

# Passport

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

*Volume 35, Issue 1 April 2004*



## *Inside:*

Thoughts From President Stoler  
Richard Hill And The American Entry Into WWII  
Tom Schoonover Recounts His "Miraculous Escapades"  
Teaching In Bolivia  
Declassification At The Eisenhower Library  
... and much more

# Passport

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

### Editorial Office:

Mershon Center for the Study of International Security and Public Policy  
1501 Neil Ave.  
Columbus OH, 43201  
passport@osu.edu  
614-292-1681  
614-292-2407 (fax)

### Executive Director

Peter Hahn, The Ohio State University

### Editor

Mitchell Lerner, The Ohio State University-Newark

### Production Editor

Julie Rojewski, Mershon Center

### Editorial Assistant

Brian Kennedy, The Ohio State University

### Editorial Advisory Board and Terms of Appointment

Deborah Kisatsky, Assumption College (2003-04)  
Dennis Merrill, University of Missouri-Kansas City (2003-05)  
Nicholas Evan Sarantakes, Texas A&M University-Commerce (2003-06)

*Cover photo:* American Sisters of Charity leaving the Yuxiang Mission Church to flee the rumored approach of a vengeful Japanese Army. *Courtesy Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library*

*Passport* is published three times per year (April, August, December), by the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations, and is distributed to all members of the Society. Submissions should be sent to the attention of the editor, and are accepted in all formats, although electronic copy by e-mail to [passport@osu.edu](mailto: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.

© 2004 by SHAFR

The editors of *Passport* wish to acknowledge the generous support of The Ohio State University, The Ohio State University-Newark, and the Mershon Center

# Passport

The Newsletter of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations  
Volume 35, Number 1, April 2004

## In this issue . . .

- 4 **Thoughts from SHAFR President Mark Stoler**  
By Mark A. Stoler
- 5 **Why Did the United States Declare War on Nazi Germany?  
Leading Historians Reverse Themselves**  
By Richard Hill
- 12 **Responses to Richard Hill**  
By Manfred Jonas, Justus Doenecke, and Wayne Cole
- 13 **History is Just One Damn Thing After Another: The Life, Adventures,  
and Miraculous Escapades of a Wandering Historian**  
By Thomas Schoonover
- 22 **Teaching the History of United States-Latin American Relations  
in Cochabamba, Bolivia**  
By James F. Siekmeier
- 25 **Dublin Fulbright for Scholars of American Foreign Relations**  
By Elizabeth Cobbs-Hoffman
- 26 **Declassification at the Dwight D. Eisenhower Library**  
By David Haight
- 33 **25th Annual U.S. Foreign Affairs Doctoral Dissertations List**  
By Edward A. Goedeken
- 49 **SHAFR Council Minutes, January 10, 2004**
- 53 **The Diplomatic Pouch (awards, personal and professional notes,  
announcements, and more)**
- 63 **The Last Word**  
By Mitchell Lerner

# Thoughts from SHAFR President Mark A. Stoler

The SHAFR events at the recent AHA meeting in Washington were certainly grand occasions. Our reception drew a huge crowd that overflowed the room and spilled into the hallway of the hotel. Similarly, the SHAFR Council meeting had near-perfect attendance, despite the 7:30 A.M. start time, and there was not a seat to spare. Even the outrageously priced luncheon was well attended this year!

Frankly, I was quite surprised by this showing. Many SHAFR members are used to being marginalized by the AHA and other larger historical societies and consequently have ceased attending such meetings. This year, however, we apparently showed up in record numbers. So did members of the Society for Military History (SMH), another marginalized group, who filled a large room to capacity in order to hear Richard Kohn of the University of North Carolina deliver the George C. Marshall Lecture on Military History.

The main reason for the crowds may well have been the appearance, for the first time in many years, of numerous panels that actually dealt with diplomatic and military history topics and included SHAFR and SMH members. Indeed, the theme of this year's conference could have been composed by a member of SHAFR or SMH: "War and Peace: History and the Dynamics of Human Conflict and Cooperation." (Perhaps it was, as the outgoing AHA president is the distinguished Civil War historian James McPherson of Princeton University.)



Actually, this revived interest in diplomatic and military history is not all that new. Three years ago the distinguished diplomatic historian William Roger Louis was the AHA president. Furthermore, the AHA and OAH have made numerous overtures over the past few years to encourage SHAFR and SMH members to submit panel proposals for the annual meetings. Apparently, we are no longer considered old-fashioned historians with dated methods.

Certainly we have changed in response to criticisms leveled at us, but those changes have been underway for decades. It is the attitude of the profession as a whole that has changed in recent years. Perhaps it has taken this long for our message to filter down. Perhaps history departments, under increasing pressures from administrators to increase their enrollments, have noticed how popular diplomatic and military history remain among students and the public at large.

Perhaps it was simply time for the pendulum to swing back to us. But that pendulum swing was probably accelerated by September 11 and its aftermath. War and diplomacy, it is now apparent, are dominant issues once again, and dominant societal issues have always had a major impact on historiographical trends.

The struggle for recognition within the profession is far from over. Our older colleagues retire and are not replaced. Nevertheless, we appear to be on the upswing. But as a result we now face a new problem of our own making. Consistently rejected for AHA and OAH panels over the years, many of us have stopped even applying and instead turn solely to the annual SHAFR Conference to present our work. Now we are being asked to send proposals once again to the larger organizations. In last August's *Passport*, Nick Sarantakes urged us to do so and offered sound advice on how to apply. I join him in encouraging you to send such proposals and strongly recommend rereading his recommendations in this regard.

I hope to see many, many SHAFR members in Austin, Texas, at what promises to be an excellent SHAFR conference (June 24-27, 2004)!

*Mark A. Stoler is Professor of History at the University of Vermont.*

# Why Did the United States Declare War on Nazi Germany? Leading Historians Reverse Themselves

By Richard Hill

Why did the United States declare war on and invade Nazi Germany?<sup>1</sup> At the 2003 SHAFR conference, a panel of the most distinguished historians in the field of pre-World War II U.S. isolationism—Wayne Cole, Manfred Jonas, and Justus Doenecke—participated in a lively debate on this question and actually changed their minds about the primary reason for the U.S. entry into the war.<sup>2</sup>

In their published works, these eminent scholars have all either agreed with or at least never challenged the historiographical consensus that the main reason for the U.S. entry into the war in Europe was Hitler's declaration of war against the United States on December 11, 1941. But at the recent SHAFR conference they agreed that Hitler's declaration and the events of that week were not really important after all, in the U.S. decision to go to war.

Their new explanation, which reverses decades of their published work, was delivered at the conference as a critique of my recently published article on Hitler's declaration of war in the

SHAFR *Newsletter*, which was based upon my recent book, *Hitler Attacks Pearl Harbor: Why the United States Declared War on Germany*.<sup>3</sup> My work is the first to examine President Roosevelt's publicly stated justification for the U.S. escalation against Germany in December 1941. Although his justification has long since been forgotten, Roosevelt clearly and repeatedly explained why he wanted a declared and all-out war against Germany. In December 1941 and January 1942 he emphasized what he labeled the "actual collaboration" of the Germans and Japanese in perpetrating the attack on Pearl Harbor. He even went so far as to assign Germany the primary responsibility for that attack, accusing the Japanese of being Hitler's puppets or "chessmen."<sup>4</sup> His accusations were a clear and accurate reflection of contemporary congressional and public opinion.

The SHAFR panel members disputed my revisionist thesis, but they did so not by pointing to the explanations they have set out in their published work, which emphasize the importance of Hitler's declaration of war.

Rather, they suggested a new explanation for the U.S. entry into the war that reverses what they have argued for decades.

In this session Jonas and Doenecke deferred to Cole as the most eminent historian in the field, as they have elsewhere.<sup>5</sup> For decades Cole has argued that the Axis' actions of December 1941 were the most decisive reason for the U.S. declaration of war against Germany and subsequent invasion of Europe. But in his prepared and extemporaneous remarks at the SHAFR conference Cole reversed himself by arguing for the first time that the events of December 1941 were of little or no importance in provoking the massive U.S. response. He now argues, instead, that the pre-existing Atlantic naval war was the main reason the United States so drastically changed its policy. This new explanation is a thorough revision of the argument he presented in his most important book, *Roosevelt and the Isolationists* (1983).

At the conference Cole asserted that:

*Essentially both Germany and*

the United States took actions during the six weeks before Pearl Harbor that were barely an eye-lash short of war in the Atlantic. In that situation the slightest episode conceivably could set off full scale war between the two countries. Even without the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor it is difficult to see how a war between the United States and Germany could have been long delayed—whether declared or undeclared.<sup>6</sup>

He reinforced this new interpretation by reiterating that the situation concerning US-German relations:

*at the beginning of December 1941, provided a condition in relations between the two countries that was perilously close to war. The two states required only the slightest jolt or the briefest time interval to convert that scenario into full scale war. The attack on Pearl Harbor and Hitler's declaration of war provided the massive jolts in the briefest of time. Noninterventionists working through the America First Committee were hanging on by their fingernails in their desperate efforts to keep the United States out of the war. Though they never changed their foreign policy views, even before Pearl Harbor they knew that their cause was on the verge of being lost. The attack on Pearl Harbor and the German declaration of war were enough to serve as the coup de grace ending their futile battle against intervention.<sup>7</sup>*

Thus, according to Cole at the conference, it was

primarily the Atlantic naval war that lay behind the U.S. decision to declare war on Germany. Hitler's declaration of war was of miniscule comparative importance.

This description of the prewar situation Cole gave at the conference, however, is completely at odds with his rendition of it in *Roosevelt and the Isolationists*, where he wrote that the Axis actions of December 1941 were decisive because there was no chance that Roosevelt could have gotten a declaration of war against Germany without Hitler's declaration and the attack at Pearl Harbor. He repeatedly emphasized then that "at a time when 80 percent of the American people continued to oppose a declaration of war, President Roosevelt's aid-short-of-war tactics provided the maximum involvement that Congress and the public seemed willing to approve before Pearl Harbor."<sup>8</sup> He augmented this accurate depiction of the last weeks before Pearl Harbor and Hitler's declaration of war on the United States with extensive detail, and repeated his assertion that:

*at no time before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, did a majority of the American people favor a declaration of war by the United States on the Axis states. . . . During most of 1940 and 1941 about 80 percent of the American people opposed a declaration of war. At the same time, however, the majority favored extending aid-short-of-war to victims of Axis aggression.<sup>9</sup>*



Coming in the next issue of *Passport*:

- \*Teaching in Azerbaijan
- \*FDR's World War II Media Strategies
- \*Research at the LBJ Library
- \*New Evidence from Vietnam

AND MORE...



Cole then concluded what every other historian who has published on this subject has concluded: that the Congressional votes on Selective Service extension in August 1941, and especially on Neutrality Revision in mid-November 1941 (which came on the heels of the climax in the Atlantic naval war in 1941, the U.S.S. *Reuben James* incident) clearly demonstrated that Congress was not ready to approve a declaration of war. The bitter congressional debate following the *Reuben James* incident showed that:

*The margin of the Roosevelt administration's victory was much too narrow to encourage any move for a declaration of war.... Robert E. Sherwood, one of Roosevelt's speechwriters, later wrote of that result: 'The truth was that, as the world situation became more desperately critical, and as the limitless peril came closer and closer to the United States, isolationist sentiment became ever more strident in expression and aggressive in action, and Roosevelt was relatively powerless to combat it. He had said everything 'short of war' that could be said. He had no more tricks left. The hat from which he had pulled so many rabbits was empty. The president of the United States was now the creature of circumstance which must be shaped not by his own will or his own ingenuity but by the unpredictable determination of his enemies.'*<sup>10</sup>

Cole sums up his 1983 explanation by asserting that: "As

noninterventionists they were defeated by the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and by the decisions of Hitler and Mussolini to war against the United States," and he quotes ex-isolationist Senator Arthur Vandenberg to the same effect: "At long last, Germany turned upon us and declared war against her most aggressive enemy on earth."<sup>11</sup>

Everything in Cole's massive 1983 study emphasizes that before the second week in December 1941 there was a political stalemate between the interventionists and the isolationists. Moreover, Cole understood that the stalemate was on the issue of aid *short of war* [italics added]. It was that issue that informed the virtual deadlock on Neutrality Revision in mid-November 1941. But there was no stalemate surrounding the vastly more important question of a U.S. declaration of war on Germany, because there was no chance at all that Roosevelt could have garnered even a slight majority on that question. As Cole repeatedly explained, 80 percent of Americans and their congressmen opposed a declaration of war until Pearl Harbor.<sup>12</sup> Yet Cole completely reversed himself at the SHAFR conference, where he asserted that the United States and Germany were on the verge of total war just before Hitler declared war on the United States, and therefore Hitler's declaration and the Pearl Harbor attack were of little significance for subsequent U.S. policy toward Germany.

Cole was the SHAFR panel's foremost authority on isolationist sentiment, and he

reiterated at the conference what he wrote in *Roosevelt and the Isolationists*, where he accurately stated that the most important isolationists, the America First Committee, "continued their opposition to the president's foreign policies down to the very moment that the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941."<sup>13</sup> Yet he also claimed at the conference that those isolationist principles were not actually challenged by anything significantly different in December 1941. If that is so, then those former isolationists of December must not have been principled and rock-ribbed isolationists at all, except for the solitary case of Congresswoman Jeannette Rankin.<sup>14</sup> But that is not how Cole characterized the isolationists in 1983. He wrote then and repeated in 2003 that they firmly believed they had always been right before the second week in December 1941.<sup>15</sup>

The contradictory story that Cole left us with after the SHAFR conference cries out for clarification. Cole has long been the leading historian of pre-war isolationism and the America First Committee, which he correctly asserts "always stood for . . . opposing any legislation which might mean sending our boys to foreign battlefields."<sup>16</sup> But if the AFC opposed Neutrality Revision so strongly, why did it then concede to the vastly more consequential declaration of war just three weeks later, if indeed nothing significant had happened in that interval to upset U.S.-German relations? If the ardent isolationists were not persuaded by

the relative “non-events” of that month, as Cole and his colleagues now characterize Hitler’s declaration of war and Pearl Harbor, why did they just give up only then? This question is especially noteworthy if, as Cole stated in 1983, the AFC “was larger and more efficiently organized by the fall of 1941 than ever before.”<sup>17</sup>

If Hitler’s declaration and Pearl Harbor were relatively inconsequential as they regarded U.S.-German relations, as Cole said at the conference, then what exactly did it mean when he quoted the AFC in 1983 as insisting that it “would ‘oppose with vigor the passage of a war resolution’ . . . if Congress votes for a declaration of war”?<sup>18</sup> If Hitler’s declaration and Pearl Harbor were relatively inconsequential, then why did the AFC vote to dissolve only on December 11, 1941, after battling energetically against any intervention or Neutrality Revision in the weeks beforehand?<sup>19</sup> As early as 1953 Cole was writing that “opposition in Congress to the Administration’s foreign policy not only remained strong but increased during 1941.”<sup>20</sup> He stood by this explanation for fifty years. But at the SHAFR conference he told the assembled scholars exactly the opposite, claiming that the isolationists were actually losing their battle by December 1941.

Manfred Jonas responded to Cole’s startlingly revisionist comments at the conference with approval. “In response to Wayne Cole’s paper,” he said:

*I am tempted merely to say amen. . . . Prof. Cole, whose contributions to that consensus have been substantial, found Hitler’s declaration marginally significant only because it led the non-interventionists finally to throw in the towel. In actual substance, we have no real disagreement. Hitler’s declaration of war was not an act of great significance and certainly did not change the course of history.*<sup>21</sup>

Yet in his 1984 book Jonas wrote that, before Hitler’s declaration of war on the United States:

*Neither is it clear when, if ever, the United States would have reached the point of actually declaring war on Germany. The logic of the American position required a declaration if aid short of war proved insufficient to prevent a British defeat. But in December 1941 such defeat was not imminent. . . . Germany and the United States had thus reached the brink of war with each other but might well have teetered on that brink for months or even years to come.*<sup>22</sup>

But at the conference, however, Jonas said that “Hitler’s declaration of war was not an act of great significance and certainly did not change the course of history.”

In his comments at the conference, Jonas also endorsed Thomas Bailey, a legendary historian who Jonas said explained these momentous events clearly, and he recommended Bailey’s *A Diplomatic History of the*

*American People*.<sup>23</sup> He summed up that book by stating that Bailey “describes a seamless progression from non-neutrality in thought to full involvement in World War II. The various declarations of war were markers along the way, but had no causal significance.”<sup>24</sup> But Bailey actually asserted the opposite, that Hitler’s declaration of war on the United States was of decisive significance. He wrote that,

*An angry debate in Congress over a war resolution against Hitler and Mussolini would have added to the national disunity. But on December 11, four days after Pearl Harbor, Germany and Italy declared war on the United States. . . . Germany and Italy, the Axis partners of Japan, likewise spared the United States the agony of a decision. . . . This unprecedented [Congressional] unanimity was largely a recognition of the fact that war had already been declared on the United States, and that the only possible response was retaliation in kind.*<sup>25</sup>

Bailey further clarified his position on the importance of Hitler’s declaration of war in compelling detail in *Hitler vs. Roosevelt: The Undeclared Naval War*:

*Obviously, if Hitler (and Mussolini and Japan) had not declared war on the United States first, a war resolution could hardly have passed Congress, at least at that time. . . . Many members of Congress*



# Borderlands, Frontiers, Peace, and War

The Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations will hold its annual conference at the University of Texas and the Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library in Austin, Texas, June 24-27, 2004

## TENTATIVE SCHEDULE:

Thursday, June 24:

11:00 Registration Begins

1:30-3:30 Session I - Panels 1-6

4:00-6:00 Session II - Panels 7-12

6:00-9:30 Reception and Plenary: "Teaching Diplomatic History: A Panel Honoring Robert Divine"

Friday, June 25:

7:30-9:00 Diplomatic History Editorial Board Meeting

8:30-9:30 Coffee Hour

9:00-11:00 - Session III - Panels 13-18

11:30-1:15 - Luncheon with Presidential Address by Mark A. Stoler: "War and Diplomacy"

1:30-3:30 - Session IV - Panels 19-24

4:00-6:00 - Session V - Panels 25-30

6:30-10:00 Dinner Excursion to The Salt Lick Barbecue (transportation provided)

Saturday, June 26

7:30-9:00 SHAFR Council Meeting

8:30-9:30 Coffee Hour

9:00-11:00 Session VI - Panels 31-36

11:30-1:15 Luncheon Address with Keynote Address by Admiral B.R. Inman: "Reflections on Intelligence Support for U.S. Foreign Relations"

1:30-3:30 - Session VII - Panels 37-42

4:00-6:00 Session VIII - Panels 43-48

6:00-8:00 Dinner Break

8:00-10:00 Plenary II: "The Personal as Diplomatic History" (Frank Costigliola, Chair)

The Registration/Information desk will be open from 11-6 on Thursday and 8-6 Friday and Saturday. There will be coffee available at 8:30 on Friday and Saturday and refreshments each afternoon at 3:30. The reception, luncheons, and Friday excursion require pre-registration (no tickets will be sold on site). There is no organized event for dinner on Saturday. The book exhibit will be open 11-5:30 on Thursday and 8:30-5:30 the other two days. All events, except for the Thursday reception/plenary and the two luncheons (which will take place at the LBJ Library), will take place at the Thompson Conference Center.

Additional information can be found at: <http://www.utexas.edu/cola/shafr/>. For questions about registration, accommodations, or meals, contact Joey Walker, UT Conference Coordinator, at [walker@mail.utexas.edu](mailto:walker@mail.utexas.edu). For other questions about the conference, contact Sara Wilson, SHAFR Conference Coordinator, at [shafr@mail.la.utexas.edu](mailto:shafr@mail.la.utexas.edu).

would have argued that the United States already had a real war [with Japan] on its hands, so why take on two more foes? The Japanese were the real enemy, for they had delivered a smashing blow below the belt at Pearl Harbor. The Germans and the Italians had not committed a remotely comparable outrage.<sup>26</sup>

Bailey then reiterated this conclusion, writing that “Hitler declare[d] war on the United States and [took] Roosevelt off the hook with the noisy isolationists.”<sup>27</sup> Whereas Jonas said in 2003 that Bailey considered Hitler’s declaration of war unimportant, Bailey himself wrote that Hitler’s declaration was a “disastrous blunder—declaring war on a United States that otherwise would have been torn by disunity and doubt in debating a formal declaration of hostilities.”<sup>28</sup>

Bailey asserts that because of Hitler’s declaration, Congress felt it had no choice but to declare war: “That body was forced to respond as expected after Japan, Germany, and Italy had first declared war on the United States.”<sup>29</sup> He also elaborates upon the irreconcilable opposition of the isolationists before Pearl Harbor, arguing that “their opposition was so rabid that Roosevelt could hardly have hoped, as we repeatedly have seen, to extract a declaration of war from Congress prior to the attack on Pearl Harbor and Hitler’s declaration against the United States.”<sup>30</sup> But Prof. Jonas asserted at the SHAFR Conference that Bailey supported his

contention that Hitler’s declaration was unimportant. The evidence suggests otherwise.

