

# Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations



June 24-26, 2004

The University of Texas at Austin  
College of Liberal Arts  
Department of History

# THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN

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The conference organizers would also like to thank the following individuals for their assistance: Judy Allen, Ted Gittinger, Wayne Hunt, Sarah Key, Marge Morton, Nancy Ruiz, Julie Sederholm, William Sederholm, and Joe Youngblood.

# Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations

3	Campus Map
4	Conference-at-a-Glance
10	Thursday, June 24
18	Friday, June 25
30	Saturday, June 26
45	Housing
46	Index of Participants

Cover illustration: President Lyndon B. Johnson decorates a soldier in Vietnam, October 1966.  
Courtesy LBJ Library.

## THURSDAY, JUNE 24

**Registration and Information: 11:00 AM - 6:00 PM**  
Thompson Conference Center Lobby

Panels held in Thompson Conference Center unless noted.

### SESSION I: 1:30 PM - 3:30 PM

- Panel 1: Crossing Disciplines and Borders: Interdisciplinarity and International History (Room 1.110)  
Panel 2: The United States, Latin America, and the Monroe Doctrine (Room 2.108)  
Panel 3: The League of Nations and the United States, 1926-43 (Room 1.126)  
Panel 4: Postwar U.S.-East Asian Relations (Room 1.124)  
Panel 5: Eisenhower and African Decolonization (Room 3.122)  
Panel 6: Exploring U.S. - Latin America Relations (Room 3.110)

### BREAK: 3:30 PM - 4:00 PM

Refreshments available in Thompson Conference Center Lobby.

### SESSION II: 4:00 PM - 6:00 PM

- Panel 7: Southern Responses to the Vietnam War (Room 3.110)  
Panel 8: "Educating the Public" during the Cold War (Room 1.126)  
Panel 9: American Foreign Policy and Failed States: Nation-Building in Historical Perspective (Room 1.110)  
Panel 10: Astronauts or Cold Warriors?: The American Space Program and Portrayals of Astronauts in the 1960s (Room 2.108)  
Panel 11: Richard Nixon Confronts the World (Room 1.124)  
Panel 12: Approaching U.S. - Mexican Relations (3.122)

**RECEPTION AND PLENARY SESSION: 6:00 PM - 9:30 PM**  
(LBJ Library. Pre-registration required to attend reception and dinner.)

#### Teaching Diplomatic History:

#### A Panel Honoring Robert Divine

Walter LaFeber, H.W. Brands, John Lewis Gaddis,  
Randall B. Woods, and Robert Divine

## FRIDAY, JUNE 25

**Diplomatic History Editorial Board Meeting:**  
7:30 AM - 9:00 AM (Room 2.108)

**Registration and Information: 8:00 AM - 6:00 PM**  
Thompson Conference Center Lobby

**Coffee Hour: 8:00 AM - 9:00 AM**  
Thompson Conference Center Lobby

Panels held in Thompson Conference Center unless noted.

### SESSION III: 9:00 AM - 11:00 AM

- Panel 13: Research Opportunities at Presidential Libraries from Eisenhower to Carter (Room 1.110)  
Panel 14: The Economic Cold War: The United States, the Soviet Union, and Their Allies (Room 1.126)  
Panel 15: The Ngo Dinh Diem Era and Its Aftermath (Room 3.110)  
Panel 16: Unscrambling New Challenges in Africa: Lumumba, Kaunda, Polaroid, and Genocide (Room 2.110)  
Panel 17: Modernization's World Tour: Asian, African, and American Concepts of Development, 1945-1965 (Room 3.122)  
Panel 18: Identity and Remembrance in Filipino-American Relations (Room 1.124)

**LUNCH BREAK: 11:00 AM - 1:30 PM**

**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: 11:30 AM - 1:15 PM**

(LBJ Library, Eighth Floor Atrium. Pre-registration required.)

**War and Diplomacy: Or, Clausewitz for Diplomatic Historians**

Mark Stoler, University of Vermont

### SESSION IV: 1:30 PM - 3:30 PM

- Panel 19: Peace and Dissent in United States Foreign Policy (Room 1.126)  
Panel 20: The Shape of Things to Come: U.S. Policy towards the Third World in the 1960s and 1970s (Room 3.110)

- SESSION IV: 1:30 PM - 3:30 PM (cont.)**
- Panel 21: Fifty Years After Geneva: New Perspectives on State-Making in Vietnam, 1954-1960 (Room 2.110)
- Panel 22: Henry Kissinger and U.S. Foreign Policy in an Era of Transition (Room 3.122)
- Panel 23: The Cold War: Diplomacy, Mediation, and Conflict Resolution (Room 1.124)
- Panel 24: Intersections: Cultural Studies and Diplomatic History (Room 1.110)

**BREAK: 3:30 PM - 4:00 PM**  
Refreshments available in Thompson Conference Center Lobby.

- SESSION V: 4:00 PM - 6:00 PM**
- Panel 25: Ideology and Empire: The Politics of Education in Twentieth-Century Foreign Relations (Room 1.124)
- Panel 26: Norman A. Graebner and the Realist Tradition in U.S. Foreign Relations (Room 2.110)
- Panel 27: Oil and American Foreign Relations (Room 3.122)
- Panel 28: A 'New Look' at Civil Defense (Room 1.126)
- Panel 29: U.S. - European Relations during the Cold War (Room 3.110)
- Panel 30: Conducting Research Using Non-Traditional Materials: The Secret Presidential Tapes Collections: Presentations with Audio Clips and Computer Images from the Archives (Room 1.110)

**DINNER EXCURSION: 6:30 PM - 10:00 PM**  
The Pavillion at the Salt Lick. Tickets must be purchased in advance.

## SATURDAY, JUNE 26

**SHAFR Council Meeting: 7:30 AM - 9:00 AM** (Room 2.108)

**Registration and Information: 8:00 AM - 6:00 PM**  
Thompson Conference Center, Room 3.102

**Coffee Hour: 8:00 AM - 9:00 AM**  
Thompson Conference Center, Room 3.102

Panels held in Thompson Conference Center unless noted.

