Kennan, June 26, 1950, p. 174.
- 5) Telegram the Ambassador in France (Bruce) to the Secretary of State, June 26, 1950, p. 175-176.
- 6) Telegram the Ambassador to the Netherlands (Chapin) to the Secretary of State, June 26, 1950, p. 185.
- 7) The Secretary of State to the Embassy in the United Kingdom, June 27, 1950, p. 186.
- 8) Memorandum of Conversation by the Ambassador at Large (Jessup) June 27, 1950, p. 200-203. (Notes of Meeting in Cabinet Room White House with President Truman)
- 9) Resolution Adopted by the United Nations Security Council, June 27, 1950, p. 211.
- 10) The Secretary of State to All Diplomatic Missions and Some Consular Offices, June 29, 1950, p. 231.
- 11) The Commander-in-Chief, Far East (MacArthur) to the Secretary of State, June 30, 1950, p. 248.

Brian Clancy teaches at the University of New Brunswick, Canada.

### The University of Wisconsin Libraries' Digital Foreign Relations of the United States From a Student's Perspective

Robert M. Morrison

At the 2010 SHAFR conference in Madison I participated in a roundtable discussion on the use of the digital *Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS)* collection in teaching U.S. diplomatic history.<sup>1</sup> When I first spoke with Dr. Richard Werking about the proposed theme

for this roundtable, he expressed an interest in including students' perspectives in our discussion. After some initial brainstorming, we decided to survey both undergraduate and graduate students in order to determine their use of the digital *FRUS* collection as both a research and a teaching tool. At the roundtable I reported on the survey results, which provided a useful look at how students at various stages in their academic career engage with the collection and also included a number of suggestions for possible improvements.

I designed the survey to provide the best answers to three basic questions: (1) How do graduate and undergraduate students engage with the digital *FRUS* collection in their own research and, in the case of graduate students, in the preparation of lectures and other in-class teaching material? (2) What do students think are the most positive and negative aspects of this database as a research and teaching tool, and are they likely to engage with this resource in their future work? (3) Are there any possible additions or other adjustments that might make the digital *FRUS* collection a more effective research and teaching tool from a student's perspective?

On the survey instrument I began by providing a brief explanation of the survey's purpose and a basic set of instructions for completing the various questions. The instructions provided a link to the digital *FRUS* collection site and asked those participants with no previous exposure to the database to take some time to familiarize themselves with the basic functions of the site in order to respond adequately to the questions that followed.<sup>2</sup>

The survey was divided into two general sections—one on research and one on teaching—that included similar groups of yes-or-no questions as well as more elaborate, open-ended ones. The open-ended questions were designed to elicit the most effective representation of each individual respondent's specific experience with the digital collection. Section One (research) was open to both undergraduate and graduate students, and I received a variety of excellent responses to these questions from both groups. I did not require undergraduate participants to complete Section Two (teaching), although they were invited to offer any suggestions they might have for how the resource might best be used in the classroom.

While only a small handful of undergraduates reported any previous exposure to *FRUS*, about

90 percent of the graduate student respondents reported consulting the collection at some point in their academic career, with 60 percent claiming to have consulted the online database for between three and six separate projects.

Respondents were then required to provide a more specific explanation of their past experiences with the database. How did they engage with the site? Did they utilize the search engine? A Boolean search? Reports of specific experiences varied depending on the level of past experience with the database. For instance, the majority of undergraduate respondents simply browsed the site. Some students entered various key words from the previous week's class lecture on the Cold War into the search engine. Their responses were generally positive, albeit brief.

The graduate respondents offered much more in-depth analysis. Many described some of their specific projects that utilized evidence from the *FRUS* database in the past. These ranged from studies of Union foreign policy during the Civil War to U.S. reactions to Generalissimo Francisco Franco during the Spanish Civil War. Some employed a straight table-of-contents or volume-by-volume approach, focusing on the years and regions specific to their topic and simply perusing each entry for appropriate material. Matt Jacobs of Ohio University utilized this approach while conducting research for his master's thesis on U.S.-Cuban relations during the Cold War. He appreciated the chronological layout of the volumes. However, the search engine was an integral part of his decision to consult the digital *FRUS* collection. He used this speedier and more convenient option to locate references to specific individuals relevant to his work, such as John Foster Dulles, Philip Bonsal, Fidel Castro, and Che Guevara. Others also opted for the speed and convenience of the search engine, including an anonymous Temple student who employed the search option to locate material on Abraham Lincoln's foreign policy during the Civil War.

In fact, the speed and accessibility of the search engine was overwhelmingly the most positive aspect of the database in terms of its use as a research tool. Some respondents with experience using the Department of State digital *FRUS* database claimed that the Wisconsin search option was far superior. According to Brandon Williams of CU Boulder, the usability of the Wisconsin collection's search/scan feature elevated it above and beyond the State Department version. One

of the Temple respondents preferred being able to search the text directly, rather than being forced to consult an index. One student was particularly impressed with the "Boolean" feature, since it allowed him to reduce more than seventeen pages of search results to three by starting with a broad search of "World War II" and then filtering responses to include only those entries that dealt specifically with U.S.-Soviet relations.

Although most respondents described a generally positive experience with the website, both groups offered a variety of critiques when asked to describe the site's least positive aspects in terms of research. One of the most consistent complaints was the lack of updated material. Students working on more recent time periods suggested that they would be more likely to utilize the database if it covered more recent material. In the eyes of some of these respondents, the Wisconsin database was less satisfactory than the State Department's because the latter consists primarily of volumes covering the period since 1960.<sup>3</sup> A few complained that the homepage was confusing and difficult to navigate and suggested replacing the hypertext links with buttons in order to improve the overall navigability of the site. Other gripes focused on more aesthetic concerns, with one student reporting that the color scheme hurt her eyes and another suggesting that the site should be more "graphically appealing."

But some of the most relevant commentary centered on the actual performance of the database itself. For instance, there were a number of concerns about the PDF option. Students claimed that the larger size of the files hindered efficient downloading. One respondent indicated that this was another area where the State Department's site was superior, since it "allows the researcher to download specific documents, making it possible to create a digital research file," whereas the Wisconsin version does not. Other students focused their complaints on the search option; they felt that the Boolean search parameters should be expanded even further to account for confusing terms and different spelling options.

The responses were far less specific in Section Two, but there were still some points worth noting. First, ninety percent of graduate students reported assisting a professor with at least one class in which the digital *FRUS* database would be an applicable teaching tool, and almost half of the respondents said they participated in at least one class

where the professor did consult the collection for a lecture or some kind other kind of in-class tool. A few said that they had suggested the database to their undergraduate students as a potential source for an assigned paper. Finally, students thought the most appealing aspect of the database in terms of its use as a teaching tool was its ability to provide undergraduates with an excellent introduction to primary source research. They suggested that since undergraduates are maturing in an increasingly digital age, they might be more comfortable using an interactive site like the digital *FRUS* collection than they would be hunting for documents in a library.

While these responses provide an interesting look at how students are currently engaging with the digital *FRUS* collection, perhaps the most useful contributions of the survey are the various recommendations for improving the site.<sup>4</sup> Aside from basic structural or aesthetic changes, the most popular suggestions fit within one of three categories:

1) *Updating the collection.* A number of respondents complained of the lack of more recent *FRUS* volumes in the online database (see note 3). The database does not include material past 1960, and as a result, students interested in more contemporary topics are forced to consult the more updated Department of State version instead. However, many of these students indicated they would prefer to consult the Wisconsin version if it included more recent material. One student suggested collaborating with the State Department Historian's office in order to update both collections—i.e., providing earlier volumes to State in return for more recent volumes.

2) *Making the site more "user-friendly."* A number of suggestions focused on the database's general usability. These included a tutorial for first-time users featuring basic navigation instructions, a complete list of Boolean search options, and a handful of examples that demonstrate some of the most effective ways to use the site—in other words, "An Idiot's Guide to *FRUS*," to quote one respondent. Others called for additional search options/criteria and an expanded Boolean option. And a number of respondents offered more general suggestions, such as enabling users to view multiple pages at once, bookmark specific pages while browsing, and, in order to decrease the size of PDF files, download individual documents instead of a range of pages.

3) *Offering more options geared specifically towards teaching.* Many of these suggestions described a separate tab for “Teaching Tools” (or some other appropriate label) to be included with the other site options (“Home,” “Search,” etc.). The tab could provide undergraduates with a window onto the kinds of materials available in the database (in addition to piquing their curiosity and encouraging further searches) by redirecting them to lists of important or popular documents from the *FRUS* collection that feature a well-known historical issue or event. It could also provide lists of possible lecture topics for teachers, as well as a variety of model outlines, suggestions for class discussions and assignments, and a handful of relevant links for each topic. In addition, it could open a separate student portal featuring lesson plans, helpful hints and guidelines for primary document research, timelines, and instructions (or a brief tutorial) for proper citation formatting.<sup>5</sup>

As for the likelihood of future use indicated by the results of this survey, 100 percent of the graduate students participating in the study indicated that they would be likely to continue to engage with the digital *FRUS* collection in their future research, and just over 70 percent reported that they would be likely to utilize the resource as a future teaching aid as well. Of the undergraduates who participated in this survey, slightly more than half reported that they were very likely to consult the database in the future. Given the overwhelming percentage of first-time users in this group, these numbers seem to suggest that SHAFR has some potential new dues-payers in need of recruitment!

In conclusion, I feel comfortable making at least one prediction based on these survey results. As long as the *FRUS* series continues to serve as one of the foundations of primary research for diplomatic historians, the digital *FRUS* collection at the University of Wisconsin-Madison will continue to provide an excellent tool for teaching and researching the history of U.S. foreign relations. The talented Wisconsin staff deserves recognition for their excellent contribution to our profession. They also deserve our gratitude for their continued efforts to provide a more effective instrument for learning about the past.

*Robert M. Morrison is a doctoral student in the Department of History at the University of Colorado at Boulder.*

Notes:

1. I would to express my appreciation

once again to Dr. Richard Werking for organizing the roundtable discussion on the digital *FRUS* collection and for offering me the chance to participate in this project and present my findings. I am also grateful for the opportunity to share my findings in the pages of *Passport*. In addition, I would like to thank Dr. Thomas Zeiler, Professor of History, and Dr. Thea Lindquist, Librarian for Collections Research, both of the University of Colorado, Boulder, for their invaluable feedback in designing this survey.

2. I would like to recognize my friends and colleagues at the University of Colorado, Boulder—Doug Snyder, Dan DuBois, Brandon Williams, Ben Montoya, Chris Foss and Chris Lay—for their individual contributions to this study and for distributing this survey to the undergraduate students in their teaching assistant recitation classes. Special thanks go to Doug Snyder for his effort in collecting the majority of undergraduate responses and for providing valuable feedback throughout the course of this project. I would also like to thank my good friends Matt Shannon (Temple University) and Matt Jacobs (Ohio University) for distributing this survey throughout their own graduate departments as well as for their outstanding individual contributions to the project as a whole.

3. It is likely that many of these respondents were unaware that the State Department—the traditional publisher of the *FRUS* series—began making its volumes available electronically as recently as the 1990s, beginning with material from the John F. Kennedy administration. Consequently, the University of Wisconsin Libraries determined early on to focus its efforts on the century of *FRUS* that was not available electronically (and would otherwise likely not be available for some time). Thus by design the most recent materials in the UW collection are those from the Dwight D. Eisenhower administration.

4. These suggestions come directly from the surveys themselves and do not necessarily represent my personal thoughts on improving the database. Although I have tried to avoid suggestions that are blatantly impractical or otherwise irrelevant, I am admittedly naïve regarding the feasibility of the various suggestions in this report. My apologies to Vicki Tobias and the rest of the staff at the University of Wisconsin-Madison’s Memorial Library Digital Collections Center if any of the following suggestions are unreasonable in any

way.

5. During this summer’s roundtable discussion, Dr. Werking remarked that although the suggestions offered in this third category were good ones, perhaps the Teaching Committee or some other willing SHAFR volunteers might offer to work with the UW Digital Collections Center staff in the preparation of any such materials. Such a contribution would not only demonstrate SHAFR’s commitment to the continued development of the digital *FRUS* collection, it would also encourage more direct communication between scholars and developers regarding the most positive aspects of the site from a user’s perspective. Those interested in contributing to this project in some way should contact Dr. Richard Werking, Library Director and Professor of History at the United States Naval Academy, (rwerking@usna.edu), or Ms. Vicki Tobias, Digital Collections Librarian at the University of Wisconsin Libraries (vtobias@library.wisc.edu).

### Enhancing Student Writing and Research with *FRUS*

*Nicole Phelps*

In digitizing the *Foreign Relations of the United States* series, the University of Wisconsin has provided the scholarly community with an invaluable resource for teaching and conducting research. The digitized collection ensures broad access to the documents, benefitting instructors and researchers at schools with less extensive libraries. Those who work at institutions with large libraries have benefited, too. I am sure that many of us have felt the intellectual elation that can come from discovering unexpected information and connections via a full-text search and the joy—and relief!—of being able to find a document for class at the last moment without having to budget the time to go to the library.

In addition to enhancing reading lists and research projects, the *FRUS* documents can be used to craft writing assignments that are both creative and intellectually rigorous, and I will offer some ideas about such assignments here. In teaching with *FRUS*: instructors should think carefully about how the series shapes the definitions of “foreign relations” and “diplomatic history” and create their reading lists and writing assignments accordingly. Finally, I would like to raise some issues for faculty advising graduate students and crafting funding packages

or fellowships as more and more documents—in *FRUS* or in other collections—become available online.

The *FRUS* series contains documents in a number of genres, including dispatches from the field, instructions to diplomats abroad, memoranda and policy statements for use within the Department of State and the U.S. government more generally, and communications to and from foreign governments. These documents can provide models for student writing assignments that move beyond the traditional—and still extremely valuable—thesis-driven essay. For example, students might be asked to put themselves in the position of a lower-level State Department employee and write a memorandum for the secretary of state or the president that concisely summarizes a situation, provides multiple policy options, and recommends a specific policy choice. They might write a memo to another U.S. government agency—the Department of Defense or the Department of Commerce, perhaps—that explains the State Department's position on a given issue or elucidates treaty provisions with which those departments need to comply. Still inhabiting the persona of a State Department employee, they might use *FRUS* documents to craft a public speech or congressional testimony in which a representative of the department explains the department's position on a given issue. Depending on what access students have to foreign newspapers and documents, they could craft a report on conditions abroad as if they were ambassadors reporting to Washington. Stepping outside the State Department, students could imagine themselves as representatives of a foreign government stationed in the United States and craft a dispatch reporting on conditions and/or public opinion in the United States. All of these assignments could be broadened to require students to write the recipient's response, too, obliging them to engage with multiple perspectives.

Writing in numerous genres certainly provides students—and the people who read their work—with variety that can stave off boredom, but it also has greater pedagogical benefits. It helps students understand what makes each genre unique in terms of content and structure, and it also focuses their attention on differences in intended audiences, the purposes of each type of writing, and appropriate tone. By parsing out these issues in creative writing projects, students can more clearly

see what is supposed to go into a thesis-driven essay and how to distinguish argument from opinion. (Teachers might also extend the exercise to include a discussion of appropriate tone and style in student emails to professors.)

Having a multiplicity of writing assignments enables students with different interests and learning styles to discover and play to their strengths. It may reveal their weaknesses as well, so instructors might want to consider dropping the lowest grade or having each student select the piece he or she feels most comfortable with to receive greater weight in an overall grade. Alternatively, instructors might simply allow students to play to their strengths by having a set of options from which they can pick one or two assignments.