The analysis offered by Justus Doenecke, the SHAFR conference’s third expert on the subject of pre-World War II U.S. isolationism, was no less confusing. Doenecke’s comments implied that he agreed with Cole, although he implicitly rejected his main point about the unimportance of Hitler’s declaration.<sup>31</sup> He seemed to stress its importance when he made a point of rejecting my argument that Hitler had retracted his declaration the day after he made it,<sup>32</sup> saying that “I would argue that the Germans are not denying or retracting anything.”<sup>33</sup> Similarly, he seemed to stress the importance of Hitler’s declaration in his popular book *From Isolation to War*, which devotes two entire pages to examining this apparently momentous question of “Why, within four days after the attack, did Hitler declare war on the United States?”<sup>34</sup>

Doenecke’s recent book, *Storm on the Horizon*, also deals with events leading up to that apparently significant month of “December 1941, when the United States entered World War II as a full-scale belligerent.”<sup>35</sup> In the preface to this book Doenecke promises to focus on the underlying assumptions informing U.S. isolationism in 1941.<sup>36</sup> But unfortunately, nowhere does he focus on or even address the most fundamental question of all: if the isolationists were so resolutely opposed to a declaration of war on and a

ground invasion of Germany before December 1941,<sup>37</sup> why then did they so willingly concede to that in December?<sup>38</sup>

Historians need coherent answers to these most important questions. Cole’s stunning reversal should lead the historical community to hope that he will expand upon the assertions he made at the conference and soon publish his new explanation of why the United States entered into a total war with Germany. Jonas’s and Doenecke’s supportive comments indicate that they too need to explain exactly why they believe the United States decided to invade Europe in December 1941, and then reconcile their past work with their new analyses. The membership of SHAFR should ask that this issue be thoroughly aired, discussed, and debated. The recent SHAFR panel made only the most tenuous start on this most important historical question.

#### Notes:

<sup>1</sup> On December 11, 1941, the US Congress legislated two war resolutions. The first was a declaration of war on Germany, and the second was a repeal of that section of the Selective Service Act of 1940 that forbade the deployment of an American Expeditionary Force (AEF) outside of the Western Hemisphere or U.S. territories. It was this second act, not the first, which actually constituted the U.S. decision to invade Europe and Germany. Nevertheless, historians have generally referred to the decision to deploy troops as being synonymous with the declaration of war. Therefore, this paper will concede to that consensus

understanding, or rather misunderstanding, by similarly referring to the momentous decision on December 11, 1941, to invade Europe as the declaration of war.

<sup>2</sup> SHAFR Conference, June 6, 2003, George Washington University, Washington DC, Panel Session 7, "What was the Significance of Hitler's Declaration of War on the U.S.?"

<sup>3</sup> Richard F. Hill, "Hitler's Misunderstood Declaration of War," *SHAFR Newsletter*, June 2002; and Hill, *Hitler Attacks Pearl Harbor: Why the US Declared War on Germany* (Boulder, 2003).

<sup>4</sup> Hill, "Hitler's Misunderstood Declaration of War," 3; Samuel Rosenman, ed., *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt* (New York, 1950).

<sup>5</sup> Justus Doenecke, *Storm on the Horizon: the Challenge to American Intervention, 1939-1941* (Boulder, 2000) x, xiii; Manfred Jonas, "Comments: SHAFR Meeting, Washington, 2003," June 6, 2003 (unpublished), 7, 9.

<sup>6</sup> Wayne S. Cole, SHAFR conference comments, "America's Path to War with Germany, 1941," June 6, 2003 (unpublished), 2.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>8</sup> Wayne S. Cole, *Roosevelt and the Isolationists, 1932-1945* (Lincoln, NE, 1983), 12.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 364.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 454.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 506-7.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 12, 364, 449, 465, 480, 481.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 12-13.

<sup>14</sup> Congresswoman Jeanette Rankin (R., Montana) was the only member of Congress to refuse to vote for the Declaration of War on December 11, 1941.

<sup>15</sup> Cole, 1983, 508.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 437.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 448.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 450.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 504-5.

<sup>20</sup> Wayne S. Cole, *America First: The Battle Against Intervention, 1940-1941* (Madison, WI, 1953), 197. See the identical assessment in Thomas Bailey and Paul Ryan, *Hitler vs. Roosevelt: the Undeclared Naval War* (New York, 1979), 265.

<sup>21</sup> Manfred Jonas, "Comments: SHAFR Meeting," 7, 9.

<sup>22</sup> Manfred Jonas, *The United States and Germany: a Diplomatic History* (Ithaca, NY, 1984), 257, 258.

<sup>23</sup> Jonas, "Comments: SHAFR Meeting," 4.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>25</sup> Thomas Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People* (New York, 1964), 741.

<sup>26</sup> Bailey and Ryan, *Hitler vs. Roosevelt*, 251.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 252.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 255, 260-1, 267.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 263.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 261.

<sup>31</sup> Justus Doenecke, comments at the June 6, 2003 SHAFR conference (unpublished). Doenecke has also published his support of Cole's analyses and in his recent book refers to Cole as "the dean of scholars of World War II anti-interventionism" and "the nation's leading scholar of isolationism." Doenecke, *Storm on the Horizon*, x, xiii.

<sup>32</sup> Hill, "Hitler's Misunderstood Declaration of War," 2; see also Hill, "Hitler Attacks Pearl Harbor: Why the US Declared War on Germany."

<sup>33</sup> Doenecke SHAFR Comments, 5.

<sup>34</sup> Justus Doenecke and John Wilz, *From Isolation to War, 1939-1941*, 2nd ed. (Arlington Heights, IL, 1991), 176-7.

<sup>35</sup> Doenecke, *Storm on the Horizon*, p. ix.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, xi.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 268-9.

<sup>38</sup> Prof. Doenecke's only allusion to the issue of Hitler's declaration in this book is on the final page, where he

writes that "when the United States entered the war without reservation, anti-interventionists felt a profound sense of personal tragedy. Their anxiety was compounded by the fact that on 11 December 1941, Germany and Italy had declared war on the United States," Doenecke, *Storm on the Horizon*, 328.

*Richard Hill is an adjunct professor of history at Palm Beach Atlantic University*

Are you missing an old issue of the SHAFR Newsletter? Are you lying awake at night worried about your incomplete set? Do you feel like other historians are secretly mocking you because of your partial collection?

### **DON'T DESPAIR!**

Copies can be ordered through the *Passport* office at 1501 Neil Avenue, Columbus, OH 43210, or by e-mail at [passport@osu.edu](mailto:passport@osu.edu).

Orders are \$3.00 per issue, \$4.00 for international orders.

Many articles can also be found on line at: <http://www.shafr.org>

# Responses to Richard Hill

Richard Hill claimed in his *SHAFR Newsletter* article last year that historians have agreed since World War II that Hitler's declaration of war was the cause of America's entry into the European War and called this "a concoction invented by historians in 1945." He repeated this misinterpretation in his book with the appropriately counterfactual title, in which he also alleged there existed "a curious cover-up of the real and purposely forgotten U.S. justification of that war." At the SHAFR session we tried, apparently in vain, to explain to him the actual consensus we had a hand in fashioning. Hill, far from seeing the error of his ways, now claims that we reversed ourselves. We did nothing of the sort.

Those wishing to make sure can obtain a copy of my Washington comments from [jonasm@union.edu](mailto:jonasm@union.edu). My long-established views on America's entry into World War II and on Hitler's declaration can be found in *The United States and Germany*, pp 240-260.

*Manfred Jonas is the John Bigelow Professor of History, Emeritus, at Union College*

There is no change of mind on my part, either directly or indirectly. In my remarks at the SHAFR session of June 6, I took no stand either explicitly or implicitly on the importance of Hitler's December 11 declaration of war. Half my remarks involved my challenging Dr. Hill's assertion that, as he now repeats, "Hitler had retracted his declaration [of war on the US] the day after he made it." To my knowledge no reputable historian, living or dead, has ever supported Hill's claim. For my full remarks on Hill's June 6 paper, e-mail me at [doenecke@ncf.edu](mailto:doenecke@ncf.edu) or write me at Division of Social Sciences, New College of Florida, Sarasota, 34243. For my treatment of the crucial days December 7-11, 1941, note the following work of mine: pages 47-48, 459-69 of my book *In Danger Undaunted* (1990), a book that contains internal communications of the America First Committee during these four days; pp. 321-22 of *Storm on the Horizon* (2000); and *From Isolation to War* (3rd ed.; 2003), pp. 185-87."

*Justus Doenecke is Professor of History at New College of Florida*

Dr. Hill clearly is unhappy that the three of us did not embrace the thesis he advanced to the effect (as he put it in the title of his book) that "Hitler Attacks Pearl Harbor." We have read the book and paper and remain unpersuaded.

If any readers of *Passport* are sufficiently interested in what I said in the paper that I presented at the SHAFR session, please send me an e-mail at [wc14@umail.umd.edu](mailto:wc14@umail.umd.edu) or a snail mail at 10203 McGovern Drive, Silver Spring, Maryland 20903-1612, requesting a copy of my paper and I shall provide it. For the treatment I advanced on the subject some twenty years ago I suggest you read or reread chapters 29 and 31 in my book, *Roosevelt and the Isolationists, 1932-45*. For my mature conclusions on the America First Committee, read chapter 4 in my book, *Determinism and American Foreign Relations during the Franklin D. Roosevelt Era*. That chapter originally was published more than a decade ago. Readers may then evaluate my treatment of the subjects for themselves.

*Wayne S. Cole is Professor of History, Emeritus, at the University of Maryland - College Park*

# History is Just One Damn Thing After Another

By Thomas Schoonover

**A**fter close to a half century pursuing elusive Clio as student, scholar, and teacher, I have reflected upon my education and adventures in history. The wanderings described here will be both intellectual and physical, and some of the adventures will be, I think, real adventures. But as historians, we should always be skeptical, even of eyewitness accounts. The human mind and human senses play tricks on everyone, including historians. These words will, I hope, educate, morally challenge, inspire, amaze, and at times amuse young and old historians and well-wishers of history, in the best tradition of P.T. Barnum (periodically, I teach a course on leisure in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries). For the reader's astonishment and edification, I will relate three sets of experiences that shaped my life as an historian in the hope that they might instruct others in some indirect way and make their journey in and through history enlightening, satisfying and, perhaps, a bit adventurous and amusing. We will follow three roads with long names. The first road is "things are not always what they appear, and, anyway, they can change"; the second route is "be careful what you wish for,

you might get it"; and the third road is "even when things appear proper and normal, fate and Clio intervene in mysterious ways." As one wit said, "History is just one damn thing after another."

First, "things are not always what they appear to be." It is possible for young historians to become many things by approaching undergraduate and graduate education in history as broadly and expansively as possible and eschewing a narrow, restrictive perspective. Let curiosity guide. History is a subject for nosy people. Remember, historians are paid to do what others (with the exception of the CIA, FBI, and military intelligence agents) would be arrested and jailed for doing. We read other people's mail. Learn historical methods and techniques, historiography, and acquire the widest range of bibliographical, archival, and resource information during your education. Put as much as possible in your head and rely upon the internet to amplify and expand your memory, not substitute for it. Then you should be able to pursue whatever opportunity arises and also change your course and goals in research, teaching, and learning with relative ease. These are some of the shifts of fate and

fortune that have fallen upon me:

- a) I have some modest reputation in U.S. foreign relations, but I never took a course or seminar as an undergraduate or graduate in U.S. foreign relations.
- b) I have some modest reputation in Latin American history, but, you guessed it, I never took a course or seminar as an undergraduate or graduate in Latin American history.
- c) I have little or no reputation in U.S. military or Civil War era history, but I took a dozen or more courses and seminars in those fields. Indeed, my first publication was an undergraduate paper in the reputable national journal, Civil War History. As an undergraduate and in the early years of my graduate studies, I was a Civil War nut.
- d) My interests as an undergraduate and graduate student were not narrow. I eagerly pursued British history from the eighteenth to the twentieth century and nineteenth- and twentieth-century European history, and I toyed with the study of the Middle East. I took courses in all aspects of U.S. history from the colonial to the modern era. In all of these

areas, I labored to acquire methodology, interpretive perspectives, familiarity with reference works and guides, and the historiographical literature. My mental wanderings taught me how to find material on almost any topic in history.

e) When I finally decided to “switch rather than fight” (that is, to leave U.S. military studies for U.S. foreign relations with Latin America), the task of learning U.S. foreign relations and Mexican/Central American/Latin American history was time-consuming but not daunting.

If you are well trained and have been receptive to new ideas, I suspect you can wander through almost any place you wish in the mental geography and chronology of history.

How do you become an historian? I know. Follow the second road: “Be careful what you wish for, you might get it.” Poetically, this street might be described thus: “The best laid schemes o’ mice an’ men gang aft a-gley. An’lea’e us nought but grief and pain for promis’d joy” (Robert Burns, “To a Mouse,” stanza 7). An observant, thoughtful mouse at Winona High School in Minnesota many decades ago would have been certain that my future would be in science and mathematics. Before the National Science Foundation began its nationwide tests, the Westinghouse Company sponsored a nationwide competitive test in science and mathematics. My quarterfinal result led to a

scholarship to the University of Minnesota large enough to pay for my tuition and books and leave me some spending money (room and board was at home). After doing from fair to exceedingly well in accelerated math, chemistry, and physics courses for several years, rakish history took advantage of my tender, naïve youth. I switched before my junior year. My clouded and beguiled senses rejected the honest, reliable, and honorable sciences for the deceitful, dishonest, and seductive tramp called history. My chemistry and physics classes demanded about ten

hours of lab per week in my sophomore year; my history class made no demands (but revealed nothing about archival work). Looking out of the lab windows at the University of Minnesota in the fall and spring at the leaves turning or the birds returning (I was and still am an outdoors person) made my virtue an easy target for Clio. Only years later, as a fallen historian, did I learn about the scores of hours in archives and manuscript collections. False and deceptive history took me from dust-free, well-lit and well-ventilated labs with large windows into the stale air

## From the Quagmire to Détente: The Cold War from 1963 to 1975

October 8-9 2004

The Virginia Military Institute in association with the McCormick Tribune Foundation, the George C. Marshall Foundation, and the Cold War Museum will sponsor a third conference on the history of the Cold War, focusing on the years 1963 to 1975. Among the confirmed speakers are David Glantz, George Herring, David Maraniss, Robert J. McMahon, and Francis Gary Powers, Jr.

The meeting will be held at VMI in Lexington, Virginia. Contact Malcolm Muir, Jr., Department of History, Virginia Military Institute, Lexington, VA 24450. Phone: 540-464-7447/7338. E-mail: [muirm@vmi.edu](mailto:muirm@vmi.edu). Space is limited, so pre-registration, while complimentary, is essential.

of windowless research rooms where dusty, musty, worm- and insect-marked old paper collections awaited me. A sad tale of the moral decline of a once-upon-a-time honest, clean, upstanding chemist.

And the third road, “Clio and fate intervene in mysterious ways (and with astounding outcomes),” led me to many adventures and escapades. What adventures and escapades? Perhaps dodging falling stacks of documents? Responding to multiple paper cuts? Surviving the dust and insect droppings of ages? All of these hazards are commonly confronted during archival work in exotic materials in seldom-used archives or collections. I certainly experienced all of them, but I also survived other more heroic adventures that my wife and friends have been telling me to write down for over three decades. Better late than never. I hope I can borrow a bit of style and humor from Mark Twain in narrating my daring deeds, but I will try not to borrow his memory. Late in his life Twain said, “As I grew older my memory got better. I could remember things whether they happened or not.” But I am reasonably convinced that the following death-defying events are true and probably happened.

My first experience with Latin American revolutions occurred in the fall of 1968. I was in Mexico City, the site of that year’s summer Olympics, researching for my dissertation on U.S.–Mexican relations in the 1860s. My research led me to

various archives, including a major collection housed on the thirty-second and thirty-third floors of the Torre Latinamericana (the Latin American Tower). One day in October, I descended from my perch atop Mexico City’s tallest building and stepped outside. There, right on the corner, 15 feet away, was a machine gun in a sand-bag nest; across the street was an armored half-track; down that street, half way to the Zócalo, Mexico City’s central plaza, was a large vehicle, apparently a bus, overturned and burning. There were lots of armed soldiers and military vehicles on all four corners of the street. This was the heart of Mexico City, at the junction of Avenida Juárez and San Juan de Letrán. Kitty-corner was Bellas Artes, the principal stage and concert hall in Mexico City, and the expansive city park, La Alameda. Before me unfolded part of the long summer and fall of the Mexican student rebellion of 1968. Students were protesting recent corrupt elections and the money wasted on hosting the Olympic games when it was needed to help the poor. Mexico remained a semi-armed camp until just before we left in January 1969.

Three and a half years later, I undertook research in U.S.–Central American relations with a National Endowment for the Humanities fellowship for the academic year 1972–73. In July 1972, my family and I were driving our VW beetle from Lafayette, Louisiana, toward Costa Rica. After passing

immigration and customs inspections on the Mexican-Guatemalan border, we were stopped a mile or two inside the country at a second checkpoint, this time by the Guatemalan army. The soldiers asked for our passports and my driver’s license. Several experienced Central Americanists had warned us not to show any university documents or to claim faculty or student status. My colleagues advised saying we were tourists just enjoying Guatemala and Central America. The Guatemalan military often detained, sometimes tortured, and occasionally killed university students and faculty. Guerrilla groups were smuggling weapons and explosives across the border, and this checkpoint was the second of three that day. As the soldiers examined our documents, I looked into the rear view mirror. Behind us, hidden by bushes, were soldiers aiming a large machine gun at our car. The Guatemalans looked into and under the car, but they found no explosives, so we went on our way. At the third checkpoint, a few miles further into Guatemala, we had to unload the car; the Guatemalan officials opened boxes, suitcases, and even made my wife empty her purse. We were allowed to proceed after about an hour.

That summer and fall of 1972, I (with the help of my wife Ebba) worked in Guatemalan, El Salvadoran, Honduran, Nicaraguan, and Costa Rican archives. We experienced episodes of angry reaction to U.S. cultural imperialism in the education ministries of El Salvador, Honduras,

and Costa Rica. El Salvador's National Archives were located on the second floor of the Presidential Palace. One day, it got noisy in the courtyard area. Curious, my wife and I looked outside. The interior passageways of all three floors, the courtyard below, and all the stairways were packed with people. We listened to leaders of a teachers' union from across the country protest U.S. interference in El Salvador's Ministry of Education and educational program.

A few weeks later we were in Tegucigalpa, the capital of Honduras, staying at the Hotel Prado. One evening the Prado, in the center of Tegucigalpa near the Parque Morazán, was awash in tear gas. A look out of the hotel revealed a few burning cars or other objects, people running in the streets, some with bandanas over their faces, and troops with gas masks moving on the other side of Morazán park. Curious, and fortuitously wearing tennis shoes, I took to the streets and followed some of the protesters down a street. Hiding with them behind an overturned but not burning car, I inquired what was happening. Of course, I asked in Spanish with a strong North American accent. The young people told me that there had been a demonstration heading to the U.S. Embassy to protest U.S. cultural imperialism in the education system of Honduras. Honduran forces had intervened with violence. Fortunately, these students did not extend their grudge against the U.S. government to me, and also fortunately, the Honduran police and army,

admittedly at a distance, either did not shoot at me or missed. After a few more minutes in the streets running to a few more spots with the students, I headed back to the Hotel Prado to celebrate my five minutes as a Latin American revolutionary (in Mexico I had been a mere observer). Incidentally, for those of you who are undergraduate or graduate historians, I would like to express the hope that my colleagues who are instructing you in research and writing have not been remiss in your historical training. Undergraduates and graduates are supposed to run at least ten miles and do twenty-five 100-yard sprints each week. At the University of Louisiana at Lafayette, we recently renamed our History 390 and 505 courses as "Research, Writing, and Running" I and II. I hope all young historians are receiving adequate preparation.