**SESSION VI: 9:00 AM - 11:00 AM**

- Panel 31: U.S. Chiefs of Mission, 1920-1950 (Room 1.124)
- Panel 32: Half a Century of Korean Affairs (Room 3.110)
- Panel 33: The Bush "War on Terrorism": The Challenge to Diplomatic Historians (Room 2.102)
- Panel 34: Dreams, Drift, and Disasters: The United States Response to Decolonization from Wilson to Johnson (Room 3.122)
- Panel 35: The Carter Administration's Foreign Policy (Room 2.110)
- Panel 36: The Political Economy of the Cold War Alliance: Years of Consolidation, Years of Disintegration (Room 1.126)

**LUNCH BREAK: 11:00 AM - 1:30 PM**

**LUNCHEON ADDRESS: 11:30 AM - 1:15 PM**  
(LBJ Library, Eighth Floor Atrium. Pre-registration required.)  
**Reflections on Intelligence Support for U. S. Foreign Relations**  
Admiral B. R. Inman, USN (Ret.)  
LBJ Centennial Chair in National Policy,  
LBJ School of Public Affairs

**SESSION VII: 1:30 PM - 3:30 PM**

- Panel 37: Into Southeast Asia (Room 3.110)
- Panel 38: Mediation in the Cold War, 1958-1963 (Room 3.122)
- Panel 39: Imperialism and Expansion: Re-examining Anglo-American Connections in the Mid-Nineteenth Century (Room 1.124)
- Panel 40: Diplomacy and Identity (Room 1.126)
- Panel 41: After the Victory: Anglo-American Reparation and Occupation Policies, 1941-2003 (Room 2.110)
- Panel 42: Transnational Cultures and American Foreign Relations (Room 2.102)

**BREAK: 3:30 PM - 4:00 PM**  
Refreshments available in Thompson Conference Center, Room 3.102.

### SESSION VIII: 4:00 PM - 6:00 PM

- Panel 43: The Anglo-American Alliance and the East-West Divide in the Early Cold War (Room 1.124)
- Panel 44: Containment and Collusion: Lyndon Johnson and Asia Revisited, 1964-1968 (Room 2.110)
- Panel 45: The Johnson Administration and Britain: Anglo-American Relations Beyond Vietnam (Room 3.110)
- Panel 46: The Cold War after Stalin: Perspectives from the New International History (Room 3.122)
- Panel 47: 'Soft Power' during the Nixon and Kissinger Years: Intellectual and Cultural Foundations of Diplomacy (Room 2.102)
- Panel 48: Threat Perceptions in Times of Crisis: Kennedy's Foreign Policy Toward Europe, Latin America, and Asia (Room 1.126)

### DINNER BREAK: 6:00 PM - 8:00 PM

Screening and Discussion of *Fog of War* (Location: LBJ Library, First Floor Auditorium)

### PLENARY SESSION II: 8:00 PM - 10:00 PM

(LBJ Library, Eighth Floor Atrium)

#### The Cultures of Foreign Relations History

Frank Costigliola, Andrew Rotter, Melani McAlister, and William Stueck

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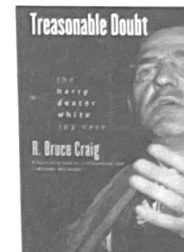
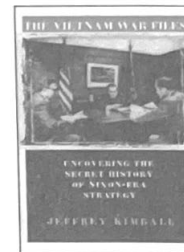
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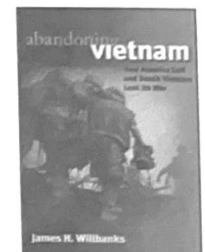
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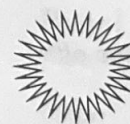
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# THURSDAY, JUNE 24

**Registration and Information: 11:00 AM - 6:00 PM**  
Thompson Conference Center Lobby

Panels held in Thompson Conference Center unless noted.

## SESSION I: 1:30 PM - 3:30 PM

### Panel 1: Crossing Disciplines and Borders: Interdisciplinarity and International History (Room 1.110)

Chair: Mary Ann Heiss, Kent State University

*What Historians of Foreign Relations and the Borderlands Might Learn  
from One Another*  
Benjamin Johnson, Southern Methodist University

*Remembering Where We Came From: Collective Memory and  
International History*  
Brian C. Etheridge, Louisiana Tech University

*Purchasing Power: Consumerism and Foreign Relations  
Historiography*  
Christopher Endy, California State University, Los Angeles

Commentary: Kimberly A. Alidio, University of Texas at Austin  
Mary Ann Heiss

### Panel 2: The United States, Latin America, and the Monroe Doctrine (Room 2.108)

Chair: Ronald Steel, University of Southern California

*Why not Tehuantepec?: The US Search for an Isthmian Passage after  
the Civil War*  
Aissatou Sy-Wonyu, University of Rouen

*"America is our sphere": Alfred Thayer Mahan, the Monroe Doctrine,  
and the Isthmian Canal*  
Serge Ricard, The Sorbonne Nouvelle, Paris III

*The Falklands Crisis: The United States between Two Old Allies*  
Isabelle Vagnoux, University of Provence-Aix-Marseille I

*Borderland on the Isthmus: The Changing Frontiers of the Panama  
Canal Zone, 1903-1979*  
Michael Donoghue, University of Connecticut

Commentary: Ronald Steel

### Panel 3: The League of Nations and the United States, 1926-43 (Room 1.126)

Chair: Susan Brewer, University of Wisconsin

*The United States and the League of Nations: The Case of  
Disarmament, 1926-34*  
Andrew Webster, Wolfson College, Cambridge University