One important thing to consider when using creative writing assignments is how students should be citing their work. *FRUS* documents very rarely contain footnotes, so they can't serve as a model for citation. One option is to have students submit an annotated bibliography. Another would be to have them write a process paper that includes a bibliography and explains where they got their information and how they crafted their writing assignment; they might also reflect on how efficient and effective their research and note-taking efforts were.

The writing assignments I have mentioned so far ask students to imagine themselves members of the government and to write in that persona. The *FRUS* series also lends itself well to historiographically focused writing and conversations about the ethics of information sharing. Students could be asked to compare scholarship that came out on a subject before the release of the pertinent *FRUS* volume with scholarship that came after, focusing on what the *FRUS* documents revealed that was unknown to the public before. They might also compare contemporary journalistic accounts with the *FRUS* record, looking for consistency or gaps. These projects lend themselves well to discussions or written reflections on the relationship between democracy and national security and about the role of historians and historical writing in creating national identity. What does the public have a right to know? How does the Freedom of Information Act and the declassification process work? If the public only gets access to information years and years after the fact, what good does it do them? By the time information becomes available,

does anyone outside the historical profession care?

For students and teachers using *FRUS*, it is extremely important to keep in mind what exactly the series is. It is not a complete collection of every document created or received at the State Department; there is a significant editorial process involved in producing the volumes. Students should reflect on who creates the volumes and why. In my own teaching and advising, I have found the bibliographic essay at the end of A. J. P. Taylor's *The Struggle for Mastery in Europe* to be a particularly useful reflection on sources in general and published government documents in particular.

In addition, the *FRUS* series helps to create a very specific definition of "foreign relations" and "diplomatic history." My personal experience is with the *FRUS* volumes covering the years through the 1920s, so I cannot speak for the whole series, but those early volumes focus on high politics and economic issues. Administrative matters, consular activities, and other day-to-day matters typically don't make the cut. And, of course, they are government documents, so private activities are not covered unless the government somehow became involved. Instructors should consider supplementing documents from *FRUS* with other texts that lend themselves to other, more recent approaches to the field, including cultural and gender history. Combining *FRUS* with other digital collections such as digitized newspapers and popular periodicals, the Library of Congress's Nineteenth Century in Print collection, and sources from the Center for New Media at George Mason University would help students recognize a broader potential source base for diplomatic history.

Finally, I would encourage faculty to think more generally about the role of digital collections in graduate student training and in their own research. In most historical subfields, archival research away from a student's university is considered an essential aspect of the Ph.D. process. As more and more documents become available digitally, faculty should consider whether trips to the archive are still necessary. I am definitely not saying that people should stop going to archives; I am asking faculty to articulate *why* archival research is necessary and how it relates to digital research. Can the same intellectual and professional goals be met via archival and digital research? If not, what is unique about archival research that we cannot dispense with, and should

we be finding ways to encourage or require competency in digital research in addition to archival competency? As our graduate students gradually become people who have no idea what the world was like before the Internet, how should we convince them that they can't do all of their research via the Web and interlibrary loan? Or should they be allowed to do that?

In practical terms, the people who fund graduate student and faculty research should consider whether the funding structures currently in place are well suited to digital research and new technologies. Grants and fellowships typically provide for travel and photocopying costs, and many universities have policies that prevent faculty from using professional development money for equipment purchases—equipment such as digital cameras—unless what's purchased becomes university property. Digital collections reduce or eliminate the need for travel, but they don't reduce researchers' need for time away from other responsibilities; fellowships or grants that don't require the researcher to travel but do buy out teaching responsibilities or support everyday expenses like rent and food—and an Internet connection—would be most welcome. Money should also be available for purchasing cameras for digital photos, which are significantly cheaper and take up less space than photocopies. As technology changes and funding resources become harder to come by, we need to think seriously about our expectations for students and whether or not our funding structures match our research techniques.

*Nicole Phelps is Assistant Professor of History at the University of Vermont.*



## Confronting the Bomb: A Short History of the World Nuclear Disarmament Movement

Lawrence S. Wittner

(an abbreviated version of the classic, award-winning scholarly trilogy, *The Struggle Against the Bomb*)

### From reviews of *The Struggle Against the Bomb*

“Wittner’s impressively researched, clearly written, and balanced assessment of the antinuclear-weapons movement belongs on the shelf not only of every serious student of the nuclear arms race but also of everyone who is concerned about the safety of humanity.”

– *American Historical Review*

“Wittner’s outstanding book employs massive research . . . to show how concerned citizens . . . have altered the course of history. . . . Monumental.”

– *Journal of American History*

“[A] substantial, meticulously researched and sympathetic history of the disarmament movement.”

– *Foreign Affairs*

“Groundbreaking. . . . An encyclopedic account of a diverse . . . transnational movement at work. . . . Deserves a wide audience.”

– *Diplomatic History*

Paper \$21.95

Cloth \$50.00

271 pp

Stanford University Press

800-621-2736

www.sup.org

# The Khmer Rouge Tribunal and Guantanamo

*Kenton Clymer*

Cambodia's independence ended in the late nineteenth century, when the French absorbed it and made it part of French Indochina along with Vietnam and Laos. Like most other Southeast Asian countries, Cambodia underwent a struggle for independence, which the king, Norodom Sihanouk, joined in a forceful way in 1953. (Ironically, it was the French who had put the very young Sihanouk on the throne in 1941, thinking he would be a pliable monarch.) In November 1953, Cambodia achieved its legal independence, which became fully effective after the Geneva Conference of 1954. Norodom Sihanouk ruled the country until 1970, when Lon Nol and Sirik Matak overthrew the only ruler Cambodia had known since it achieved independence. Sihanouk then joined forces with his former enemies, Cambodian communists whom he named the *Khmers Rouges*.

The United States supported the new Khmer Republic, headed by Lon Nol. But with the change of government, the destruction of Cambodia began. The country was drawn deeply into the war in neighboring Vietnam and was nearly destroyed by civil war. About half a million Cambodians (out of a total population of between seven and eight million) perished even before the Khmer Rouge victory in April 1975. Once in power, the Khmer Rouge proceeded to implement policies that resulted in the deaths of approximately 2.3 million more people, making their murderous rule one of the very worst instances of crimes against humanity in the twentieth century.

Though the Khmer Rouge are responsible for their own deeds, American actions unquestionably contributed to their ultimate victory in April 1975. In addition to bombing Cambodia beginning in 1969 and then invading it in 1970, Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger refused to talk with the exiled Sihanouk.

Sihanouk understood that he had no personal future with the Khmer Rouge, and he wanted to speak with Nixon or Kissinger about a settlement. But the Americans refused until 1975, when it was much too late. By then, the Khmer Rouge were at the gates of Phnom Penh and the war was nearly over.

Among those who died during the Khmer Rouge years (1975-79) were some 17,000 who were tortured in the worst ways imaginable at S-21, a former school in the capital city of Phnom Penh, and then killed. (Only 12 people came out of S-21 alive.) They were all forced to write false confessions, often admitting (absurdly) that they worked for both the CIA and the KGB. Many of those incarcerated at S-21 were Khmer Rouge officials and their families, including children, who were arrested as the revolution became increasingly paranoid and began to devour its own. Among other victims interned and executed there were foreigners, including some Americans and nearly 400 captured Vietnamese soldiers and civilians.

The official in charge of S-21 was Kaing Guek Eav, known more commonly by his alias Duch (pronounced "Doik"). Duch was the first Khmer Rouge official to be tried in Phnom Penh by the international court (officially known as the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia) that was established to hear cases against the handful of Khmer Rouge leaders who are still alive. On 26 July 2010 the court handed down its verdict. The curtains separating an audience of about 500 from the judges, lawyers, and the defendant parted promptly at 10:00 a.m. Duch, a convert to Christianity, faced the judges with a Bible in his hands. One of the Cambodian judges began reading the verdict, which was simultaneously translated into English and French. The reading took over an hour.<sup>1</sup>

The proceedings were shown

outside the court on large-screen televisions and were also telecast throughout the country. Duch had admitted his culpability (although at one point his lawyer had argued incongruously that he was only following orders and should be freed), so a guilty verdict was widely expected. Duch received a sentence of 35 years. The sentence was reduced by 5 years because he had been incarcerated illegally by a Cambodian military court. The tribunal also gave Duch credit for the 11 years he had already served (8 illegally under the military court and 3 while awaiting trial before the Khmer Rouge tribunal). Thus, barring a successful appeal, he will have to remain in prison for 19 years, when he will be 86 years old.

In view of the enormity of the crimes against humanity that Duch committed, it is not surprising that there has been much commentary about whether the sentence was sufficiently harsh. (In its verdict the court did note that he had been cooperative and to a certain degree had accepted responsibility for the crimes committed.) What is surprising is that some aspects of the verdict that should be of special interest to the United States because of their implicit criticism of the treatment accorded American prisoners at Guantanamo have largely escaped notice. First, Duch was specifically convicted of sanctioning the waterboarding of prisoners, and the tribunal found that waterboarding was torture. This finding makes it more difficult for American officials who authorized waterboarding to argue that the practice does not rise to the level of torture. Second, the court convicted Duch of violating the Geneva Conventions by mistreating prisoners of war (primarily Vietnamese soldiers and civilians), even though there was no declared war between Cambodia and Vietnam. The fact that the Geneva Conventions

were deemed binding in this case makes it more difficult to sustain the arguments of George W. Bush administration officials that the United States was not bound by the Geneva Conventions in its treatment of Guantanamo prisoners. Finally, and most significant of all, the court reduced Duch's sentence by five years because he had been illegally incarcerated by a Cambodian military court. And what was illegal about that incarceration? He had been held for more than eight years "in violation of his rights to a trial within a reasonable time and detention in accordance with the law." The court added further that "[n]either the gravity of the crimes of which he was suspected nor the constraints under which the Cambodian legal system was operating at the time can justify these breaches of the Accused's rights." Several of the prisoners at Guantanamo have never even been charged, much less given the speedy trial promised by the Constitution. It is no wonder that the United States, which used to criticize other countries for holding prisoners without charges and without trials, now finds it difficult to take the lead in criticizing the justice systems of other countries without sounding hypocritical.

It is to be hoped that the court's decision will help depoliticize the Cambodian judicial system and ensure basic rights for the accused. The Khmer Rouge tribunal will now move on to try four other aging members of the Khmer Rouge leadership. These were all higher-level figures than Duch. If they are found guilty, the verdict will first and foremost provide a degree of accountability to the victims and their families for heinous acts of genocide and other crimes against humanity. But a fair trial will also demonstrate that nations can bring even the worst of the worst to justice without violating their rights. If the United States could adopt a similar approach to its prisoners—even those accused of crimes of terrorism—it would demonstrate to itself and to the rest of the world that no matter what the circumstances, Americans can still abide by their basic values and treat the accused fairly.

*Kenton Clymer is Distinguished Research Professor of History at Northern Illinois University.*

Note:  
1. The full decision is available at [http://www.eccc.gov.kh/english/cabinet/caseInfo/248//E1\\_83.1\\_TR001\\_20100726\\_Final\\_EN\\_Pub.pdf](http://www.eccc.gov.kh/english/cabinet/caseInfo/248//E1_83.1_TR001_20100726_Final_EN_Pub.pdf)

## **2011 SHAFR Annual Meeting June 23-25, 2011 Alexandria, VA**

The 2011 SHAFR annual meeting will be held Thursday June 23 – Saturday June 25 at the Hilton Alexandria Mark Center in Alexandria, Virginia.

The Hilton Alexandria Mark Center is located just off of I-395, 4 ½ miles from Washington Reagan National Airport and 20 miles from Dulles International Airport. The hotel offers complimentary shuttle service to the Pentagon City Mall, the Metro, and Washington Reagan National Airport. Guest rooms include complimentary wireless service.

Rates are \$119/night, single or double occupancy, plus tax. Call the hotel at 703-845-1010 and use the reservation code SHA to book your room. The deadline for receiving this rate is May 23, 2011.

Please note that the hotel is required to honor the reduced rate until this date OR until all the rooms in our reserved block have been booked. Once our block is booked, the hotel will offer rooms at its usual rate, if rooms are available, or may even be completely booked. Please make your reservations as early as you can.

Conference registration fees are \$80 standard or \$30 student before June 1. Online registration will be available in mid-March, and registration forms will be mailed with the printed programs in April.

For more information about the program, registration, and conference logistics, please consult the conference website at <http://www.shafr.org/conferences/annual/2011-annual-meeting/>, or contact Jennifer Walton, Conference Coordinator, at [conference@shafr.org](mailto:conference@shafr.org).

# Statement of Thomas Blanton Director, National Security Archive, George Washington University, To the Committee on the Judiciary U.S. House of Representatives

Hearing on the Espionage Act and the Legal and Constitutional  
Implications of Wikileaks  
Thursday, December 16, 2010  
Rayburn House Office Building, Room 2141  
Washington D.C.

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Smith, and members of the Committee, thank you for your invitation to testify today on the implications of the Wikileaks controversy. I am reminded of the ancient Chinese curse, "May you live in interesting times."

This extraordinary panel has the expertise to address the Espionage Act and the Constitution, so I want to focus just on our secrecy system, which is my own specialty. I have three main points to make today:

First, the government always overreacts to leaks, and history shows we end up doing more damage from the overreaction than from the original leak.

Second, the government's national security classification system is broken, overwhelmed with too much secrecy, which actually prevents the system from protecting the real secrets on the one hand, and on the other keeps us from being able to protect ourselves from tragedies like the 9/11 attacks.

Third, we are well into a syndrome that one senior government official called "Wikimania," where Wikimyths are common and there is far more heat than light. That heat will actually produce more leaks, more crackdowns, less accountable government, and diminished security.

So my recommendation to you today, and to those prosecutors over at the Justice Department who are chomping at the bit, is to leave the Espionage Act in mothballs where it belongs. It's not often that you have a witness who recommends that we all go take a nap, but here in sleep-deprived Washington, it would be wise to show some restraint. I should note that the media organizations including Wikileaks that have the

leaked cables are showing a great deal of restraint, which we should encourage, not prosecute.

By way of background, I should say right up front that my organization, the National Security Archive, has not gotten any 1.6 gigabyte thumb drives in the mail in response to our many Freedom of Information Act requests, nor have we found any Bradley Mannings among the many highly professional FOIA officers who handle our cases. It's a lot more work to pry loose national security documents the way we do it, but then it's a lot of work worth doing to make the rule of law a reality and give real force to the Freedom of Information Act.

It takes us years of research and interviews and combing the archives and the memoirs and the press accounts, even reading the agency phone books, to design and file focused requests that don't waste the government's time or our time but hone in on key documents and key decision points, then to follow up with the agencies, negotiate the search process, appeal the denials, even go to court when the stonewalling gets out of hand. Changing the iron laws of bureaucracy is a tall order, but we have allies and like-minded openness advocates in more than 50 countries now, passing access laws and opening Politburo and military dictators' files, poring through Communist Party records and secret police archives and death squad diaries, rewriting history, recovering memory, and bringing human rights abusers to trial.

Our more than 40,000 Freedom of Information requests have opened up millions of pages that were previously classified; we've published more than a million pages

of documents on the Web and other formats; our staff and fellows have authored more than 60 books, one of which won the Pulitzer. Our Freedom of Information lawsuits have saved tens of millions of White House e-mail spanning from Reagan to Obama, whose Blackberry messages are now saved for posterity.

The George Foster Peabody Award in 1998 recognized our documentary contributions to CNN's *Cold War* series both from the Freedom of Information Act and from the Soviet archives; the Emmy Award in 2005 recognized our "outstanding achievement in news and documentary research"; and the George Polk Award citation (April 2000) called us "a FOIL'ers best friend" and used a wonderful phrase to describe what we do: "piercing the self-serving veils of government secrecy, guiding journalists in search for the truth, and informing us all."