As soon as we left Honduras to enter Nicaragua, we encountered President Anastasio Somoza's atmosphere of fear and suspicion. The border officials noticed we had several books in German. They were fairy-tale collections from the brothers Grimm and others. My wife Ebba is German, and our son Paco, almost five at that time, spoke and understood German well. Somoza's officials may not even have been certain the language was German, but they were certain it was not Spanish or English. Since Somoza ran a tight and quite unforgiving ship, the officials made a series of urgent phone calls to various people and then waited for orders. After most

of an hour and various questions, we were finally allowed to proceed. Later, at a routine stop in Nicaragua, I had to talk fast and summon all my magical powers when the police official, who had trouble with the language and information fields on my Louisiana driver's license, thought he detected an expired document. He had, but I somehow persuaded him to doubt himself. He let us continue, but I drove with an expired license until we returned to Louisiana.

About three weeks later in San José, Costa Rica, I left the side street connecting the University of Costa Rica with the main thoroughfare from the east to the center of San José. I had a bit of trouble entering the street because there were many vehicles and people walking slowly along toward the center of the city, where I was also headed. A gap opened and I got my vehicle situated in a dense phalanx of cars, trucks, flatbeds, and pedestrians. I rolled the windows down to inquire in my Yankee Spanish what was happening. Students or young Costa Ricans who strolled beside my VW threw flyers into my front seat and informed me that U.S. cultural imperialism was trying to manage the schools, curricula, and the education ministry in Costa Rica. I looked around. A flatbed truck that was sharing the street with me had a straw dummy of Uncle Sam, clad in red, white and blue, hanging from a gallows. But everyone seemed friendly.

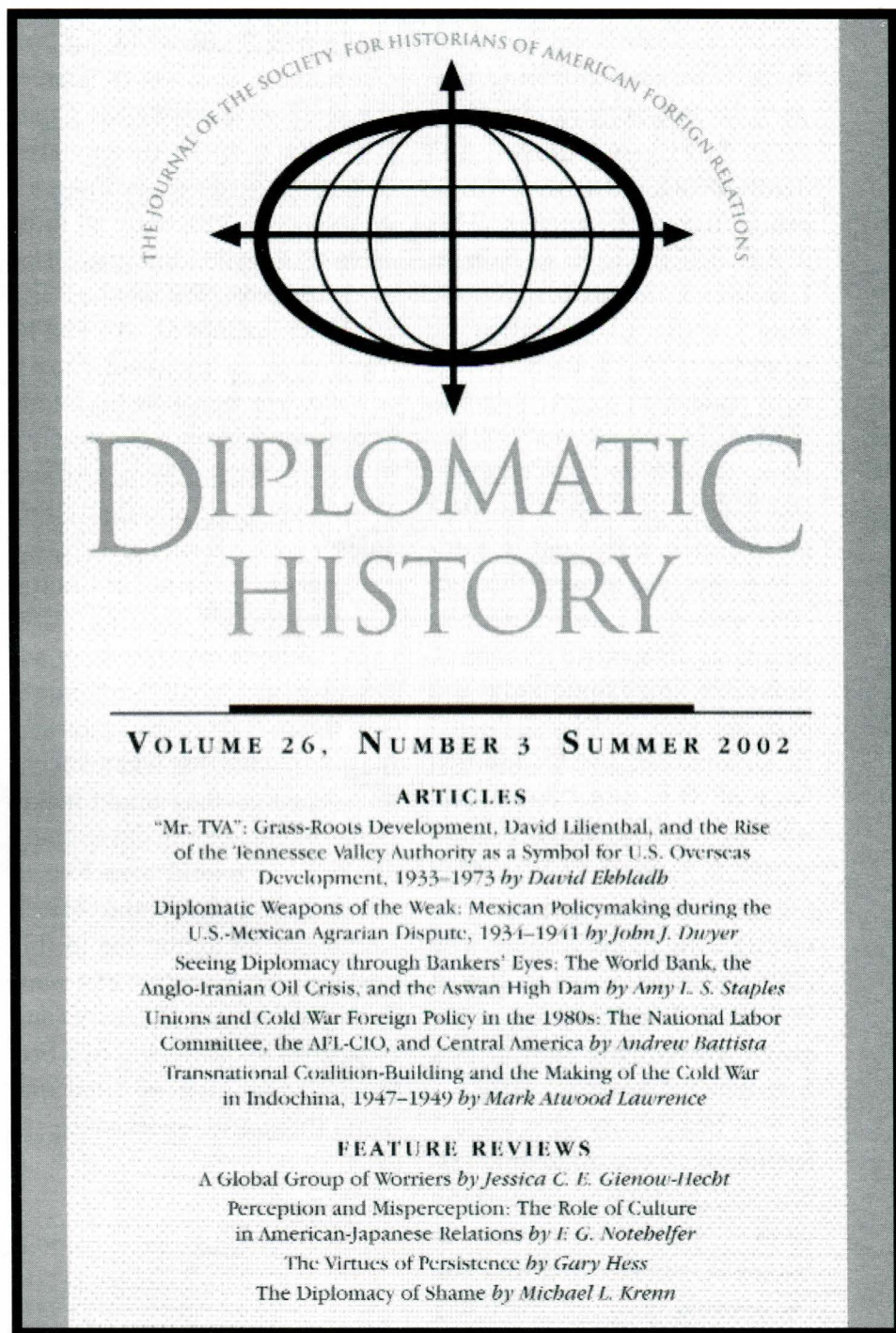
After completing work in Costa Rica, we started our return trip in November 1972. When we



had entered Costa Rica, we had spent some time at the border clarifying exactly what we needed in documentation for our later departure. In San José, we went to the various bureaucracies to follow the correct procedures and secure the right documents. Despite these efforts, Costa Rican officials at the border claimed we lacked one item. After many attempts to solve the problem, I had had enough. Aware of the peaceful nature of the Costa Ricans and seeing that few weapons were visible and none of the guards actually held a gun, I devised a plan. Acting as if I was about to return to the next city about one and a half hours away, I headed over the border into Nicaragua, deaf to the shouts of the unarmed Costa Rican guards. Since Nicaragua and Costa Rica were having a tiff at that time, I assumed the Nicaraguans would welcome the chance to tweak the noses of the Costa Ricans. Ebba thought we were dead. We were both wrong. I was compelled to return to the Costa Rican border station and then head to the next city after ascertaining that the Costa Ricans were not going to arrest us. History teaches us to assess phenomena from all sides. In that situation, my scientific and historical training suggested that what I tried was not unreasonable. It was, however, unsuccessful, and certainly it was embarrassing as hell when it did not work. As historians, we learn to live with our capacity to analyze, interpret, and comprehend.

One final episode in the life of a wandering historian.

*Passport* April 2004



Information about submitting articles to *Diplomatic History* can be found online at: <http://www.colorado.edu/history/diplomatic>, maintained at the journal's editorial offices at the University of Colorado at Boulder. The editor-in-chief of *Diplomatic History* is Robert D. Schulzinger, and the executive editor is Thomas W. Zeiler. The editorial staff can be reached via email at: [diplomat@colorado.edu](mailto:diplomat@colorado.edu).

For other information about *Diplomatic History*, including permissions, editorial information, subscription information, the contents of recent issues, abstracts of recent articles, and electronic access to the journal, please check the *Diplomatic History* home page, maintained by Blackwell Publishers at: <http://www.blackwellpublishing.com>.

Historians know the national myth: if we are god-fearing, diligent, honest, persevering, helpful, family-oriented, and hardworking, our reward will be prosperity and success. This myth does not have to be true. Hard work, however, gave my family a special reward in the winter of 1972–73. We had originally planned to spend Christmas in Managua, Nicaragua, at a hotel we knew from a previous trip. But with Ebba's help, I finished my research early, and in mid-November we passed through Nicaragua, did a week's work in Honduras, then drove through El Salvador and Guatemala and back into Mexico City so I could finish some research for my first book on U.S. and Confederate roles in the French intervention in Benito Juárez's Mexico. Had we not worked so hard and efficiently, I might not be here. The hotel we had planned to stay at in Managua was leveled in the major earthquake that struck Managua in December 1972.

Besides my wife, Ebba, I had another very influential (albeit unsuspecting) assistant in my work. When we were in Managua, my five-year-old son Paco would disappear each day on the hand of a young staff person at the Banco de Nicaragua, the national central bank. Only near the end of my research in Managua did we learn that Paco had spent part of every day playing in the corner of the office of the director of the Banco de Nicaragua—the Alan Greenspan of Nicaragua—because he had neat stuff in his office and windows

that overlooked most of Managua. A few weeks later, at the Archivo Nacional of Costa Rica, Paco again disappeared daily with a young staff person. At the end of that stay, all three of us were called into the office of the director. We thanked him for his cooperative staff, and he thanked us for the regular visits of Paco. He then gave his buddy Paco various mementos, including a pre-Colombian artifact. With two such accomplished aides, I gathered enough research materials to write about Central America for two decades.

I hope my stumbling adventures, as I recall them, might give future and present historians the confidence that whatever career decisions they might make, things might not turn out so badly after all. I would also like to thank Peter Hahn and Mitch Lerner for indulging me in this nostalgic retrospective of a wandering historian's adventures and escapades in the pursuit of a better understanding of "just one damn thing after another."

*Thomas Schoonover is Professor of History at the University of Louisiana-Lafayette*



For information about the operation of SHAFR, prize and award information, and other business matters, please contact the business office at the address below:

SHAFR Business Office  
Department of History  
Ohio State University  
106 Dulles Hall  
230 West 17th Avenue  
Columbus, OH 43210  
(614) 292-1951  
(614) 292-7200  
(614) 292-2282 (fax)  
Email: [shafr@osu.edu](mailto:shafr@osu.edu)  
<http://www.shafr.org>



**SPECIAL DISCOUNT of 25% for 2004 SHAFR CONFERENCE**

**American Foreign Relations Since 1600: A Guide  
to the Literature**

Compiled by Robert L. Beisner of American University and thirty-two contributing editors, the Guide contains over 16,000 annotated entries, arranged in 32 chapters in two volumes. The Guide will serve as an indispensable work for scholars and students interested in any aspect of foreign relations history.

The Guide was named an **OUTSTANDING ACADEMIC TITLE** by *Choice*.

In conjunction with the 2004 SHAFR annual conference, SHAFR members are invited to purchase a copy of this work at special rates of \$71.25 for members and \$48.75 for student members. These prices reflect a 25% conference discount off the already-low regular prices of \$95.00 and \$65.00. These discounted prices are guaranteed only until June 30, 2004, or until SHAFR's special allotment of volumes is sold. Once this initial allocation is exhausted, prices will rise to \$135. (The commercial price is \$225).

To order, simply complete and mail the order form below, together with a check or money order for the proper amount. (Sorry, credit cards cannot be accepted.)

---

American Foreign Relations Since 1600: A Guide to the Literature

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

e-mail \_\_\_\_\_

phone \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_ Member (\$71.25 = 25% off normal price of \$95.00)

\_\_\_ Student member (\$48.75 = 25% off normal price of \$65.00)

Enclose a check or money order payable to SHAFR and mail to:

SHAFR Business Office

Department of History

Ohio State University

106 Dulles Hall

230 West 17th Avenue

Columbus, OH 43210-1367

To obtain conference discount, orders may be postmarked by June 30, 2004. Books will be shipped directly from the publisher.

# The Betty Miller Unterberger Dissertation Prize

Recently Betty Miller Unterberger announced her decision to retire from the history faculty at Texas A&M University, effective May 2004. For over three decades Professor Unterberger has been a pillar of the diplomatic history community. Her pioneering scholarship, especially in the area of U.S.-Soviet and U.S.-East European relations, has opened avenues of inquiry taken by many younger scholars. Her teaching has introduced generations of students to U.S. diplomatic history. Her service—to SHAFR, to the historical profession, and to the American public—has been nothing short of inspiring. Besides being present at the creation of SHAFR (she was a founding member and is a past president), Professor Unterberger was instrumental in making the work of the society known to the Bernath family, which responded generously in supporting SHAFR through various endowments and prizes, through funding for *Diplomatic History*, and through sponsorship of scholars in Communist countries during the Cold War. Professor Unterberger has served on dozens of committees in academia and in the U.S. government, where she has been a strong voice in favor of opening the record of American foreign relations to scholars and the public. Not least, Professor Unterberger has been a model to many young women scholars who have followed her into a field that was not always friendly to their entrance or their work.

In 2001 the SHAFR Executive Committee authorized my colleague Terry Anderson and me to solicit funds for the establishment of a Betty Miller Unterberger Dissertation Prize. The prize will go to the best dissertation in the history of U.S.

foreign relations, and will complement the other prizes SHAFR awards. It will thereby recognize and encourage the work of beginning scholars, and in doing so extend Professor Unterberger's work into the indefinite future.

This past June the Executive Committee decided that the first Unterberger Prize will be awarded as soon as the endowment reaches \$15,000. As of this writing, the endowment stands at just under \$11,000. Scores of SHAFR members—and others—have contributed generously; for these contributions we are very grateful.

We are now in the home stretch, and urge both those who have already contributed and those who have not to help us achieve this very worthy goal. It would do SHAFR proud, and additionally honor Professor Unterberger's many years of service to SHAFR, to award the first Unterberger prize at the June 2004 SHAFR conference, which will mark her retirement.

Please write checks to "SHAFR Endowment—Unterberger Prize," and mail them to SHAFR Business Office, Department of History, Ohio State University, 106 Dulles Hall, 230 West 17th Avenue, Columbus, OH 43210. Receipts can be provided for tax purposes.

Thank you.

H. W. Brands  
Texas A& M University

# Teaching the History of United States Latin American Relations in Cochabamba, Bolivia

By James F. Siekmeier

*The ideas expressed here do not necessarily represent the policy of the U.S. Department of State.*

From August through November 2002 I had the opportunity through a Fulbright teaching/research grant to teach in the master's program at the Universidad Mayor de San Simón (UMSS) in Cochabamba, Bolivia.<sup>1</sup> It was one of the most rewarding experiences of my life—an educational exchange from which I profited far more than my students did. The Centro de Estudios Superiores Universitarios (CESU), a multidisciplinary master's program founded in 1994, is a departure for Bolivia, where master's degrees are relatively new and doctoral programs are nonexistent. CESU professors of sociology, political science, and economics offer a wide variety of courses in development studies, including sociology and development, sustainable development, gender and development, and international relations.

The three-hour weekly course I taught was entitled "History of United States–Latin

American Relations," with an emphasis on United States–Bolivian relations. Since UMSS has no history department, my course was listed as an international relations course. The international relations program, part of the political science major, had been established only four years earlier, in response to student petitioning. Since there was a dearth of political science professors—and therefore many cancelled courses—the students were enthusiastic about my course.

At first I spent the bulk of the time lecturing, but as the course progressed, more class time was devoted to discussion. The course was taught in Spanish, so finding Spanish translations of U.S. historical documents was imperative. I availed myself of an excellent set of translated documents on U.S. history, the nine-volume *EUA (Estados Unidos de America)*, edited by Ana Rosa Suárez Argüello and published by the Instituto Mora in Mexico City. (The library of the Centro Boliviano Americano, the bi-national center in Cochabamba, owned the set.) Although U.S.

students generally find analyzing primary sources confusing and difficult, in Bolivia my students appreciated the chance to read such material, in part because getting access to such documents on U.S. history in Spanish is difficult.

Although only sixteen students enrolled in the course, about twenty-five others audited the first few sessions. The students were from working- and middle-class backgrounds and spanned a wide range of ages. Some students' analytical and creative abilities were undeveloped due to the prevalence of rote learning in secondary schools, which is only slowly being phased out. As a result, some of them would copy long, unattributed passages from the documents. However, others employed subtle and skillful arguments backed up with a plethora of evidence.

University life in Bolivia differs sharply from that in the United States. Students reside at home or in apartments, not dormitories. Since nearly all students work, the majority of classes are held in the evening.

Politically, most students are on the left. They urge expanded civil rights for the Indians of Bolivia, and, with regard to economic issues, they are critical of the neoliberal “Washington consensus.” (Essentially, neoliberalism calls for an international, free-market capitalist system with minimal national government regulation.) The principle of autonomy has deep historic roots in the Bolivian university system, and students exercise a degree of control over university governance unheard of in the United States. Student leaders, elected by the student body, sit on powerful university governing boards. While I was teaching at UMSS, a radical student organization claimed that an election for seats on one of the governing boards was stolen from them, and they organized a university-wide strike. Strikes at Latin American universities are common, and as in most drawn-out walkouts, the intensity of the strike ebbed and flowed. At one point some students took over CESU’s building and held hostages for a day. (I was not in my office during the takeover.) To end the standoff, the university tacitly acknowledged that the radical students could sit on some of the university’s governing boards.

Despite the strike, my students came to class. This proved fortunate for me, because I found their reactions to the course material fascinating. For example, when I taught North American colonial history I found that the students had a hard

time understanding England’s policy of “salutary neglect” towards its thirteen colonies. The idea that England would hold the colonial reins of power lightly as long as the crown’s subjects produced income for the mother country was foreign to them. There were few or no precedents in Latin American history they could use as points of comparison. The Spanish colonizers’ urge to control the vast lodes of silver they discovered in the New World reinforced a preexisting authoritarian political tradition.

When I taught the U.S. Constitution, I asked the students why the U.S. Constitution is the longest-lived in the world, whereas Latin American constitutions often come and go. One student replied that historically Bolivian (and Latin American) constitutions are written without considering the rights, or even the role in society, of the majority of the population—the poor, and in particular the Indians. Therefore, the popular sectors form revolutionary movements to change the constitution, and a new one is produced. This pattern has repeated itself throughout the region’s history. Another student said that the U.S. citizenry’s acceptance of the U.S. Constitution became, after a while, a self-fulfilling prophecy, or a habit. That is, since the U.S. Constitution proved workable for a long period of time, U.S. citizens began to accord it automatic respect.

The 1898 Spanish-American-Cuban-Filipino War also proved a popular topic. The

students seemed to understand the complicated interplay of economic, security-related, and paternalistic motives on the part of the United States. Many saw the war as the beginning of a slow but steady increase in the exercise of U.S. power in the region and believed the United States often had economic motives. Some students noted that the United States has historically made both unilateral and (more recently) multilateral attempts to pursue open markets in the hemisphere.

My teaching of Bolivia’s 1952 revolution was facilitated by an international conference held on the fiftieth anniversary of the revolution in Cochabamba in October 2002. The title of the conference, “Revolution in the Twentieth Century—Globalization and the Nation-State,” reflected its rich content, as scholars from all over the world came to discuss a variety of revolutions. The conference included Bolivian revolutionary-nationalist film documentaries and commentary by peasant leaders from the 1950s. Student papers on the films revealed their frustration that many of the goals of the revolutionaries remain unfulfilled. These aspirations included economic development and providing economic betterment for the *mestizo* (mixed-blood) poor and the Indians.

In class discussion of the Cold War, Cuba featured prominently. In addition to providing a challenge to the United States-led hemispheric economic system, Cuba’s revolution, some

students noted, was also an uprising of darker-skinned non-whites against a mixed-blood and white elite. As such, it proved to be a turning point not only in United States–Latin American relations, but perhaps even in the history of the Cold War. Surprisingly the class did not consider Ernesto “Che” Guevara’s attempts to foment revolution in Bolivia a compelling topic, despite the thirty-fifth anniversary of his death in Bolivia on October 6 and the fifth anniversary of the finding of his remains. Perhaps the relevance of Che has deteriorated since most of the students were born after he was killed. Also, contemporary issues have so preoccupied Bolivians of late that to many his struggle seems very, very long ago.

Not surprisingly, many students looked at United States–Latin American relations through the lens of Bolivian history and La Paz’s relations with Washington. Regarding the U.S. government’s refusal to purchase tin for its strategic stockpile in the 1950s and 1960s and the present-day U.S. effort to eradicate coca (the raw material for cocaine), the students asked me if the U.S. government understood the implications of its policies vis-à-vis Bolivia. The ramifications for Bolivia are profound; coca is the countryside’s lifeblood. In addition, they queried me about the U.S. public’s knowledge of U.S. policy. I told them that, regrettably, the United States government often takes its relations with the Latin American republics for

granted. Moreover, Bolivia is often not a high priority for the *norteamericanos* (i.e., North Americans, shorthand for people from the United States).

Many, if not most, students firmly adhered to the dependency (or *dependencista*) theory of United States–Latin American relations. They saw the United States historically controlling the most dynamic sectors of the Latin American economy, and Washington currently using its power to shape the outcome of the nascent Free Trade Area of the Americas Agreement (FTAA). Historically speaking, Latin American have, with some justification, interpreted U.S. trade policy as an attempt to protect U.S. markets while demanding access to Latin American goods that are rare or unavailable in the United States.