*Internationalist Minds in Nationalist Bodies: The United States and the  
League of Nations, 1933-1940*  
Patricia Clavin, University of Oxford

*Sir Frederick Leith-Ross and Anglo-American Relations, 1933-1939*  
Helen Johnson, University of Oxford

*The League's Clandestine Contribution to Anglo-American Economic  
and Monetary Policy, 1940-1943*  
Jens Wessels, University of Oxford

Commentary: Susan Brewer

### Panel 4: Postwar U.S.-East Asian Relations (Room 1.124)

Chair: Mitch Lerner, Ohio State University

*The 1958 Taiwan Strait Crisis and Its Impact*  
Tao Peng, Minnesota State University, Mankato

*From Antagonists to Adversaries: U.S.-China Talks during the Cold War, 1949-1972*  
Yafeng Xia, Long Island University, Brooklyn

*The 1962 Sino-Japanese Trade Agreement and the U.S. Reaction*  
Midori Yoshii, Bentley College

Commentary: James Matray, California State University, Chico

**Panel 5: Eisenhower and African Decolonization**  
(Room 3.122)

Chair: George White, Jr., University of Tennessee, Knoxville

*Eisenhower and the Nigerian Experience*  
Monica Belmonte, Office of the Historian, Department of State

*'A River Full of Crocodiles': The Eisenhower Administration, Decolonization and Patrice Lumumba*  
Amy L. Portwood, Rutgers University

*The Conundrum of Color: Naming an Ambassador to Ghana*  
James Meriwether, California State University, Bakersfield

Commentary: George White, Jr.

**Panel 6: Exploring U.S.-Latin America Relations**  
(Room 3.110)

Chair: Seth Fein, Yale University

*Teaching Self Help: Ecuador and the Alliance for Progress*  
William T. Epps, The University of Texas at Austin

*Revolution, Recognition and Reconciliation: Bolivia, the United States, and the Alliance for Progress, 1961-1965*  
R. Matthew Gildner, The University of Texas at Austin

*Richard Nixon's 1958 Tour of South America: Culture, Emotion, and Memory during the Cold War*  
Michael Rindge, University of Connecticut

Commentary: Seth Fein

**BREAK: 3:30 PM - 4:00 PM**

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Refreshments available in Thompson Conference Center Lobby.

**SESSION II: 4:00 PM - 6:00 PM**

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**Panel 7: Southern Responses to the Vietnam War**  
(Room 3.110)

Chair: Edward C. Crapol, College of William & Mary

*Richard Russell, Southern Nationalism, and America's War in Vietnam*  
Jeffrey R. Woods, Arkansas Tech University

*The Not So Silent Majority: Louisville's Anti-War Movement, 1966-1975*  
Yvonne Baldwin and John Ernst, Morehead State University

*A Martial South?: Individual Southern Responses to the War in Vietnam*  
Joseph A. Fry, University of Nevada, Las Vegas

Commentary: The Audience

**Panel 8: "Educating the Public" during the Cold War** (Room 1.126)

Chair: Lori Lyn Bogle, United States Naval Academy

*Paths to Understanding: Florida's Cold War 'Mental Defense' Programs and the Sputnik Crisis*  
Steve Hach, University of Florida

*Creating "World-Minded Americans": Eisenhower and the Educational Policies Commission*  
Chris Tudda, Office of the Historian, Department of State

*From the Ivory Tower to Foggy Bottom: Roger Hilsman and Academic Training in the Cold War*  
Michael Nelson, Presbyterian College

Commentary: Christopher Endy, California State University, Los Angeles

**Panel 9: American Foreign Policy and Failed States: Nation-Building in Historical Perspective** (Room 1.110)

Chair: Douglas Little, Clark University

*State Building and Civilization: The Roosevelt Corollary as Prologue*  
Cary Fraser, Pennsylvania State University

*Building Nations after Failure: The Philippines and Vietnam Compared*  
Anne Foster, Indiana State University

*The Allied Occupation of Japan: A Successful Case of Nation-Building?*  
Sayuri Shimizu, Michigan State University

Commentary: Douglas Little

**Panel 10: Astronauts or Cold Warriors?: The American Space Program and Portrayals of Astronauts in the 1960s** (Room 2.108)

Chair: Roger Launius, Division of Space History, Smithsonian Institution

*Putting a Friendly Face on American Foreign Policy: Astronauts as Informal Ambassadors in the 1960s*  
Susan Mangus, Muskingum College

*Those Who Like Green Cheese Can Have It: The Space Program as Foreign Policy in Editorial Cartoons*  
Catherine Forslund, Rockford College

*"Some People Call Me a Space Cowboy": The Image of the Mercury Astronaut in Life Magazine*  
Edward Salo, Historian, Geo-Marine, Inc.

Commentary: Roger Launius

**Panel 11: Richard Nixon Confronts the World** (Room 1.124)

Chair: Bernd Schaefer, German Historical Institute

*Richard Nixon Confronts the Persian Gulf, 1969-1972*  
Tore Tingvold Petersen, Norwegian University of Science and Technology

*The Nixon Administration and the Spanish Democratic Transition*  
Pilar Ortuna-Anaya, Georgetown University

*"The Year of Europe" and Recurring Crises in Transatlantic Relations*  
Fabian Hilfrich, Institut für Zeitgeschichte

Commentary: Bernd Schaefer

## Panel 12: Approaching U.S.-Mexican Relations (Room 3.122)

Chair: Mark Gilderhus, Texas Christian University

*The American Presence in Monterey during the Porfiriato*  
Miguel Angel Gonzalez Quiroga, Universidad Autonoma de  
Neuvo Leon

*The U.S. Military at the Border and the Mexican Rebellion of 1929*  
J. Tillapaugh, University of Texas of the Permian Basin

*Mexican and United States Immigration Policy during the Great  
Depression*  
Jaime R. Aguila, University of Texas of the Permian Basin

Commentary: Lester Langley, University of Georgia

## RECEPTION AND PLENARY SESSION: 6:00 PM - 9:30 PM (LBJ Library)

SHAFR attendees are invited to a complementary reception hosted by the LBJ Library starting at 6:00 PM in the Museum. Following the reception, everyone is invited to stay for a light dinner, which will be served in the Eighth Floor Atrium. The plenary session will begin after dinner at 7:30 PM. (Pre-registration is required to attend the reception and dinner.)