Most pertinent to our discussion here today is our experience with the massive overclassification of the U.S. government's national security information. Later in this testimony I include some of the expert assessments by current and former officials who have grappled with the secrecy system and who estimate that between 50% to 90% of what is classified is either overclassified or should not be classified at all. That reality should restrain us from encouraging government prosecutors to go after anybody who has unauthorized possession of classified information: such encouragement is an invitation for prosecutorial abuse and overreach – exactly as we have seen in the case of the lobbyists for the American Israel Public Affairs Committee.

The reality of massive



overclassification also points us towards remedies for leaks that are the opposite of those on the front burners such as criminalizing leaks. The only remedies that will genuinely curb leaks are ones that force the government to disgorge most of the information it holds rather than hold more information more tightly.

But a rational response to excessive government secrecy will be even more difficult to achieve in the current atmosphere of Wikimania. The heated calls for targeted assassinations of leakers and publishers remind me of the Nixon White House discussions of firebombing the Brookings Institution on suspicion of housing a copy of the Pentagon Papers. It was the earlier leak of the secret bombing of Cambodia that started President Nixon down the path to the Watergate plumbers, who began with righteous indignation about leaks, then moved to black bag jobs and break-ins and dirty tricks, and brought down the presidency. All the while, as the Doonesbury cartoon pointed out, only the American people and Congress were in the dark. One famous strip showed a Cambodian couple standing amid bomb wreckage, and the interviewer asks, was this from the secret bombing? Oh, no, not a secret at all, "I said, look Martha, here come the bombs."

Few have gone as far as Nixon, but overreaction to leaks has been a constant in recent American history. Almost every president has tied his White House in knots over embarrassing internal leaks; for example, the moment of greatest conflict between President Reagan and his Secretary of State George Shultz was not over the Iran-contra affair, but over the idea of subjecting Shultz and other high officials to the polygraph as part of a leak-prevention campaign. President Ford went from supporting to vetoing the Freedom of Information Act amendments of 1974 because of his reaction to leaks (only to be overridden by Congress). President George W. Bush was so concerned about leaks, and about aggrandizing presidential power, that his and Vice President Cheney's top staff kept the Deputy Attorney General, number two at Justice, out of the loop on the warrantless wiretapping program, and didn't even share legal opinions about the program with the top lawyers of the National Security Agency that was implementing the intercepts.

But even with this background, I have been astonished at the developments of the last week,

with the Air Force and the Library of Congress blocking the Wikileaks web site, and warning their staff not to even peek. I should have known the Air Force would come up with something like this. The Archive's own Freedom of Information Act lawsuit over the last 5 years had already established that the Air Force created probably the worst FOIA processing system in the entire federal government – the federal judge in our case ruled the Air Force had "miserably failed" to meet the law's requirements. But now, apparently, the worst FOIA system has found a mate in the worst open-source information system? This policy is completely self-defeating and foolish. If Air Force personnel do not look at the leaked cables, then they are not doing their job as national security professionals.

Comes now the Library of Congress, built on Thomas Jefferson's books, also blocking access to the Wikileaks site. On the LC blog, a repeated question has been when exactly are you going to cut off the *New York Times* site too? One might also ask, when will you remove Bob Woodward's books from the shelves?

Official reactions like these show how we are suffering from "Wikimania." Almost all of the proposed cures for Bradley Manning's leak of the diplomatic cables are worse than the disease. The real danger of Wikimania is that we could revert to Cold War notions of secrecy, to the kind of stovepipes and compartments that left us blind before 9/11, to mounting prosecutions under the Espionage Act that just waste taxpayers' money and ultimately get dropped, and to censorship pressure on Internet providers that emulates the Chinese model of state control rather than the First Amendment. So perhaps a first order of business should be to dissect some of what I call the "Wikimyths."

### 1. A document dump.

So far there has been no dump of the diplomatic cables. As of yesterday, there were fewer than 2,000 cables posted on the Web in the Wikileaks and media sites combined, and another 100 or so uploaded each day, not the 251,000 that apparently exist in the overall database as downloaded by Bradley Manning. And even that set of a quarter-million cables represents only a fraction of the total flow of cable traffic to and from the State Department, simply the ones that State staff considered "reporting and other informational messages deemed appropriate for release to the US government

interagency community" (the Foreign Affairs Manual explanation of the SIPDIS tag). According to the editors of *Le Monde* and *The Guardian*, Wikileaks is following the lead of the media organizations on which documents to post, when to do so, and what to redact from the cables in terms of source identities that might put someone at risk. Such behavior is the opposite of a dump. At the same time, an "insurance" file presumably containing the entire database in encrypted form is in the hands of thousands, and Wikileaks founder Julian Assange has threatened to send out the decrypt key, if and when his back is against the wall. So a dump could yet happen of the cables, and the prior record is mixed. A dump did begin of the Iraq and Afghan war logs, but once reporters pointed out the danger to local cooperators from being named in the logs, Wikileaks halted the dump and withheld some 15,000 items out of 91,000 Afghan records.

### 2. An epidemic of leaks.

While the quantity of documents seems huge (hundreds of thousands including the Iraq and Afghan materials), from everything we know to date, all four tranches of Wikileaks publicity this year have come from a single leaker, the Army private Bradley Manning, who is now behind bars. First, in April, was the helicopter video of the 2007 shooting of the Reuters cameraman. Then came the Iraq and Afghan war logs (highly granular situation reports for the most part) in July and October. Now we see the diplomatic cables from the SIPRNet. Between 500,000 and 600,000 U.S. military and diplomatic personnel were cleared for SIPRNet access, so a security official looking for a glass half full would point out that a human-designed security system with half a million potential error points ended up only with one.

A better contrast would be to compare the proposals for dramatic expansion of the Espionage Act into arresting foreigners, to the simple operational security change that the Defense Department has already implemented. The latter would have prevented Manning from doing his solo downloads onto CD, and we should ask which approach would be more likely to deter future Mannings. State Department officials were gloating last week that no embassy personnel could pull a Manning because State's version of the SIPRNet wouldn't allow downloads onto walk-away media like thumb drives or CDs. Defense's rejoinder

was that its wide range of forward operating bases, equipment crashes from dust storms and incoming fire, and often tenuous Internet connections – certainly compared to the usually cushy conditions inside embassies – meant some download capacity was essential. Now, just as nuclear missile launch requires two operators' keys, and the handling of sensitive communications intelligence manuals requires "two person integrity," and the Mormons send their missionaries out in pairs, a SIPRNet download would take two to tango.

### 3. A diplomatic meltdown.

Headline writers loved this phrase, aided and abetted by official statements like Secretary of State Hillary Clinton's characterization of the cables' release as an "attack on America" "sabotaging peaceful relations between nations." In contrast, the Secretary of Defense Robert Gates played down the heat, in a much more realistic assessment that bears repeating. Gates told reporters two weeks ago, "I've heard the impact of these releases on our foreign policy described as a meltdown, as a game-changer and so on. I think these descriptions are fairly significantly overwrought.... Is this embarrassing? Yes. Is it awkward? Yes. Consequences for U.S. foreign policy? I think fairly modest." I should point out that most international affairs scholars are calling the cables fascinating and useful, especially for students of bilateral relations. But at least so far, we have really seen nothing in the diplomatic cables that compares to the impact on public policy and the public debate in 2004 from the leak of the Abu Ghraib photographs, or other recent leaks of the existence of the secret prisons, or the torture memos, or the fact of warrantless wiretapping, or even the Pentagon Papers' contribution to the end of the Vietnam war.

### 4. Alternatively, no news here.

Wikileaks critics who are not bemoaning a global diplomatic meltdown often go to the opposite extreme, that is to say there was nothing really new in the Bradley Manning cables. The past two weeks' worth of front-page headlines in the leading newspapers and broadcasts around the world should lay this myth to rest. Folks with more news judgment than we have in this room are continuing to assign stories from the cables, and foreign media in particular are getting an education

perhaps more valuable for their understanding of their own countries than of the U.S. Likewise, the blogs are full of lists of stories showing all the things we didn't know before the cables emerged. The real problem with the modern news media is evident from the fact that there are many more reporters clustered around the British jail holding Julian Assange, than there are reporters in newsrooms actually reading through the cables for their reporting. Celebrity over substance every time.

### 5. Wikiterrorists.

I wish all terrorist groups would write the local U.S. ambassador a few days before they are launching anything – the way Julian Assange wrote Ambassador Louis Susman in London on November 26 – to ask for suggestions on how to make sure nobody gets hurt. I can certainly understand the State Department's hostile response and refusal to engage with Assange in the kind of dialogue U.S. government officials routinely have with mainstream media, and were already having with the *New York Times* over these particular cables. Given Wikileaks's prior stance, who in State could possibly have taken at face value the phrase in the November 26 letter which says "Wikileaks will respect the confidentiality of the advice provided by the United States Government" about risk to individuals?

But I wish all terrorist groups would partner up with *Le Monde* and *El Pais* and *Der Spiegel* and *The Guardian*, and *The New York Times*, and take the guidance of those professional journalists on what bombs go off and when and with what regulators. Even to make the comparison tells the story – Wikileaks is not acting as an anarchist group, even remotely as terrorists, but as a part of the media, as publishers of information, and even more than that – the evidence so far shows them trying to rise to the standards of professional journalism.

I was quoted in Sunday's *New York Times* as saying "I'm watching Wikileaks grow up" as they embrace the mainstream media which "they used to treat as a cuss word." So far, with only a few mistakes to date, the treatment of the cables by the media and by Wikileaks has been very responsible, incorporating governmental feedback on potential damage, redacting names of sources, and even withholding whole documents at the government's request. Of course, Assange and his colleagues could revert to more adolescent behavior, since

there is the threat out there of the encrypted "insurance" file that would be dropped like a pinata if the organization reaches dire straits. But even then, even if all the cables went online, most of us would condemn the recklessness of such an action, but the fundamental media and publisher function Wikileaks is serving would not change.

### 6. When the government says it's classified, our job as citizens is to salute.

Actually our job as citizens is to ask questions. I have mentioned that experts believe 50% to 90% of our national security secrets could be public with little or no damage to real security. A few years back, when Rep. Christopher Shays (R-CT) asked Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld's deputy for counterintelligence and security how much government information was overclassified, her answer was 50%. After the 9/11 Commission reviewed the government's most sensitive records about Osama bin Laden and Al-Qaeda, the co-chair of that commission, former Governor of New Jersey Tom Kean, commented that "three-quarters of what I read that was classified shouldn't have been" – a 75% judgment. President Reagan's National Security Council secretary Rodney McDaniel estimated in 1991 that only 10% of classification was for "legitimate protection of secrets" – so 90% unwarranted. Another data point comes from the Interagency Security Classification Appeals Panel, over the past 15 years, has overruled agency secrecy claims in whole or in part in some 65% of its cases.

When two of the CIA's top officers retired and went into business, the *Washington Post's* Dana Hedgpeth asked them what was most surprising about being in the private sector. Cofer Black and Robert Richer responded that "much of the information they once considered top secret is publicly available. The trick, Richer said, is knowing where to look. 'In a classified area, there's an assumption that if it is open, it can't be as good as if you stole it,' Richer said. 'I'm seeing that at least 80 percent of what we stole was open.'" ("Blackwater's Owner Has Spies for Hire," by Dana Hedgpeth, *Washington Post*, November 3, 2007). And this was before the Bradley Manning leaks.

In the National Security Archive's collections, we have dozens of examples of documents that are classified and unclassified at the same time, sometimes with different

versions from different agencies or different reviewers, all because the secrecy is so subjective and overdone. My own favorite example is a piece of White House e-mail from the Reagan years when top officials were debating how best to help out Saddam Hussein against the Iranians. The first version that came back from our Freedom of Information lawsuit had large chunks of the middle section blacked out on national security grounds, classified at the secret level as doing serious damage to our national security if released. But the second version, only a week or so later, had almost no black in the middle, but censored much of the top and the bottom sections as secret. Slide the two versions together and you could read practically the entire document. The punch line is: This was the same reviewer both times, just with almost completely contradictory notions of what needed to stay secret.

The *Associated Press* reported on December 9, 2010 that reporter Matt Apuzzo's review of the Bradley Manning cables "unmasked another closely guarded fact: Much of what the government says is classified isn't much of a secret at all. Sometimes, classified documents contained little more than summaries of press reports. Political banter was treated as confidential government intelligence. Information that's available to anyone with an Internet connection was ordered held under wraps for years." The first example AP cited was a cable from the U.S. Embassy in Ottawa briefing President Obama in early 2009 for an upcoming trip to Canada, a cable which "included this sensitive bit of information, marked confidential: 'No matter which political party forms the Canadian government during your Administration, Canada will remain one of our staunchest and

most like-minded of allies, our largest trading and energy partner, and our most reliable neighbor and friend.' The document could not be made public until 2019, for national security reasons," the AP reported.

Among other issues raised by the AP reporting is the fact that more than half of the Bradley Manning cables are themselves unclassified to begin with. Why did these items need to be buried inside a system that went up to the secret level? Why couldn't those unclassified cables go up on the State Department's own public Web site? Are they really all press summaries and administria? Do they need any further review such as for privacy or law enforcement issues? What objection would the government have to pre-empting Wikileaks by posting these – that somehow it would be rewarding illicit behavior?

Bringing the reality of overclassification to the subject of leaks, Harvard law professor Jack Goldsmith, who served President George W. Bush as head of the controversial Office of Legal Counsel at the Justice Department, has written, "A root cause of the perception of illegitimacy inside the government that led to leaking (and then to occasional irresponsible reporting) is, ironically, excessive government secrecy." Goldsmith went on, in what was otherwise a highly critical review of the *New York Times'* coverage of wiretapping during the George W. Bush years ("Secrecy and Safety," by Jack Goldsmith, *The New Republic*, August 13, 2008), to point out, "The secrecy of the Bush administration was genuinely excessive, and so it was self-defeating. One lesson of the last seven years is that the way for the government to keep important secrets is not to draw the normal circle of secrecy tighter. Instead the

government should be as open as possible...."

Goldsmith's analysis draws on the famous dicta of Justice Potter Stewart in the Pentagon Papers case: "When everything is classified, then nothing is classified, and the system becomes one to be disregarded by the cynical or the careless, and to be manipulated by those intent on self-protection or self-promotion." In fact, Stewart observed, "the hallmark of a truly effective internal security system would be the maximum possible disclosure" since "secrecy can best be preserved only when credibility is truly maintained."

Between Goldsmith and Stewart, then, Mr. Chairman, we have a pretty good guide with which to assess any of the proposals that may come before you in the guise of dealing with Wikileaks in these next months. We have to ask, will the proposal draw the circle of secrecy tighter, or move us towards maximum possible disclosure? We have to recognize that right now, we have low fences around vast prairies of government secrets, when what we need are high fences around small graveyards of the real secrets. We need to clear out our backlog of historic secrets that should long since have appeared on the public shelves, and slow the creation of new secrets. And those voices who argue for a crackdown on leakers and publishers need to face the reality that their approach is fundamentally self-defeating because it will increase government secrecy, reduce our security, and actually encourage more leaks from the continued legitimacy crisis of the classification system.

*Tom Blanton is the director of the National Security Archive at George Washington University.*

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 ran in the newsletter for many years. The list now appears on the SHAFR website, rather than in print, and can be accessed at:

<http://www.shafr.org/publications/annual-dissertation-list/>

**The 2010 list is now available!**

# SHAFR Council Minutes

Friday, January 7, 2011

8:00 am-12:00 noon

Marriott Boston Copley Place  
Massachusetts Room

*Present: Laura Belmonte, Frank Costigliola, Jeffrey Engel, Brian Etheridge, Peter Hahn, Mitch Lerner, Erin Mahan, Andrew Preston, Andrew Rotter, Chapin Rydingsward, Thomas Schwartz, Brad Simpson, Annessa Stagner, Marilyn Young (presiding), Thomas Zeiler*

## **Business Items**

### **(1) Welcome and announcements**

Young called the meeting to order at 8:00 A.M. and welcomed everyone. Young announced that the next Council meeting is scheduled for June 23 between 8:00-12:45 pm at the Hilton Alexandria Mark Center in Alexandria, Virginia. Young also reported that the Berks Conference panel sponsored by SHAFR under Rotter's direction had been accepted and that she looked forward to the cultivation of the SHAFR-Berks relationship in future years.

