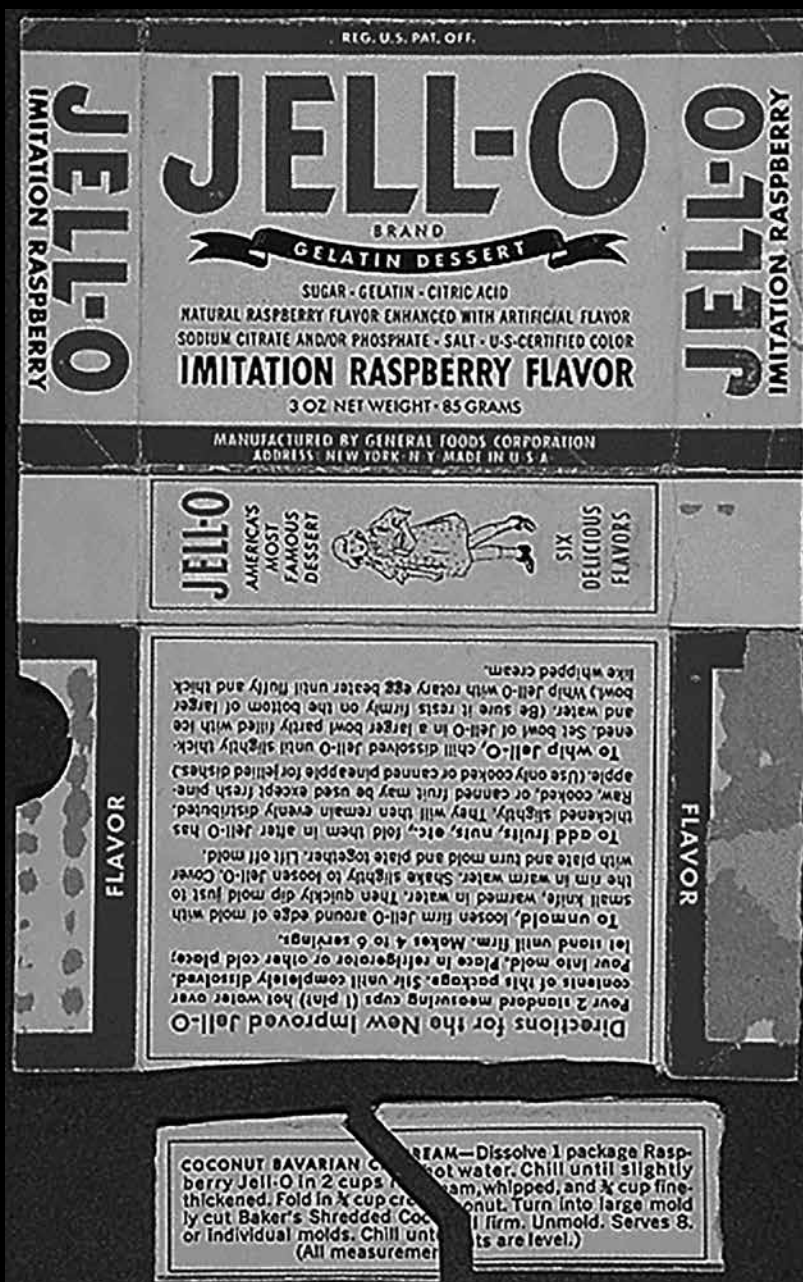


PASSPORT

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Digital History and Diplomatic History
A Roundtable on *Executing the Rosenbergs*
Declassified Breakthroughs in Germany

AND MORE...

Passport

THE SOCIETY FOR HISTORIANS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS REVIEW



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Finding SHAFR

Mary L. Dudziak

I am so honored to have the opportunity to serve as SHAFR's president, especially as we celebrate SHAFR's 50th anniversary. Some of you might wonder how a scholar trained as a legal historian and whose appointment is in a law school ended up in this role. The answer to that question might reveal a broader story about the path of foreign relations history, so I thought I would tell you the story of how SHAFR and I ended up together. The tale involves following little clues, like breadcrumbs along a path, charting my way.

I stumbled upon the first clue in an unlikely place: the archives of the Topeka, Kansas, Board of Education. I was researching what would become my first dissertation topic: the way Topeka, Kansas would come to terms with its role in the landmark desegregation case, *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, KS*. I hoped to write a deep study of one community caught in a national crisis over race discrimination. Topeka has an unusual history, in part because the school board voted to desegregate in 1953, before *Brown* was decided.

A news clip in one folder caught my eye. After the School Board voted to end racial segregation, a reporter asked why they had acted before the Supreme Court had ruled. "We think that segregation is not an American practice," a Board member answered. The language of Americanism had a charged meaning in the early 1950s, of course. But desegregation and the domestic Cold War were then treated as different subjects, with important exceptions like the work of legal scholar Derrick Bell.¹ I wanted to figure out just how the Cold War context might have mattered to *Brown*.

Once I started looking, the connections between *Brown* and the Cold War were ubiquitous. The second breadcrumb was the brief of the United States as *amicus curia* (friend of the court) in *Brown*. An amicus brief has a section explaining the filer's interest in the case. The United States argued that segregation harmed U.S. foreign relations, undermining the country's position in the Cold War. The brief quoted extensively from a letter sent to the Attorney General by Secretary of State Dean Acheson.

This was an important clue, because it took the intersection of segregation and the Cold War from domestic culture and politics to international relations. This would soon take me way outside my comfort zone.