Presently, in accordance with the terms of the FTAA, the United States is using its leverage as an important market for Latin American exports (such as textiles from Bolivia) to force the Bolivians to enact certain policies—in particular, to maintain their vigilance in the drug war. In addition, Washington has used the political leverage that flows from U.S. assistance to compel Bolivia to prosecute some drug-related crimes in military tribunals. The majority of the students in my class, and in Bolivia generally, view these measures as coercive and see little hope of a warming of *norteamericano*–Latin American relations.

In class, I argued that some of the wealthier nations of

Latin America were not prostrate before U.S. power and that the dependency framework was less useful in explaining these nations’ relations with the United States than Bolivia’s. However, most students retorted that the FTAA was part of a coordinated effort on the part of the United States to strengthen the hemisphere-wide neoliberal trend currently prevailing, but increasingly criticized, in Latin America.

In the end, typically, no consensus emerged—otherwise, of course, teaching would be dreadfully boring! One classroom dynamic that became evident was that some students expressed balanced, nuanced views of the United States and its foreign policy motives in their written assignments but did not articulate such sentiments in class. These students expressed the belief that although relations between the two continents have been tense, and Latin America’s frustration with U.S. policy has been growing, the nations of the Western Hemisphere need to find a way to work together. As the “global village,” once only a much-discussed theory, becomes more and more a reality, there will be greater incentives for the United States and the Latin Americans to rework their relationship into one of mutual respect. In response to my assignment that they write a paper on whether it was possible for the United States and Latin America to be “Good Neighbors,” one student wrote that “Latin Americans need to get away from the



unproductive idea that the United States *always* acts as the cat, and the Latin Americans *necessarily* play the role of mice.”

**Notes:**

<sup>1</sup> A research grant from the Fulbright Commission gave me the funding to teach and do research in Cochabamba, and the Historian at

the State Department allowed me to take leave time from my job. In addition, Arnaldo De León, Monica Belmonte, Laurie West Van Hook, Marc Susser, and Catherine Tall offered helpful criticisms on early drafts of this article. My colleagues at Centro de Estudios Superiores Universitarios and the Universidad Mayor de San Simón in Cochabamba provided an excellent working and teaching environment. And, of course, I would like to thank

the students in my class on the history of United States–Latin American relations.

*James F. Siekmeier is a historian at the Office of the Historian at the U.S. Department of State*

# Dublin Fulbright for Scholars of American Foreign Relations

By Elizabeth Cobbs-Hoffman

I knew I was beginning to fit in at University College Dublin (UCD) when I asked the History Department Chair if I should make a left turn at O’Shea’s pub to enter the back of the University. “That’s it!” he beamed. “Now you’ve got it.”

Driving directions in Ireland are not quite what they are in the United States. First, they invariably involve a pub: O’Shea’s, or The Goat, or The Old Punch Bowl, or The Stoop Your Head. Second, they do not involve street names. Instead, one enters roundabouts, passes streets with “ramps” (speed bumps), looks for cobblestones or gravel, turns left or right at the church, or continues straight on past the castle walls. Indeed, most thoroughfares change names

several times over a short distance, and may not even have the same name on both sides of the street. One begins to wonder if it is a way of sabotaging British imperialists or a practical joke on American tourists.

Two generations of scholars of American foreign relations have had the opportunity to observe these and other delightfully unique aspects of the Irish landscape while having their own cultural peculiarities thrown into relief by Ireland’s similar yet very different national ethos. The Mary Ball Washington Chair is the best paid of the Fulbright Distinguished Chairs, and is located at University College Dublin. The chair has been filled by a number of well-known scholars in our field, including

Stephen Ambrose, Harvard Sitkoff, Joan Hoff, Robert McMahon, Elaine Tyler May, Stephen Rabe, Ted Wilson, Terry Anderson, and Thomas McCormick. The holder teaches three courses during the year for the convivial UCD History Department and often has opportunities to give talks at other Irish and European universities through the Fulbright program. During my year here I have been invited to lecture in Warsaw, London, and Berlin and to comment on American politics for Irish radio and television. My formal assignment has been to teach two classes on U.S. foreign relations (one for graduates, one for undergraduates) and one course on the history of the sixties.

Teaching abroad compels Americans to rethink how they teach our history, particularly U.S. foreign relations. My own year in Dublin has coincided with the ongoing war in Iraq, so at times it has seemed as if nearly every word out of my mouth had an importance and weight that it would not normally have. It has been an engrossing, exhilarating, and at times uncomfortable experience, but one I am glad to have had. It may be that the students, who have been very receptive, would describe their experience similarly.

Although Trinity College (founded by Elizabeth I) traditionally scoops up many of the highest-scoring secondary school students, UCD is the largest university in the country and thus plays a critical role in the life of the nation, as its graduates do in Irish government. What students learn about America from classes taught by the Mary Ball Washington Professor can have long-term significance. Teaching at UCD is a chance, in other words, to make a real difference in international understanding.

The first stage in the application process is a letter of interest. Those who would like to explore the opportunity should contact Daria Teutonico at the Council for the International Exchange of Scholars (administrator for the Fulbright Program). The deadline is May 1, 2004, for the 2005-2006 academic year.

*Elizabeth Cobbs-Hoffmann is a Professor of History at San Diego State University*

# Declassification at the Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

By David Haight

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library, which opened in 1966, significantly expanded its declassification program in 1972, when President Richard Nixon signed Executive Order 11652, "Classification and Declassification of National Security Information and Material." EO 11652 established the researcher-initiated mandatory declassification review program and called for the systematic review of materials over 30 years old. Both mandatory and systematic declassification review continue at the Eisenhower Library.<sup>1</sup> In 1995, however, President Bill Clinton approved Executive Order 12958, which led to major changes in the declassification process. Although recently amended, this order still governs national security information. Section 3.4(a) of EO 12958 set April 2000 as the deadline for accomplishing the review of all classified information over twenty-five years old held by the National Archives and the presidential libraries.<sup>2</sup> In response to this mandate, the Central Intelligence Agency, in cooperation with the National Archives and the presidential libraries, developed the Remote Archive Capture (RAC) program. The RAC

program sent teams of contract personnel to the libraries holding classified documents. They scanned the documents onto disks, which were then taken to a secure location in the Washington, D.C. area for review by the CIA and other agencies.<sup>3</sup>

In 1995 the National Security Council (NSC) decided to delegate authority for the declassification of most White House and NSC documents to archivists at the Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson Libraries, although it excluded some specific categories of documents. Declassification authority was particularly important for the Eisenhower Library because White House and NSC materials constitute over 50 percent of the library's classified holdings. The library now takes declassification action on requests for most White House and NSC documents. Declassification review archivists identify various agency equities and apply available agency guidelines carefully.<sup>4</sup> They also use publications such as the Department of State's Foreign Relations of the United States series and review precedents set by mandatory review actions to determine the continuing sensitivity of certain topics.<sup>5</sup>

Despite its shortcomings, mandatory review remains the most reliable and productive avenue for obtaining declassification review of many high-level documents in which a number of agencies have equity interests. From 1977 to June 2003 the mandatory review program totally or partially declassified almost 175,000 pages, including most of the NSC Summaries of Discussion, the White House Staff Secretary's Memoranda of Conferences with the President, and countless other high-level documents requiring intense review, usually by more than one agency.<sup>6</sup> Systematic review continues at the library, but with better guidance and a stronger mandate for action. In launching its systematic declassification review of the library's classified holdings in late 1995, the staff was determined to declassify as much as possible onsite while fulfilling its mandate to identify documents to be scanned for the RAC program and keeping records of withheld material and agencies of primary subject matter interest so that arrangements could be made with these agencies to obtain declassification review of withheld material.

Between late 1995 and April 2003, the staff declassified onsite through systematic review 206,694 pages (61 percent of reviewed material), while withholding as too sensitive to declassify per guidelines 134,070 pages (39 percent).<sup>7</sup> Although the declassified totals include numerous transmittal letters and routine memoranda, they also contain a

large volume of substantive high-level documentation from World War II through the Eisenhower presidency and into the early 1970s.

Equipped with more specific guidelines concerning the United Kingdom, the staff declassified much of the correspondence between Prime Minister Harold Macmillan and President Eisenhower, except for a few letters dealing with intelligence or nuclear matters. The staff also declassified correspondence and memoranda concerning most Western European countries, the Soviet Union, and many Asian, Latin American and African countries, and released numerous previously withheld foreign government documents. Much documentation pertaining to diplomacy during the Eisenhower administration was opened between 1996 and 2003.

A significant quantity of material pertaining to the Eisenhower administration's national security machinery has also been declassified, including memoranda and letters concerning the National Security Council and minutes from meetings of the Operations Coordinating Board (OCB). The OCB was an arm of the NSC that coordinates and reports on the implementation of NSC policy papers, studies specific projects, gathers intelligence, and produces papers on the psychological and public relations impact of various government programs. OCB minutes from the years 1953 through 1961 have now, with scattered exceptions, been declassified,

along with most of a file of weekly summaries of NSC, Planning Board and OCB activities for the period between 1957 and 1961 and large numbers of memoranda of OCB working group meetings on specific topics. Although a few scholars have produced useful studies of Eisenhower's National Security Council, much research needs to be done on the OCB and key members of Eisenhower's national security team such as the White House staff secretary and the special assistant for national security affairs, particularly in light of the recently declassified material.<sup>8</sup>

The Operations Coordinating Board generated a large volume of documentation on U.S. cultural, diplomatic, and psychological and public relations actions intended to exert a positive influence on developments in many countries, particularly in Asia and Latin America. The OCB conducted studies of special topics such as Buddhism in Southeast Asia.<sup>9</sup> It coordinated the Overseas Internal Security Program, conducted pursuant to NSC Action No. 1290, Paragraph D (the program was often called the 1290-d program), involving U.S. military assistance to more than two dozen countries located primarily in Southeast Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East.<sup>10</sup> Plans for two organizations intended to help wage the Cold War but never implemented, the Volunteer Freedom Corps (Europe) and the International Volunteer Air Corps (Southeast Asia) are also

documented in the OCB Central Files.<sup>11</sup> The OCB files are supplemented by the rich volume of recently declassified material on foreign economic policy, cultural diplomacy, international information and psychological warfare found in the Records of the President's Committee on Information Activities Abroad (Sprague Committee) and in several other collections in our holdings.

World War II material has also been declassified during these last few years. Highlights include two thousand pages pertaining to the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), the British Special Operations Executive, and European resistance movements in a microfilm collection of records from the Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force. The staff has also declassified several hundred pages documenting Claude Boillot's work with the French Resistance and his efforts to collect intelligence on Germany while working with the British Secret Service during the war. The Papers of Paul Sturman, who worked for the Foreign Nationalities Division of the Office of War Information (OWI), contain recently opened information on Slavic groups in the United States, while the Papers of Bernard Yarrow, a special assistant to OSS director William Donovan, document efforts to sustain a Yugoslav government in exile under King Peter, with Ivan Subasic, the Ban of Croatia, as prime minister (Project SHEPHERD).<sup>12</sup>

The Eisenhower Library

also holds material covering the 1960s and even the 1970s. Not all of this material required declassification, although much of it did. Diplomatic and social historians may find Arthur Flemming's files on his work with the World Council of Churches interesting, as they reflect religious opposition to the Vietnam War and touch upon many social issues of the 1960s. Herbert Brownell, President Eisenhower's attorney general, retained a file documenting his service for President Richard Nixon as special ambassador responsible for negotiating a treaty with Mexico to control salinity in the Colorado River in 1972-73. A few hundred pages of material concerning this diplomatic and environmental problem in U.S.-Mexican relations were declassified through mandatory and systematic review. Staff also declassified a few hundred pages of diplomatic messages, memoranda and reports concerning China, Burma, Japan and Southeast Asia in the early 1970s in the Papers of Ambassador David Osborn. This includes material on President Nixon's trip to China in 1972.

The Papers of Lauris Norstad merit special mention. General Lauris Norstad is best known for his service as Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR) from 1956 to 1962. His papers are a rich source of information on events, issues and personalities involved in Western European defense. When the library received this collection in the mid-1980s it contained an

estimated forty thousand pages of classified documentation, most of which related to the Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Berlin, U.S. military strategy in Europe, nuclear matters, medium range ballistic missile and intermediate range ballistic missile systems, and relations among the NATO member nations. Many items in his papers bear NATO security classification markings and are not reviewable under guidelines. NATO issued guidelines to cover many of its files through 1958 but specifically excluded materials originated by SHAPE and other military commands. The library continues to rely heavily on the mandatory review process for such material and has sent requests covering many SHAPE documents to agencies within the government (typically State and Defense, and occasionally others) but also to SHAPE for review, while concurrently applying systematic review guidelines where it is possible to do so. The results of the mandatory and systematic reviews have been mixed at best. While some high-level documentation has been declassified (Berlin, for example, has been an area of success), numerous items on certain topics, particularly those involving nuclear strategy, continue to be denied in full or heavily redacted. At present the staff estimates that at least twenty thousand pages remain classified in the Lauris Norstad Papers. Many scholars may find his pre-SACEUR files

useful, and General Norstad's World War II files have been fully declassified, as have all of his materials dated prior to 1950. However, scholars interested in studying the diplomatic and military details of Western European defense during Norstad's tenure as SACEUR should be prepared not only for rewards but for frustration. The Norstad Papers will pose declassification problems for years to come.

Intelligence and nuclear weapons-related documentation pose the greatest declassification problems at the Eisenhower Library. Much intelligence information is sensitive and will likely remain so for many years. Nevertheless, the library has had significant declassification success for certain types of intelligence documentation. Research on many facets of intelligence, including both its administrative and organizational aspects and President Eisenhower's use of it, is now feasible, as is research on World War II. The Joint Study Group Report on Foreign Intelligence Activities of the United States Government, dated December 15, 1960, was largely declassified, with a modest number of redactions. This document, signed by Lyman Kirkpatrick, contains recommendations on increasing the effectiveness of U.S. government intelligence collection.<sup>13</sup> Recent declassification actions have also released documents pertaining to the President's Board of Consultants on Foreign Intelligence Activities (PBCFIA). Even with redactions certain of these items provide

useful insights into the intelligence oversight process.<sup>14</sup>

As for operational matters, many covert programs will remain under wraps for years to come. With the exception of Cuba, the U.S. government is releasing little in the library's holdings on covert operations matters concerning specific countries. On the other hand, more is being opened on overhead, peripheral and outer space reconnaissance, mainly as a result of requests submitted by persistent scholars willing to work through the time-consuming mandatory review process. Interesting data on the CORONA satellite reconnaissance project, the U-2 program and even the reconnaissance missions conducted along the periphery of the Soviet Union have been released, including a recent, partially declassified case file with information on U-2 vulnerability testing, the Urals and Tyura Tam as intercontinental ballistic missile intelligence targets, Project CORONA and maps marked with U-2 routes taken across the Soviet Union.<sup>15</sup>

We expect declassification of nuclear weapons information to be difficult indefinitely, regardless of the age of the information. The passage of the Kyl Amendment (Section 3161 of the National Defense Authorization Act for FY 1999, approved in October 1998,) indicates a more restrictive policy on release of this kind of information. This amendment required the Department of Energy and the Archivist of the United States to develop a plan to guard against



Do you have something to say to the community of diplomatic historians? You could contact them all individually by telephone, or you could put it in print in:

## THE LAST WORD

The editors of *Passport* encourage members of SHAFR to offer thoughts, suggestions or concerns (in less than 650 words) relevant to the profession, for publication in *Passport*. Submit topics to:

Mitchell Lerner  
*Passport*  
Mershon Center  
1501 Neil Ave.  
Columbus OH, 43201

the inadvertent release of records containing restricted and formerly restricted data. Pursuant to this objective Department of Energy representatives have re-reviewed many previously released records in the National Archives and in presidential libraries, including the Eisenhower Library. So far, the impact has not been as negative for the library as it could have been, but in all likelihood any nuclear weapons-related documents not yet reviewed will be subjected to closer scrutiny by agency personnel.

The library staff faces much unfinished declassification business. Thousands of pages scanned for RAC are still pending action. Plans are currently being made to seek agency assistance in declassifying at least portions of the 134,000 pages of multiple agency equity documents set aside during the library's systematic review.<sup>16</sup> The library also holds a few bodies of security-classified material that are more recent in origin and involve complex issues. These too, will require agency assistance. The Papers of Robert Anderson, secretary of the treasury from 1958 to January 1961, document Anderson's work as special ambassador charged with negotiating a Panama Canal treaty from 1963 to 1974. This file contains a few thousand pages of State Department and White House cables, memoranda, memoranda of conversations, reports and intelligence data. The personal papers of Gerard C. Smith include a file of memoranda and notes regarding

nuclear nonproliferation issues during the Jimmy Carter administration. On a more positive note, the staff is currently processing the Papers of Edward Lilly, historian for the OWI and later for the Joint Chiefs of Staff during World War II and the post-war years. Dr. Lilly's files contain a rich body of information on the OWI, the Psychological Strategy Board and other psychological warfare matters during World War II and the Cold War. Review of the World War II material is ongoing, and to date virtually all of it is being declassified.

Declassification at the Dwight D. Eisenhower Library will continue for many years to come. The library staff expects that a solid core of documentation, perhaps fifty to seventy-five thousand pages, will be withheld following mandatory, systematic and/or RAC review and will remain classified for years to come. Some of these materials can accurately be termed "daisy documents," because all of us are likely to be "pushing up daisies" before they will be released. But even as the library staff winds down the intensive review begun in late 1995, scholars visiting the library will benefit from the cumulative results of their efforts as well as the results of actions taken on mandatory declassification requests and continuing returns from the RAC program. Research is now feasible at the Eisenhower Library on most subjects of interest to historians, including those relating to intelligence, nuclear weapons, and

U.S. relations with NATO. Many subjects that are not as popular, such as environmental, organizational and cultural topics and various other issues from the 1960s and World War II, can also be studied fruitfully at the Eisenhower Library. Some subject areas, while perhaps not totally off limits, will remain difficult for years to come. Examples include United States covert operations, specifics on the design, manufacture and deployment of nuclear weapons, specifics on communications intelligence and on cryptanalysis, and many details and concepts involving the continuity of government.

The library staff encourages the public, including not only established scholars but beginning students, to use its resources. We urge prospective researchers to contact the library so that our staff can provide advice on the availability of materials on specified topics, discuss classification and any other access problems, and explain procedures for conducting research in our holdings. Anyone interested in knowing more about the holdings of the Dwight D. Eisenhower Library should contact the library at:

Dwight D. Eisenhower Library  
200 SE 4<sup>th</sup> Street  
Abilene, KS 67410  
Toll Free 1-877-RINGIKE (Will remain the same when new telephones are installed)  
Commercial: 785-263-4751  
(Will change when new telephones are installed in October)  
FAX 785-263-4218 (Will change

when new telephones are installed in October) e-mail: [eisenhower.library@nara.gov](mailto:eisenhower.library@nara.gov). Website: <http://eisenhower.archives.gov>.

We recommend that prospective users examine the library's website. This site includes general information on research procedures, hours of operation, reproduction fees, travel, lists of local dining and lodging facilities, a research application, and the texts of finding aids to many of our major collections of presidential papers, White House office files and personal papers. These finding aids can be searched individually online by use of key words.

Please feel free to contact the library staff. We will be glad to answer any questions you may have and to assist you in planning research projects.

#### Notes:

<sup>1</sup> For details of the Eisenhower Library's declassification programs from 1972 to 1989 see David Haight, "Declassification of Presidential Papers: The Eisenhower Library's Experience," *Provenance* 7 (Fall, 1989), 33-53.

<sup>2</sup> President Bush's Executive Order 13292 moved the declassification deadline date to December 31, 2006, giving the agencies, including the National Archives, more time to review twenty-five-year-old materials.

<sup>3</sup> Reporting data on file in Declassification Office, Dwight D. Eisenhower Library.

<sup>4</sup> Memorandum, Anthony Lake, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, to Trudy H. Peterson, Acting Archivist of the United States, January 30, 1995, Files of Eisenhower Library Declassification Office.

<sup>5</sup> See David Haight, "The Foreign Relations of the United States Series and Research at the Eisenhower Library", SHAFR Newsletter 28 (June 1997), 1-19, for an account of the library staff's use of the FRUS volumes in declassification and reference work.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> See, for example, Phillip G. Henderson, "Advice and Decision: The Eisenhower National Security Council Reappraised," in *The Presidency and National Security Policy*, ed. R. Gordon Hoxie, vol. 5 (New York, 1984), 153-186; and Anna Kasten Nelson, "The 'Top of Policy Hill': President Eisenhower and the National Security Council," *Diplomatic History* 7 (Fall 1983), 307-325.