### **(2) Resolutions of thanks to retiring Council members**

Young introduced a resolution thanking recently-retired Council members Ken Osgood and Catherine Forslund and past president Richard Immerman for their valuable service as officers of SHAFR. Council enthusiastically passed the resolution.

### **(3) Recap of motions passed by e-mail vote**

Hahn reviewed the three motions approved by Council via e-mail since its previous meeting in June 2010. Council approved the June 2010 minutes, extended the Summer Institute and the Diversity/International Travel Grant Program through 2012, and allocated \$5,000 to National History Center in Washington D.C.

### **(4) Motion to accept 2010 financial report**

Hahn presented a written and oral report on SHAFR's finances. He encouraged Council members to examine closely the written report and indicated that he would answer questions at any time. Hahn highlighted certain revenues and expenditures in 2010 and reviewed the projected budget for 2011. He reported that SHAFR's financial status remains sound and that the endowment is recovering well from the decline it experienced during the economic downturn. Schwartz thanked the executive director for his sound management of SHAFR's finances. Schwartz also pointed to SHAFR's financial health over the past three years as a positive indication that the Society can and should continue to fund the many valuable programs it initiated during that period. Hahn noted that the contract that generates most of SHAFR's revenue expires at the end of 2012 and that while it is reasonable to expect an equivalent revenue flow under a subsequent contract, nothing is guaranteed. Council unanimously passed a motion to accept with thanks the 2010 financial report.

### **(5) Motions from Ways & Means Committee**

Rotter reported that Ways & Means Committee sought Council's guidance regarding two proposals submitted by Zeiler on behalf of the Membership Committee. The proposals were:

1. That SHAFR allocate \$7,500 on a one-time basis to cover the travel expenses of three international graduate students to participate in a round table panel at 2011 SHAFR meeting organized by the Membership Committee.
2. That SHAFR allocate \$10,000 annually for three years on a trial basis to fund a proposed CGISS to be administered by the Membership Committee. The \$10,000 would be used to offset the travel expenses of five international students selected by the Membership Committee to participate in a special panel at the annual SHAFR meeting at a rate of \$1,500 per student. The remaining \$2,500 would go to support an international scholar who would participate in the special international panel and possibly deliver a formal conference address.

Zeiler noted that the above proposals had been designed to allow the Membership Committee to pursue more effectively SHAFR's ongoing mission to internationalize. Costigliola noted that the two lectures scheduled at each SHAFR conference are typically reserved for the Presidential address and a keynote speaker selected by the President. Concerns were voiced that the initiatives might generate tension between the Membership and the Program Committees. Costigliola proposed that any Membership Committee initiative at the annual meeting must be contingent on approval by the Program Committee. Lerner noted that the Teaching Committee currently organizes a panel every year at the SHAFR conference and if the proposals under debate were to be approved, the Teaching Committee might be inclined to make a similar request to advance more effectively its mission. Schwartz supported the proposed CGISS, noting that Council had been pressing the Membership Committee to involve itself more directly in SHAFR's strategic vision. Young emphasized that the Program Committee should maintain ultimate authority on issues concerning the conference program. Zeiler noted that the Membership Committee understood that its plans were contingent on approval by the Program Committee. Schwartz drew attention to the potential for operative overlap between the \$25,000 currently allocated for the Diversity /

International Travel Fund and the funds under requested by the Membership Committee. Schwartz noted that Council could reappropriate a percentage of SHAFR's Diversity/International Travel Fund to support the proposed CGISS. Along this line, Hahn noted that of the \$25,000 allocated for the Diversity/International Travel Fund approximately \$18,000 has typically gone to support diversity and \$7,000 to support internationalization.

Rotter moved (Costigliola seconded) that Council allocate \$7,500 on a one-time basis to support travel by three international scholars to participate at a SHAFR roundtable at the 2011 SHAFR meeting in June. The motion passed unanimously. Rotter moved (Lerner seconded) to allocate, beginning in 2012, \$10,000 annually for 3 years on a trial basis to the Membership Committee to initiate the proposed CGISS with the understanding its implementation would be contingent upon approval by the Program Committee. The motion passed unanimously.

Rotter reported that the Ways & Means Committee received a request from Engel to allocate \$1,500 a year to sponsor a SHAFR plenary session at the Transatlantic Studies Association meeting. Engel noted that the Transatlantic Studies Association would be eager to forge a link to SHAFR. Rotter noted that Ways & Means Committee viewed favorably this request but wanted to increase SHAFR's level of support to \$2,000. After further discussion, Council passed a resolution moving that the President respond favorably to a request by the Transatlantic Studies Association to have SHAFR sponsor a plenary session at the annual Transatlantic Studies Association meeting.

On behalf of the Ways & Means Committee, Rotter sought Council's guidance on a proposal to allocate \$4,000 to the Teaching Committee to pay students to digitize Teaching Committee lesson plans and post them on SHAFR's website. Rotter reported that the Ways & Means Committee was amenable to this proposal but requested direction from Council as to how best to allocate funds. During discussion, it was noted that the Teaching Committee's proposal was consistent with SHAFR's mission to extend its profile and further its commitment to the teaching of U.S. foreign relations. It was suggested that for efficiency purposes Council could channel the requested funds for use by the Teaching Committee through the SHAFR web budget. Lerner noted that in making this request the Teaching sub-committee assumed that the funds would be allocated directly to the Teaching Committee. After further discussion, Rotter moved (Costigliola seconded) that \$4,000 be allocated to the SHAFR web budget and earmarked for use by the Teaching Committee to pay student hourly wages for the digitization of SHAFR lesson plans and the posting of said lesson plans on SHAFR's website. The motion passed by majority vote.

Rotter informed Council that the Ways & Means Committee recommended approval of a request submitted by Jonathan Winkler of Wright State University that SHAFR allocate \$300 to support the 2011 annual meeting of the Ohio Academy of History. A motion so directing passed unanimously.

Rotter reported that the SHAFR Webmaster asked Council to reformat his compensation. It was noted that the Webmaster's annual compensation included a \$3,000 stipend and a \$4,000 course buyout subsidy, and that at the Webmaster's new place of employment there was no need for a course buy-out. After discussion, Young introduced a motion that Council consider Etheridge's suggestion. The motion passed unanimously.

#### **(6) Nominating Committee desiderata and transition to e-voting**

Hahn drew Council's attention to the suggested Nominating Committee desiderata circulated among Council members and approved by the Nominating Committee, President, and Vice President prior to the meeting. After vigorous discussion a consensus emerged in support of amending the proposed desiderata as follows (underlined words are new; ~~strikethrough shows deletions~~):

Factors involved in overall composition of ballot:

1. Ensure adequate representation on Council from American research-intensive institutions
2. Ensure adequate representation on Council from American teaching-intensive institutions
3. Ensure adequate representation on Council from international institutions
4. Ensure adequate representation on Council from underrepresented groups

Vice-president

1. Member of SHAFR in good standing
2. History of active service in SHAFR, ~~including at least one term on Council~~
3. Record of publication in field or related fields, record of teaching in field or related fields, or other related service or experience.
4. ~~Record of teaching in field or related fields~~
5. ~~Other related service or experience~~

Council and Nominating Committee – non-students

1. Member of SHAFR in good standing

2. History of active service in SHAFR
3. Record of publication in field or related fields, record of teaching in field or related fields, or other related service or experience.
4. ~~Record of teaching in field or related fields~~
5. ~~Other related service or experience~~

Council – graduate students

1. Member of SHAFR in good standing
2. History of active involvement in SHAFR (at a minimum attendance at one SHAFR conference)

Council unanimously approved a resolution to amend the Nominating Committee desiderata according to the changes indicated above.

Hahn drew Council's attention to SHAFR's plan to shift in 2011 to an online election process. He reminded Council that last year a motion to hire a private vendor to conduct SHAFR's elections failed to pass by a 6-6 vote. Hahn reported that he was currently having discussions with another service provider, the company that manages elections for another large historical association and other organizations. After discussion of estimated costs, expected services, and the merits of having a private company administer SHAFR's elections, Council authorized the executive director to explore the options for hiring a vendor and bring specific proposals to Council in time to administer SHAFR's 2011 election.

#### **(7) Petition to revise Link-Kuehl Prize stipulations**

Young directed Council to consider a recent petition received by the chair of the Link-Kuehl prize committee, urging that the prize be granted to a book published in the 1990s and thus disqualified by the current two-year publication restriction. Council unanimously passed a resolution to eliminate the time restrictions imposed on books nominated for the Link-Kuehl Prize and to direct the Link-Kuehl Prize Committee to implement the rule on a timetable of its choosing.

#### **(8) Motion to change name of *Passport***

Lerner addressed Council as the editor of *Passport*. He drew attention to the publication's subheading: *The Newsletter of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations*. Lerner conveyed the concern of *Passport's* editorial board that the publication had outgrown its official label as a "newsletter". It was noted that each *Passport* issue contains substantive articles on topics of intellectual interest to the SHAFR body and the field at large. Lerner also noted that the reluctance of potential contributors to *Passport* frequently stems from the publication's presumed status as a mere newsletter. In light of these concerns, *Passport's* editorial board recommends changing the publication's name to better reflect its status and image. Lerner presented a list of potential alternative sub-titles that he had developed in consultation with Hahn and the editorial board. Lerner invited Council to deliberate on these issues and sought approval for any name change. Council discussed the impetus behind the proposed name change and the relative merits of the proposed alternatives. During discussion a consensus emerged in favor of changing *Passport's* subheading to *The SHAFR Review*. Council directed Lerner to confer with *Passport's* editorial board and to report back with an implementation plan.

#### **(9) SHAFR participation in C-SPAN history program**

Lerner reported that he had recently been contacted by Luke Nichter, the new executive producer of C-SPAN's American History TV series, to discuss the potential for a collaborative relationship between SHAFR and C-SPAN. Nichter responded favorably to Lerner's initial suggestion, advanced in consultation with Young, Rotter, and Hahn, that C-SPAN cover SHAFR's 2011 Conference in June. Council was unified in support of this type of outreach. It was also noted that C-SPAN broadcasted Rotter's 2010 Presidential address in Wisconsin. Young appointed Lerner, Simpson, Belmonte, Mahan, and Selverstone to head a task force to devise and present to C-SPAN a series of proposals to increase cooperation between SHAFR and C-SPAN, at the 2011 SHAFR meeting and after.

#### **(10) Motion to approve mission statement of Teaching Committee**

Council passed a motion unanimously approving the proposed mission of the SHAFR Teaching Committee:

"The mission of the SHAFR Teaching Committee is to promote and facilitate the teaching of the history of U.S. foreign relations. It does so through such means as creating and sponsoring conference programs, publishing teaching-related articles in *Passport*, and developing and maintaining on the SHAFR website an array of the most useful resources for SHAFR members and others to draw upon for their teaching."

#### **(11) Proposed revisions of Bylaws**

Hahn reported that in response to the revisions of the bylaws approved by referendum in late 2010, a SHAFR member suggested the following additional change to the Bylaws ARTICLE II, SECTION 5(a) to provide that a candidate winning a majority vote in a race involving three or more nominees would be declared the winner and that no run-off election would be needed. The proposed revision (underlined words indicate the proposed new insertion):

"(a) Elections shall be held annually by mail ballot. The candidate for each office who receives the highest number of

votes is elected. When more than two nominees are slated for a particular office and no candidate receives a majority vote, a run-off election will be held between the candidates with the two highest vote totals."

Hahn also reported that in the 2010 referendum, the deadline for the Executive Director to mail the ballots was advanced from September 15 to August 15 (penultimate sentence of 5(e), below). Hahn suggested the following revisions to the bylaws ARTICLE II, SECTION 5(d) and (e) to restore the one-month timeframe between completion of Nominating Committee work and the new mailing deadline (underlined words are new; strikethrough shows deletions):

"(d) Additional nominees for any office shall be placed on the ballot when proposed by petition signed by twenty-five members in good standing; but such additional nominations, to be placed on the ballot, must reach the Chair of the Nominating Committee by July ~~August~~ 1.

"(e) The Chair of the Nominating Committee shall certify the names to be placed on the ballot to the Executive Director by July ~~August~~ 15. The Executive Director shall mail the completed election ballot to the membership not later than August 15 for return by October 31. The election results, certified by the Nominating Committee, shall be announced as expeditiously as possible."

Council unanimously passed a motion amending the bylaws in accordance with Hahn's suggestions and directed Hahn to send these items to a membership referendum.

## **(12) Abolition of the Distinguished Lecturer Program**

Hahn directed Council's attention to SHAFR's Distinguished Lecturer Program. The program had been approved three years earlier along with several other new initiatives designed in part to dispense increased revenues. Hahn reported that the Distinguished Lecturer Program had been designated to vice presidents for administration but for a variety of reasons had never gotten off the ground. In discussing this issue, a consensus emerged in favor of abolishing the Distinguished Lecturer Program. A motion so directing passed unanimously.

## **(13) Report on AHA Prize stipulations**

Young directed discussion to the ongoing issue concerning the current award stipulations of the AHA-administered Louis Beer Prize as well as two additional AHA prizes pertaining to European history. All three of these awards are reserved for U.S. citizens/permanent residents. Young reported that according to the AHA, the prize stipulations in question reflect the desire of the original donors to facilitate scholarship on European history by U.S. historians. During discussion, Council reaffirmed SHAFR's desire to facilitate scholarship and scholarly dialogue and community across national boundaries, but remained divided as to whether these sentiments ought to be expressed through formal opposition to the AHA prize stipulations. Young introduced a motion to table this issue indefinitely. The motion passed unanimously.

## **Reports**

### **(14) Historical Documentation Committee**

Young reported on the recent recommendation by Chester Pach on behalf of SHAFR's Historical Documentation Committee (HDC) to have the SHAFR representative on the Historical Advisory Committee (HAC) serve as chair of the HDC. The recommendation was premised on the belief that the SHAFR HAC representative, by virtue of his/her work on the committee and familiarity with issues of declassification and records access, would be in a strong position to oversee the work of the HDC. After a brief discussion, Young introduced a motion to table this recommendation pending its full discussion and review at the Council meeting in June. The motion passed unanimously.

### **(15) 2011 Summer Institute**

Zeiler reported that he and Carol Anderson would be hosting the 2011 Summer Institute at Emory University in June. The topic of the 2011 Institute will be "Freedom and Free Markets: Globalization, Human Rights, and Empire." Zeiler reported that 17 applications have been received so far and that the deadline for applications is February 1. Zeiler was also happy to report that Emory University recently awarded a \$15,000 grant to support the 2011 Summer Institute. This revenue source reduces significantly the funds SHAFR will have to allocate to run the 2011 Institute.

### **(16) *Passport***

Lerner reported that *Passport* had a fine year and is in good financial standing. In 2010, *Passport* cost SHAFR approximately \$4,000. For comparative purposes it was noted that the production of the former *SHAFR Newsletter* cost SHAFR \$10,000 per year. Lerner noted that *Passport* received a \$2,500 grant from the Mershon Center at The Ohio State University. He cautioned, however, that this source of funding is not guaranteed in future years. Lerner also briefed Council on various issues related to *Passport* in 2010, all of which were resolved without significant problem.