### Teaching Diplomatic History: A Panel Honoring Robert Divine

Chair: Walter LaFeber, Cornell University

Participants: H.W. Brands, Texas A&M University  
John Lewis Gaddis, Yale University  
Randall B. Woods, University of Arkansas

Commentary: Robert Divine

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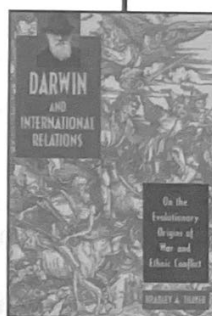
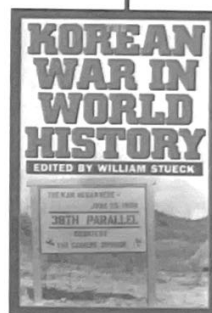
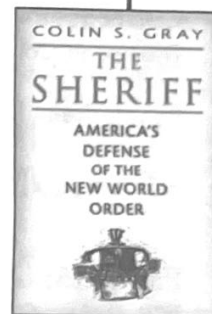
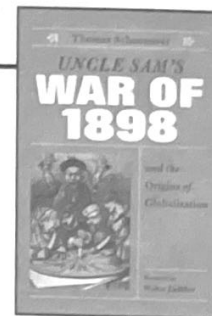
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# FRIDAY, JUNE 25

**Diplomatic History Editorial Board Meeting**  
7:30 AM - 9:00 AM (Room 2.108)

**Registration and Information: 8:00 AM - 6:00 PM**  
Thompson Conference Center Lobby

**Coffee Hour: 8:00 AM - 9:00 AM**  
Thompson Conference Center Lobby

Panels held in Thompson Conference Center unless noted.

## SESSION III: 9:00 AM - 11:00 AM

**Panel 13: Research Opportunities at Presidential Libraries from Eisenhower to Carter** (Room 1.110)

Chair: Nancy Kegan Smith, Director of the Presidential Materials Staff, National Archives and Records Administration

Participants:

David Haight, Eisenhower Library  
Maura Porter, Kennedy Library  
John Wilson, Johnson Library  
John Powers, Nixon Presidential Materials Staff  
Geir Gundersen, Ford Library  
James Yancey, Carter Library

**Panel 14: The Economic Cold War: The United States, the Soviet Union, and Their Allies** (Room 1.126)

Chair: William Glenn Gray, Texas Tech University

*Poland, the GDR, and the Economic Cold War in Germany: The 1960s*

Douglas Selvage, Office of the Historian, Department of State

*Strategies of Economic Containment: The United States, Western Europe, and East-West Trade, 1948-57*

Ian R.W. Jackson, De Montfort University

*Did Gomulka Start Poland's Economic Opening to the West? Relations between Economic and Foreign Policy in Gomulka's Poland*  
Wanda Jarzabek, Institute for Political Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences

*"I Hope and Pray Your Nations Will Now Move Firmly Forward": The Johnson Administration and the Indian Food Crisis, 1965-67*  
Kristin Ahlberg, Office of the Historian, Department of State

Commentary: Klaus Larres, University of London

**Panel 15: The Ngo Dinh Diem Era and Its Aftermath** (Room 3.110)

Chair: Keith Weller Taylor, Cornell University

*A Heart of Gold: Operation Passage to Freedom, 1954-1955*  
Ronald B. Frankum, Jr., Millersville University

*Malice and Misperception: The Flawed Agenda of David Halberstam and Roger Hilsman*  
Geoffrey C. Stewart, University of Western Ontario

*Tri Quang and South Vietnam: The Legacy of the 1963 Coup*  
Mark Moyer, Texas A&M University

Commentary: Keith Weller Taylor

**Panel 16: Unscrambling New Challenges in Africa: Lumumba, Kaunda, Polaroid, and Genocide**  
(Room 2.110)

Chair: Tim Borstelmann, University of Nebraska-Lincoln

*Taking Center Stage: The Role of Patrice Lumumba in the Congo Crisis of 1960-61*  
Lise Namikas, Louisiana State University

*Kenneth Kaunda and the Johnson Administration*  
Andrew DeRoche, Front Range Community College

*An Experiment in South Africa: Polaroid and the Origins of the Ethical Investor Model and Sullivan Principles*  
Eric Morgan, University of Colorado

*The Limits of Quiet Diplomacy: The Nixon Administration and Genocide in Burundi, 1972-1973*  
Christian DesRoches, Concordia University

Commentary: Cary Fraser, Pennsylvania State University

**Panel 17: Modernization's World Tour: Asian, African, and American Concepts of Development, 1945-1965** (Room 3.122)

Chair: Laura Belmonte, Oklahoma State University

*South Korea as a U.S. Development Problem, 1945-1965*  
David Ekblad, Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies

*"A Significant Historical Demonstration": The U.S. and the Development of Nigeria, 1960-1963*  
Larry Grubbs, Clayton College and State University

*The Uses of Tradition: Culture, Social Science, and U.S. Development Policy, 1949-1965*  
Nicole Sackley, Princeton University

Commentary: David C. Engerman, Brandeis University

**Panel 18: Identity and Remembrance in Filipino-American Relations** (Room 1.124)

Chair: Anne Foster, Indiana State University

*Racing the Filipinos: The Question of Filipino Identity and U.S. Policy at the Turn of the Twentieth Century*  
Anne Paulet, Humboldt State University

*Military Dissent: General Nelson Miles and Dirty War in the Philippines, 1899-1902*  
David Mayers, Boston University

*America's Forgotten Heroes, American Prisoners of the Japanese, and the Policy of Silence*  
Lisa Beckenbaugh, McNeese State University

Commentary: Anne Foster

**LUNCH BREAK: 11:00 AM - 1:30 PM**

**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS:  
11:30 AM - 1:15 PM**

(LBJ Library, Eighth Floor Atrium. Pre-registration required.)