<sup>9</sup> While the Library holds minutes of OCB meetings for the entire Eisenhower administration and other OCB-related documentation for the later years of the administration, the OCB Central Files Series in the Eisenhower Library, consisting of 129 archives boxes, ends around May 1957. The remainder of the OCB Central Files from June 1957 to January 1961 is part of Record Group 273, Records of the National Security Council, in the National Archives at College Park, Maryland. Inquiries should

be sent to the reference staff at Archives II concerning the availability of these OCB materials.

<sup>10</sup> The record of action taken at the 229th Meeting of the NSC, December 21, 1954, on NSC 5440, "Review of Basic National Security Policy" included in Paragraph D the following language:

"[The Council] Requested the Operations Coordinating Board to present to the Council a report on the status and adequacy of the current program to develop constabulary forces to maintain internal security and to destroy the effectiveness of the Communist apparatus in free world countries vulnerable to communist subversion." Record of Actions by the National Security Council at its Two Hundred and Twenty Ninth Meeting, December 21, 1954, File Folder: Record of Actions by NSC 1954 (4), Box 1, NSC Series, Dwight D. Eisenhower's Papers as President (Ann Whitman File).

<sup>11</sup> See H.W. Brands, Jr. "A Cold War Foreign Legion? The Eisenhower Administration and the Volunteer Freedom Corps," *Military Affairs* 52 (January 1988), 7-11. Additional documentation on the Volunteer Freedom Corps has been declassified in the library's holdings within the last few years.

<sup>12</sup> Declassification of more than two thousand pages of OSS-originated documents in the Papers of Bernard Yarrow was accomplished by copying this material and submitting it to the staff of the Nazi War Crimes and Japanese Imperial Government

Records Interagency Working Group (IWG) at Archives II in College Park, Maryland. The IWG, in turn, obtained CIA review of this documentation. The IWG was established under legislative mandate to achieve declassification of documentary records of war crimes committed by Nazi Germany and the Japanese Imperial Government during World War II. The IWG accomplished the declassification of major files of OSS material in the National Archives. Declassification of the Bernard Yarrow Papers represents the major impact of the IWG's work on the Eisenhower Library's classified holdings.

<sup>13</sup> "The Joint Study Group Report on Foreign Intelligence Activities of the United States Government," 15 December 1960, File Folder: Papers received since January 10, 1961 (3), Box 1, Papers Received Since January 10, 1961 Series, Records of the White House Office of the Special Assistant For National Security Affairs.

<sup>14</sup> See for example "Memorandum of a Special Meeting in the President's Office," January 17, 1957, in which the board discussed with the president and the statutory members of the National Security Council the semi-annual report by the PBCFIA. This particular discussion covered coordination, collection, costs, administering the covert operations program, the National Security Agency, the need to break Soviet codes and even the heavy U.S. reliance on British intelligence during the early

years of World War II. File Folder: President's Board of Consultants on Foreign Intelligence Activities, First Report to the President, December 1956-August 1958 (1), Box 7, NSC Series, Subject Subseries, Records of the White House Office of the Special Assistant For National Security Affairs.

<sup>15</sup> File of documents regarding Project \_\_\_\_\_ (title not declassified) but concerning U-2 testing and intelligence gathering targets, maps, and memoranda concerning Project CORONA, ca. 1958-1959, File Folders: Intelligence Matters, (1)- (19),

Box 15, Subject Series, Alphabetical Subseries, Records of the White House Staff Secretary.

<sup>16</sup> Much of this withheld material was identified for RAC and was consequently scanned for the program. This figure is therefore expected to be lower when the RAC review results are completed.

*David Haight is an archivist at the Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library*

## Congratulations

SHAFR is pleased to announce that *American Foreign Relations Since 1600: A Guide to the Literature*, edited by Robert L. Beisner, has been named an Outstanding Academic Title by Choice.

Congratulations to Professor Beisner and all who contributed! SHAFR members can order the guide by using the form on page 19, or by contacting the SHAFR Business Office at:

Department of History  
Ohio State University  
106 Dulles Hall  
230 West 17th Avenue  
Columbus, OH 43210  
(614) 292-1951  
(614) 292-7200  
(614) 292-2282 (fax)  
Email: shafr@osu.edu



# 25th Annual U.S. Foreign Affairs Doctoral Dissertations List

By Edward A. Goedeken

## SECTION I

### FOREIGN AFFAIRS

#### A. Arms Control, Arms Race, and Antiwar Efforts

- Chambliss, Barbara Bowes. "Contemporary Women Peacemakers: The Hidden Side of Peacemaking," Fielding Graduate Institute, 2002 (WOMEN'S STUDIES), ISBN 0-493-69421-8, Nov. 2002.
- Handler, Joshua Martin. "A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to Ratification: U.S. Strategic Nuclear Arms Control Policy, 1963-2000," Princeton University, 2003 (PS), ISBN 0-493-86623-X, Apr. 2003.
- Isbell, James Hamilton. "The U.S. Military and the Arms Control Process, 1963-1972," University of Alabama, 2002, ISBN 0-493-95666-2, Je. 2003.
- McCormack, Suzanne Kelley. "Good Politics is Doing Something: Independent Diplomats and Anti-War Activists in the Vietnam-Era Peace Movement. A Collective Biography," Boston College, 2002, ISBN 0-493-62923-8, Oct. 2002.
- Oh, Wei Nam. "Changes and Continuity in U.S. Efforts at Nuclear Non-Proliferation from 1945 to 2000: Preventing Nuclear Flows into Korea," Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-92441-8, May 2003.
- Tacosa, Corliss Anne. "Politics, Advanced Technology, and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty," Old Dominion University, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-77651-6, Feb. 2003.
- Valentino, Benjamin Andrew. "Final Solutions: The Causes of Mass Killing and Genocide," Massachusetts Institute of Technology (PS), n.o.n., Jl. 2002.

#### B. Congress

- Ansah-Birikorang, Robert. "A Case Study of the Role of the African Affairs Sub-Committee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee in Shaping United States Foreign Policy towards South Africa, 1981-1992," Howard University, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-85742-7, Apr. 2003.
- Lopez, Nancy Lynn. "Allowing Fears to Overwhelm Us: A Re-Examination of the House Special Committee on Un-American Activities, 1938-1944," Rice University, 2002, ISBN 0-493-61547-4, Sept. 2002.

### C. Domestic Groups, Organizations, and Politics

- Labat, Sean Joseph. "Creating Consensus: Chicago and United States Foreign Relations during the Early Cold War, 1945-1950," University of Illinois at Chicago, 2002, ISBN 0-493-62222-5, Sept. 2002.
- Nisley, Thomas Jay. "Democracy Promotion and U.S. Foreign Policy: The Role of Domestic Norms," University of Florida, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-85141-0, Apr. 2003.
- O'Gara, Matthew. "Ethnic Mobilization and U.S. National Interest: Cuban, Irish, and Jewish Lobbies and American Foreign Policy," University of Southern California, 2000 (PS), ISBN 0-493-54977-3, Aug. 2002.
- Wright, Elisse Yvette. "Birds of a Different Feather: African American Support for the Vietnam War in the Johnson Years, 1965-1969," Ohio State University, 2002, ISBN 0-493-74896-2, Jan. 2003.

### D. Education

- Campbell, Roy Bennett. "A Humbling in Hunan: Yale-in-China and the Rise of Student Consciousness, 1917-1927," Florida State University, 2002, ISBN 0-493-72947-X, Dec. 2002.
- Dull, Laura Jeanette. "The Americans are Coming: Reverend Leon H. Sullivan's Teachers for Africa Program in Peki, Ghana," New York University, 2003 (ED), ISBN 0-493-90890-0, May 2003.
- McCarty, Diane Mary. "A National Survey of Elementary Principals' Response to the Events of September 11, 2001," University of Northern Iowa, 2002 (ED), ISBN 0-493-89013-0, Apr. 2003.
- Plantan, Frank, Jr. "Multidisciplinary Approaches, Disciplinary Boundaries, and Institutional Response in American Higher Education: A History of International Relations as a Field of Study," University of Pennsylvania, 2002 (ED), ISBN 0-493-57836-6, Aug. 2002.
- Truong, Dongphuong Nhu. "Successes, Challenges and Difficulties Experienced by American Students while on Fulbright Scholarships in China and Vietnam," Virginia Commonwealth University, 2002 (ED), ISBN 0-493-69743-8, Nov. 2002.

### E. Environment

- Burgiel, Stanley Ware. "Negotiating the Trade-Environment Frontier: Biosafety and Intellectual Property Rights in International Policy-Making," American University, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-82825-7, Mar. 2003.
- Davenport, Deborah Saunders. "To Save the World: Global Environmental Negotiations and the Effectiveness of Agreement," Emory University, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-74458-4, Jan. 2003.
- Dimitrov, Radoslav Savov. "Science and International Environmental Regime Formation: The Informational Requirements of Cooperation," University of Minnesota, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-71211-9, Dec. 2002.

Jones, Kevin B. "Making Clean Air Markets Work: Lessons from the Regulation of Acid Rain in the United States and the European Union," Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, 2002 (BA), ISBN 0-493-92007-2, May 2003.

#### F. Foreign Aid

Erb, Gwyn Marie Vaughn. "Does Democratic Aid Make the Grade? The Impact of U.S.-Sponsored, University-Level Academic Exchange with Post-Soviet States," University of Iowa, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-94609-8, Je. 2003.

Momani, Bessma. "The Role of the International Monetary Fund in American Foreign Economic Policy toward Egypt, 1985-1998," University of Western Ontario (Canada), 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-612-68097-5, Nov. 2002.

#### G. Human Rights

Barratt, Bethany Amal. "Aiding or Abetting: The Comparative Role of Human Rights in Foreign Aid Decisions," University of California, Davis, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-84107-5, Mar. 2003.

Callaway, Rhonda Lynn. "Is the Road to Hell Paved with Good Intentions? The Effect of U.S. Foreign Assistance and Economic Policy on Human Rights," University of North Texas, 2001 (PS), ISBN 0-493-84697-2, Mar. 2003.

Morris, Shawn Michelle. "Development and Human Rights at the United Nations Development Programme and the World Bank," University of Denver, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-64802-X, Oct. 2002.

Tsutsui, Kiyoteru. "Global Human Rights and Ethnic Social Movements in the Contemporary World," Stanford University, 2002 (SO), ISBN 0-493-87630-8, Apr. 2003.

Walker, Scott Edward. "Does Cultural Heterogeneity Lead to Lower Levels of Regime Respect for Basic Human Rights?" University of North Texas, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-96674-9, Je. 2003.

#### H. Immigration and Refugees

Bouchard, Geneviève. "Field Officer Discretion in the Implementation Process: Immigration Policy in Canada, Quebec and the United States," McMaster University (Canada), 2001 (PS), ISBN 0-612-72242-2, Mar. 2003.

Gordon, Anna Pegler. "In Sight of America: Photography and U.S. Immigration Policy, 1880-1930," University of Michigan, 2002 (AS), ISBN 0-493-73463-5, Jan. 2003.

Hunt, Valerie Faye. "When Institutional Boundaries Meet New Political Ideas: Congress, Courts, and U.S. Immigration Policy Process, 1947-1998," University of Washington, 2002 (PS), n.o.n., Feb. 2003.

Newton, Lina Yvette. "Constructing the Immigrant Ideal: Political Rhetoric and the Social Construction of Target Groups in the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act and the 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act," University of California, Irvine, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-62341-8, Sept. 2002.

Qin, Yucheng. "Six Companies Diplomacy: Chinese Merchants and Late Qing Policy toward Exclusion, 1848-1911," University of Iowa, 2002, ISBN 0-493-67122-6, Nov. 2002.

Ross, James Collins. "Talking Immigration: A Rhetorical Analysis of U.S. Senate Debates, 1924-1965-1996," University of Colorado at Boulder, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-57376-3, Aug. 2002.

Thomas, Lorrin Reed. "Citizens on the Margins: Puerto Rican Migrants in New York City, 1917-1960," University of Pennsylvania, 2002, ISBN 0-493-70408-6, Nov. 2002.

#### I. Individuals

Malloy, Sean Langdon. "The Reluctant Warrior: Henry L. Stimson and the Crisis of Industrial Civilization," Stanford University, 2002, ISBN 0-493-87516-6, Apr. 2003.

Ray, Nathan Timothy. "His Biggest Asset: George Bush's Pre-Vice Presidential Career, 1970-1977," Texas A&M University, 2002, ISBN 0-493-65132-2, Oct. 2002.

Selya, Rena Elisheva. "Salvador Luria's Unfinished Experiment: The Public Life of a Biologist in a Cold War Democracy," Harvard University, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-65857-2, Oct. 2002.

#### J. Intelligence

#### K. International Law

Becker, Douglas John. "To Punish the Guilty: The Emerging Norm of International Criminal Prosecution," University of Connecticut, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-78004-1, Feb. 2003. [War crimes]

Guerra, Stephen J. "Going Coastal: The U.S. Freedom of Navigation Program as a Test of International Law's Relevance to Security Affairs," Georgetown University, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-89366-0, May 2003.

Zasloff, Jonathan Mark. "Law and the Shaping of American Foreign Policy: From the Gilded Age to the New Era," Harvard University, 2002, ISBN 0-493-66013-5, Oct. 2002.

#### L. International Organizations

Hammond, Leslie Ann. "The British Progressive Contribution to the League of Nations Ideal," University of Pittsburgh, 2001, ISBN 0-493-51530-5, Jl. 2002.

Howard, Lisa Morjé. "Learning to Keep the Peace? United Nations Multidimensional Peacekeeping in Civil Wars," University of California, Berkeley, 2001 (PS), ISBN 0-493-58366-1, Aug. 2002.

Lake, James Conrad Scott. "The Challenges of Post-Cold War Peacekeeping," State University of New York at Buffalo, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-81912-6, Feb. 2003.

Leskiw, Christopher Scott. "Sown for Peace? International Organizations and Interstate Conflict," Vanderbilt University, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-91793-4, May 2003.

Quattrone, Anthony Michael. "Organizational Commitment within International Military Headquarters of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization," Walden University, 2002 (BA), ISBN 0-493-88139-5, Apr. 2003.

Pushkina, Darya. "United Nations Peacekeeping in Civil Wars: Conditions for Success," University of Maryland, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-90306-2, May 2003.

#### M. International Trade and Economics

Anastakis, Dimitry. "Auto Pact: Business and Diplomacy in the Creation of a Borderless North American Auto Industry, 1945-1971," York University (Canada), 2002, ISBN 0-612-72023-3, Mar. 2003.

Bayerl, Elizabeth. "USAID Projects in the Former Soviet Union: Policy Case Studies," Boston University, 2002 (SO), ISBN 0-493-57037-3, Aug. 2002.

Bisnath, Savitri. "The WTO and Liberalisation of Trade in Services: Development, Equity and Governance," Cornell University, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-75004-5, Jan. 2003.

Jeon, Yongjoo. "Contesting Trade Policy: Issue Definition and Politics of Policy Evolution," University of Kansas, 2001 (PS), ISBN 0-493-65235-3, Oct. 2002.

Jungblut, Bernadette Michelle E. "International Trade and Interstate Conflict: The Influence of Domestic Political Institutions," Rice University, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-61533-4, Sept. 2002.

Kono, Daniel Yuichi. "When do Trade Blocs Block Trade? Free Trade Agreements and the World Trading System," University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-61001-4, Sept. 2002.

Lanoszka, Anna. "The World Trade Organization (WTO) and the Accession Process: Testing the Implementation of the Multilateral Trade Agreements," Dalhousie University (Canada), 2001 (PS), ISBN 0-612-66634-4, Aug. 2002.

Scattergood, Wendy Elizabeth. "The Environmental and Democratic Consequences of Liberal Hegemonic Discourse: A Case Study of the North American Free Trade Agreement," Purdue University, 2001 (PS), ISBN 0-493-51208-X, Jl. 2002.

#### N. Literature and Miscellaneous

Capino, José Bernard Tagle. "Cinema and the Spectacle of Colonialism: American Documentary Film and (Post) Colonial Philippines, 1898-1989," Northwestern University, 2002 (CINEMA), ISBN 0-493-68823-4, Nov. 2002.

Nilsen, Sarah Dawn. "Projecting America: Films at the Brussels World's Fair of 1958," University of Southern California, 2000 (CINEMA), ISBN 0-493-54976-5, Aug. 2002.

Smith, John Joseph. "Men of the Cold War: Warrior Ethos and Domesticity in 1950s America," University of Florida, 2002 (LIT), ISBN 0-493-72084-7, Dec. 2002.

#### O. Media and Public Opinion

Capetillo-Ponce, Jorge Antonio. "Looking at the Scars on Mexico's Face: A Study of U.S. Mainstream Print Media Coverage of Mexico, 1982-1995," New School for Social Research, 2002 (SO), ISBN 0-493-78244-3, Feb. 2003.

- Eldridge, Lawrence Allen. "Chronicles of a Two-Front War: The African-American Press and the Vietnam War," University of Illinois at Chicago, 2002, ISBN 0-493-62229-2, Sept. 2002.
- Holstein, Lisa Walls. "Framing the Enemy: Changing U.S. Media Images of China and the U.S.S.R. at the End of the Cold War," Indiana University, 2002 (MC), ISBN 0-493-69802-7, Nov. 2002.
- Krysko, Michael Alexander. "China Tuned Out: American Radio in East Asia, 1919-1941," State University of New York at Stony Brook, 2001, ISBN 0-493-65400-3, Oct. 2002.
- Lee, Daniel Kwang. "Kimono and Jim Crow: The Social Significance of Asian and Asian American Images in the Popular Media, 1941-1965," University of California, Los Angeles, 2002, ISBN 0-493-82663-7, Mar. 2003.
- Milewicz, Mark Craig. "Media Effects and Presidential Approval Ratings: Media Coverage of the Iran-Contra and Lewinsky Scandals," University of Alabama, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-87063-6, Apr. 2003.
- Topoushian, Mayda. "Interpreting the Constructed Realities of the 1991 Gulf War: A Comparative Textual Analysis of Two Arab and Two North American Newspapers," Concordia University (Canada), 2002 (MC), ISBN 0-612-68198-X, Nov. 2002.

#### P. Military and National Security Affairs

- Choi, Ajin. "Cooperation for Victory: Democracy, International Partnerships, and State War Performance, 1816-1992," Duke University, 2001 (PS), ISBN 0-493-72703-5, Dec. 2002.
- Choi, Seung-Whan. "Civil-Military Dynamics, Democracy, and International Conflict, 1886-1992: A Look Beyond the Triangular Peace," University of Missouri-Columbia, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-94406-0, Je. 2003.
- Cramer, Jane Kellett. "National Security Panics: Overestimating Threats to National Security," Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2002, n.o.n., Jan. 2003
- Crumley, Brian Tyrone. "The Naval Attaché System of the United States, 1882-1914," Texas A&M University, 2002, ISBN 0-493-65039-3, Oct. 2002.
- Lopez, Andrea Michelle. "Patterns of Intervention: Great Power Military Involvement in Civil Wars, 1945-1996," University of Michigan, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-73599-2, Jan. 2003.
- Lott, Anthony David. "Creating Insecurity: Realism, Constructivism, and U.S. Security Policy," University of Denver, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-70388-8, Nov. 2002.
- Marfleet, B. Gregory. "Taking Risks for War and Peace: Groups, Leaders and Crisis Behavior," Arizona State University, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-72728-0, Dec. 2002.
- McDonald, Patrick James. "The Invisible Hand of Peace: Capitalism, the War Machine, and Liberal International Relations Theory," Ohio State University, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-92801-4, May 2003.
- Preble, Christopher Anthony. "The Political Economy of National Security in the Nuclear Age: John F. Kennedy and the Missile Gap," Temple University, 2002, ISBN 0-493-53699-X, Jl. 2002.

Walsh, James Joseph. "Bombs Unbuilt: Power, Ideas, and Institutions in International Politics," Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2001 (PS), n.o.n., Jl. 2002.

Winner, Andrew C. "You and What Army? Coalitions and Coercive Diplomacy," University of Maryland, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-90321-6, May 2003.

#### Q. Missionaries

Ballew, Christopher Brent. "The Impact of African-American Antecedents on the Baptist Foreign Missionary Movement, 1782-1825," Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2002 (REL), ISBN 0-493-90431-X, May 2003.

Fish Kashay, Jennifer Lynn. "Savages, Sinners and Saints: The Hawaiian Kingdom and the Imperial Contest, 1778-1839," University of Arizona, 2002, ISBN 0-493-64890-9, Oct. 2002.

Oak, Sung-Deuk. "The Indigenization of Christianity in Korea: North American Missionaries' Attitudes towards Korean Religions, 1884-1910," Boston University School of Theology, 2002, ISBN 0-493-56068-8, Aug. 2002.