To follow up, I first sought the Justice Department files used in preparing that *Brown* amicus brief. But that path was



blocked when the files were not open, and they remained closed until after my book was published years later. My only option was to turn to State Department sources. It turned out that the DOJ barrier was serendipitous.

When I showed up at the National Archives to look at State Department records, archivist Sally Marks (later Sally Kuisel) had already pulled files for me. It was in the summer of 1987, so records from the 1950s had not long been declassified. With Sally's help, I essentially learned how to do diplomatic history research on site in the archives.

As foreign relations historians well know, the State Department decimal file numbering system can be like a gold mine. If a number fits your topic, you can hit a seam that allows you to track your topic over time. 811.4016 was my seam. To mix metaphors, the breadcrumbs were lined up in a row. I had found my scholarly

focus. Following the number enabled me to write the most important piece in my law school tenure file.² This eventually led me to abandon my Topeka dissertation topic for a new one: the relationship between civil rights and foreign relations in the Truman Administration.

At this point, it was clear that I needed you. I knew that I couldn't rely on diplomatic history primary and secondary sources without getting feedback and criticism from foreign relations historians. I needed an intellectual community that synced with the direction my work had taken.

My first serious foray into the world of foreign relations historians was the 1991 conference, "Rethinking the Cold War: A Conference in Memory of William Appleman Williams," at the University of Wisconsin, Madison. Brenda Gayle Plummer, who was then writing her important book *Rising Wind: Black Americans and U. S. Foreign Affairs, 1935-1960*, was my co-panelist, and the indefatigable and intellectually expansive Gerald Horne was my commentator. I was terrified. But I managed to survive the occasion, and Gerald and Brenda expanded my horizons and also made me feel as if I fit in, at least in one corner of diplomatic history.

As I wrote my first book, *Cold War Civil Rights*, American history was taking its global turn. My work would fit within what became the field of the United States and the World. Meanwhile in foreign relations history, ideas, culture, and politics had long mattered though the work of John W. Dower, Emily Rosenberg, Michael Hunt, Thomas Noer, and many others, but these aspects of the

field expanded and diversified. By the time my book was published, it was part of a collection of works on race and U.S. foreign relations, including books by Plummer, Horne, Tim Borstelmann, Penny Von Eschen, Michael Krenn, and soon Carol Anderson, Jim Meriwether, and many others. Scholarship on U.S. history writ large and diplomatic history were moving closer together.

The role of my book in this literature was materially influenced by you, SHAFR members. I attended my first SHAFR conference in 1993 at the University of Virginia. I was still terrified, but I presented a paper on foreign relations and Truman Administration civil rights. The feedback I received, especially the criticism, stayed with me, and motivated me to do my best to get the book right. I felt mightily out of place, surely in part because I had needed to bring along my two-year-old and cobble together improvised childcare. But the synergy of ideas at SHAFR kept drawing me back.

Over time, the SHAFR annual meeting changed for me from something I needed to go to, to something more: an intellectual community that I felt a part of. This is not only because everyone was welcoming; it is because the

dynamic intersection between SHAFR's cultural turn, and U.S. history's international turn, enabled a new generation of scholars attuned to both. American history needed SHAFR as much as I did. Since then, my scholarship has been informed by SHAFR members across generations—from the brilliant insights of Marilyn Young, Michael Sherry, and others writing about war, to new voices taking the field in new directions.

Fifty years ago SHAFR's founders created a scholarly space that now reaches across fields, including even legal history. It is an exciting time to write within this fusion, and to work with you as SHAFR moves into its second half-century.

Notes:

1. Derrick A. Bell, Jr., "Brown v. Board of Education and the Interest Convergence Dilemma," *Harvard Law Review* 93 (1980): 518-33.

2. Mary L. Dudziak, "Desegregation as a Cold War Imperative," *Stanford Law Review*, 41 (Nov., 1988): 61-120. Because I needed to publish law review articles to get tenure, I did not complete my dissertation or turn to writing a book until I was tenured.

2016 SHAFR ELECTION RESULTS

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THANK YOU TO THE 599 SHAFR MEMBERS WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE VOTING!

A Roundtable on Frank Costigliola and Michael J. Hogan, eds. *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations, 3rd Edition*

Walter L. Hixson, Julia F. Irwin, Alan McPherson, Kurk Dorsey, Sandra Scanlon, Christopher Endy, M. Todd Bennett, and Frank Costigliola & Michael J. Hogan

Introduction: Roundtable on Frank Costigliola & Michael J. Hogan, eds., *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations, 3rd edition*

Walter L. Hixson

All six reviewers of *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations* welcome the publication of this new and substantially revised third edition. The reviewers ably discuss the book's contents, including descriptions of the revised holdover essays; the contributions of new essays and categories of analysis; and the essays from the first and second editions that ended up on the cutting room floor. In addition, the reviewers offer suggestions of topics and categories that might have been included in the revised edition but are not.

The *Passport* reviewers echo the editors of the new edition—Michael J. Hogan and Frank Costigliola (stepping in for Thomas G. Paterson)—in asserting that the collection represents a robust subfield that has long since put to rest stereotypical condemnations of diplomatic history. While the twenty-one admirably concise essays in the new volume “push and pull against each other” in various ways, as Hogan and Costigliola point out, taken as a whole they “highlight the healthy ferment and rich diversity that mark the field.”(8)

If there is a dominant theme within the six review essays it is their effort to grapple with the clearly considerable impact of the cultural turn on the history of American foreign relations. The reviewers appear to share a sense that the dramatically revised third edition “marks a departure,” as Sandra Scanlon puts it, with “recently developed and emerging categories of analysis” dominating the volume. Most but not all of the contributors to and reviewers of the third edition appear to take this transition in stride. Among the reviewers, Todd Bennett is a notable exception, as he identifies a binary in which “culturalism” dominates “foundationalism,” creating an “imbalance . . . indicative of a field in distress.”