**War and Diplomacy: Or, Clausewitz for Diplomatic Historians**

Mark Stoler, University of Vermont

**SESSION IV: 1:30 PM - 3:30 PM**

**Panel 19: Peace and Dissent in United States Foreign Policy** (Room 1.126)

Chair: David Schmitz, Whitman College

*People in Motion: The Historiography of the Vietnam Antiwar Movement*

Mitchell Hall, Central Michigan University

*The Peace Movement in Latin America since the End of the Cold War*  
Virginia Williams, Winthrop University

*Crossing the Colorline: American Anti-Apartheid Activism, Multicultural Politics, and American Foreign Policy*

David Hostetter, College of Southern Maryland

*Christianity, Dissent, and the Cold War: Reinhold Niebuhr and A.J. Muste*

Leilah Danielson, Northern Arizona University

Commentary: E. Timothy Smith, Barry University  
David Schmitz

**Panel 20: The Shape of Things to Come: U.S. Policy towards the Third World in the 1960s and 1970s** (Room 3.110)

Chair: Tim Borstelmann, University of Nebraska-Lincoln

*The Johnson Administration and Portuguese Africa*

Luis Nuno Rodrigues, ISCTE (Higher Institute for Business and Labor Studies)

*Crossover Point: The Johnson Administration Rethinks Its Interference in Chilean Democracy, 1965-1969*

Mark T. Hove, University of Florida

*Development and Drug Control: Modernization Theory, the U.S., the UN, and Thailand, 1970-1975*

Daniel Weimer, Northwest Vista College

Commentary: Dennis Merrill, University of Missouri, Kansas City  
Tim Borstelmann

**Panel 21: Fifty Years After Geneva: New Perspectives on State-Making in Vietnam, 1954-1960** (Room 2.110)

Chair: George Herring, University of Kentucky

*The Lesser Evil: The Western Alliance and the Partition of Vietnam*

James Waite, Ohio University

*Staging Democracy: A Discursive Analysis of the 1955 South Vietnamese Referendum to Depose Bao Dai*

Jessica Chapman, University of California, Santa Barbara

*An Academic Approach to State Building in Vietnam: The Michigan State University Group, 1955-1960*

Jessica Breitenicher Elkind, University of California, Los Angeles

Commentary: Robert Brigham, Vassar College  
George Herring

**Panel 22: Henry Kissinger and U.S. Foreign Policy in an Era of Transition** (Room 3.122)

Chair: Warren Kimball, Rutgers University

*Kissinger and Triangular Diplomacy*

Jussi Hanhimäki, Geneva Graduate Institute

*Kissinger and Germany*

Holger Klitzing, University of Heidelberg

*Kissinger and Europe*  
Klaus Larres, University of London

Commentary: William Burr, National Security Archive

**Panel 23: The Cold War: Policy Making and Conflict Resolution** (Room 1.124)

Chair: David Culbert, Louisiana State University

*Flawed but not by Design: The Organizational Evolution of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in National Security Policy Making, 1947-1960*  
John Binkley, University of Maryland

*The Relationship between Diplomacy and Military Force: An Example from the Cuban Missile Crisis*  
Michael E. Weaver, U.S. Air Force and Air Staff Command and Staff College

*Personal Diplomacy: George Bush, the Reunification of Germany, and the Question of NATO Membership*  
Christopher Maynard, Dakota State University

Commentary: H.W. Brands, Texas A & M University

**Panel 24: Intersections: Cultural Studies and Diplomatic History** (Room 1.110)

Moderator: Thomas Zeiler, University of Colorado

*Gender*  
Kristin Hoganson, University of Illinois

*Asian-Americans; Cold War*  
Christina Klein, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

*Tourism; Frontiers; ASASHAFR*  
Scott Laderman, University of Minnesota

*War; SHAFR/ASA*  
Edwin Martini, University of Maryland

*War and Peace; DH Outreach*  
Robert D. Schulzinger, University of Colorado

**BREAK: 3:30 PM - 4:00 PM**

Refreshments available in Thompson Conference Center Lobby.

**SESSION V: 4:00 PM - 6:00 PM**

**Panel 25: Ideology and Empire: The Politics of Education in Twentieth-Century Foreign Relations** (Room 1.124)

Chair: Laura Belmonte, Oklahoma State University

*Rhode to Success: Cecil Rhodes and the Establishment of Academic Exchange as a Study of Cultural Diplomacy*  
Dana Magill, Texas Christian University

*'Is the World Our Campus?': Reflections upon the Uses of Educational Exchange in U.S. Foreign Relations, 1942-1948*  
Justin Hart, Rutgers University

*Education for Revolution: America's Cold War Commitment to Education, Democracy, and Development in Northeast Brazil, 1960-1964*  
Christina Anne Luhn, University of Missouri-Kansas City

Commentary: Laura Belmonte

**Panel 26: Norman A. Graebner and the Realist Tradition in U.S. Foreign Relations** (Room 2.110)

Chair: Ronald Steel, University of Southern California

*The Realist Tradition in Nineteenth-Century U.S. Foreign Policy*  
David L. Anderson, University of Indianapolis

*Wilsonianism and Realism*  
Lloyd E. Ambrosius, University of Nebraska

*Franklin D. Roosevelt: Balancing Commitments with Power and Power with Diplomacy*  
Edward M. Bennett, Washington State University

Commentary: Norman A. Graebner, University of Virginia

**Panel 27: Oil and American Foreign Relations** (Room 3.122)

Chair: Tyler Priest, History International, LLC

*Whispers in the Backroom?: Oil Conspiracies and American Foreign Relations*  
James D. Perry, Independent Historian