Reece, Jennifer Mary. "They Published Glad Tidings: American Women in Mission and the Evangelical Sisterhood of Letters in the United States and Japan, 1861-1911," Princeton Theological Seminary, 2002, ISBN 0-493-76544-1, Jan. 2003.

Tata, Fabian Tah. "The Blessed Mothers: African-American Missionary Women in English-Speaking Colonial Africa, 1850-1950. Their History, Their Work, and Their Impact," Florida State University, 2002, ISBN 0-493-96528-9, Je. 2003.

Wiens, Victor Harold. "From Refugees to Ambassadors: Mennonite Missions in Brazil, 1930-2000," Fuller Theological Seminary, 2002 (REL), ISBN 0-493-94027-8, Je. 2003.

#### R. Philosophy and Theory

Beals, Michael John. "Toward a Constructive Pentecostal Perspective of the Just War Tradition: New Direction for the Moral Migration of the Assemblies of God," Fuller Theological Seminary, 2002 (PHIL), ISBN 0-493-60511-8, Sept. 2002.

Bloodgood, Elizabeth Anne. "Influential Information: Non-Governmental Organizations' Role in Foreign Policy-Making and International Regime Formation," Princeton University, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-86614-0, Apr. 2003.

Davis, John. "Unfulfilled Promises: American Foreign Policy and the New World Order," Howard University, 2000 (PS), ISBN 0-493-54111-X, Jl. 2002.

Farkasch, Robert W. "Bringing the Ancient World Back in: Hubris and the Renewal of Realist International Relations Theory," York University (Canada), 2001 (PS), ISBN 0-612-66347-7, Aug. 2002.

Hawk, Kathleen Hill. "(Re)Constructing the State: A Prerequisite to Stable Peace," University of Alabama, 2001 (PS), ISBN 0-493-52250-6, Jl. 2002.

Howard, Peter Max. "Constructing Security: The Power of Language in U.S. Foreign Policy," American University, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-88718-0, Apr. 2003.

- Keller, Jonathan Williams. "Leadership Style, Domestic Political Constraints, and Foreign Policy Crisis Decision-Making," Ohio State University, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-63439-8, Oct. 2002.
- Lindstrom, Gustav. "Diplomats and Diplomacy for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century," The RAND Graduate School, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-85317-0, Mar. 2003.
- Satran, Jill Marie. "Key Determinants of Subnational Foreign Policy Adoption: An Event History Analysis," Florida State University, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-57144-2, Aug. 2002.
- Walldorf, Charles William. "Democratic Abandonment: Liberalism and Commitment Termination in United States and British Foreign Policy," University of Virginia, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-55112-3, Aug. 2002.
- Ward, Patrick Dennis. "Manifest Destiny: The Idea of Progress and the Rationalization of Violence in Western Colonization," State University of New York at Buffalo, 2002 (AS), ISBN 0-493-81977-0, Feb. 2003.
- Wehrli, Dean Alan. "A Window on the World: The Packaging of United States' Foreign Policy," University of California, Los Angeles, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-85838-5, Apr. 2003.

#### S. Presidency

- Harlow, William Forrest. "Thundering Silence: The Rhetorical Reconstruction of George Herbert Walker Bush's Foreign Policy Discourse," Texas A&M University, 2002 (SP), ISBN 0-493-76458-5, Feb. 2003.
- Harris, Connie K. "Fulfilling the Covenant: The Wilsonian Influence on Harry Truman's Foreign Policy," University of Nebraska-Lincoln, 2002, ISBN 0-493-93982-2, Je. 2003.
- Kibbe, Jennifer Dale. "Presidents as Kingmakers: U.S. Decisions to Overthrow Foreign Governments," University of California, Los Angeles, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-82662-9, Mar. 2003.
- Manning, Andrew Edward. "The Emotional Dimension of Foreign Policy Decisionmaking: President Kennedy's Deliberations on Berlin, Nuclear Testing, and Vietnam," University of Southern California, 2001 (PS), ISBN 0-493-85311-1, Mar. 2003.
- Nolan, Chris John. "Striking a Balance: Presidential Power and the National Economic Council in the Post-Cold War," University of South Carolina, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-66333-9, Nov. 2002.
- Reficco, Ezequiel A. "Reluctant Interventions: Presidential Decision-Making in the Face of Ambiguity," Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-75975-1, Jan. 2003.

#### T. State Department

- Adase, James. "Cultural Divide between Science and Diplomacy at the Department of State," George Mason University, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-62729-4, Sept. 2002.



## U. Terrorism and Revolution

- Baybars Hawks, Banu. "Crises, Terrorism and Restraints on the Media: Comparing Freedoms and Key Controls in the United States and Turkey," University of Tennessee, 2002 (MC), ISBN 0-493-69247-9, Nov. 2002.
- Biggio, Nancy Connors. "The Rationality of the Use of Terrorism by Secular and Religious Groups," University of Alabama, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-95636-0, Je. 2003.
- Cotter, John Matthew. "Societal Insecurity and the Reaction of Extremist Groups in Northern Ireland, Great Britain, and the USA," University of Kentucky, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-56092-0, Aug. 2002.
- Hill, Sean David. "The Next Threat: A Predictive Analysis of the Continuity of Terrorist Organizations," Sam Houston State University, 2002 (SO), ISBN 0-493-91773-X, May 2003.
- Malvesti, Michele Lynn. "Risk-Taking in Countering Terrorism: A Study of U.S. Presidential Decisions to Use Special Operations and Covert Action," Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-75968-9, Jan. 2003.
- Schachter, Jonathan M. "The Eye of the Believer: Psychological Influences on Counter-Terrorism Policy-Making," The RAND Graduate School, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-85318-9, Mar. 2003.
- Silverman, Adam Louis. "An Exploratory Analysis of an Interdisciplinary Theory of Terrorism," University of Florida, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-72082-0, Dec. 2002.
- Wills, David Christopher. "The First War on Terrorism: The Battle Over Counter-Terrorism Policy during the Reagan Administration," University of Virginia, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-58773-X, Sept. 2002.

## SECTION II

### HISTORICAL PERIODS

#### A. Colonial and Revolutionary

- Fitzsimons, David Michael. "Toward a New World Order: Thomas Paine and the Ideology of Early American Foreign Relations," University of Michigan, 2002, ISBN 0-493-88533-1, Apr. 2003.
- Hale, Matthew Rainbow. "Neither Britons nor Frenchmen: The French Revolution and American National Identity," Brandeis University, 2002, ISBN 0-493-59887-1, Sept. 2002.
- McGill, Kathy O. "A Remote People: British National Identity and America in the Eighteenth Century," George Mason University, 2002, ISBN 0-493-56401-2, Aug. 2002.

#### B. Manifest Destiny

- Carlisle, Jeffrey Deward. "Spanish Relations with the Apache Nations East of the Rio Grande," University of North Texas, 2001, ISBN 0-493-72256-4, Dec. 2002.

Gray, Elizabeth Kelly. "American Attitudes toward British Imperialism, 1815-1860," College of William and Mary, 2002, ISBN 0-493-95090-7, Je. 2003.

Venator Santiago, Charles Robert. "Constitutional Interpretation and Nation Building: The Territorial Clause and the Foraker Act, 1787-1900," University of Massachusetts Amherst, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-88210-3, Apr. 2003.

#### C. 1900-1939

Carew, Michael G. "The Interaction among National Newsmagazines and the Formulation of Foreign and Defense Policy in the Roosevelt Administration, 1939-1941," New York University, 2002, ISBN 0-493-63148-8, Oct. 2002.

Hanks, Robert Karry. "Culture versus Diplomacy: Clemenceau and Anglo-American Relations during the First World War," University of Toronto (Canada), 2002, ISBN 0-612-69166-7, Dec. 2002.

Hayden, Joseph Raymond. "Public Ambassadors: American Journalism and Diplomacy, 1918-1919," Indiana University, 2002, ISBN 0-493-96552-1, Je. 2003.

#### D. World War II

Benson, Erik Scott. "The Man without a Country: Lowell Yerex and the Anglo-American Commercial Aviation Rivalry, 1939-1946," University of Georgia, 2001, n.o.n., Jl. 2002.

Borgwardt, Elizabeth Kopelman. "An Intellectual History of the Atlantic Charter: Ideas, Institutions, and Human Rights in American Diplomacy, 1941-1946," Stanford University, 2002, ISBN 0-493-87452-6, Apr. 2003.

Quinney, Kimber Marie. "The United States, Great Britain, and Dismantling Italian Fascism, 1943-1948," University of California, Santa Barbara, 2002, ISBN 0-493-93593-2, Je. 2003.

Streamas, John Edward. "Japanese Americans and Cultures of Relocation," Bowling Green State University, 2001 (AS), ISBN 0-493-51319-1, Jl. 2002.

#### E. Cold War

Boland, Joseph B. "The Cold War Legacy of Regulatory Risk Analysis: The Atomic Energy Commission and Radiation Safety," University of Oregon, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-70670-4, Dec. 2002.

Davenport, Lisa E. "Jazz, Race, and American Cultural Exchange: An International Study of U.S. Cultural Diplomacy, 1954-1968," Georgetown University, 2002, ISBN 0-493-77436-X, Feb. 2003.

Fisher, Christopher T. "The Hopes of Man: The Cold War, Modernization Theory, and the Issue of Race in the 1960s," Rutgers University, 2002, ISBN 0-493-60803-6, Sept. 2002.

Holland, Deborah Jeanne. "Steward of World Peace, Keeper of Fair Play: The American Hydrogen Bomb and Civil Rights, 1945-1954," Northwestern University, 2002, ISBN 0-493-91603-2, May 2003.

- Lillevik, Line. "Moments of Crisis: John F. Kennedy and the Norwegian Response to the Cold War, 1960-1964," Yale University, 2002, ISBN 0-493-60398-0, Sept. 2002.
- O'Mara, Margaret Pugh. "Cities of Knowledge: Cold War Politics, Universities, and the Roots of the Information-Age Metropolis, 1945-1970," University of Pennsylvania, 2002, ISBN 0-493-57823-4, Aug. 2002.
- Stern, John Allen. "Propaganda in the Employ of Democracy: Fighting the Cold War with Words," State University of New York at Stony Brook, 2002, ISBN 0-493-86982-4, Apr. 2003.
- Thomas, Damion Lamar. "The Good Negroes: African-American Athletes and the Cultural Cold War, 1945-1968," University of California, Los Angeles, 2002, ISBN 0-493-85837-7, Apr. 2003.
- Tudda, Christopher J. "The Truth is Our Weapon: The Relationship between Rhetoric and Policy in Eisenhower Administration Diplomacy, 1953-1959," American University, 2002, ISBN 0-493-80594-X, Feb. 2003.

## F. Vietnam to the End of the Century

- Buckaloo, Derek Neal. "Fighting the Last War: The Vietnam Syndrome as a Constraint on U.S. Foreign Policy, 1975-1991," Emory University, 2002, ISBN 0-493-64692-2, Oct. 2002.
- Glancy, David Arthur. "Coalitions, Congressional-Executive Branch Relations, and Public Opinion: A Study of Post-Cold War Crisis Management and the Persian Gulf Crisis," Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-75965-4, Jan. 2003.

## SECTION III

### REGIONS

#### A. Asia and the Pacific

- Cape, David Hamish. "Power, Identity and Multilateralism: The United States and Regional Institutionalization in the Asia-Pacific," York University (Canada), 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-612-71966-9, Mar. 2003.
- Hamel, William Christopher. "Race and Responsible Government: Woodrow Wilson and the Philippines," Michigan State University, 2002, ISBN 0-493-95173-3, Je. 2003.
- Holdaway, Jennifer A. "From the Open Door to the WTO: Constructing the National Interest toward China, 1898-2000," City University of New York, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-61325-0, Sept. 2002.
- Kane, Robert Gabriel. "Hammering Down Nails: Politics, Diplomacy, and the Quest for National Unity in Japan and America, 1912-1919," University of Pennsylvania, 2002, ISBN 0-493-70326-8, Nov. 2002.
- Lehmann, Timothy Carey. "For Profit or Power? The Strategic Purpose of Economic Exchange in the U.S.-Japan Great Power Rivalry," Ohio State University, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-92798-0, May 2003.

- Moranda, Noel Manago. "ASEAN, Japan, and the United States in the ASEAN Regional Forum: A Constructivist Approach to the Study of an Emerging Multilateral Security Regime in the Asia Pacific," Northern Illinois University, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-70595-3, Dec. 2002.
- Murphy, Ann Marie. "From Conflict to Cooperation in Southeast Asia, 1961-1967: The Disputes Arising out of the Creation of Malaysia and the Establishment of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)" Columbia University, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-62515-1, Oct. 2002.
- Nordmann, David Andrew. "Idealism, Immigration and Imperialism: Durham Stevens and the Rise and Fall of United States Diplomacy with Japan and Korea, 1873-1908," Indiana University, 2002, ISBN 0-493-69435-8, Nov. 2002.
- Sun, Wei-San. "Observation: The Theory of Niklas Luhmann," Ohio State University, 2002 (MC), ISBN 0-493-74879-2, Jan. 2003.
- Thomas, Megan Christine. "Orientalist Enlightenment: The Emergence of Nationalist Thought in the Philippines, 1880-1898," Cornell University, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-74984-5, Jan. 2003.
- Ueda, Shinji. "What Influence Did the American-Made Japanese Constitution after World War II Have on the Development of Religious Freedom Including the Separation of Church and State in Japan?" Claremont Graduate University, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-74572-6, Jan. 2003.
- Wardaya, F.X. Baskara T. "A Cold War Shadow: United States Policy toward Indonesia, 1953-1963," Marquette University, 2001, ISBN 0-493-64459-8, Oct. 2002.

#### B. Canada

- Spooner, Kevin Alexander. "Canada, the Congo Crisis, and United Nations Peacekeeping, 1960-1964," Carleton University (Canada), 2002, ISBN 0-612-71949-9, Mar. 2003.

#### C. Central America and the Caribbean

- Alcindor, Christian. "U.S.-Haiti Relations from 1957 to 1963: Anticommunism, Nation-Building, and Racial Diplomacy in the Age of National Liberation," Rutgers University, 2002, ISBN 0-493-60785-4, Sept. 2002.
- Bucheli, Marcelo. "The United Fruit Company in Columbia: Labor, Local Elite, and Multinational Enterprise, 1900-1970," Stanford University, 2002, ISBN 0-493-64598-5, Oct. 2002.
- Clement, Christopher Ivor. "Promoting Civilian-Elected Regimes in Nicaragua and Chile: Polyarchy, Neoliberalism, and the US Imperial State, 1980-1990," Howard University, 2001 (PS), ISBN 0-493-54110-1, Jl. 2002.
- Gonzalez, Joseph J. "The Cause of Civilization: The United States Experience with Nation-Building in Cuba, 1898-1909," University of Michigan, 2002, ISBN 0-493-88541-2, Apr. 2003.
- Jean-Pierre, Jean-Marie. "U.S. Policy toward Haiti, 1991-1994," Howard University, 2001 (PS), ISBN 0-493-54123-3, Jl. 2002.

- Lytle Hernández, Kathleen Anne. "Entangling Bodies and Borders: Racial Profiling and the U.S. Border Patrol, 1924-1955," University of California, Los Angeles, 2002, ISBN 0-493-59539-2, Sept. 2002.
- Neptune, Harvey Reuben. "Forging Trinidad, Facing America: Colonial Trinidad and the United States Occupation, 1930-1947," New York University, 2002, ISBN 0-493-63193-3, Oct. 2002.
- Parker, Jason Christopher. "Ripples in the American Lake: The United States, Race, and Empire in the British Caribbean, 1937-1962," University of Florida, 2002, ISBN 0-493-71994-6, Dec. 2002.
- Robinson, Robin E. "Vice and Tourism on the U.S.-Mexico Border: A Comparison of Three Communities in the Era of U.S. Prohibition," Arizona State University, 2002, ISBN 0-493-69344-0, Nov. 2002.
- Shamsie, Yasmine H. "The Politics of Building Democracies: Efforts by the Organization of American States to Promote Democracy in Haiti (1990-1998)" York University (Canada), 2001 (PS), ISBN 0-612-66363-9, Aug. 2002.
- Staklo, Vadim A. "Harnessing Revolution: The Communist International in Central America, 1929-1935," University of Pittsburgh, 2001, ISBN 0-493-51659-X, Jl. 2002.

#### D. Eastern Europe

- O'Halloran, Patrick Joseph. "The Role of Identity in Post-Conflict State-Building: The Case of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Dayton Agreement," York University (Canada), 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-612-72025-X, Mar. 2003.
- Repousis, Angelo. "Greek-American Foreign Relations from Monroe to Truman, 1823-1947," Temple University, 2002, ISBN 0-493-53700-7, Jl. 2002.

#### E. Latin America

- Allison, Victoria Caudery. "The Bitch Goddess and the Nazi Elvis: Peronist Argentina in the U.S. Popular Imagination," State University of New York at Stony Brook, 2001, ISBN 0-493-65381-3, Oct. 2002.
- Black, Victoria Lynn. "Taking Care of Baby: Chilean State-Making, International Relations and the Gendered Body Politic, 1912-1970," University of Arizona, 2002, ISBN 0-493-93174-0, Je. 2003.
- Feres, Joao. "A History of the Concept of Latin America in the US: Misrecognition and Social Scientific Discourse," City University of New York, 2003 (PS), ISBN 0-493-94694-2, Je. 2003.
- Jaede, Mark G. "Brothers at a Distance: Race, Religion, Culture and the U.S. Views of Spanish America, 1800-1830," State University of New York at Buffalo, 2002, ISBN 0-493-53147-5, Jl. 2002.
- Parish, Randall Reeves, Jr. "Presidents, Parties, and Foreign Policy: Domestic Institutions and Interstate Cooperation," University of New Mexico, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-55577-3, Aug. 2002.
- Reynolds, Ronald Harry. "E-IMET: Is it Accomplishing its Human Rights Focus in Latin America?" University of Alabama, 2001 (PS), ISBN 0-493-52276-X, Jl. 2002. [Expanded International Military Education and Training Program]

Slater, Matthew Robert. "Latin American-United States Security Relations and the Power Asymmetry Divide," Old Dominion University, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-88298-7, Apr. 2003.

#### F. Middle East and the Persian Gulf

Bass, Warren. "Support any Friend: Kennedy, Nasser, and the Origins of the U.S.-Israel Alliance," Columbia University, 2002, ISBN 0-493-62366-3, Sept. 2002.

Eccarius-Kelly, Vera. "From Terrorism to Political Activism in Europe: The Transformation of the Kurdish Diaspora to a Transnational Challenger Community," Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-75962-X, Jan. 2003.

Fain, William Taylor, III. "Toll-Gates and Barbicans of Empire: The United States, Great Britain, and the Persian Gulf Region, 1950-1968," University of Virginia, 2002, ISBN 0-493-58816-7, Sept. 2002.

Gurbuz, Mehmet Vedat. "An Overview of Turkish-American Relations and Impact on Turkish Military, Economy, and Democracy, 1945-1952," University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2002, ISBN 0-493-63967-5, Oct. 2002.

Helman, Joseph Jay. "The Politics of Patron-Client State Relationships: The United States and Israel, 1948-1992," George Washington University, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-59064-1. Sept. 2002.

Hurd, Elizabeth Shakman. "Self-Fulfilling Prophecies: Dogmatic Secularism and Political Islam in International Conflict," Johns Hopkins University, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-60666-1, Sept. 2002.

Jacobs, Matthew F. "Constructing the Middle East: Networks, Frameworks, and U.S.-Middle East Relations, 1945-1967," University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2002, ISBN 0-493-90663-0, May 2003.

Jordet, Nils. "The Frozen Conflict between the United States and Iran: Causal Patterns prior to the Coup d'Etat of 1953 and Contemporary Attitudes of Hostility," Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-92440-X, May 2003.

Nadaner, Jeffrey Michael. "Shifting Sands: John F. Kennedy and the Middle East," Yale University, 2002, ISBN 0-493-60414-6, Sept. 2002.

#### G. Russia and the Soviet Union

Glantz, Mary Elizabeth. "Good Neighbors and Sincere Friends: United States Policy toward the Soviet Union under Franklin D. Roosevelt," Temple University, 2002, ISBN 0-493-72490-7, Dec. 2002.

Long, Jennifer E. "A Constructivist View of Post-Soviet Russian Foreign Policy: Case Studies of the Russia-NATO Relationship and IFOR," Georgetown University, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-67759-3, Nov. 2002.

Matthews, Elizabeth Gail. "The Power of Beliefs and Experience: Dispositional versus Situational Policy Choices in U.S. Policy towards the Soviet Union," University of California, Los Angeles, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-59540-6, Sept. 2002.