Bennett and some of the contributors to the revised volume—Hogan, Bradley Simpson, and Fredrik Logevall come to mind—express concern that more traditional approaches to diplomacy such as corporatism, political economy, and domestic politics have lost ground amid the new trends in the field. Yet all of those avenues of inquiry carry profound cultural dimensions, or as Michael Hunt might prefer to put it, the forces of ideology permeate each of these categories. Bennett's binary is thus misconceived

because culture itself is foundational, not the opposite of it. In sum, the notion that culture is divorced from the exercise of power reflects a flawed understanding of things cultural and how they operate in human societies.

Concerns on the part of both reviewers and contributors over *fragmentation* of the field carry more weight than a fictive divide between culture and power. Kurk Dorsey worries that graduate students, confronted with twenty-one authors each highlighting the true path to enlightened research in the field, might be overwhelmed and reduced to tears. He and others then proceed to point out *additional* categories that should have been included. These include Global Environment—probably the most glaring omission—as well as Intelligence, Military History, Decolonization, and several others. Some of the reviewers also point out that while the volume is an excellent guide to *methodology* within the field, despite the book's title it actually offers very little by way of *explaining* the history of American foreign relations.

These concerns underscore a paradox inherent amid the “healthy ferment and rich diversity” of the field that the anthology otherwise rightfully celebrates. Taken individually, these are smart, well calibrated, and in some cases highly original essays that clearly contribute to understanding the diverse approaches to the history of foreign relations. Taken collectively, however, the richness of diversity can be perversely framed as balkanization wherein we traverse a dense patch of trees oblivious to the larger landscape of the forest. The volume offers a wide range—arguably a problematically wide range—of approaches to conceptualizing and researching diplomatic history, yet ultimately a book whose title purports to explain a field raises more questions than answers.

If diplomatic history is a field enriched by myriad new methodological frameworks, it is also one that suffers from an absence of both broad conceptualization and fundamental debate. Perhaps I have grown nostalgic for the simpler days of “orthodox, realist, and revisionist,” wherein at least “empire as a way of life” could be identified and debated rather than lost in the methodological maze. As the above reference to empire suggests, the legacy of William Appleman Williams remains noteworthy, which is not to say that the iconic Wisconsin School revisionist got everything right. What Williams and others did do, however, was offer a “radical” critique of American diplomacy that spurred debate and dissent, which are today notably absent from the field as well as the anthology under review. A qualified exception is a new essay by Ussama Makdisi, who argues

that a fundamentally American-centric worldview limits critical thinking about the exercise of state power and especially its consequences for others.

Whether willingly embedded within an imperial framework, indifferent to it under the illusion of objectivity, or simply relegated to the margins, diplomatic historians as a collective are not doing much by way of fundamental critical thinking about American power, nor are they particularly receptive of those who try to do so. This lack of engagement reflects or in any case does little to reinvigorate an impoverished level of public debate about American foreign policy today.

Perhaps relatedly, diplomatic history also continues to suffer from a temporal disconnect. As some of the reviewers point out, most of the contributors to the anthology are cold war specialists focused on the post-World War II era. Although essays on borders, borderlands, race, religion, and memory, among others, touch on earlier periods of American history the anthology ultimately does little to address the disconnect between modern American global imperial power and its antecedent rise as a continental settler colonial state. The modern American global empire finds its roots in a worldview and patterns of behavior embedded in pre-Revolutionary and nineteenth century American history. Yet the anthology virtually ignores *centuries* of Euro-American interactions including perpetual warfare and indigenous removal policies, all of which left an imprint on national identity and foreign policy. It is rather like trying to grasp the personality of a fifty year-old person without giving any consideration to his or her upbringing or adolescence. In the end it will not produce a very compelling profile.

The history of American foreign relations needs to be interpreted over a *longue durée*, but few diplomatic historians have the interest or inclination to undertake the challenges of going back in time. In their brief rejoinder to the reviewers Hogan and Costigliola situate *Explaining* as a book on methodology and refer us to the second edition of their other anthology *America in the World* as the best guide to the historiography of the field. But that volume is even more rigidly devoted to late twentieth century themes. In sum, diplomatic history and the historiography thereof appear to begin in 1941 or at best in 1898. To reiterate, I believe more is lost than most practitioners imagine through this myopic framing of the field.

Such heresies aside, there can be little doubt that readers of the new edition and of these brief review essays will find them trenchant and thought provoking. The anthology and its reviewers offer readers a strong grasp of where we have been, where we are today, and where we might go in the future in the field of American foreign relations.

Old Wine in New Bottles, New Wine in Old Bottles: A Review of Frank Costigliola and Michael J. Hogan, eds., *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016)

Julia F. Irwin

Like many of us, I imagine, I first encountered *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations* during my early years of graduate school. In 2004, the year I began my doctoral work, Michael J. Hogan and Thomas G. Paterson had just published a much-anticipated second edition of their pioneering 1991 volume. As a latecomer to the U.S.-in-the-World scene—I had entered grad school intending

to study the history of American medicine, only to discover my passion for the history of U.S. foreign relations during coursework—I was thrilled to discover this collection. Here was a book that would guide me through the major issues, debates, and analytical methods that defined the field of U.S. international history. More important (in the short term at least), here was a book that would help me pass my comprehensive exams.