### **(17) *Diplomatic History***

Zeiler submitted his biannual report on *Diplomatic History* both in writing and orally. Since July 2010 *DH* has received 53 new manuscripts for review, an increase of over 50 percent from the second half of 2009. It has 30 manuscripts currently under peer review and has accepted fewer articles for publication and rejected outright more submissions than it had

during this period last year. Zeiler reported that the January issue will feature Rotter's presidential address and 35 book reviews, in an effort to get *DH* readers reviews as quickly as possible and to lower the backlog of reviews ready for publication. The April and June issues will showcase seven and five articles, respectively, and eleven total reviews. The September issue will include Barbara Keys' Bernath Lecture and a forum organized by Robert Dean on "Cultures of Secrecy." Additional forthcoming issues will feature a special forum on genocide and another on music. Zeiler reported that the number of reviews ready for publication after the June 2011 issue has dropped drastically from this time last year—from 31 to 12. The combination of the January special issue and an effort to solicit fewer reviews accounts for this reduction. In a further attempt to clear up space for more reviews, single-book reviews now have a limit of 1,200 words instead of 1,500. Zeiler emphasized that the *DH* editorial board supports consideration of expanding the journal's page allotment during future contract negotiations. Council enthusiastically passed a resolution thanking Bob Schulzinger and Tom Zeiler for their superb editorship of *DH*.

Council also unanimously passed a resolution extending of best wishes to the SHAFR Editor-in-Chief Robert Schulzinger and unanimously passed a resolution empowering Executive Editor Tom Zeiler to act as Editor-in-Chief until such time as Schulzinger is able to return to this duties.

#### **(18) SHAFR *Guide to the Literature***

Zeiler informed Council both orally and in writing on the 2010 updates to the *SHAFR Guide to the Literature*. In 2010, fourteen chapters were updated significantly, adding 261 entries to the *Guide*. The editor for Chapter 20 significantly revised the introduction, and the title of Chapter 10 changed to "The Spanish-Cuban-American War, the Philippine-American War, and U.S. Empire," with significant reorganization to that chapter. In consultation with Zeiler, editors on the other chapters decided to accumulate more sources in 2011. It was noted that three new editors have signed on to the project, replacing three editors who had long worked on the *Guide* and wanted to retire. Paul Chamberlin of the University of Kentucky replaced Jim Goode on Chapter 16; John Sbardellati took the place of Dick Melanson on Chapter 31; and Mark Gilderhus was replaced on Chapter 12 by Mark Benbow of Marymount College.

#### **(19) Summer Institute Oversight Committee**

Council unanimously passed a resolution to hold the 2012 Summer Institute at the University of Connecticut in conjunction with SHAFR's 2012 annual meeting in June. Hahn noted that Costigliola had recently issued a 2012 Summer Institute program statement.

#### **(20) 2011 annual meeting**

On behalf of the 2011 program committee, Simpson reported that the 2011 SHAFR meeting will be held June 23-25 at the Hilton Alexandria Mark Center in Alexandria, Virginia. The 2011 Conference theme is "Waging War, Making Peace, Crossing Borders." Simpson reported that a high number of quality proposals were received, indicating that SHAFR's recent outreach and the expanded 2010 conference format have elevated significantly the interest in the SHAFR conference and the Society generally. The committee received approximately 100 panel proposals and plans to accept 64 panels. Simpson also interpreted the sustained high level of interest in the SHAFR conference as an indication that SHAFR is becoming the defacto home of scholars researching and writing on transnational issues. He noted that approximately half of the panel proposals are transnational in some fashion. Young informed Council that topics under consideration for 2011 plenary sessions include the recent Wikileaks scandals and the tenth anniversary of 9/11. Speakers under consideration for the 2011 meeting include Andrew Bacevich and Michael Geyer. Simpson reported that the Program Committee hired someone to manage the online application process and recommended that SHAFR consider allocating funds in future years, ranging from \$500 to \$1,500, for the purchase of software that would digitize and render more efficient the application process by means of a front-end application template.

#### **(21) 2012 annual meeting**

Costigliola reported that the 2012 annual meeting will be held in June at the Hartford Marriott in Hartford, Connecticut. Costigliola noted that the University of Connecticut intends to honor the Michael Hogan's original offer of \$15,000 in support of the 2012 conference venue.

#### **(22) Lesson Plans Initiative**

A written report on SHAFR's Lesson Plans Initiative from John Tully, the Director of Secondary Education, was distributed. Tully noted that the Faculty Partner outreach was a great success. Twenty-seven SHAFR members volunteered. All but five of the twenty-three lesson plans have been assigned and eight are completed. Tully also noted that the Teaching American History (TAH) grants program remains in limbo and that he is keeping tracking the situation through the president of the National Council for the Social Studies and the evaluator of Central Connecticut's TAH program.

#### **(23) Graduate Student Grants & Fellowships**

Hahn reported on the recent recommendation by the Graduate Student Grants and Fellowship Committee urging clarifying the guideline language for the Stuart L. Bernath Dissertation Grant, the only grant under the Committee's purview that specifies that funds be used for writing as opposed to research. The Committee had been directed not to see this stipulation as a limiting factor and ultimately decided to issue the awards based on merit irrespective of whether the student was researching or writing. In discussing this issue, a consensus emerged that if no legal stipulations exist dictating the award's status, SHAFR should change the guideline language accordingly.



On behalf of the Graduate Student Grants and Fellowship Committee, Hahn announced that the Stuart L. Bernath Dissertation Grant will be awarded to Sarah Miller-Davenport, the W. Stull Holt Dissertation Grant will be awarded to Stephen Macekura, and the Lawrence Gelfand-Armin Rappaport Dissertation Fellowship will go to Thomas Westerman.

It was also reported that Samuel F. Bemis Research Grants for 2010-2011 would be awarded to (in alphabetical order): Daniel Bessner, William Bishop, Shannon Fitzpatrick, Barin Kayaoglu, Jessica Kim, Julia Rose Kraut, Maurice LaBelle, Allison Lauterbach, Katherine Marino, Victor McFarland, Douglas Snyder, and Irene Vrinte,

#### **(24) Williams Junior Faculty Research Grant**

On behalf of the Williams Junior Faculty Research Grant Committee, Hahn reported that the 2011 Williams Fellowship will be awarded to Trygve Throntveit.

#### **(25) Hogan Foreign Language Fellowship**

On behalf of the Michael J. Hogan Fellowship Committee, Hahn reported that the Hogan Fellowship for 2011 would be awarded to Erica Smith.

#### **(26) Myrna Bernath Fellowship**

On behalf of the Myrna Bernath Fellowship Committee, Hahn reported that the Myrna Bernath Fellowship for 2011 would be awarded to Theresa Keeley. Hahn also noted a written recommendation from the committee that chairs of graduate student fellowship committees should coordinate their awarding of fellowships to ensure that individuals are not awarded multiple grants for the same research work.

### **Other Business**

#### **(27) Announcements and other business**

Costigliola inquired about the location of the 2013 SHAFR conference. Hahn reported that no decisions have been made. If it continued on its current rotation, SHAFR would hold the 2013 meeting at a Washington-area conference hotel. Hahn encouraged Council to consider the potential cultural and financial benefits of adhering to or deviating from the standard practice.

Mahan reported that the Department of Defense Historical Advisory Committee welcomes Council's recommendations as it begins to reorganize itself in the coming months.

Young concluded the meeting by thanking everyone for attending. The meeting adjourned at 11:45 am.

Respectfully submitted,

Peter L. Hahn  
Executive Director

PLH/cr

# The Diplomatic Pouch

## 1. Personal and Professional Notes

**Mitchell Lerner** has accepted the position of Director of the Korea Studies Institute at the Ohio State University.

**Luke Nichter** has become Executive Producer for History at C-SPAN.

**Jonathan Winkler** (Wright State) won the AHA's Paul Birdsall Prize for *Nexus: Strategic Communications and American Security in World War I* (Harvard Univ. Press, 2008).

## 2. Research Notes

### The United States and Pakistan's Quest for the Bomb

*Newly Declassified Documents Disclose Carter Administration's Unsuccessful Efforts to Roll Back Islamabad's Secret Nuclear Program*

The Wikileaks database of purloined State Department cable traffic includes revelations, published in the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*, about tensions between the U.S. and Pakistan on key nuclear issues, including the security of Pakistan's nuclear weapons arsenal and the disposal of a stockpile of weapons-grade, highly-enriched uranium. The Pakistani nuclear weapons program has been a source of anxiety for U.S. policymakers ever since the late 1970s, when Washington discovered that Pakistani metallurgist A.Q. Khan had stolen blueprints for a gas centrifuge uranium enrichment facility. Recently declassified U.S. government documents from the Jimmy Carter administration, published on the Web by the National Security Archive, shed light on the critical period in the late 1970s when Washington first became aware of Pakistan's nuclear intentions.

The Carter administration helped prevent a deal that would have given Pakistan a plutonium production capability, but discovered that it could not do much to prevent that country from producing nuclear weapons fuel with the "dual use" technology that the Khan network was acquiring. Senior U.S. officials concluded that prospects were "poor" for stopping the Pakistani nuclear program; within months arms controller were "scratching their heads" over how to tackle the problem.

The declassified documents disclose the U.S. government's complex but unsuccessful efforts to convince Pakistan to turn off the gas centrifuge project. Besides exerting direct pressure on military dictator General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq, Washington lobbied key allies and China to pressure Islamabad, but also to cooperate by halting the sale of sensitive technology to Pakistan. While Washington tried combinations of diplomatic pressure and blandishment to try to dissuade the Pakistanis, it met with strong resistance from Pakistani officials who believed that the country had an "unfettered right to do what it wishes."

Washington also sought to encourage an understanding between India and Pakistan based on "mutual restraint" of their nuclear activities. While the Pakistanis declared they would support a nuclear free zone in South Asia (even "mutual inspections" by the two countries), when U.S. ambassador Robert Goheen brought up the idea of negotiations, Indian Prime Minister Morarji Desai was not interested. Desai further declared that "if he discovered that Pakistan was ready to test a bomb or if it exploded one, he would act at [once] 'to smash it.'"

Among the other disclosures in the documents:

\* By January 1979, U.S. intelligence estimated that Pakistan was reaching the point where it "may soon acquire all the essential components" for a gas centrifuge plant.

\* Also in January 1979, U.S. intelligence pushed forward the estimate for a Pakistani bomb to 1982, for a "single device" (plutonium), and to 1983 for the test of a weapon using highly-enriched uranium [HEU], although 1984 was "more likely."

\* On 3 March 1979, Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher spoke in "tough terms" with General Zia and Foreign Minister Shahi; the latter claimed that the U.S. was making an "ultimatum."

\* On 23 March 1979, senior level State Department officials suggested to Secretary of State Vance possible measures to help make the "best combination" of carrots and sticks to constrain the Pakistani nuclear program; nevertheless, "prospects [were] poor" for realizing that goal.

\* The decision in April 1979 to cut off aid to Pakistan because of its uranium enrichment program conflicted State

Department officials, who believed that a nuclear Pakistan would be a “new and dangerous element of instability,” but who also wanted good relations with that country, a “moderate state” which had contributed to regional stability.

\* In July 1979, CIA analysts speculated that the Pakistani nuclear program might receive funding from Islamic countries, including Libya, and that Pakistani might engage in nuclear cooperation, even share nuclear technology, with Saudi Arabia, Libya, or Iraq.

\* By September 1979 officials at the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency said that “most of us are scratching our heads” about what to do about the Pakistani nuclear program.

\* In November 1979, Ambassador Gerard C. Smith reported that when meeting with senior British, French, Dutch, and West German officials to encourage them to take tougher positions on the Pakistani nuclear program, he found “little enthusiasm...to emulate our position.”

\* In the wake of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, when improving relations with Pakistan became a top priority for Washington, according to CIA analysts, Pakistani officials believed that Washington was “reconciled to a Pakistani nuclear weapons capability.”

The case of Pakistan shows how difficult it is to prevent a determined country from acquiring advanced technology to build nuclear weapons. It also illustrates the complexity and difficulty of nonproliferation diplomacy: other political and strategic priorities can and often do trump nonproliferation objectives. The documents shed light on a familiar problem: a U.S.-Pakistan relationship that has been rife with suspicions and tensions, largely because of Washington’s uneasy balancing act between India and Pakistan, two countries with strong mutual antagonisms, a problem that was aggravated during the Cold War by concerns about Soviet influence in the region.

For more information:  
William Burr  
202-994-700  
[www.nsarchive.org](http://www.nsarchive.org)



#### **New from the CWIHP e-Dossier Series: *Introduction to the Willy Brandt Document Collection Willy Brandt - Berliner Ausgabe***

The Cold War International history project is pleased to announce the publication of CWIHP e-Dossier 22, *Introduction to the Willy Brandt Document Collection Berliner Ausgabe* by Bernd Rother, vice executive director of the Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt Stiftung.

Pulling together 22 of the most insightful documents from the mammoth ten-volume German-language collection *Berliner Ausgabe*, Rother explores many of the key phases of West German Chancellor Willy Brandt’s political life, including *Ostpolitik* and detente, the early 1980s era of renewed confrontation, Brandt’s relationship with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, and his work on the North-South Commission aimed at developing a comprehensive international development strategy.

The dossier can be downloaded at the CWIHP web page at: [www.cwihp.org](http://www.cwihp.org).



#### **New CWIHP Document Reader: *The Euromissiles Crisis and the End of the Cold War: 1977-1987***

The Nuclear Proliferation International History Project is pleased to announce its first document reader, produced in collaboration with the Cold War International History Project and entitled *The Euromissiles Crisis and the End of the Cold War: 1977-1987*. Document Readers represent the collected state-of-the-art in archival research on a given topic, providing a firm empirical base for discussion and debate, as well as a valuable, enduring resource for scholars.

This Document Reader was compiled in advance of the international conference “The Euromissiles Crisis and the End of the Cold War: 1977-1987,” hosted by the Machiavelli Center for Cold War Studies at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Rome, Italy, December 10-12, 2009.

The reader can be accessed at the CWIHP web page at [www.ciwihp.org](http://www.ciwihp.org).



#### **New North Korea International Documentation Project publication: *Crisis and Confrontation on the Korean Peninsula, 1968-1969: A Critical Oral History***

The North Korea International Documentation Project is pleased to announce its latest publication, *Crisis and Confrontation on the Korean Peninsula: 1968-1969*, from the History and Public Policy Program’s Critical Oral History Conference Book Series.

The book contains the transcript of a critical oral history conference that explored the origins of North Korea’s military adventurism in the late 1960s, and features the testimony of veteran South Korean, U.S., and East German diplomatic

and intelligence officials directly involved in Korea policy during the turbulent period. In addition to the conference transcript, *Crisis and Confrontation on the Korean Peninsula: 1968-1969* also contains a 100-page appendix of newly obtained and translated East German, Russian, Czech, and U.S. documents on the 1968 Blue House raid, the seizure of the USS *Pueblo*, and the 1969 shootdown of the unarmed EC 121 spy plane.

The transcripts can be accessed at the NKIDP web page at: [www.wilsoncenter.org/NKIDP](http://www.wilsoncenter.org/NKIDP).



### **New North Korea International Documentation Project Working Paper, *Overconfidence Shattered: North Korean Unification Policy, 1971 -1975*, by Bernd Schaefer**

The North Korea International Documentation Project is pleased to announce the publication of Working Paper #2, *Overconfidence Shattered: North Korean Reunification Policy, 1971-1975* by Bernd Schaefer. Based on newly declassified East German, Romanian, and Bulgarian archival documents, Schaefer sheds light on the North Korean policy-making process during the brief period of inter-Korean détente in the early 1970s.

The Working Paper includes an extensive appendix of translated East German and Romanian archival documents. The paper can be accessed at the NKIDP webpage at: [www.wilsoncenter.org/NKIDP](http://www.wilsoncenter.org/NKIDP).