Murphy, William James. "The Elusive Essence: Theorizing Cold War Stability and the Story of the US-Soviet Encounter during the October War," University of Pennsylvania, 2002 (PS), ISBN 0-493-57816-1, Aug. 2002.

#### H. Sub-Saharan Africa

Namikas, Lise A. "Battleground Africa: The Cold War and the Congo Crisis, 1960-1965," University of Southern California, 2002, ISBN 0-493-93946-6, Je. 2003.

Nesbitt, Francis Njubi. "Race for Sanctions: The Movement against Apartheid, 1946-1994," University of Massachusetts Amherst, 2002, ISBN 0-493-52657-9, Jl. 2002.

#### I. Western Europe

Blankenship, Cary Woodson. "Nationalization of Industry in Czechoslovakia in 1945: Impact on the United States, Britain, France, and the Soviet Union," University of Kentucky, 2002, ISBN 0-493-52887-3, Jl. 2002.

Etheridge, Brian Craig. "Window and Wall: Berlin, the Third Reich, and the German Question in the United States, 1933-1999," Ohio State University, 2002, ISBN 0-493-74772-9, Jan. 2003.

Edward Goedeken is Collection Coordinator and History Bibliographer at the Iowa State University Library.

## **Second Annual GWU-UCSB Graduate Student Conference on the Cold War**

April 30-May 2, 2004

George Washington University

The George Washington University Cold War Group (GWCW) and the UC Santa Barbara Center for Cold War Studies (CCWS) announce their second annual graduate student conference on the Cold War, to be held at the George Washington University, April 30-May 2, 2004. Prior to 2003, the programs held separate spring conferences; they now hold a jointly sponsored conference held at each campus in alternating years. The conference is an excellent opportunity for graduate students to present papers and receive critical feedback from peers and experts in the field. Each panel has one or more established scholars serving as discussants. There will also be tips for research provided in sessions led by leading scholars in the field.

For more information on GWCW and the CCWS, see the respective websites:

<http://ieres.org>

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

Congratulations to the Winners of the SHAFR Prizes  
and Fellowships Awarded During the Organization of  
American Historians Annual Meeting in Boston on  
March 27, 2004:

Robert H. Ferrell Book Prize:

William Taubman (Amherst College), *Khrushchev: The Man and His Era*  
(W.W. Norton)

Stuart L. Bernath Book Prize:

David Engerman (Brandeis University), *Modernization from the Other Shore:  
American Intellectuals and the Romance of Russian Development* (Harvard Univer-  
sity Press)

Myrna Bernath Book Prize:

Carol Anderson (University of Missouri), *Eyes Off the Prize: The United Na-  
tions and the African American Struggle for Human Rights, 1944-1955* (Cambridge  
University Press)

Stuart L. Bernath Scholarly Article Prize:

Max Paul Friedman (Florida State University), "There Goes the Neighborhood:  
Blacklisting Germans in Latin America and the Evanescence of the Good Neighbor  
Policy," *Diplomatic History* 27:4 (September 2003): 569-97

Stuart L. Bernath Lecture Prize

Kurk Dorsey (University of New Hampshire)



# SHAFR Council Minutes

**January 10, 2004, 7:30 A.M**  
**Omni Shoreham Hotel, Washington D.C.**

Members and guests present: David Anderson, William Burr, Nate Citino, Frank Costigliola, Peter Hahn, Mary Ann Heiss, Michael Hogan, Chris Jespersen, Scott Laderman, Mark Lawrence, Mitchell Lerner, James Matray, Robert McMahan, Dennis Merrill, Joe Mocnik, Robert Robinson, Andrew Rotter, Katherine Sibley, Mark Stoler (Presiding), Samuel Walker, Sara Wilson, Thomas Zeiler

## Business Items

1. Mark Stoler presented a recap of motions passed by email since the June 2003 Council meeting, including the allocation of \$2,500 to pay for Thomas Zeiler and Robert Schulzinger to attend an American Studies Association conference, and the decision on the part of Council to conduct an informal financial review conducted by a CPA rather than a formal audit.
2. Dennis Merrill reported on the progress of the search for an Editor-in-Chief of the electronic Guide. The search committee has taken steps to advertise the position, and has targeted the search on senior scholars who have some degree of technical proficiency. The committee has received one formal application and one serious inquiry to date. The committee will report to Council as the search advances in the following months.
3. Peter Hahn reported on the guides he drafted for the various committees and officers of SHAFR. These guides were circulated among current committee chairs for comment before being finalized. Hahn presented several items for decision of the Council. Council approved unanimously the following proposals: A) to streamline the application process for the Bernath Dissertation Grant and the Gelfand-Rappaport Fellowship by allowing graduate students to apply for both awards with the same application forms. B) The Bernath Dissertation Grant should be \$2,000 and earmarked for foreign research, while the Gelfand-Rappaport Fellowship should be \$1,000 and earmarked for domestic research. C) The definition of "younger scholars" in the guidelines for the Bernath Lecture Prize (that is, that a recipient must be within ten years of receiving the Ph.D. or younger than forty-one years of age) shall be based on the time at which the recipient would deliver the lecture. D) The Michael J. Hogan Fellowship would be made available to all graduate students, not only those who have achieved ABD status. E) Any change in the due date for applications for the Ferrell Prize would be left to the decision of the committee itself.
4. Peter Hahn made a presentation on the sales of the *American Foreign Relations since 1600: A Guide to the Literature* volumes. It was reported that sales had fallen flat since June 2003, and that SHAFR still had 240 copies that it was obligated to purchase for resale. Hahn asked for suggestions on marketing the remaining copies, and on whether SHAFR should offer a sale price temporarily or permanently. There was a consensus that Hahn might offer a conference discount at the summer SHAFR meeting. Hahn acknowledged the desirability of retaining sufficient inventory to meet the needs of future graduate students in the field.

5. Peter Hahn made a presentation on the recently concluded review of SHAFR's financial records. The CPA, Ron Kuck, from the Columbus firm BKR Longanbach Giusti, examined records for the years 2001, 2002, and 2003. The overall assessment was that the organization was in excellent shape and that no sign of fraud was evident. Hahn passed around and discussed copies of the actual report which including the exact figures of the various categories of the organization's assets.
6. Peter Hahn made a presentation on the SHAFR budget, and distributed copies of same.

## Reports

7. 2004 Annual meeting: Chris Jespersen, the chair of the program committee, reported that 55-56 panels had been submitted, and that the committee had accepted 46. Given the number of sessions, the program will begin 1:30 pm on the Thursday of the conference. Jespersen raised for comment that possibility of providing travel funds to some foreign scholars desiring to attend the conference. Discussion ensued and Mark Stoler suggested postponing any decision until the next Council meeting. Mark Lawrence made a presentation on the local arrangements for the conference. He reported that everything was going smoothly with the major concerns being the inability to sell books on the campus and the geographical spread of the conference which would require shuttle busses.
8. 2005 Annual meeting: Samuel Walker made a presentation indicating that the 2005 meeting would be held at College Park, Maryland under the joint sponsorship of the University of Maryland and the National Archives.
9. Endowment: James Matray made a presentation that highlighted the positive performance of the endowment in recent months. He pointed out that an Endowment Committee had been reestablished and was tasked with giving advice on the management of the funds as it became necessary.
10. *Passport*: Mitchell Lerner made a presentation indicating that *Passport* was running smoothly and was receiving support from both the Mershon Center and Ohio State University-Newark. Several members of Council praised the quality of the newsletter. There was some discussion about making sure that the types of materials in *Passport* did not overlap or compete with the materials in *Diplomatic History*.
11. Bernath Dissertation Grant: On behalf of committee chair David Engerman, Peter Hahn reported that the grant had been awarded to Meredith Oyen in the amount of \$2,000 for research in Taiwan.
12. Gelfand-Rappaport Fellowship: On behalf of committee chair David Engerman, Peter Hahn reported that the fellowship had been awarded to Susan Haskell in the amount of \$1,000 for research in Minnesota. Michael Hogan suggested that Gelfand be notified of the decision, and it was suggested that all living namesakes of SHAFR prizes and fellowships would be notified when such prizes were awarded.
13. A resolution was introduced by Mark Stoler to thank retiring Council members Frank Ninkovich, Keith Nelson, and Deborah Kisatsky for their service, as well as Michael Hogan for his service as president. The motion was unanimously approved.
14. Other items: Mark Stoler brought several additional items before the Council. First, there was discussion regarding the possibility of sending to the National Archives a letter of support in its discussions regarding the inclusion of the Nixon Library in the National Archives system. There was some concern about various issues during the transition including the continued availability

of documents. A motion for sending the letter was introduced and passed unanimously. Mark Stoler would assume responsibility for writing and sending the letter.

Second, William Burr presented information about the declassification of Presidential Daily Briefings (PDBs). He reported that the CIA opposed their declassification absolutely, and he put to Council the question of whether SHAFR should send a letter to President Bush supporting the release of these documents. Discussion ensued and it was decided to postpone sending a letter pending advice from the SHAFR representative on the State Department Historical Advisory Committee.

Third, Thomas Zeiler reported on *Diplomatic History*. He reported that Robert Dean and Amy Kaplan have joined the editorial board, and that Riccardo Salvatore would join next year. He mentioned also that the journal had moved to a five-issues-per-year format. He further reported that he and Robert Schulzinger recently attended an American Studies conference, and there ensued a discussion about reaching out to other organizations.

Fourth, Mark Stoler asked for suggestions regarding where to hold the 2006 Annual Meeting. Robert McMahon suggested a Midwestern university such as Wisconsin. Michael Hogan suggested U.C. Santa Barbara. Stoler also asked for suggestions regarding a guest speaker for the AHA conference in Seattle in 2005.

Fifth, Peter Hahn brought up the issue of changing the time of the Council meeting. It was decided to stick with the 7:30 A.M. schedule for the Austin meeting, and to look into the possibility of a lunch meeting at the 2005 AHA conference in Seattle.

Sixth, Peter Hahn pointed out that the SHAFR website would be required to change names, and asked Council for permission to acquire the rights to [www.shafr.org](http://www.shafr.org). This was approved.

Seventh, Mark Stoler expressed a special thanks to Peter Hahn for the quality of his work in his capacity as Executive Director.

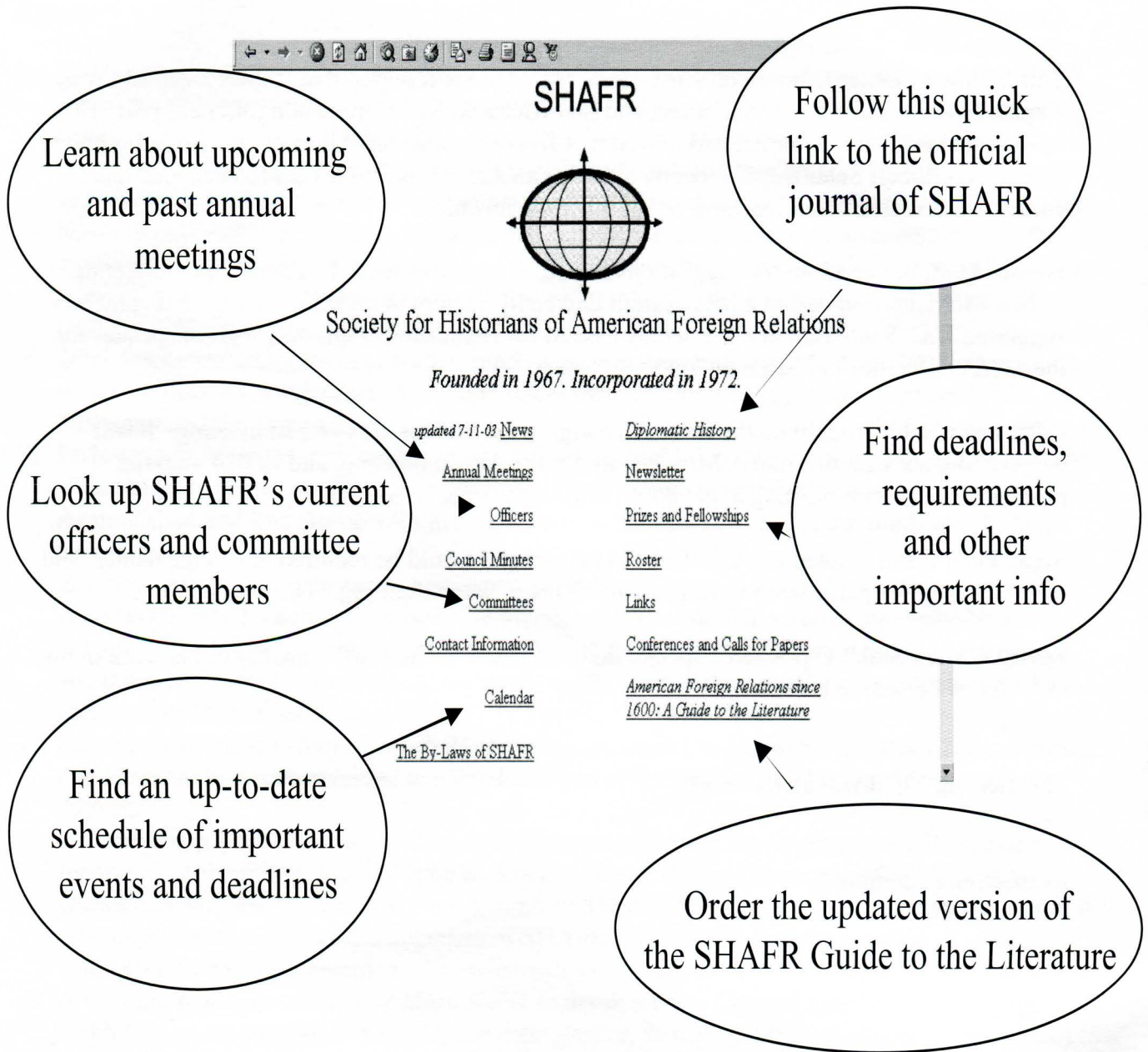
The meeting adjourned at 9:14 am.

Respectfully submitted,  
Peter L. Hahn  
Executive Director

PLH/rr

# Visit the official website of SHAFR

<http://www.shafr.org>



Log on to find all this and much more!

# The Diplomatic Pouch

## 1. Personal and Professional Notes

Michael Hogan (Ohio State) has accepted the position of Provost at the University of Iowa.

Fred Logevall (UC-SB) has accepted an appointment as Professor of History at Cornell University.

Kyle Longley (Arizona State) has been named to the OAH Distinguished Lectureship Program.

## 2. Research Notes

National Security Archive, January 20, 2004  
\*Rebellion in Chiapas and the Mexican Military\*  
<http://www.nsarchive.org>

The Zapatista uprising, which exploded in Chiapas on January 1, 1994, the eve of the inauguration of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was a shock to American investors looking to forge new commercial ties with Mexico. But for U.S. military and intelligence planners the rebellion offered a window in to an institution known for its supreme secrecy, silence and resistance to public scrutiny: the Mexican armed forces.

Reading through hundreds of declassified cables, reports and intelligence analyses declassified by the Defense Intelligence Agency in response to National Security Archive Freedom of Information Act requests, one learns very little about the social, political or economic factors that lay behind the uprising. But the documents are replete with new and interesting details about the Mexican military.

As Mexico marks the tenth anniversary of the rebellion in Chiapas, the country finds itself poised to challenge, for the first time in modern memory, the army's secrecy and impunity through new criminal investigations into past human rights abuses committed by government security forces. In recognition of the anniversary, the National Security Archive, in collaboration with Proceso magazine, has posted a collection of fascinating declassified U.S. documents on the Mexican military's role in the Zapatistas uprising plus an essay by Mexico Project Director Kate Doyle.

For more information contact Kate Doyle:

In Mexico: 5255 5574 7897

In Washington: 202 994 7000

[kadoyle@gwu.edu](mailto:kadoyle@gwu.edu)

\*\*\*\*\*

### CIA Releases Five Million Pages of Historical Records

In fiscal year 2003, the Central Intelligence Agency released more than five million pages of declassified records to the public at the National Archives (NARA) facility in College Park, MD. Included are 1.5 million pages released on 30 September 2003 in the form of digital images in a full-text searchable database called CREST (CIA REcords Search Tool). The FY 2003 release is in support of Presidential Executive Order (EO) 12958 that provides for automatic declassification of unreviewed records of permanent historical value over 25 years old on December 31, 2006.

The most recent additions to the electronic CREST system include approximately 110,000 documents and 1.5 million pages. These 1945 - 1981 records are from all CIA directorates and include:

- \* Directorate of Intelligence publications files (including a large collection of the Central Intelligence Bulletin daily serial publications).
- \* Directorate of Operations field information reports.
- \* Director of Central Intelligence policy files.
- \* Directorate of Science and Technology (DS&T) policy files and research and development (R&D) files.
- \* Directorate of Administration policy files, directives, and task force and briefing files.
- \* National Imagery and Mapping Agency (NIMA) ground photo caption cards and photo interpretation reports; NIMA intelligence publications files; R&D files, translation surveys, and other miscellaneous files.

Overall, the CIA has released approximately 545,000 documents or 8.7 million pages in the CREST system, at NARA, under the automatic declassification provisions of EO 12958. CREST includes Cold War finished intelligence documents, operational information reports from the field, policy files from all CIA Directorates and administrative records documenting the establishment and management of the CIA. These documents chronicle major CIA programs such as the U-2 airborne system development and deployment, including records of the National Photographic Interpretation Center (NPIC), and translated summaries of foreign publications.

In addition, CIA has also released under the EO thousands of reels of motion picture film, millions of ground-level photographs of virtually every country in the world, publications in hard copy form such as the National Intelligence Surveys, and over a million pages of translations of foreign language documents to NARA's College Park facility.

Since its inception in 1995, the CIA Declassification Center has released some 27 million pages of formerly sensitive records under EO 12958. Additional information on how to access CIA records at NARA and the CREST System is available from the NARA website, [www.nara.gov](http://www.nara.gov).

\*\*\*\*\*

The Cold War International History Project (CWIHP) is pleased to announce the release of several new (and free) CWIHP publications.

CWIHP Working Paper #42, "The Soviet's Best Friend in Asia: The Mongolian Dimension of the Sino-Soviet Split" by Sergey S. Radshenko, is based on extensive archival research in the Russian and Mongolian archives. The Working Paper is a case study in the impact of the Sino-Soviet split in Asia where smaller socialist countries were forced to choose sides between the two communist giants, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. While North Korea and North Vietnam rallied to the Chinese case of "Afro-Asian solidarity," becoming virulently anti-Soviet by 1963, the Mongolian People's Republic, despite tremendous political and economic pressure from China, unequivocally sided with Moscow. With unprecedented access to archives in Moscow and Ulaanbaatar, Radchenko traces Mongolia's difficult but steadfast course as Moscow's "best friend in Asia." Translated documents are provided as appendices.

CWIHP e-Dossier No. 9 presents excerpts of recently released East German intelligence documents on NATO's military planning. Stasi spies in NATO obtained actual war plans of the alliance, yet East German and Soviet leaders saw these essentially defensive plans as a cover for a forthcoming first strike--a fear that peaked in the "war scare" of 1983. The documents were obtained from the Stasi archives in Berlin for the Zurich-based "Parallel History Project on NATO and the Warsaw Pact" by Bernd Schafer, a PHP associate and CWIHP Senior Scholar. Excerpts of the documents are provided as appendices to the e-Dossier.

CWIHP e-Dossier No. 10, "Poland and the Sino-Soviet Rift, 1963-1965," by Douglas Selvage (US Department of State) highlights the Polish reaction to the Sino-Soviet Split and the ouster of Soviet leader Nikita S. Khrushchev in October 1964. The paper was first presented at the GWCW/CWIHP conference on "New Evidence from Central and East European Archives on the Cold War in Asia", held in Budapest, 30 October-1 November 2003, and is part of a forthcoming book by Selvage. Documents are provided as appendices to the e-Dossier.

CWIHP e-Dossier No. 11 presents three interpretative perspectives on the question of whether Manhattan Project scientist Robert Oppenheimer was a Soviet spy. The discussion focuses on the significance of the so-called Merkulov letter (1944), published in Jerrold L. and Leona P. Schechter's book: *Sacred Secrets: How Soviet Intelligence Operations Changed American History* (2002), first discussed at a Cold War International History Project seminar last year. CWIHP e-Dossier No. 11 features (a translation of) the Merkulov letter with comments by authors Jerrold L. and Leona P. Schechter, historian Gregg Herken, and former intelligence analyst Hayden Peake.

For further information, visit the CWIHP website at <http://cwihip.si.edu>.