I read and reread each of the book's twenty essays closely. I underlined heavily, filled up the margins with comments, and dog-eared dozens of pages. This well-worn, annotated copy now sits on the shelf just above my desk on campus. I pull it down often, both for my own reference and, now, to share with my graduate students so that they too can become familiar with the field (and, hopefully, pass their own comps!).

Appearing thirteen years after the first edition of *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations*, the 2004 edition of Hogan and Paterson's volume contained a diverse mixture of essays, covering both established historiographical traditions and cutting-edge scholarship. Essays from the original 1991 edition, which addressed such themes as corporatism, bureaucratic politics, national security, and world systems, now stood alongside new contributions on theory and linguistic analysis, the frontier-borderlands, modernization theory, gender, race, and memory studies. Explaining these editorial changes in a new preface, Hogan and Costigliola remarked that "over the last decade the study of American foreign relations has enjoyed something of a renaissance, so much so that it has required a new edition, and major revision, of this volume."¹ And indeed, between 1991 and 2004, diplomatic history had transformed. It had morphed into something called "U.S. international history" or "the history of American foreign relations." A field that many once dismissed as a "backwater of scholarly inquiry" had become a vibrant discipline, increasingly recognized for its groundbreaking scholarship.² The history of American foreign relations, at long last, had taken the social, cultural, linguistic, and transnational turns.

If diplomatic history had experienced "something of a renaissance" in 2004, this revitalization has only intensified since that time, and the field has only continued to flourish. Over the last dozen years, new scholarship has expanded the contours of U.S. foreign relations history in innumerable directions. In 2016, our discipline encompasses an extraordinary and sometimes dizzying array of subjects, themes, and methodological approaches. Reflective of these changes, "the history of American foreign relations" is now routinely referred to as "the history of the United States in the world" or, decentering the United States entirely, as simply "international history" (2).

Given the present state of the field, the publication of a fully revised third edition of *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations* is most welcome indeed. Hogan and his new co-editor, Frank Costigliola, have provided an updated roadmap to U.S. international history, a guidebook for navigating the discipline's crowded terrain. While maintaining the spirit and relative length of *Explaining's* first two editions, Hogan and Costigliola have succeeded in capturing the current landscape of the field. This does not mean they have thrown the baby out with the bathwater. Roughly half the contributors to the first and second editions of *Explaining* once again join the 2016 volume. Their essays, however, have been thoroughly revised or, in some

cases, entirely rewritten. Joining these contributors, and filling out the remainder of the collection, is a new cadre of authors with a batch of entirely new essays. Taken as a whole, the introduction and twenty essays that comprise *Explaining's* third edition do impressive work surveying both the established and the latest areas of scholarly inquiry. Together, they offer a comprehensive overview of our diverse and multidimensional field as it currently stands.

While Hogan and Costigliola are to be commended for curating such a valuable collection, an edited volume can only be as great as the sum of its parts. Fortunately, *Explaining's* twenty essays are uniformly excellent. Hogan and Costigliola tapped prominent scholars to author every essay, including many SHAFR veterans and a few rising stars. These contributors have produced rigorous, thoughtful essays on the themes and methods most central to their respective areas of expertise. Given their relatively short length, these essays cannot possibly be exhaustive, but they are not meant to be. Rather, the goal of each piece is to serve as an introduction to a specific topic in U.S. international history, offering readers a jumping-off point for future research.

Of the fifteen essays included in the 1991 edition, only five survive in the 2016 volume: Melvyn P. Leffler's "National security," Michael J. Hogan's "Corporatism: from the new era to the age of development" (originally "Corporatism"), Emily S. Rosenberg's "Considering borders," Michael H. Hunt's "Nationalism as an umbrella ideology" (originally "Ideology"), and Richard H. Immerman's and Lori Helene Gronich's "Psychology" (originally authored solely by Immerman).

While basing their work on earlier versions, the authors of these five essays have revised their contributions substantially, updating them to reflect the newest directions in the field and to engage the most recent scholarship. Leffler and Hogan, for instance, though continuing to stress the importance of more conventional analytical frames like national security and corporatism, clearly demonstrate the relevance of these topics to the post-9/11 world and to twentieth-century modernization and development initiatives, respectively. Whereas Hunt's earlier essay discussed race, gender, and empire as ideologies, he now concentrates exclusively on nationalism, identifying it as an "umbrella" that "tends to subsume . . . other expressions of ideology" (218). Rosenberg, whose 1991 essay was groundbreaking for its time, refreshes her contribution with a concise yet cogent survey of how the postcolonial, transnational, and cultural turns have transformed U.S. international history. Immerman and Gronich, finally, make a persuasive case for the importance of psychology and cheer the recent embrace of this lens by historians of American foreign relations.

Reading these five essays alongside their original versions is an illuminating exercise, a reminder of just how much our theoretical assumptions and central research questions have shifted over the last quarter-century. Indeed, comparing the three iterations of each essay would make for a fruitful assignment in a graduate-level U.S.-in-the-World course.