### **New North Korea International Documentation Project Working Paper, *Mostly Propaganda in Nature: Kim Il Sung, the Juche Ideology, and the Second Korean War***

NKIDP is pleased to announce the publication of Working Paper #3, *Mostly Propaganda in Nature: Kim Il Sung, the Juche Ideology, and the Second Korean War*, by Mitchell Lerner. Based on newly declassified Czech, (East) German, Russian, and Hungarian archival documents, Lerner explores the origins of North Korea's military adventurism in the late 1960s. Lerner argues that the source of North Korea's conduct during this period was an attempt to compensate for internal failures by generating external crises that would help North Korean leader Kim Il Sung offset any potential threat to his control largely by using these crises as a platform to demonstrate his adherence to the *Juche*, or "self-reliance" ideology, which by the mid-1960s had been established as the nation's primary value system.

The Working Paper includes an extensive appendix of translated Czech, (East) German, Russian, and Hungarian archival documents.

The paper can be accessed at the NKIDP webpage at: [www.wilsoncenter.org/NKIDP](http://www.wilsoncenter.org/NKIDP).

### **New Parallel History Project Collection: *Spying on the West: Soviet-Bulgarian Scientific Intelligence Cooperation***

This new Parallel History Project collection, edited by Jordan Baev and Roland Popp, details Soviet-Bulgarian collaboration on collecting scientific and technological intelligence. It is based on formerly top-secret Bulgarian intelligence documents made available to the public for the first time.

The collection can be downloaded from the Project webpage at: [www.php.isn.ethz.ch/index.cfm](http://www.php.isn.ethz.ch/index.cfm).



## **3. Announcements**

### **Kennan Diaries Project**

The Mudd Manuscript Library at Princeton University holds the papers of renowned diplomat George F. Kennan (1904-2005); upon the passing of Kennan and his wife, copyright in the unpublished materials in those papers passed to Princeton. Within the more than 300 boxes that make up the collection, twelve boxes contain the diaries that Kennan kept nearly continuously throughout his adult life (they date from 1924-2004). As Kennan remains prominent in scholarly discourse, there is great interest in these diaries. Several individuals have expressed an interest in publishing them in some form. In order to ensure that they receive the benefit of the best possible treatment, the University is soliciting proposals from all interested scholars and will award one the right of first publication.

The Papers are described with a high-level of detail within the Mudd Library finding aid found here: <http://arks.princeton.edu/ark:/88435/n009w2294>. In addition, within the finding aid, the diaries are described: <http://diglib.princeton.edu/ead/getEad?eadid=MC076&kw=Kennan#series4subseriesC>.

RFP: The Library seeks proposals for the publication of the Kennan diaries that answers the following questions: How will your proposed publication be formatted? (number of volumes, amount of annotation, level of indexing, etc.) What qualifications do you bring to this project? What is your plan of work, including a timetable and strategy? What publishers might you work with? Have you worked with them in the past or have they evinced an interest in working with this project? Why do you want to undertake this project? If you plan to seek outside support, what experience do you have with fundraising?

Please include a c.v. for all project participants. All proposals will be confidentially evaluated by a panel of scholars with an understanding of Kennan's role in 20<sup>th</sup> century diplomatic history. Deadline for submission is: May 2, 2011 with an anticipated announcement by August 1, 2011.

Proposals should include contact information for possible follow-up questions. Word or PDF documents sent as email attachments can be mailed to [dlinke@princeton.edu](mailto:dlinke@princeton.edu). Any supplementary materials that need to be sent via USPS can be mailed to:

Dan Linke  
Mudd Manuscript Library  
Princeton University  
65 Olden Street  
Princeton, NJ 08540



### JFK Presidential Library Releases Digitized Presidential Library

To help mark the 50th anniversary of the inauguration of President John F. Kennedy, David S. Ferriero, Archivist of the United States, and Caroline Kennedy, President of the John F. Kennedy Library Foundation, have unveiled the nation's largest online digitized presidential archive, providing unprecedented global access to the most important papers, records, photographs, and recordings of President John F. Kennedy's thousand days in office. Until now, the national treasure of historical material housed in the Kennedy Presidential Library's collection has been available only by a physical visit to the library itself. With the launch of the new digital archive at [www.jfklibrary.org](http://www.jfklibrary.org), students, teachers, researchers, and members of the public now just need an internet connection to search, browse, and retrieve original documents from the Kennedy Library's collection, gaining a first-hand look into the life of President Kennedy and the issues that defined his administration.

Included among the thousands of historical papers, documents, and images that are now permanently preserved are precious and irreplaceable records of the nation's struggle for Civil Rights; its conflict with the Soviet Union during the height of the Cold War; its efforts to land a man on the moon and return him safely to earth; its commitment to public service through the creation of the Peace Corps; its prevention of a nuclear holocaust during the Cuban Missile Crisis; and its embrace of American art and culture under the guidance of first lady Jacqueline Kennedy. To manage a digitization project of this enormity, the archivists of the Kennedy Presidential Library prioritized the Library's historic collections beginning with those that hold the highest research interest and significance. These collections include the President's Office Files; the Personal Papers of John F. Kennedy; the Outgoing Letters of President John F. Kennedy; the JFK White House Photograph Collection; the JFK White House Audio Speech Collection; and the JFK White House Film and Video Collection. At launch, the archive features approximately 200,000 pages; 300 reels of audio tape, containing more than 1,245 individual recordings of telephone calls, speeches and meetings; 300 museum artifacts; 72 reels of film; and 1,500 photos. The sheer volume of digitized materials is unprecedented for presidential libraries whose collections were not born digitally.

For more information, see [www.jfklibrary.org/](http://www.jfklibrary.org/)



### Fulbright Grants with the European Commission

Funding is available for American and European researchers, lecturers, international educators, and graduate students to focus on a wide range of issues concerning the European Union and the U.S.-EU relationship. The Fulbright-Schuman Program provides \$3,000 per month plus a travel stipend, visa, and health and accident insurance for grants between two months and one academic year.

The program is open to citizens of all 27 EU member states and to U.S. citizens with two years of relevant experience. European participants focus on research and/or post-graduate study at an accredited American university or independent research center. Americans conduct research or lecturing in any of the EU member states, either independently or in affiliation with European universities and other institutions. The Fulbright-Schuman Program is administered by the Fulbright Commission in Brussels and is jointly financed by the U.S. Department of State and the Directorate-General for Education and Culture of the European Commission.

Final Application deadlines:  
U.S. Scholars - August 1, 2011  
U.S. Students - October 1, 2011  
European Scholars - March 1, 2012  
European Students - March 1, 2011

For more information:  
Erica Lutes  
Educational Adviser & Program Manager  
Commission for Educational Exchange between the United States and Belgium  
Royal Library of Belgium  
Boulevard de L'Empereur, 4, Keizerslaan  
B-1000 Brussels – Belgium  
[fulbright.advisor@kbr.be](mailto:fulbright.advisor@kbr.be)  
[www.fulbrightschuman.eu](http://www.fulbrightschuman.eu)



## CFP: U.S. & European Intellectuals on Questions of War and Peace

The Transatlantic Studies Association invites panel proposals and individual papers on the theme "European and American Intellectuals: Questions of War and Peace" for the 10th Annual Meeting of the Transatlantic Studies Association at Dundee University (Scotland), July 11-14, 2011. Please send a 300-word proposal abstract and short cv before April 30, 2011 to Michaela Hoenicke-Moore at: [michaela-hoenicke-moore@uiowa.edu](mailto:michaela-hoenicke-moore@uiowa.edu), or Priscilla Roberts at: [proberts@hkucc.hku.hk](mailto:proberts@hkucc.hku.hk).

For more information:  
Michaela Hoenicke-Moore  
[michaela-hoenicke-moore@uiowa.edu](mailto:michaela-hoenicke-moore@uiowa.edu)  
[www.transatlanticstudies.com/25301/3701.html](http://www.transatlanticstudies.com/25301/3701.html)



### *Theoria: A Journal of Social and Political Theory* Special Issue on 'Freedom and Power'

Ever since Livy proclaimed that "freedom is to be in one's own power," if not from a long time before, the relationship between freedom and power has been an enduring concern of political theorists. It has withstood even Berlin's sharp distinctions between seemingly irreconcilable kinds of freedom and the subsequent diversion via debates about 'negative,' 'positive' and 'republican' freedom. With greater historical purview it is possible to see that the fault line between various competing conceptions of freedom is clearest with regard to how social and political theorists conceive of the relationship between freedom and power. While some thinkers have opposed freedom and power, arguing that liberty can only be truly attained free from power and domination (republicans) or in the absence of external impediments imposed by other human beings (liberals), others have identified a close and intriguing link between them, especially in the sphere of politics. A motley crew of radicals, Marxists, and conservatives occupy the latter camp, including Livy, Machiavelli, Montaigne, Marx, Nietzsche, and Foucault. Moreover, those in the former camp tend to think of freedom in formal and abstract terms, while proponents of the latter eschew this now normal tendency in political philosophy and instead think of freedom in fully substantive, concrete, and even materialist terms.

Several important questions arise concerning freedom and power:

- What is freedom?
- What is the relationship between freedom and power?
- How, if at all, are freedom and domination related?
- Is there a categorical or insurmountable conflict between freedom and discipline?
- Does freedom depend upon being free from interference or being able to achieve certain desired or desirable goals or ends?
- Are these two conditions – freedom from interference and the ability or power to achieve certain ends – related in some sense?
- Can we measure freedom, and, if so, how?
- What forms or degrees of freedom are possible in modern representative democracies?
- How does representation affect freedom?
- Is our freedom dependent on the power of our representatives?
- How does the degradation of the planetary environment affect our views on freedom?
- Given the dire need for self-control and self-discipline, especially regarding levels of consumption in the developed North, is the concept of freedom even still relevant?
- Does the concept of freedom need to be reconfigured to accommodate constraint, austerity, and self-control? If so, how?
- What do the experiences of relatively recently liberated states teach us about freedom?
- What is the relationship between freedom and power in the 'Global South'?
- How, if at all, does poverty affect freedom?

The editors of *Theoria* ask contributors to think about these questions in and of themselves and in the light of the various arguments from any of the proponents of the various conceptions of freedom. These can be written about in term of furthering our understanding of the nature of personal and political freedom within modern representative democracies or in order to develop novel arguments that propose conceptions of freedom for different possible future political organizations and forms of power. While abstract theoretical insights and arguments are welcome, we urge contributors to try and think about freedom and power within and between particular political contexts, especially within the 'Global South', where often freedom is a nascent and precarious achievement, and sometimes only for the lucky few, and between the 'Global South' and the 'Global North', either in relational or comparative terms. Given the changing power relations that exist within and between existing states, there is also much room for utopian thought regarding new forms of freedom in as yet un-experienced contexts of political power and moral conflict.

Submissions must be sent in MSWord format to the Managing Editor, Ms. Sherran Clarence ([sherranclarence@gmail.com](mailto:sherranclarence@gmail.com)) on or before the 31st of August 2011.

For more information:  
Ms Sherran Clarence  
University of the Western Cape  
+27 21 959 2404  
[sherranclarence@gmail.com](mailto:sherranclarence@gmail.com)



## Funded Ph.D. Studentship in First World War Studies at the University of Leeds

Applicants are invited to apply for a funded three-year PhD studentship on a topic covering any aspect of First World War studies. High quality proposals on any area of research on this topic within the disciplines of Arts and Humanities are welcome. As well as carrying out doctoral research, the successful candidate will have the opportunity to play a role in the development and coordination of a number of academic and community engagement activities that are being organized by the University and several cultural partners (Leeds museums, galleries, theatres, and cinemas) designed to coincide with the Centenary of the First World War in 2014.

Leeds is an excellent location in which to access archival material on the First World War. Along with the Royal Armouries, and extensive Leeds City Council and West Yorkshire archives, the University's Brotherton Library is home to the Liddle Collection, which includes original letters and diaries, official and personal papers, photographs, newspapers and artwork, and written and tape-recorded recollections. The University of Leeds has a vibrant and interdisciplinary community of scholars engaged in the study of the First World War, its military history along with its complex social, cultural, technological, and medical legacies. The candidate will undergo doctoral training and professionalization program within the Faculty of Arts, and will be encouraged and aided to disseminate the fruits of their research nationally and internationally.

Fees (at the rate payable by Home/EU students) will be waived, and successful candidates will receive an annual grant of approximately £6,000 and will be invited to apply for a paid internship working on activities related to the First World War Centenary (worth approximately £2,000). Closing date for applications is June 30, 2011. Details of the application process can be found at [http://www.leeds.ac.uk/info/20023/postgraduate\\_research/86/applying\\_for\\_research\\_degrees](http://www.leeds.ac.uk/info/20023/postgraduate_research/86/applying_for_research_degrees). Applicants should send a full academic CV, a research proposal of approximately 1,000 words, and provide two academic references. Informal enquiries should be addressed to Professor Alison Fell (School of Modern Languages) [a.s.fell@leeds.ac.uk](mailto:a.s.fell@leeds.ac.uk) and Professor Holger Afflerbach (School of History) [h.h.w.afflerbach@leeds.ac.uk](mailto:h.h.w.afflerbach@leeds.ac.uk) in the first instance.

For more information:  
Professor Alison Fell  
Professor Holger Afflerbach  
University of Leeds  
[a.s.fell@leeds.ac.uk](mailto:a.s.fell@leeds.ac.uk); [h.h.w.afflerbach@leeds.ac.uk](mailto:h.h.w.afflerbach@leeds.ac.uk)



## OAH Richard W. Leopold Prize

The Richard W. Leopold Prize, first given in 1984, was designed to improve contacts and interrelationships within the historical profession where an increasing number of history-trained scholars hold distinguished positions in governmental agencies. This prize recognizes the significant historical work being done by historians outside academe. The Leopold Prize is given by the Organization of American Historians every two years for the best book on foreign policy, military affairs, the historical activities of the federal government, or biography by a government historian. These subjects cover the concerns and the historical fields of activity of the late Professor Leopold, who was President of the Organization of American Historians 1976-1977.

The winner must have been employed in a government position for at least five years. If the author has accepted an academic position, the book must have been published within two years from the time of the change. Verification of current or past employment with the government must be included with each entry.

Each entry must be published during the two-year period January 1, 2010 through December 31, 2011. One copy of each entry must be received by each committee member by October 1, 2011.

Bound page proofs submitted by the publisher may be used for books to be published after October 1, 2011 and before January 1, 2012. If a bound page proof is submitted, a bound copy of the book must be received no later than January 7, 2012. No late submissions will be accepted. Bound page proofs not followed by a bound copy of the book will not be considered. If a book carries a copyright date that is different from the publication date, but the actual publication date falls during the correct time frame making it eligible, please include a letter of explanation from the publisher with each copy of the book sent to committee members.

Please note that it is the policy of the OAH to honor those applicants who have submitted their applications on or before the stated deadline date. Applications which are not received by close of business on the deadline date will not be considered. The winner receives \$1,500.