*Enrico Mattei and the 'Seven Sisters': A Political and Economic Challenge*  
David S. Painter, Georgetown University

*Continental Drift: Canada-U.S. Oil Relations, 1958-1988*  
Tammy Nemeth, University of British Columbia

Commentary: Tyler Priest

**Panel 28: A "New Look" at Civil Defense** (Room 1.126)

Chair: Chester J. Pach, Jr., Ohio University

*Atomic Babble: America's Symbolic Civil Defense Program*  
Andrew J. Falk, University of Texas at Austin

*Civil Defense and Eisenhower's New Look*  
Rachel M. Mihalovich, West Virginia University

*From 'Duck and Cover' to 'Duck Tape': Civil Defense in an Era of Weapons of Mass Destruction*  
Valerie L. Adams, Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University

Commentary: Laura McEnaney, Whittier College

**Panel 29: U.S.-European Relations during the Cold War** (Room 3.110)

Chair: Francis J. Gavin, University of Texas at Austin

*The Committee for the Marshall Plan and Postwar American Liberalism*  
George Fujii, University of California, Santa Barbara

*Between Alliance and Nuclear Menace: U.S. Policy toward German Reunification and Disarmament Negotiations, 1955-1960*  
Itsuki Kurashina, Rutgers University

*Anglo-American Relations and the Negotiations over Berlin in 1961*  
Toshihiko Aono, University of California, Santa Barbara

Commentary: Francis J. Gavin

**Panel 30: Conducting Research Using Non-Traditional Materials: The Secret Presidential Tapes Collections: Presentations with Audio Clips and Computer Images from the Archives**  
(Room 1.110)

**Participants:**

Maura Porter, Kennedy Library

Regina Greenwell, Johnson Library

John Powers, Nixon Presidential Materials Staff

**DINNER EXCURSION:  
6:30 PM - 10:00 PM**

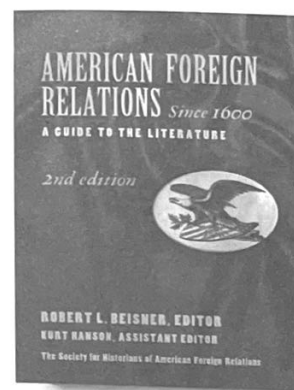
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# SATURDAY, JUNE 26

**SHAFR Council Meeting: 7:30 AM - 9:00 AM**  
(Room 2.108)

**Registration and Information: 8:00 AM - 6:00 PM**  
Thompson Conference Center, Room 3.102

**Coffee Hour: 8:00 AM - 9:00 AM**  
Thompson Conference Center, Room 3.102

Panels held in Thompson Conference Center unless noted.

## SESSION VI: 9:00 AM - 11:00 AM

**Panel 31: U.S. Chiefs of Mission, 1920-1950**  
(Room 1.124)

Chair: Mary Ann Heiss, Kent State University

*The Anti-Imperialist as Ambassador: Henry F. Grady and the Cold War, 1947-51*  
John T. McNay, University of Cincinnati, Raymond Walters College

*'Mission to the North': Florence Jaffray Harriman, Minister to Norway, 1937-40*  
Philip Nash, Pennsylvania State University

*The Stick and the Carrot: James Rockwell Sheffield, Dwight Whitney Morrow and U.S.-Mexican Relations in the 1920s*  
Matthew A. Redinger, Montana State University-Billings

Commentary: Elizabeth Kelly Gray, Towson State University  
Mary Ann Heiss

**Panel 32: Half a Century of Korean Affairs**  
(Room 3.110)

Chair: William Stueck, University of Georgia

*Dividing the Peninsula: Truman and the Partition of Korea*  
Jonathan Greenberg, Stanford University Law School

*Syngman Rhee and the Vietnam War: South Korea's Attempt to Enter the First Indochina Conflict, 1954*  
Christos G. Frentzos, University of Houston

*The Northern Limit Line Incident of 2002: Motivations and Implications*  
Bruce Bechtol, Air Command and Staff College

Commentary: William Stueck

**Panel 33: The Bush "War on Terrorism": The Challenge to Diplomatic Historians** (Room 2.102)

Moderator: David Oshinsky, The University of Texas at Austin

Participants: Carolyn Eisenberg, Hofstra University

Melvyn Leffler, University of Virginia

Anna Nelson, American University

Arnold Offner, Lafayette College

**Panel 34: Dreams, Drift, and Disasters: The United States Response to Decolonization from Wilson to Johnson** (Room 3.122)

Chair: David S. Painter, Georgetown University

*Indonesia's New Frontier: The Kennedy Administration and the Decolonization of West New Guinea, 1960-62*  
David Webster, University of British Columbia

*Pre-empting Communism: Kennedy, Johnson, and British Guiana*  
Robert Waters, Southern University at New Orleans

*The United States Response to Algerian Nationalism*  
Daniel Byrne, Bradley University

*Wilson's Curse: Race, Democracy, and the Dilemmas of Decolonization*  
Jason Parker, West Virginia University

Commentary: David Painter

### **Panel 35: The Carter Administration's Foreign Policy** (Room 2.110)

Chair: John P. Miglietta, Tennessee State University

*The Influence (or lack thereof) of the Committee on the Present Danger on the Defense Policy of the Carter Administration*  
Brian Auten, University of Reading

*Carter's Human Rights Policy toward Iran*  
Brent Geary, Ohio University

*Carter's Human Rights Policy toward Argentina*  
Scott Kaufman, Francis Marion University

Commentary: John P. Miglietta

### **Panel 36: The Political Economy of the Cold War Alliance: Years of Consolidation, Years of Disintegration** (Room 1.126)

Chair: Thomas Zeiler, University of Colorado

*Bringing the Cold War to the GATT: U.S. Commercial Diplomacy from Truman to Kennedy*  
Francine McKenzie, University of Western Ontario

*The Decision to Float: The United States, West Germany, and the Breakdown of Bretton Woods, 1969-1973*  
William Glenn Gray, Texas Tech University

*Conflict or Cooperation: Foreign Economic Policy in the Nixon Years*  
Kathleen Rasmussen, Office of the Historian, Department of State

Commentary: Thomas Zeiler

## **LUNCH BREAK: 11:00 AM - 1:30 PM**

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### **LUNCHEON ADDRESS: 11:30 AM - 1:15 PM**

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(LBJ Library, Eighth Floor Atrium. Pre-registration required.)