In addition to these five original-yet-reworked essays, the 2016 edition of *Explaining* includes essays by four authors whose work first appeared in the volume's 2004 edition: Nathan J. Citino ("The global frontier: comparative history and the frontier-borderlands approach,"); Nick Cullather ("Development as technopolitics" [originally "Modernization Theory"]); Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht

("Nation branding" [originally "Cultural Transfer"]), and Frank Costigliola ("Reading for emotion" [originally "Reading for Meaning: Theory, Language, and Metaphor"]).

These four authors have also made substantive changes to their contributions, incorporating many of the insights and influential works that have emerged over the last dozen years. Here again, comparing the first and second versions of these essays reveals much about the evolution of the U.S. international history in recent years. Citino's piece, which he thoroughly revised, engages with a wealth of new scholarship on the borderlands, migration, immigration, and the American West. His revisions illustrate how the transnational and cultural turns have reshaped these fields and their place in U.S. foreign relations history.

Cullather, Gienow-Hecht, and Costigliola go further still; while focusing on many of the same themes they addressed in 2004, their essays represent entirely new work. Cullather's contribution, as its title suggests, expands well beyond its original focus on modernization theory to encompass the much broader conceptual category of international development and its associated politics. In so doing, it provides a valuable entry point to a subfield that has exploded over the last decade. Gienow-Hecht briefly touches on her original essay's theme of cultural transfer—a term that she offered in 2004 as "a broader, more inclusive" alternative to the then-in-vogue "cultural imperialism"³—but now presents a much more far-reaching discussion of cultural relations. She also develops the concept of "nation branding" as a way to connect cultural history to more conventional questions of political, military, and economic power. Costigliola, finally, moves away from

his earlier focus on linguistic theory to analyze emotions in the history of U.S. foreign relations. While remaining concerned with questions of language and postmodernist thought, his new essay provides a valuable and lucid introduction to a cutting-edge analytical tool.

Collectively, the sheer extent of the modifications these four authors have made is illustrative of how much the terrain of U.S. international history has shifted in just the last twelve years.

Joining the work of these nine returning authors are five essays by scholars new to the third edition that address topics covered in previous editions by different authors. These include Robert Jervis's "Theories of International Relations," Brad Simpson's "Explaining the Political Economy," Penny M. Von Eschen's "Memory and the Study of U.S. Foreign Relations," Paul A. Kramer's "Shades of Sovereignty: Racialized Tower, the United States, and the World," and Judy Tzu-Chun Wu's "Gendering American Foreign Relations."

The earlier iterations of these essays represented valuable pieces of scholarship in their own right, so the task of rewriting them left the new contributors with some big shoes to fill. All five authors, however, have risen to the challenge, producing essays that compare favorably with their predecessors while also delivering fresh material and insights. Jervis, a political scientist, gives historians a clear primer on international relations. Beginning with a discussion of the realist, liberal, and constructivist schools, he then turns to a discussion of different levels of international relations analysis, including the individual, the state, and the international system. While Jervis encourages historians to incorporate the methods of political science, Simpson makes an equally persuasive case for studying political economy, which he identifies as "a seriously neglected area of research and

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writing" (58) in U.S. international history. Discussing such themes as the relationship of the United States to the world economy, the role of banking, finance, and firms in U.S. international history, and the links between businesses, the U.S. government, and American society, Simpson clearly demonstrates the centrality of economic concerns to the history of U.S. global power.

In the realms of social and cultural history, Kramer and Wu tackle the analytical categories of race and gender, respectively. Kramer offers a brilliant set of reflections on the place of race in U.S. foreign relations history and historiography. While emphasizing the historical centrality of racialized power to geopolitics, he simultaneously urges scholars to do more work to reconceptualize racial binaries and categories. Like Kramer, Wu also takes up the question of binaries and constructed identities in her essay. She not only encourages historians to recognize women as historical actors but also points to the value of gender as a category of analysis. Studying historical understandings of masculinity, femininity, and other gendered language and representations, Wu shows, has much to tell historians about international politics and power relations. So does memory, as Von Eschen argues in her layered meditation on the place of memory in U.S. foreign relations history. Von Eschen's insightful essay spans many topics, including the theories and methods for studying historical memory, the problematic binary of "official" versus "unofficial" archives, the nature of nostalgia, and the ways that Hollywood films, public history, and other popular representations shape a society's collective memory.

Together, these five essays demonstrate that while older approaches like political economy and international relations remain critical fields of inquiry, the methods of the social and cultural turn are now equally established—and equally critical—tools for studying the history of the United States and the world.

Rounding out the volume are seven essays covering material entirely new to the third edition: Mary L. Dudziak's "Legal history as foreign relations history," Andrew Preston's "The religious turn in diplomatic history," Barbara J. Keys's "Nonstate actors," Andrew Rotter's "The senses," Frederik Logevall's "Domestic politics," Ussama Makdisi's "The privilege of acting upon others: the middle eastern exception to anti-exceptionalist histories of the US and the world," and David Allen and Matthew Connelly's "Diplomatic history after the big bang: using computational methods to explore the infinite archive."

Several of these new essays address subjects or approaches that were once neglected but have recently risen to prominence in SHAFR circles. Dudziak, for starters, argues that law matters to U.S. foreign relations history. Taking a legal history approach, she maintains, informs our understanding of both the most conventional of diplomatic history subjects—war and national sovereignty—and some of the latest trends in the foreign relations historiography, most notably human rights. On a parallel track, Preston makes a similarly persuasive case for religion. While acknowledging that religion is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon, he urges scholars to "move beyond the academy's secular bias" (291) and to take seriously the notion that sincere religious beliefs have historically motivated foreign policy actors, from presidents and policymakers to missionaries and other ordinary citizens. Keys explores nonstate actors in depth and concludes that, as Preston's attention to missionaries suggests, they have played an

integral role in U.S. international history. Focusing on nongovernmental organizations, intergovernmental organizations, and multinational corporations, she shows that nonstate actors have sometimes promoted and at other times challenged the power of the nation-state. At the same time, she observes, nonstate actors regularly ignored or transcended national boundaries, making them useful subjects for transnational or international histories.