The award will be presented at the 2012 Annual Meeting of the OAH in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, April 19-22. One copy of each entry, clearly labeled "2012 Richard W. Leopold Prize Entry," must be mailed directly to:

Darlene Richardson (Committee Chair)  
7553 Alleghany Road  
Manassas, VA 20111  
Affiliation: U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs

Brenda Gayle Plummer  
3021 Stamford Place  
Fitchburg, WI 53711  
Affiliation: University of Wisconsin-Madison



## CFP: 2011 Peace History Society Conference

Barry University, Miami Shores, Florida

October 20 – October 22, 2011

The Inter-personal as Political: Individual Witness for Peace and Justice in Global Perspective

The Peace History Society invites paper proposals that focus on the Inter-personal as Political for its seventh international conference. Historians interested in peace and social change issues often investigate large-scale resistance actions as well as national and global social movements. At the same time, organizations and social movements emerge from friendship networks, one-on-one contacts, and community organizing. Long-lived organizations are sustained by the strength of interpersonal bonds, often collapsing due to interpersonal or ideological conflicts. Nonviolence training utilizes role-playing between individuals. Groups rooted in religious witness model nonviolence and peacefully intervene in small scale, community level conflicts. Activists keep wars and human rights concerns in the public eye through lobbying relationships with legislators. Dissent maintained in times of repression thrives under the veil of individual interactions and clandestine communications and small gatherings. The rise of social networking sites has enabled citizens to organize spontaneous street protests while creating new forms of individual and collective identity. This conference seeks to shed light on the intersection of personal relationships and active peacemaking. We are most interested in papers that take a historical approach to this topic. We welcome panel and paper proposals that compare different historical periods and locales as well as those that focus on a particular event, place or time-period. Paper proposals about peace history not related to the conference theme will also be considered.

Paper topics might include:

- Clandestine organizing under repressive regimes.
- Nonviolence Training.
- Importance of interpersonal relationships among international travelers and delegations.
- The role of vigils and individual protest in sparking and sustaining dissent.
- Struggles over resistance and sabotage.
- Importance of canvassing to influence public opinion.

Strong conference papers will be considered for publication in *Peace and Change* to be co-edited by the program co-chairs. For conference updates, visit the PHS website, at [www.peacehistorysociety.org](http://www.peacehistorysociety.org).

Please forward proposals for individual papers or a panel to both program committee chairs by April 30, 2011. Email submissions are highly preferred.

For more information, or to submit proposals:

Amy Schneidhorst  
[schneidhorstac@alma.edu](mailto:schneidhorstac@alma.edu)  
Department of History  
Alma College  
614 W. Superior  
Alma, MI 48801

David Hostetter  
[dhostett@shepherd.edu](mailto:dhostett@shepherd.edu)  
Byrd Center for Legislative Studies  
P.O. Box 5000  
Shepherd University  
Shepherdstown, WV 25443-5000



## Hoover Library Research Grants

The purpose of the Herbert Hoover Travel Grant Award is to fund travel to the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library in West Branch, Iowa. The Herbert Hoover Presidential Library Association is a nonprofit support group for the Hoover Presidential Library-Museum and Hoover National Historic Site in West Branch. The Association has funded a travel grant program for thirty years, awarding over \$460,000 in grants. The program, funded entirely through contributions from private individuals, corporations, & foundations, is specifically intended to promote the use of collections of the Herbert Hoover Library.

**Eligibility:** Current graduate students, post-doctoral scholars, and independent researchers are eligible to apply. An applicant should contact the archival staff to determine if Library holdings are pertinent to the applicant's research. Finding aids for library's major holdings are available online at [www.hoover.nara.gov](http://www.hoover.nara.gov).

**Awards:** All funds awarded shall be expended for travel and research expenses related to the use of the holdings of the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library. In recent years, awards have ranged from \$500 to \$1,500 per applicant. The Association will consider requests for extended research at the library. An independent committee of distinguished scholars from Iowa colleges and universities evaluates the research proposals.

**Requirements:**

1. Completed application form
2. Research proposal, up to 1,200 words
3. Bibliography page
4. Curriculum vitae
5. Three letters of reference sent directly from writers who are familiar with your work



Period of Awards: May 15, 2011 - June 30, 2012. Research must be completed within this time frame unless other arrangements are requested and approved. Recipients are required to provide the Association with two copies of any publications and articles resulting from sponsored research.

For more information:  
Herbert Hoover Presidential Library Association  
302 Parkside Drive,  
West Branch, IA 52358  
info@hooverassociation.org  
319-643-5327



#### **CFP: *The International Journal for Politics, Culture, and Society***

The *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* welcomes original articles on issues arising at the intersection of nations, states, civil societies, and global institutions and processes. The editors are particularly interested in article manuscripts dealing with changing patterns in world economic and political institutions; analysis of ethnic groups, social classes, religions, personal networks, and special interests; changes in mass culture, propaganda, and technologies of communication and their social effects; and the impact of social transformations on the changing order of public and private life. The journal is interdisciplinary in orientation and international in scope, and is not tethered to particular theoretical or research traditions. The journal presents material of varying length, from research notes to article-length monographs.

To submit please follow the directions found on the webpage at: <http://www.springer.com/social+sciences/journal/10767>.

For more information:  
International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society  
New School for Social Research  
ijpcs@newschool.edu  
[www.springer.com/social+sciences/journal/10767](http://www.springer.com/social+sciences/journal/10767)



#### **Cold War Prize Competition John A. Adams Center, Virginia Military Institute**

For the seventh year, the John A. Adams Center at the Virginia Military Institute is pleased to announce that it will award prizes for the best unpublished papers dealing with the United States military in the Cold War era (1945-1991). Any aspect of the Cold War military is eligible, with papers on war planning, operations, intelligence, logistics, and mobilization especially welcome. Please note that essays which relate aspects of the Korean and Southeast Asian conflicts to the larger Cold War are also open for consideration.

Not only do we invite your submission of previously unpublished pieces, but we encourage you to pass along this notice to colleagues or promising graduate students who might be working in this area.

Prizes: First place will earn a plaque and a cash award of \$2000; second place, \$1000 and a plaque; and third place, \$500 and a plaque.

Procedures: Entries should be tendered to the Adams Center at VMI by July 31, 2011. Please make your submission by Microsoft Word and limit your entry to a maximum of twenty-five pages of double-spaced text, exclusive of documentation and bibliography. A panel of judges will, over the summer, examine all papers; the Adams Center will then announce its top three rankings early in the fall of 2011. The *Journal of Military History* will be happy to consider those award winners for publication. In addition, the Adams Center would like to post the better papers on its website--with the permission of the author, of course.

Submissions and questions:  
Director, John A. Adams '71 Center for Military History and Strategic Analysis  
c/o Ms. Deneise P. Shafer  
Department of History  
Virginia Military Institute; Lexington, VA 24450  
shaferdp@vmi.edu  
540-464-7447/7338  
Fax: 540-464-7246



#### **4. Letters to the Editor**

Passport Editor  
c/o Mershon Center  
Ohio State University  
1501 Neil Avenue  
Columbus, OH 43201

Dear *Passport* and Members of SHAFR,

I want to thank you for the honor of receiving the William Appleman Williams Junior Faculty Research Grant. I used this grant to spend two months in Europe this past autumn to conduct additional research to expand my doctoral project. The grant from SHAFR enabled me to include research on the Soviet occupation zone and the first half of the Cold War. I spent a month in Berlin, where I gathered material from East German sport federations and the West German foreign ministry.

I also had an opportunity to spend a week at the NATO archives in Brussels, where I found excellent materials on the support by NATO member countries of the Federal Republic's Hallstein doctrine against recognizing East Germany and GDR passports. These materials are particularly important for my research, as NATO discussed these travel bans for East Germans not only as a general policy, but also in specific cases relating to international sport. I will also be using these materials for my contribution to an upcoming anthology on sport and foreign relations.

I ended my trip in England, where I had the opportunity to meet the son of John G. Dixon, the Chief Sports Officer for the British occupation zone of Germany. Dixon was a central figure in my dissertation, and his son permitted me to go through his late father's photographs so that I could use them in my project. Dixon's son had joined his father as a young boy to live in occupied Germany for five years, and hearing his stories about his father and his work in Germany was a great experience.

Thank you, SHAFR, for providing me with the funding assistance to enable me to carry out the necessary research to transform my doctoral research into a book manuscript. I look forward to having an opportunity to present the fruits of research at an upcoming SHAFR conference.

Sincerely,  
Heather L. Dichter  
York College of Pennsylvania



### **Travel Report for Joy Schulz:**

In 2010 I was awarded a \$2,000 travel research grant from SHAFR's Samuel Flag Bemis fund. Along with a travel grant from the University of Nebraska-Lincoln, the SHAFR grant enabled me to complete all of my dissertation research on nineteenth century Hawaiian missionary children, including the implications of a bicultural upbringing on U.S. foreign policy. I was able to travel to Honolulu, Hawai'i to visit the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society (HMCS) archives where many of the Hawaiian missionary children's letters and diaries are stored (circa 1820-1900). I also visited the Cooke Library at Punahou School to view early student newspapers (circa 1848-1852). My research also led to Massachusetts where I visited the archives at Williams and Mount Holyoke Colleges where many of the missionary students attended college and attempted to acculturate to the United States. At Harvard University I viewed the Hawaiian mission letters of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), in order to solidify the link between the economies of childrearing and American colonialism.

None of my research would have been possible without SHAFR's financial aid. The encouragement I received from the Bemis selection committee, as well as UNL History Department, allowed me to pursue an idea which the Hawaiian and New England archives richly rewarded. I want to thank SHAFR for enabling me to complete a project which was gratifying to me as a historian and crucial to my graduation and career in the profession.

Joy Schulz  
University of Nebraska



## **5. Upcoming SHAFR Deadlines:**

### **The Stuart L. Bernath Book Prize**

The purpose of the award is to recognize and encourage distinguished research and writing by scholars of American foreign relations. The prize of \$2,500 is awarded annually to an author for his or her first book on any aspect of the history of American foreign relations.

**Eligibility:** The prize is to be awarded for a first book. The book must be a history of international relations. Biographies of statesmen and diplomats are eligible. General surveys, autobiographies, editions of essays and documents, and works that represent social science disciplines other than history are not eligible.

**Procedures:** Books may be nominated by the author, the publisher, or any member of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations. A nominating letter explaining why the book deserves consideration must accompany each entry in the competition. Books will be judged primarily in regard to their contributions to scholarship. Winning books should have exceptional interpretative and analytical qualities. They should demonstrate mastery of primary material and relevant secondary works, and they should display careful organization and distinguished writing. Five copies of each book must be submitted with a letter of nomination.

The award will be announced during the SHAFR luncheon at the annual meeting of the Organization of American Historians. The prize will be divided only when two superior books are so evenly matched that any other decision seems

unsatisfactory to the selection committee. The committee will not award the prize if there is no book in the competition which meets the standards of excellence established for the prize.

To nominate a book published in 2011, send five copies of the book and a letter of nomination to Professor Katie Sibley, History Department, Saint Joseph's University, 5600 City Avenue, Philadelphia, PA 19131. Books may be sent at any time during 2011, but must arrive by December 1, 2011.



### Robert H. Ferrell Book Prize

This prize is designed to reward distinguished scholarship in the history of American foreign relations, broadly defined. The prize of \$2,500 is awarded annually. The Ferrell Prize was established to honor Robert H. Ferrell, professor of diplomatic history at Indiana University from 1961 to 1990, by his former students.

**Eligibility:** The Ferrell Prize recognizes any book beyond the first monograph by the author. To be considered, a book must deal with the history of American foreign relations, broadly defined. Biographies of statesmen and diplomats are eligible. General surveys, autobiographies, or editions of essays and documents are not eligible.

**Procedures:** Books may be nominated by the author, the publisher, or any member of SHAFR. Three copies of the book must be submitted.

The award is announced during the SHAFR luncheon at the annual meeting of the Organization of American Historians. To nominate a book published in 2010, send three copies of the book and a letter of nomination to Professor Wilson Miscamble, History Department, 219 O'Shaughnessy Hall, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, IN 46556. Books may be sent at any time during 2011, but must arrive by December 15, 2011.



### The Stuart L. Bernath Dissertation Research Grant

The Bernath Dissertation Grant of up to \$4,000 is intended to help graduate students defray expenses encountered in the writing of their dissertations. The award is announced formally at the SHAFR luncheon held during the annual meeting of the American Historical Association. (Applicants for this award will be considered automatically for the Holt, Gelfand-Rappaport, and Bemis grants.)

Applicants must be actively working on dissertations dealing with some aspect of U.S. foreign relations history. Membership in SHAFR is required.

**Procedures:** Self-nominations are expected. Please download and complete the application found on the SHAFR web page. To be considered for the 2011 award, nominations and supporting materials must be received by October 1, 2011. Submit materials to [fellowships@shafr.org](mailto:fellowships@shafr.org). The **subject line of the email** should contain the LAST NAME OF APPLICANT only.

Within eight months of receiving the award, each successful applicant must file with the SHAFR Business Office a brief report on how the funds were spent. Such reports will be considered for publication in *Passport*.



### The W. Stull Holt Dissertation Fellowship

The W. Stull Holt Dissertation Fellowship of up to \$4,000 is intended to defray the costs of travel necessary to conduct research on a significant dissertation project. The award is announced formally at the SHAFR luncheon held during the annual meeting of the American Historical Association. (Applicants for this award will be considered automatically for the Stuart L. Bernath, Gelfand-Rappaport, and Bemis grants.)

Applicants must be actively working on dissertations dealing with some aspect of U.S. foreign relations history. Membership in SHAFR is required.

**Procedures:** Self-nominations are expected. Please download and complete the application found on the SHAFR web page. To be considered for the 2011 award, nominations and supporting materials must be received by October 1, 2011. Submit materials to [fellowships@shafr.org](mailto:fellowships@shafr.org). The **subject line of the email** should contain the LAST NAME OF APPLICANT only.

Within eight months of receiving the award, each successful applicant must file with the SHAFR Business Office a brief report on how the funds were spent. Such reports will be considered for publication in *Passport*.



### The Lawrence Gelfand – Armin Rappaport Dissertation Fellowship

SHAFR established this fellowship to honor Lawrence Gelfand, founding member and former SHAFR president and Armin Rappaport, founding editor of *Diplomatic History*.

The Gelfand-Rappaport Fellowship of up to \$4,000 is intended to defray the costs of dissertation research travel. The

fellowship is awarded annually at SHAFR luncheon held during the annual meeting of the American Historical Association. (Applicants for this award will be considered automatically for the Stuart L. Bernath, Holt, and Bemis grants.)

Applicants must be actively working on dissertations dealing with some aspect of U.S. foreign relations history. Membership in SHAFR is required.

**Procedures:** Self-nominations are expected. Please download and complete the application found on the SHAR web page. To be considered for the 2011 award, nominations and supporting materials must be received by October 1, 2011. Submit materials to [fellowships@shafr.org](mailto:fellowships@shafr.org). The **subject line of the email** should contain the LAST NAME OF APPLICANT only.



### Samuel Flagg Bemis Dissertation Research Grants

The Samuel F. Bemis Research Grants are intended to promote dissertation research by graduate students. A limited number of grants of varying amounts (generally, up to \$2,000) will be awarded annually to help defray the costs of domestic or international travel necessary to conduct research on significant scholarly projects. The award is announced formally at the SHAFR luncheon held during the annual meeting of the American Historical Association. (Applicants for this award will be considered automatically for the Stuart L. Bernath, Holt, and Gelfand-Rappaport grants.)

Applicants must be actively working on dissertations dealing with some aspect of U.S. foreign relations history. Membership in SHAFR is required.

**Procedures:** Self-nominations are expected. Please download and complete the application found on the SHAFR web page. To be considered for the 2011 award, nominations and supporting materials must be received by October 1, 2011. Submit materials to [fellowships@shafr.org](mailto:fellowships@shafr.org). The subject line of the email should contain the LAST NAME OF APPLICANT only.

Within eight months of receiving the award, each successful applicant must file with the SHAFR Business Office a brief report on how the funds were spent. Such reports will be considered for publication in *Passport*.



### The Michael J. Hogan Foreign Language Fellowship

The Michael J. Hogan Foreign language Fellowship was established to honor Michael J. Hogan, long-time editor of *Diplomatic History*.

The Hogan Fellowship of up to \$4,000 is intended to promote research in foreign language sources by graduate students. The fellowship is intended to defray the costs of studying foreign languages needed for research. The award is announced formally at the SHAFR luncheon held during the annual meeting of the American Historical Association.