#### **Reflections on Intelligence Support for U. S. Foreign Relations**

Admiral B. R. Inman, USN (Ret.)  
LBJ Centennial Chair in National Policy,  
LBJ School of Public Affairs

## **SESSION VII: 1:30 PM - 3:30 PM**

---

### **Panel 37: Into Southeast Asia** (Room 3.110)

Chair: T. Christopher Jespersen, North Georgia College & State University

*Countering Communism in Southeast Asia: The Bangkok Regional Conference of June 1948*  
E. Bruce Reynolds, San Jose State University

*The Illusion of Progress: CORDS and the American Struggle for Modernization in South Vietnam*  
Christopher T. Fischer, The College of New Jersey

*U.S.-Thai Security Relations in the post-Vietnam War Era*  
Timothy N. Castle, Naval War College

Commentary: T. Christopher Jespersen

**Panel 38: Mediation in the Cold War, 1958-1963**  
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Chair: Thomas A. Schwartz, Vanderbilt University

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Martin Kofler, Independent Scholar

*'A Message to the Bearded One': The United States, Brazil, and the Cuban Missile Crisis*  
James G. Hershberg, George Washington University

*Maneli and Nhu: Rumors Revisited: The United States, Poland, and Vietnam, 1963*  
Malgorzata Gnoinska, George Washington University

Commentary: Timothy J. Naftali, University of Virginia

**Panel 39: Imperialism and Expansion:  
Re-examining Anglo-American Connections in the  
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Chair: Kenneth Stevens, Texas Christian University

*Finance and U.S. Foreign Relations in the Mid-Nineteenth Century*  
Jay Sexton, University of Cambridge

*The Founder Formation of Imperial Ideology*  
Ryan J. Carey, University of Texas at Austin

*Charles Elliot and the Myth of an American "Manifest" Destiny*  
Sam W. Haynes, University of Texas at Arlington

Commentary: Kenneth Stevens

**Panel 40: Diplomacy and Identity** (Room 1.126)

Chair: Fred Dickinson, University of Pennsylvania

*Orientalism and Expediency: Political Power and National Identities in Japan-U.S. Relations during the 1910s*  
Robert G. Kane, Niagara University

*Russia in a Box: The Role of Folk Art in Soviet Diplomacy and Foreign Relations*  
Andrew Jenks, Niagara University

*Winning Over the Man at the Bench?: The U.S. Marshall Campaign in France*  
Amy Garrett, University of Pennsylvania

Commentary: Fred Dickinson

**Panel 41: After the Victory: Anglo-American  
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(Room 2.110)

Chair: Arnold Offner, Lafayette College

*An Expedient Solution?: Germany's External Assets in the European Neutral Countries as Reparations*  
Martin Lorenz-Meyer, University of Kansas

*A "Projected New Trusteeship": American Internationalism and the Reconstruction of Iran, 1941-1947*  
Simon Davis, Bronx Community College

*The Anglo-American Occupation of Western Austria, 1945-1955: Are There Lessons To Be Learned for the Twenty-First Century?*  
Siegfried Beer, University of Graz

*Post-War and Post-Cold War: Traditions in U.S. Military Occupations*  
James Jay Carafano, The Heritage Foundation

Commentary: Carolyn Eisenberg, Hofstra University

### **Panel 42: Transnational Cultures and American Foreign Relations** (Room 2.102)

Chair: Frank Costigliola, University of Connecticut

*Global Rights Talk in 1950s America*  
Mark Bradley, Northwestern University

*Immigrant Gifts and Imperial Nostalgia*  
Kristin Hoganson, University of Illinois

*Exhibiting Signs of Resistance: Vietnamese Culture at the Smithsonian in 1960*  
Matthew Masur, Ohio State University

Commentary: Mark Lawrence, The University of Texas at Austin

### **BREAK: 3:30 PM - 4:00 PM**

Refreshments available in Room 3.102.

## **SESSION VIII: 4:00 PM - 6:00 PM**

### **Panel 43: The Anglo-American Alliance and the East-West Divide in the Early Cold War** (Room 1.124)

Chair: Phyllis Soybel, College of Lake County

*'I hope you are not vexed': Anglo-American Relations and Churchill's Proposal for an Anglo-Soviet Summit Meeting, 1953-1954*  
Daniel C. Williamson, University of Hartford

*Containment and the Sacred Trust: Anglo-American Relations and the Founding of the Trusteeship System of the United Nations, 1946*  
Gordon Morrell, Wilfrid Laurier University

*End, Means, and History in Eisenhower's and Churchill's Interpretation of the Cold War*  
David Tal, Ramit Aviv University

Commentary: Phyllis Soybel

### **Panel 44: Containment and Collusion: Lyndon Johnson and Asia Revisited, 1964-1968** (Room 2.110)

Chair: Randall Woods, University of Arkansas

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Bradley Simpson, Idaho State University

*The Art of Presidential Enabling: Senate Equivocators and Johnson Administration Engagement in Southeast Asia*  
Jeffrey D. Bass, University of Connecticut

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Hal Brands, Stanford University

Commentary: Randall Woods

**Panel 45: The Johnson Administration and Britain:  
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(Room 3.110)

Chair: Peter Busch, Free University, Berlin

*The United States, Britain, and the Problem of Rhodesian  
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Carl Watts, Grand Valley State University