The question of where to direct our scholarly focus lies at the heart of several of these new essays. Logevall, taking one tack, suggests that historians of U.S. international relations should direct their gaze back toward the United States. Domestic political considerations, he notes, have shaped foreign policy choices throughout U.S. history; in turn, U.S. policymakers have regularly mobilized foreign policy threats (real or perceived) in order to influence domestic politics. Accordingly, studying domestic politics is vital to understanding U.S. international history. Moving

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in the opposite direction, Makdisi calls self-styled "transnational" historians to task for their persistent, "obsessive fixation" (205) on U.S. actors, institutions, and historiography. Using scholarship on the United States and the Middle East as an example, he implores international historians to research and write scholarship that is truly cosmopolitan and authentically global, not just cosmetically or rhetorically so.

Last but certainly not least, the essays by Allen and Connelly and by Rotter survey two very different types of methodologies, both of

which allow international historians to access the past in novel, if very dissimilar, ways. Allen and Connelly discuss two related trends of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries: the rise of digital humanities methods, on the one hand, and the explosion of historical sources during the digital age, on the other. After tracing the histories of both these trends, the authors introduce an assortment of digital tools that enable historians to manage the mountains of data at their disposal more effectively. While Allen and Connelly highlight the newest of historical methods, computing, Rotter makes a compelling case for examining the oldest source of empirical knowledge, the five senses. Using the U.S. empire in the Philippines as a case study, he explores how seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting, and touching shaped U.S. Americans' experiences of imperial encounter. A similar cultural approach, he concludes, can inform the study of U.S. foreign relations in other areas and times as well.

Taken as a whole, these seven entirely new essays offer a broad and far-reaching overview of many of the approaches, methods, and debates that are presently reshaping the field of U.S. international history.

Costigliola and Hogan, together with the contributors to their volume, have thus crafted an extraordinary collection, one that will no doubt stand as an indispensable resource for years to come. While readers will appreciate all that is gained in the revised and updated edition, however, it is also a worthwhile intellectual exercise to take stock of what is missing. Several titles that appeared in one or the other of the first two editions of *Explaining* are absent from the third: Costigliola and Paterson's "Defining and Doing the History of American Foreign Relations: A Primer," Stephen Pelz's "Balance of Power," J. Garry Clifford's "Bureaucratic Politics," Melvin Small's "Public Opinion," Alan Henrickson's "Mental Maps," Akira Iriye's "Culture and International History," Thomas McCormick's "World Systems," Louis Pérez's "Dependency," and Robert

McMahon's "The Study of American Foreign Relations: National History or International History?" Rereading these essays serves as a reminder that methods or theories considered essential at one point in time are not guaranteed to remain so indefinitely. Interest in certain approaches will wane as others ascend in popularity.

Gone, though, does not necessarily mean forgotten. Many of the ideas and themes explored in earlier essays inform, whether directly or implicitly, the contributions to the 2016 edition. Brad Simpson's study of political economy, for example, is in some respects the descendent of two earlier essays on economics: McCormick's "World Systems" and Pérez's "Dependency." The cultural history approach that Akira Iriye trumpeted in "Culture and International History" likewise echoes across many of the 2016 essays, including Gienow-Hecht's, Costigliola's, Von Eschen's, and Rotter's. Themes from many of the other original essays reverberate as well. The words may be gone, in short, but the influence of previous generations of scholars remains deeply imbedded in today's historiography.

As notable as what has been discarded, arguably, are those subjects that were not included in the first place. Over a decade ago, in his 2004 Bernath Lecture, Kurk Dorsey called on U.S. international historians to pay more attention to the environment.⁴ Since that time a growing number of scholars have heeded his call. Reading the new edition of *Explaining*, I was therefore surprised at the dearth of attention paid to environmental history. Similarly, I was struck by the fact that a volume on U.S. foreign relations contained not a single contribution on military history. More specifically, I would have appreciated an essay that engaged with the new military history, a field that has clear relevance for U.S. international history and is currently undergoing its own renaissance.

Of course, one volume cannot do everything, and these critiques are intended more as a wish list for a future edition than a condemnation of the present one. Hogan and Costigliola, moreover, are the first to admit that their volume is not intended to "detail all topics worthy of inquiry, or summarize all methods and interpretive frameworks" (8). They also recognize, humbly, that theirs will not be the last word on American foreign relations history. "To the degree that [the] intellectual tenets [covered in this volume] seem like 'commonsense,'" Hogan and Costigliola note, "they are a product of the present era. No doubt a fourth edition of *Explaining* will take a somewhat different perspective" (2). For the time being, however, the third edition of *Explaining* offers an insightful, well-conceived, and extremely useful foray into U.S. international history as it is currently constituted. I welcome the updated volume and extend my appreciation and praise to its editors and contributors. Graduate students now preparing for their comprehensive exams, I'd be willing to wager, are probably doing just the same.

Notes:

1. Michael J. Hogan and Thomas G. Paterson, eds., *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, UK, 2004), vii.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht, "Cultural Transfer," in *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations*, 2nd ed., 257.