Applicants must be graduate students researching some aspect of U.S. foreign relations history. Membership in SHAFR is required.

**Procedures:** Self-nominations are expected. Please download and complete the application found on the SHAFR web page. To be considered for the 2011 award, nominations and supporting materials must be received by October 1, 2011. Submit materials to [hogan-fellowships@shafr.org](mailto:hogan-fellowships@shafr.org). The **subject line of the email** should contain the LAST NAME OF APPLICANT only.

Within eight months of receiving the award, each successful applicant must file with the SHAFR Business Office a brief report on how the funds were spent. Such reports will be considered for publication in *Passport*.



### William Appleman Williams Junior Faculty Research Grants

The William Appleman Williams Junior Faculty Research Grants are intended to promote scholarly research by untenured college and university faculty and others who are within six years of the Ph.D. and who are working as professional historians. Grants are limited to scholars working on the *first research monograph*. A limited number of grants of varying amounts (generally, up to \$2,000) will be awarded annually to help defray the costs of domestic or international travel necessary to conduct research on significant scholarly projects. The award is announced formally at the SHAFR luncheon held during the annual meeting of the American Historical Association. Membership in SHAFR is required.

**Procedures:** Self-nominations are expected. Please download and complete the application found on the SHAFR web page. To be considered for the 2011 award, nominations and supporting materials must be received by October 1, 2011. Submit materials to [williams-fellowships@shafr.org](mailto:williams-fellowships@shafr.org). The **subject line of the email** should contain the LAST NAME OF APPLICANT only.

Within eight months of receiving the award, each successful applicant must file with the SHAFR Business Office a brief report on how the funds were spent. Such reports will be considered for publication in *Passport*.

## The Myrna F. Bernath Fellowship

The Myrna F. Bernath Fellowship was established by the Bernath family to promote scholarship in U.S. foreign relations history by women.

The Myrna Bernath Fellowship of up to \$5,000 is intended to defray the costs of scholarly research by women. It is awarded biannually (in odd years) and announced at the SHAFR luncheon held during the annual meeting of the American Historical Association.

Applications are welcomed from women at U.S. universities as well as women abroad who wish to do research in the United States. Preference will be given to graduate students and those within five years of completion of their PhDs. Membership in SHAFR is required.

**Procedures:** Self-nominations are expected. Please download and complete the application found on the SHAFR web page. To be considered for the 2011 award, nominations and supporting materials must be received by October 1, 2011. Submit materials to myrnabernath-committee@shafr.org. The **subject line of the email** should contain the LAST NAME OF APPLICANT only.

Within eight months of receiving the award, each successful applicant must file with the SHAFR Business Office a brief report on how the funds were spent. Such reports will be considered for publication in *Passport*.

## 6. Recent Publications of Interest

Baldoz, Rick. *The Third Asiatic Invasion: Empire and Migration in Filipino America, 1898-1946* (Nation of Newcomers) (NYU Press, 2011).

Barnett, Michael. *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism* (Cornell, 2011).

Beinart, Peter. *The Icarus Syndrome: A History of American Hubris* (Harper, 2010).

Blower, Brooke L. *Becoming Americans in Paris: Transatlantic Politics and Culture between the World Wars* (Oxford, 2011).

Brewer, Susan A. *Why America Fights: Patriotism and War Propaganda from the Philippines to Iraq* (Oxford, 2011).

Budiansky, Stephen. *Perilous Fight: America's Intrepid War with Britain on the High Seas, 1812-1815* (Random House, 2011).

Cohn, Marjorie, ed. *The United States and Torture: Interrogation, Incarceration, and Abuse* (NYU, 2011).

Collins, Brian J. *NATO: A Guide to the Issues* (Praeger, 2011).

D'Agata, Raffaele. *One More Lost Peace? Rethinking the Cold War after Twenty Years* (University Press of America, 2011).

Dietrich-Berryman, Erik, Charlotte Hammond, and R.E. White. *Passport Not Required: U.S. Volunteers in the Royal Navy, 1939-1941* (Naval Institute Press, 2010).

Drezner, Daniel W. *Theories of International Politics and Zombies* (Princeton, 2011).

Fanis, Maria. *Secular Morality and International Security: American and British Decisions about War* (University of Michigan, 2011).

Farugi, Daanish. *From Camp David to Cast Lead: Essays of Israel, Palestine, and the Future of the Peace Process* (Lexington Books, 2011).

Foo, Yee-Wah. *Chiang Kaishek's Last Ambassador to Moscow: The Wartime Diaries of Fu Bingchang* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

Garrison, Arthur. *Supreme Court Jurisprudence in Times of National Crisis, Terrorism, and War: A Historical Perspective* (Lexington Books, 2011).

Geyer, Georgie. *Predicting the Unthinkable, Anticipating the Impossible: From the Fall of the Berlin Wall to America in the New Century* (Transaction Publishers, 2011).

Gitlin, Todd, and Liel Leibovitz. *The Chosen Peoples: America, Israel, and the Ordeals of Divine Election* (Simon and Schuster, 2010).

Harris, Suan K. *Gord's Arbiters: Americans and the Philippines, 1898-1902* (Oxford, 2011)

Hasewaga, Tsuyoshi, *The Cold War in East Asia, 1945-1991* (Stanford, 2011).

Haslam, Jonathan. *Russia's Cold War: From the October Revolution to the Fall of the Wall* (Yale, 2011).

Horner, David. *Australia and the New World Order: From Peacekeeping to Peace Enforcement: 1988-1991* (Cambridge, 2011).

Hull, Edmund J. *High-Value Target: Countering al Qaeda in Yemen* (Potomac Books, 2011).

- Johnson, Hilde. *Waging Peace in Sudan: The Inside Story of the Negotiations that End Africa's Longest Civil War* (Sussex Academic Press, 2011).
- Johnson, Loch K. *The Threat on the Horizon: An Inside Account of America's Search for Security after the Cold War* (Oxford, 2011).
- Kirkendall, Andrew J. *Paulo Freire and the Cold War Politics of Literacy* (North Carolina, 2010).
- Krysko, Michael A. *American Radio in China: International Encounters with Technology and Communications, 1919-1941* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2011).
- Latham, Michael E. *The Right Kind of Revolution: Modernization, Development, and U.S. Foreign Policy from the Cold War to the Present* (Cornell, 2011).
- Ledbetter, James. *Unwarranted Influence: Dwight D. Eisenhower and the Military-Industrial Complex* (Yale, 2010).
- Leebaert, Derek. *Magic and Mayhem: The Delusions of American Foreign Policy* (Simon and Schuster, 2010).
- Lipstadt, Deborah E. *The Eichman Trial* (Penguin Books, 2011).
- Mahoney, Robert J. *The Mayaguez Incident: Testing America's Resolve in the Post-Vietnam Era* (Texas Tech, 2011).
- Mason, Edward C. *Vietnam and Its Relations with the U.S.* (Nova Science, 2011).
- Mason, Whit. *The Rule of Law in Afghanistan: Missing in Inaction* (Cambridge, 2011).
- Masse, Todd M. *Nuclear Jihad: A Clear and Present Danger?* (Potomac Books, 2011).
- Mauch, Peter. *Sailor Diplomat: Nomura Kichisaburo and the Japanese American War* (Harvard East Asian Monographs) (Harvard University Asia Center, 2011).
- Meisler, Stanley. *When the World Calls: The Inside Story of the Peace Corps and its First Fifty Years* (Beacon Press, 2011).
- Moffit, Kimberly R. and Duncan A. Campbell. *The 1980s: A Critical and Transitional Decade* (Lexington Books, 2011).
- Nichols, Christopher McKnight. *Promise and Peril: American at the Dawn of a Global Age* (Harvard, 2011).
- Nichols, David A. *Eisenhower 1956: The President's Year of Crisis - Suez and the Brink of War* (Simon and Schuster, 2011).
- Nielson, Jonathan. *American Historians in War and Peace: Patriotism, Diplomacy, and the Paris Peace Conference* (Academica Press, 2011).
- Peck, James. *Ideal Illusions: How the U.S. Government Co-Opted Human Rights* (Metropolitan Books, 2011).
- Pederson, William D., ed. *A Companion to Franklin D. Roosevelt* (Blackwell Companions to American History) (Wiley-Blackwell, 2011)
- Pfaff, William. *The Irony of Manifest Destiny: The Tragedy of America's Foreign Policy* (Walker & Company, 2010)
- Plating, John D. *The Hump: America's Strategy for Keeping China in World War II* (TAMU Press, 2011).
- Pomakov, Keith. *Helping Humanity: American Policy and Genocide Rescue* (Lexington Books, 2011).
- Rachman, Gideon. *Zero-Sum Future: American Power in an Age of Anxiety* (Simon and Schuster, 2011).
- Roy, Raj and John W. Young. *Ambassador to Sixties London: the Diaries of David Bruce, 1961-69* (Republic of Letters Publishing, 2010).
- Rudd, Gordon W. *Reconstructing Iraq: Regime Change, Jay Garner, and the ORHA Story* (Kansas, 2011).
- Saldin, Robert P. *War, the American State, and Politics since 1898* (Cambridge, 2010).
- Saunders, Elizabeth N. *Leader at War: How Presidents Shape Military Intervention* (Cornell, 2011).
- Schenk, Catherine R. *International Economic Relations since 1945* (Routledge, 2011).
- Scherr, Arthur. *Thomas Jefferson's Haitian Policy: Myths and Realities* (Lexington Books, 2011).
- Schmitz, David. *Brent Scowcroft: Internationalism and Post-Vietnam War American Foreign Policy* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2011).
- Sexton, John. *The Monroe Doctrine: Empire and Nation in Nineteenth Century America* (Hill and Wang, 2011).
- Shaw, Tony and Denise J. Youngblood. *Cinematic Cold War: The American and Soviet Struggle for Hearts and Minds* (Kansas, 2010).

- Shipler, David K. *The Rights of People: How Our Search for Safety Invades our Liberties* (Random House, 2011).
- Smith, Robert W. *Amid a Warring World: America's Foreign Relations, 1775-1815* (Potomac Books, 2011).
- Suny, Ronald Grigor, Fatma Muge Gocek, and Norman A. Naimark, eds. *A Question of Genocide: Armenians and Turks at the End of the Ottoman Empire* (Oxford, 2011).
- Vestal, Theodore M. *The Lion of Judah in the New World: Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia and the Shaping of Americans' Attitudes toward Africa* (Praeger, 2011).
- Waligora-Davis, Nicole A. *Sanctuary: African Americans and Empire* (Oxford University Press, 2011).
- Weingartner, James J. *Americans, Germans, and the War Crimes Justice: Law, Memory, and "The Good War"* (Praeger, 2011).
- West, Bing. *The Wrong War: Grit, Strategy, and the Way out of Afghanistan* (Random House, 2011).
- Whelan, Bernadette. *American Government in Ireland, 1790-1913: A History of the US Consular Service* (Manchester, 2010).
- Yilmaz, Suhnaz. *Turkish-American Relations, 1800-1952* (Routledge, 2011).

SHA FR 2011  
 JUNE 23-25, 2011  
 HILTON ALEXANDRIA MARK CENTER, ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA

The SHAFR community continues to grow in scope, subfields, and diversity, as the panel submissions for the upcoming annual conference have shown. In light of the ten-year anniversary of the September 11th terrorist attacks this coming summer, the program committee decided to make "Waging War, Making Peace, Crossing Borders" a central theme of the conference. We were especially interested in panels that place 9/11 in historical context. Possible themes included terrorism and counter-terrorism; insurgency and counterinsurgency; cultural and religious aspects of warfare; international conflict and peacemaking; political Islam; memorialization of war and its victims; and the militarization of foreign policy.

We received over 90 panel applications and another 43 single paper applications. Quite a few of the paper and panel proposals dealt with some aspect of our theme. The panels and papers were read and evaluated by a program committee consisting of scholars from all parts of the country with expertise reaching across several time periods and across a broad spectrum of subfields. The committee included Dirk Bönker, Jason Colby, Amy Greenberg, Sheyda Jahanbani, Mark Lawrence, Nicole Phelps, and Salim Yaqub. Petra Goedde and Brad Simpson served as co-chairs.

In making their recommendations, committee members took into consideration the quality and coherence of the panels as well as diversity. We tried to achieve diversity in a variety of ways including regional, methodological, time period, gender, seniority (a good mix of graduate students and senior members), and international. Even though this year's application process was probably more competitive than most, acceptance of panels that included first-time SHAFR attendees and graduate students remained strong, as has been SHAFR's tradition. In addition, SHAFR continues to attract many newcomers and foreign scholars. This year about 190 applicants identified themselves as first-time attendees. A sizeable number of panel proposals included international scholars. This is an encouraging sign for the committees whose mission it is to expand and diversify the SHAFR community.

This year's conference highlights include:

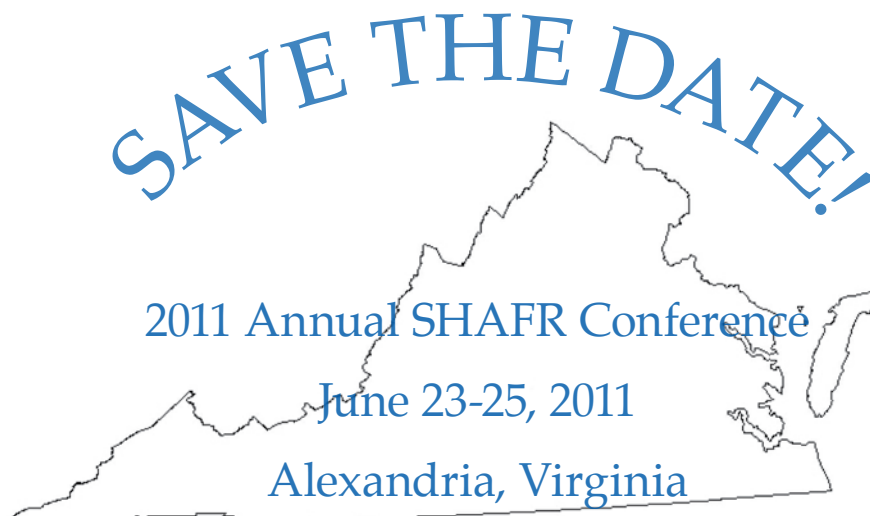
- A Thursday night opening reception followed by a panel of senior scholars on 9/11, the War on Terror, and U.S. International History, featuring SHAFR President Marilyn Young and International Historian Andrew Bacevich, author most recently of *Washington Rules*.
- The Presidential Address by Marilyn Young, New York University
- A Friday night plenary session on Wikileaks and its implications for U.S. foreign relations, featuring Scott Shane, New York Times Washington Bureau Chief, Tom Blanton, Director of the National Security Archive, Assistant Secretary of State Michael Posner, and SHAFR historian Laura Belmonte.
- A Saturday morning breakfast sponsored by the membership committee, the committee on women in SHAFR, and the committee on minority historians.
- A Saturday Luncheon featuring Andrew Bacevich, Boston University, who will give a talk on "The Origins of the Bush Doctrine."
- A Saturday evening social event for all conference participants.

We hope to see many of you in Alexandria this June. It promises to be a lively and interesting conference.

Brad Simpson, Princeton University  
 Petra Goedde, Temple University  
 Program Committee Co-Chairs

**Passport**  
Mershon Center  
for International Security Studies  
The Ohio State University  
1501 Neil Avenue  
Columbus, OH 43201  
passport@osu.edu

NON-PROFIT ORG.  
U.S. POSTAGE  
PAID  
HANOVER, PA 17331  
Permit No. 4



*For more SHAFR information, visit us on the web at [www.shafir.org](http://www.shafir.org)*