*The Johnson Administration, the Wilson Government, and NATO*

Andrew Priest, University of Wales

*The Economic and Strategic Consequences for Britain and the United  
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Steven G. Galpern, Office of the Historian, Department  
of State

Commentary: Peter Busch

**Panel 46: The Cold War after Stalin: Perspectives  
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Moderator: Klaus Larres, London University

Participants: Jerald Combs, San Francisco State University

Jussi Hanhimäki, Graduate Institute for International  
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Mark Kramer, Harvard University

Vojtech Mastny, National Security Archive and  
Woodrow Wilson Center

Kenneth Osgood, Mershon Center, Ohio State  
University and Florida Atlantic University

**Panel 47: "Soft Power" during the Nixon and  
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Foundations of Diplomacy** (Room 2.102)

Chair: Robert D. Schulzinger, University of Colorado

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Todd Bennett, Office of the Historian, Department of State

*Setting the Stage for Nixon: The Crumbling Cold War Consensus and  
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Erin Black, University of Toronto

*Kissinger and the German Past*

Thomas A. Schwartz, Vanderbilt University

*Hegemony and Decline in American Intellectual Discourse and  
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Eileen Scully, Bennington College

Commentary: Jeremi Suri, University of Wisconsin

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Kennedy's Foreign Policy toward Europe,  
Latin America, and Asia** (Room 1.126)

Chair: Brian C. Etheridge, Louisiana Tech University

*Through the Looking Glass of Berlin: Franco-American Perceptions of  
the Berlin Crisis*

Erin R. Mahan, University of Virginia

*"The point is, he's going to grab Berlin anyway. He's going to take  
Berlin anyway": Kennedy, Khrushchev, and the Factor of Berlin in the  
Cuban Missile Crisis*

Christian M. Decoster, Ohio State University

*The Missiles of November, December, January, February . . .*

David G. Coleman, University of Virginia

*United States Foreign Policy and Thailand during the Kennedy Administration*  
Arne Kislenko, Ryerson University

Commentary: Timothy J. Naftali, University of Virginia

## **DINNER BREAK: 6:00 PM - 8:00 PM**

### **Screening and Discussion of *Fog of War***

**6:00PM - 7:30 PM** (Location: LBJ Library, First Floor Auditorium)

Join Jim Blight and Janet Lang, who served as academic advisors, as they screen and discuss selections from Errol Morris's documentary about the life and career of Robert McNamara. For information about the film, visit <http://www.sonyclassics.com/fogofwar/>

### **PLENARY SESSION II:**

**8:00 PM - 10:00 PM**

LBJ Library, Eighth Floor Atrium

### **The Cultures of Foreign Relations History**

Chair: Frank Costigliola, University of Connecticut

Participants: Andrew Rotter, Colgate University

Melani McAlister, George Washington University

William Stueck, University of Georgia

Commentary: The Audience

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- "The Sexual Behavior of American GIs During the Early Years of the Occupation of Germany," by John Willoughby
- "The Vietnam War, 1964-1969: A Chinese Perspective," by Xiaoming Zhang
- "American Military Psychiatry and Its Role among Ground Forces in World War II," by Paul Wanke
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- "French Military Reconnaissance in the Ottoman Empire During the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries as a Source for Our Knowledge of Ancient Monuments," by Michael Greenhalgh
- "'Now a Major Motion Picture': War Films and Hollywood's New Patriotism," by Frank J. Wetta and Martin A. Novelli
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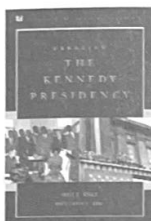


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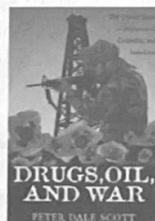
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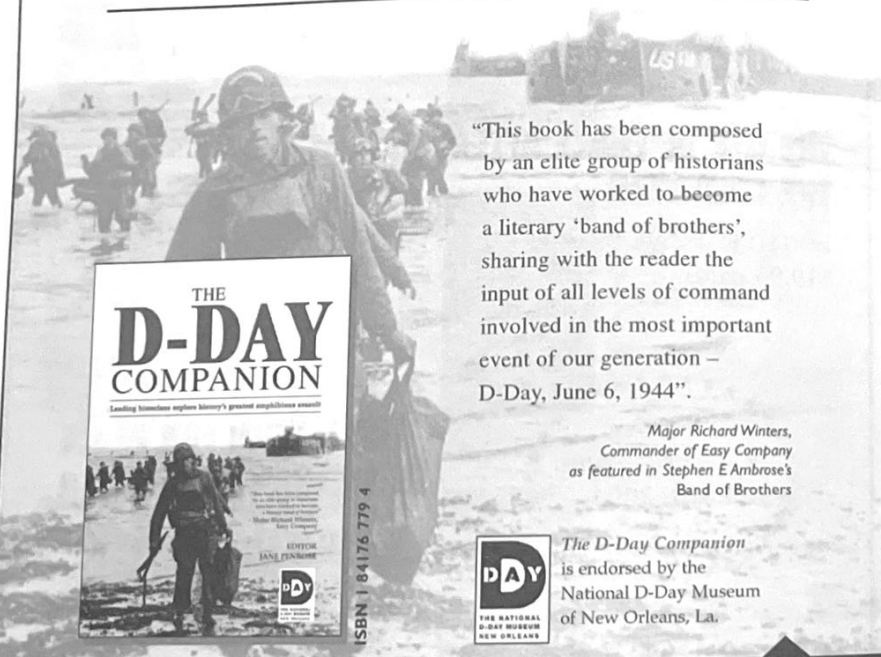
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Information about other hotels near campus can be found at:  
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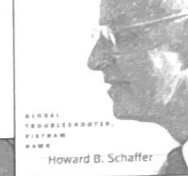
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