4. Kurk Dorsey, "Dealing with the Dinosaur (and Its Swamp): Putting the Environment In Diplomatic History" (Bernath Lecture), *Diplomatic History* 29:4 (September 2005): 573–87.

Review of Frank Costigliola and Michael Hogan, eds., *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations*, 3rd ed.

Alan McPherson

When I was in graduate school in the 1990s, the first edition of *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations*, published in 1991 and edited by Michael Hogan and Thomas Paterson, was a godsend. Unlike any other publication, it covered the four corners of the universe and included the freshest and most meaningful analytic models in our subfield. Students designing a dissertation project encountered in *Explaining* a veritable "state of the field"—nearly all the methodological and theoretical issues and debates addressed and adorned with plentiful footnotes. I especially hung on every word of the chapters on ideology by Michael Hunt and on dependency by Louis A. Pérez, Jr. Both scholars ended up on my dissertation committee. For years, I considered "Hogan-Paterson," as my peers and I called it, the most useful tome on my bookshelf.

As a faculty member, I have pushed the second edition, published in 2004, on my graduate students, and they have (mostly) shared my enthusiasm for it.

Twelve long years later, Cambridge University Press has finally released an updated and expanded third edition, edited by Hogan and Frank Costigliola. It replaces its predecessors as the single most valuable book for historians of American foreign relations. Each of its stellar authors defends an approach and usually reviews its most meaningful examples and provides a list of ways in which that approach can best be applied. Every one of its chapters should be useful to researchers both new and seasoned.

The third edition, with an introduction and twenty-one chapters, is somewhat expanded from the second, which had an introduction and nineteen chapters. More important, the volume offers far more than updated versions of the last edition's chapters. There are fourteen new authors, many of whom tackle new or reimagined topics. In the shuffle, a great deal has been eliminated. Gone is the "pluralist vision" chapter by Robert McMahon, as are the ones on bureaucratic politics by Garry Clifford, on world systems by Thomas McCormick, on dependency by Pérez, on culture by Akira Iriye, on gender by Kristin Hoganson, on race by Gerald Horne, and on memory by Robert Schulzinger.

All the authors who remain have updated—and sometimes significantly revised—their chapters. These include Mel Leffler on national security, trying to define not only the "core values" of the United States but those of our subfield (33); Michael Hogan on corporatism, another capacious and enduring model; Nick Cullather, who has modified his topic from "modernization" to "development and technopolitics," a wise choice, since the new focus is somewhat less bound by the 1950s and 1960s; Nathan Citino, who brilliantly links borderlands to U.S. foreign relations; Emily Rosenberg on more figurative "borders" or "contact zones" where cultures meet and often clash; Michael Hunt, who has largely replaced his discussion of ideology with one on nationalism; Jessica Gienow-Hecht, who has substituted "Cultural Transfer" with "Nation Branding" but argues, unlike most contributors, more for the usefulness than the popularity of her approach; Richard Immerman, now joined by Lori Helene Gronich, on psychology; and finally, Frank Costigliola, who focuses his chapter on emotions this time around rather than theory, language, and metaphor.

In the interest of space, let me explore more deeply only the new authors' chapters. As with the other editions, the first half of this volume (give or take a few pages) features contributions that tend to accentuate structures of U.S.

foreign relations, while those in the second half stress the subfield's constructed meanings.

Robert Jervis, a senior political scientist long welcomed among historians, provides a somewhat traditional but much-needed overview of theories of international relations: realism, liberalism, and social constructivism, and individual, state, and international system levels of analysis. His chapter is the one most likely to be assigned to undergraduates in an international relations course, if only because it is a model of concision that further breaks down several of these concepts into their component parts. One only wishes Jervis had given Marxism more than a few passing mentions, since it remains a useful tool of analysis, especially for historians.

Taking the place of chapters on world systems and dependency is Brad Simpson's essay on political economy. The replacement is indicative of the decline in popularity of economic models espoused by the revisionists of the New Left. Fortunately, Simpson acknowledges world systems and dependency but incorporates them into a larger system of political economy that also includes corporations, banks, and the state. He also complements Hogan's chapter on corporatism by emphasizing non-U.S. economies. Still, he bemoans the lack of work on some economic matters of U.S. foreign relations, such as banking.

The most forward-looking of these new chapters is David Allen and Matthew Connelly's look at computerized methods of addressing the mind-boggling quantities of documents coming out of the digital age. Hillary Clinton's State Department, they inform us, produced two *billion* emails per year. Facing the impossibility of actually reading all this content, how are we to make use of it? The authors do warn that "for historians of American foreign relations a digital turn is coming, whether we like it or not" and that historians will have to be more technically proficient (78). But they also foresee a revival of quantitative methods that will enable historians to perform a new kind of document analysis. They usefully update the reader on digitizing advances and delays, point to several systems and repositories for digging up digital archives, and suggest new methods. For instance, computers can help us separate secret from nonsecret documents, map cable traffic through time, identify the "burstiness" of some keywords, and do "topic modeling"—the finding of words that relate to each other statistically (87). "Computational methods may offer the only hope of creating order from the chaos and producing anything like a proper finding aid," Allen and Connelly conclude (83).