\*\*\*\*\*

National Security Archive Update, December 11, 2003  
Nixon Trip to China Now Fully Declassified  
<http://www.nsarchive.org/NSAEBB/NSAEBB106/index.htm>

Newly declassified documents posted today on the web by the National Security Archive show that President Nixon assured the People's Republic of China during his historic 1972 trip to Beijing that the U.S. would not support, but could not suppress, the Taiwan independence movement.

These assurances, made in secret and not repeated in public for 25 years, are the basis for President Bush's current statements opposing independence for Taiwan - a constant in U.S. policy ever since Nixon. The documents posted today complete the delayed declassification of the Nixon trip materials, and include discussions revealing China's anxiety over the possibility of Taiwanese independence - contrary to Henry Kissinger's memoir account that they "spent very little of our time" on Taiwan.

During Nixon's trip, Kissinger also gave the Chinese a top secret intelligence briefing on Soviet forces arrayed against China. In their detailed memoir accounts of the trip, neither Nixon or Kissinger mentioned this briefing, now declassified in full and included in the posting today.

The documents include:

- \* Premier Zhou Enlai's claim that Washington had let pro-independence politician Peng Meng-min escape from Taiwan, to which Nixon and Kissinger denied that Washington had given any help and assured Zhou that they opposed Taiwanese independence.
- \* Nixon's repeated assurances to Zhou that Washington would discourage any Japanese "military intervention" in South Korea or a Japanese role in Taiwan.
- \* Kissinger's detailed run-down of Soviet forces along China's borders, including ground forces, tactical aircraft and missiles, strategic air defenses, and strategic missiles, with special attention to nuclear weapons.
- \* Kissinger on Taiwanese independence:  
"I told the Prime Minister that no American personnel ... will give any encouragement or support in any way to the Taiwan Independence Movement ... What we cannot do is use our forces to suppress the movement on Taiwan if it develops without our support."  
--Kissinger to Nixon and Zhou En-Lai, 24 February 1972

For more information contact:  
William Burr : 202 / 994-7032

### 3. Announcements

#### Manuscripts wanted by the Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era

*The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* invites manuscripts on any aspect of U.S. diplomatic history and international relations between roughly 1870 and 1920. Published by the Society for Historians of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era, this is the only journal specifically devoted to this decisive period for the role of the United States in the world. The journal is ambitious to expand submissions in foreign relations history.

Please contact the editor:

Professor Alan Lessoff, Department of History, Illinois State University,  
Campus Box 4420, Normal, IL 61790-4420, email: ahlesso@ilstu.edu. Or go  
to: [www.jgape.org](http://www.jgape.org).

\*\*\*\*\*

#### Call for contributors: Encyclopedia of the Cold War

Prof. Spencer Tucker (Virginia Military Institute), the chief editor of a multi-volume *Encyclopedia of the Cold War*, to be published by ABC-CLIO in 2006, is seeking contributors for this project. Prof. Tucker has already edited several award-winning encyclopedias on the Vietnam War, the Korean War, American Military History, and American Naval Warfare, World War I, and World War II.

Prof. Tucker hopes to attract another distinguished team of contributors for the *Encyclopedia of the Cold War*. Potential contributors are invited to contact Prof. Tucker directly at <[tucker@rockbridge.net](mailto:tucker@rockbridge.net)>, including a brief curriculum vitae or resume and an indication of which entries they would wish to undertake. The deadline for contributions is 31 August 2004.

\*\*\*\*\*

#### Call for papers: Cold War France and America: New Perspectives

Deadline: May 1, 2004

Since the Iraq war of 2003, relations between France and the U.S. have entered another turbulent phase, making this a timely moment in which to re-assess the Cold War period in the light of recent and current research. How far were post-war relations between France and the U.S. a product of circumstances peculiar to the Cold War? To what extent were they rooted in a more deep-seated clash between national cultures and politics? What are the enduring legacies of French and American thinkers, artists and politicians active during the Cold War period? Do central threads of that period now appear as so many dead ends? How far can the transnational ideological battles at the heart of the Cold War help illuminate the state of Franco-American relations amid today's global "war on terrorism"? These issues will be explored in an international conference hosted by Florida State University's Winthrop-King Institute for Contemporary French and Francophone Studies in Spring 2005. Submissions are invited in any discipline relevant to the subject. Proposals may come from individuals or from a group wishing to make a panel presentation.

All submissions must contain the following information for all proposed speakers:

- \* Name
- \* Affiliation
- \* E-mail address



- \* Mailing address, phone and fax number
- \* Title of paper or presentation
- \* Brief description/summary of paper or presentation (250-500 words)

Proposers of panels and other sessions must provide the above information for each paper, together with their own contact details and a brief description/summary (250-500 words) of the overall rationale for the proposed panel or session.

Dr Alec G Hargreaves  
 Director, Winthrop-King Institute for Contemporary French and Francophone Studies  
 Florida State University  
 Tallahassee  
 Florida 32306-1515  
 USA

Telephone 1 850 644 8559  
 Fax 1 850 644 9917  
 Email: ahargrea@mailers.fsu.edu  
 Visit the website at <http://www.fsu.edu/~icffs>

\*\*\*\*\*

Conference Announcement: From the Quagmire to Détente: The Cold War From 1963 to 1975  
October 8-9 2004

The Virginia Military Institute in association with the McCormick Tribune Foundation, the George C. Marshall Foundation, and the Cold War Museum will sponsor a third conference on the history of the Cold War, focusing on the years 1963 to 1975. Among the confirmed speakers are David Glantz, George Herring, David Maraniss, Robert J. McMahon, and Francis Gary Powers, Jr.

The meeting will be held at VMI in Lexington, Virginia. Contact Malcolm Muir, Jr., Department of History, Virginia Military Institute, Lexington, VA 24450. Phone: 540-464-7447/7338. E-mail: [muirm@vmi.edu](mailto:muirm@vmi.edu). Space is limited, so pre-registration, while complimentary, is essential.

\*\*\*\*\*

St. Antony's International Review: Call for papers

The editors of the new *St. Antony's International Review* are issuing a general call for papers for upcoming editions. Submissions should not exceed six thousand (6000) words, should contain original, previously unpublished materials, and should be in keeping with the journal's mission.

*The Review* publishes the most innovative scholarly manuscripts covering the fields of modern history, language and literature, politics, economics, anthropology, sociology and international relations. Feature articles should contribute to the advancement of general knowledge or empirical theory. Seeking to contribute to an open and critical debate, the journal is devoted to enhancing contemporary academic discourse by providing a vibrant forum for the exchange of ideas and views. *The Review* encourages submission of work by researchers, graduate students, and established scholars.

Please note:

- \* Submissions should be made via email in files compatible with Microsoft Word 97 format (or later).
- \* Submissions should include the writer's name, address and academic/professional affiliation.

- \* Full reference should be included as footnotes and follow the guidelines set out in The Chicago Manual of Style (14th Ed. or later)
- \* Contributors whose articles have been selected for submission will be notified within 6 weeks of the deadline. Full peer review process will follow.

*St. Antony's International Review*  
 St. Antony's College  
 Oxford, OX2 6JF  
 Email: stantonysreview@yahoo.com

\*\*\*\*\*

The 72nd meeting of the Society of Military History: "The Rise of the Military Profession"  
 Call for Papers Deadline: Sept. 1, 2004

The Citadel, the Military College of South Carolina, will host the 72nd meeting of the Society for Military History. The conference will take place February 24-27, 2005 in historic Charleston, South Carolina. The theme of the conference will be the Rise of the Military Profession. The Program Committee seeks papers and panels that deal with the origins and growth of military professionalism. Other related topics might examine military professionalism and its connections to ideology, cultural context, politics, education, and business professionalism. Comparative studies of different nations, services, and branch components are also encouraged. Although the conference will focus on military professionalism, the Program Committee also desires papers and panels dealing with any facet of military history.

Panel proposals must include:

1. A panel coversheet listing the title of the panel and contact information for all members
2. A brief overview of the panel highlighting its scholarly contributions
3. One-page abstracts for each paper
4. A brief vitae for all members of the panel, including chair persons and commentators.

Individual paper proposals must include a one-page abstract and brief vitae. The Program Committee welcomes volunteers to serve as chair persons and commentators. Volunteers should submit a vitae with their request. All information related to the conference can be found online at:

[http://citadel.edu/history\\_dept/News%20and%20Announcements/News%20home.htm](http://citadel.edu/history_dept/News%20and%20Announcements/News%20home.htm)

Deadline for this call for papers is September 1, 2004. The Program Committee desires that all proposals be sent electronically by email attachment in Microsoft Word. If this is not possible, hard copies can be sent.

Professor Kyle S. Sinisi  
 Department of History  
 The Citadel  
 171 Moultrie Street  
 Charleston, SC 29409  
 Office phone: 843-953-5073  
 Office fax: 843-953-7020  
 Email: sinisik@citadel.edu

\*\*\*\*\*

Updated Guide to Historical Material in the Ford Library

The Gerald R. Ford Library is pleased to announce a newly-designed web presentation of its collection descriptions. The new format closely parallels that of our publication, *Guide to Historical Materials in the Gerald R. Ford Library*, but we have added links to full collection finding aids and to other web information to make it even more informative than the published guide. The new guide is available at: <http://fordlibrarymuseum.gov/library/guides/guide.htm>.

Library staff recently completed declassification review for two entire National Security Adviser collections, Kissinger Reports on USSR, China, and Middle East Discussions and Presidential Country Files for Middle East and South Asia. The Kissinger Reports collection consists of memoranda of conversations and related materials concerning Secretary Kissinger's meetings with leaders of the Soviet Union, China, and Middle Eastern countries. The files also contain memoranda of conversations from President Ford's meetings with Soviet leaders at the Vladivostok Summit and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and with Chinese leaders during his visit to Peking. Declassification review of files for Israel and Egypt completed the processing of Presidential Country Files for Middle East and South Asia. Presidential Country Files for all nations (Africa, East Asia and the Pacific, Europe and Canada, and Latin America) are now available for research. Finding aids for open collections are available on the Ford Library website.

For further information about Library programs and collections and the Gerald R. Ford Foundation research travel grant program, visit our extensive website at <http://www.fordlibrarymuseum.gov>, email [ford.library@nara.gov](mailto:ford.library@nara.gov), or call 734-205-0555.

\*\*\*\*\*

American Foreign Policy Center at Louisiana Tech

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

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

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

\*\*\*\*\*

American University  
Peacebuilding & Development Summer Institute, 2004

The Peacebuilding and Development Summer Institute at American University provides knowledge, practical experience and skills for practitioners, teachers and students involved in conflict resolution, peacebuilding, humanitarian assistance and development. The Summer Institute will focus on various approaches to mediation, negotiation, facilitation, reconciliation and dialogue, particularly in conflict-torn and developing regions. Participants will explore innovative methods of promoting cultural diversity with respect to public policy, community and religion, war and post-conflict environments, while expanding their knowledge and skills in a participatory and interactive learning environment. Participants in the Summer Institute will be exposed to leading national and international professionals in the fields of public policy, peacebuilding and development.

The summer 2003 Institute welcomed 106 participants from 26 countries. The participants came from varying backgrounds ranging from international agencies such as UNDP, CARE, USAID, UNHCR, oil companies, teachers, an official from a State police agency, to a representative from the American Bar Association, and small non-governmental organizations. They were joined by Master's degree students from the International Peace & Conflict Resolution division and the International Development division within the School of International Service.

Three courses will be offered each week for three weeks and participants will have to choose one class each week. The courses are:

Week I:  
Religion & Culture in Conflict Resolution, with Mohammed Abu -Nimer, Bridging Human Rights Conflict Resolution & Development with Diana Chigas, Political Negotiation in Latin America with Graciela (Gachi) Tapia.

Week II  
Development in Conflict: Practical Approaches to Recovery with Kimberly Maynard, Training for Trainers in Peacebuilding & Development with Mohammed Abu-Nimer, Applied Conflict Analysis and Resolution with Ronald Fisher and Brian Mandell.

Week III:  
Gender & Peacebuilding in a Development Context with Julie Mertus, Positive Approaches to Peacebuilding & Development with Claudia Liebler, Arts Approaches to Peacebuilding with Babu Ayindo.

For further information and summer 2004 application kindly refer to  
<http://www.american.edu/sis/peacebuilding>

Saji Prelis  
Program Director  
Phone: 202-885-2014  
Fax: 202-885-2494

## 4. Recent Publications

- Browning, Christopher R. and Jurgen Matthaus. *The Origins of the Final Solution: The Evolution of Nazi Jewish Policy, September 1939-March 1942*, University of Nebraska Press, \$39.95.
- Clymer, Kenton. *The United States and Cambodia, 1870-1969: From Curiosity to Confrontation*, Routledge, \$95.00.
- Clymer, Kenton. *The United States and Cambodia, 1969-2000: A Troubled Relationship*, Routledge, \$95.00
- Ellis, Sylvia. *Britain, America, and the Vietnam War*, Praeger Publishers, \$74.95.
- Fenby, Jonathan. *Chiang Kai Shek: China's Generalissimo and the Nation He Lost*, Carroll & Graf, \$30.00.
- Frankel, Francine R. and Harry Harding, eds. *The India-China Relationship: What the United States Needs to Know*, Columbia University Press, \$22.50.
- Gaddis, John Lewis. *Surprise, Security, and the American Experience*, Harvard University Press, \$18.95.
- Gaiduk, Ilya V. *Confronting Vietnam: Soviet Policy Toward the Indochina Conflict, 1954-1963*, Stanford University Press, \$55.00.
- Gavin, Francis J. *Gold, Dollars, and Power: The Politics of International Monetary Relations, 1958-1971*, University of North Carolina Press, \$45.00.
- Golay, Frank Hindman. *Face of Empire: United States – Philippine Relations, 1898-1946*, University of Wisconsin Press, \$27.95.
- Goldman, Shalom L. *God's Sacred Tongue: Hebrew and the American Imagination*, University of North Carolina Press, \$34.95.
- Hahn, Peter L. *Caught in the Middle East: U.S. Policy toward the Arab-Israel Conflict, 1945-1961*, University of North Carolina Press, \$45.00.
- Hamby, Alonzo. *For the Survival of Democracy: Franklin Roosevelt and the World Crisis of the 1930s*, Free Press, \$30.00.
- Hanson, Victor Davis. *Between War and Peace: Lessons from Afghanistan to Iraq*, Random House, \$13.95.
- Harper, John L. *American Machiavelli: Alexander Hamilton and the Origins of U.S. Foreign Policy*, Cambridge University Press, \$24.95.
- Hodgson, Godfrey. *More Equal than Others: America from Nixon to the New Century*, Princeton University Press, \$29.95.
- Johnson, Chalmers. *The Sorrows of Empire: Militarism, Secrecy, and the End of the Republic*, Henry Holt and Co., \$25.00.
- Langholtz, Harvey and Chris E. Stout. *The Psychology of Diplomacy*, Praeger Publishers, \$64.95.

- Lippman, Thomas W. *Inside the Mirage: America's Fragile Partnership with Saudi Arabia*, Westview Press, \$27.50.
- Mays, Terry S. *Historical Dictionary of Multinational Peacekeeping*. 2nd ed. Scarecrow Press, \$65.00.
- Mitter, Rana and Patrick Major, eds. *Across the Blocs: Cold War Cultural and Social History*, Frank Cass Publishers, \$26.95.
- Olson, John Andreas. *Strategic Air Power in Desert Storm*, Frank Cass Publishers, \$26.50.
- Parker, Richard Bordeaux. *Uncle Sam in Barbary: A Diplomatic History*, University Press of Florida, \$59.95.
- Peterson, Merrill D. "Starving Armenians": *America and the Armenian Genocide, 1915-1930 and After*, University of Virginia Press, \$24.95.
- Rabinovich, Abraham. *The Yom Kippur War: The Epic Encounter That Transformed the Middle East*, Schocken Books, \$27.50.
- Sand, G.W. *Defending the West: The Truman-Churchill Correspondence, 1945-1960*, Praeger Publishers, \$69.95.
- Schrafstetter, Susanna and Stephen Twigge. *Avoiding Armageddon: Western Europe, the United States, and the Struggle for Nuclear Non-Proliferation, 1945-1970*, Praeger Publishers, \$69.95.
- Sullivan, Michael J. *American Adventurism Abroad: 30 Invasions, Interventions, and Regime Changes since World War II*, Praeger Publishers, \$59.95.
- Tsygankov, Andrei P. *Whose World Order?: Russia's Perception of American Ideas after the Cold War*, The University of Notre Dame Press, \$22.00.
- Valentino, Benjamin A. *Final Solutions: Mass Killing and Genocide in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century*, Cornell University Press, \$29.95.
- Varon, Jeremy. *Bringing the War Home: The Weather Underground, the Red Army Faction, and Revolutionary Violence in the Sixties and Seventies*, University of California Press, \$21.95.
- Weitsman, Patricia A. *Dangerous Alliances: Proponents of Peace, Weapons of War*, Stanford University Press, \$49.50.
- Winter, Jay, ed. *America and the Armenian Genocide of 1915*, Cambridge University Press, \$45.00.
- Yaqub, Salim. *Containing Arab Nationalism: The Eisenhower Doctrine and the Middle East*, University of North Carolina Press, \$22.50.
- Young, John. *The Labour Governments, 1964-70: International Policy*, Manchester University Press/St Martin's Press, 2003, \$74.95.
- Young, John and John Kent, *International Relations since 1945: A Global History*, Oxford University Press, 2004, \$34.95.
- Zuckerman, Larry. *The Rape of Belgium: The Untold Story of World War I*, New York University Press, \$32.95.

# The Last Word...

From the Editor

In this issue of *Passport*, readers will find for the first time an essay written by an adjunct professor. I admit that I find it troubling that, after three issues, *Passport* has received only one submission from an adjunct professor, and none from a community college professor. If SHAFR is to live up to its purpose, as defined by its certificate of corporation, as "The maintenance of a Society of Historians for the study, advancement and dissemination of a knowledge of American Foreign Relations and the doing of all acts incidental to the accomplishment thereof," then surely those who follow a path with more stringent teaching demands must play as central a role in its progress, and reap the same benefits of membership, as the most senior research scholars.



It is easy to dismiss this dearth of submissions as an aberration, but other signs also suggest a lack of involvement by those holding more teaching-oriented positions. A quick perusal of recent issues of *Diplomatic History* suggests that the editors there have found a similar pattern. 48 panels are scheduled for the upcoming SHAFR conference in Austin, yet not a single one is devoted to issues relating to teaching. There is, however, to be a plenary session honoring Robert Divine entitled "Teaching Diplomatic History," and as one of Bob's former students I can think of no more fitting tribute. Nor can I find fault with the three panelists, all of whom are Bob's former students, all of whom are excellent scholars, all of whom are wonderful teachers, and all of whom are credits to our profession. And yet I know that Bob also has students in more teaching-oriented positions whose books have not won awards (if they have been published at all), but who are just as devoted and talented teachers. Is there not an obvious irony in the fact that a panel designed to honor a wonderful teacher does not include a single voice from the ranks of those who face the most demanding teaching schedules?

I make these comments not to assign blame. In fact, just the opposite. I know that *Diplomatic History* would welcome submissions from any scholar regardless of school or rank. I know that the program committees for the annual conference would embrace proposals relating

to teaching. But since these do not seem to be forthcoming with any consistency, it seems incumbent on the Society to take steps to ensure that those who end up on a career path dominated by teaching still remain a vibrant part of the community.

Let me offer a few suggestions as to how that might be accomplished.

1) SHAFR might consider soliciting panel submissions specifically relevant to the issues surrounding the teaching of diplomatic history. In fact, in this age of internet-accessible primary sources, I would imagine that a panel devoted to using recent documents in the classroom could prove beneficial on both teaching and research fronts alike. Regardless of the panel's specific focus, however, the fact that we all spend a great deal of time in the classroom makes it appear almost self-evident that one or two panels about teaching would be worth a little extra effort to put them together.

2) *Passport* should make a more determined effort to offer regular columns about teaching. Such columns could focus on anything from teaching strategies to the use of specific materials to various obstacles and supports. As it happens, I know the editor fairly well, and I will endeavor to push him in this direction. He is, luckily, an extraordinarily nice guy.

3) SHAFR might consider the establishment of an award to recognize exemplary teaching. The society currently offers over a dozen prizes and fellowships. Perhaps it is possible to offer one more, even a small, semi-annual one, to recognize exceptional teaching in the field. We might even consider inviting the winner to submit a brief piece about teaching, to be published in *Passport*.

These suggestions are meant to be only that: suggestions. I make no claim to having definitive solutions. I would merely note in conclusion that we as a society have spilled much ink over the past decade about how to best reach out to those in related sub-fields of history. In doing so, let us not forget about those in our own field who are in danger of being overlooked.