Barbara Keys declares at the beginning of her chapter that "nonstate actors"—her topic—"that once hovered on the periphery are moving to the center of scholarly attention" (119). This is so true that it's a wonder the topic did not merit its own chapter in 2004, or even in 1991. Keys examines nongovernmental organizations, international organizations, and multinational corporations, while barely mentioning "Gongos," "Quangos," and other categories in this endlessly fascinating topic (122). Among the major concerns of historians of nonstate actors is, in fact, their nonstateness: to what extent they are actually separate from states, and to what extent their meaning comes from their ability to impact states. By their very nature, nonstate actors have fewer (open) archives, and their internal mechanisms are harder for historians to grasp.

In another fascinating chapter, Mary Dudziak argues

that, although legal entities such as treaties and laws have long been the purview of diplomatic historians, our community has not thought systematically about the usefulness of legal history. Human rights, trials, legal reform, "lawfare," and the building of empires are all areas that have not been sufficiently wedded to the study of U.S. foreign relations (142). "Law," she further argues, "is not simply an immediate tool. It creates and structures future opportunities"—in shaping slave societies, for instance, or, more generally, molding the mindsets of foreign policy makers (143). Finally, she offers to the uninitiated in legal history a "survival guide" of advice and resources (145).

As baffling as the prior exclusion of a chapter on NGOs is why a chapter on domestic politics is only now appearing in these volumes. The concern has been long universally appreciated as fundamental to U.S. foreign relations. Fredrik Logevall argues for its special relevance, based, for instance, on the U.S. political system's particular "wide dispersion of power and the relative weakness of American political parties" (153). He finds that orthodox historians largely ignored domestic politics and that revisionists underscored domestic factors but not party politics. Even newer generations have neglected the contested nature of domestic politics.

Next come the chapters dealing with meaning rather than structure. The first entirely new one is Ussama Makdisi's broad critique of U.S. foreign relations historiography. Using writings on the Middle East, he notes the subfield's efforts to be "anti-exceptionalist" but bemoans the continuing U.S.-centrism of the transnational turn. "At what point does an obsessive fixation with American actors, American machinations, American figures, American historiography, and American representations overwhelm the initial impetus in the field of 'US and the World' to reject US imperialism?" he asks (205). He points to scholarship by those not trained in American Studies or U.S. foreign relations as producing "richer, and presumably non-orientalist understandings of American encounters and policies with the Middle East" (207). It is, to say the least, one of the less celebratory chapters in the book.

Paul Kramer tackles the well-worn topic of race in U.S. foreign relations, but does so in a pioneering way by describing race as not an idea but a "verb," something people do to each other. "Something becomes racialized only to the extent that the separable gears of exception, descent, and domination grind together," he argues (249). Also, like many other contributors, he charts the "domains of scholarship" on race (in his case there are eight) (247). Kramer's dynamic view of race makes for one of the most conceptually complex chapters. Its argument is also one of the most original.

Judy Tzu-Chun Wu departs from previous editions' chapters on gender by emphasizing the concept's intersectionality in three areas: the "military-sexual complex," gender and the global economy, and the international politics of female migration (273). She also summarizes research on masculinity in foreign relations and on the gendering of national images, citing, for instance, the feminization of Japan in the postwar period.

Religion has been far less explored in U.S. foreign relations than race and gender, according to Andrew Preston. He explains that the "problem of religion" has many layers. First, the term itself is Western in origin and

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may not capture all belief systems. Second, historians are discovering that religious actors, such as missionaries, cannot be reduced to mere tools of empire, because they often resisted it. Nor were the proselytized mere victims. And third, religion was rarely decisive in any U.S. policy. But Preston concludes that “religion can still play a major causal role even when direct connections cannot be found” (293).

Penny Von Eschen’s approach to memory is similar to Kramer’s approach to race. She explains memory as a process—albeit one that includes forgetting. Her chapter stresses the production of history and the silences that often result. “History/memory,” a term she borrows from Rosenberg, has been a particularly fertile field for intertextuality, “bringing together political, literary, and mass media representations of the past” (307). She adds that the internationalization of memory studies has helped offset some of the nostalgia and triumphalism inherent in it.

Finally, among the new contributors, Andrew Rotter provides a highly original chapter on the senses, noting many instances where, among Americans in the Philippines, sight, hearing, smell, touch, and taste produced emotions and behaviors that mirrored the larger colonial relationship. The chapter, however, reads more like a journal article supported by primary sources than a historiography.

My only wish is that further editions of *Explaining* will not focus exclusively on the subfield’s *methods*. In doing so, they have not covered historiographical advances and debates either on *regions* of the world or on *eras* of U.S. history. Would it not also be useful to have historiographical overviews on U.S.-African, U.S.-Middle East, and U.S.-Latin American relations? Why not chapters on the most recent work on the Federalist Era, the Civil War, the World Wars, the interwar years, the Cold War, the Vietnam War, or the post-Cold War years? To make such additions might double or triple the length of the volume, but those chapters and others would nevertheless be welcomed by most readers.

This third edition of *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations*, or “Costigliola-Hogan,” as I hope it will be called, should be read by anyone interested in the “U.S. in the World” field. If nothing else, it will continue to provide evidence that the subfield of U.S. foreign relations is among the most diverse, innovative, and stimulating in the history profession. The consistent high quality of *Explaining* makes it one of the crowning achievements of the SHAFR community.

Taking Exception: A Review of Frank Costigliola and Michael Hogan, eds., *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations*, 3rd. ed.

Kurk Dorsey

The latest edition of this venerable book has an authors’ roster that is the SHAFR equivalent of an All Star game. The co-editor of *Diplomatic History* and at least eight former presidents of SHAFR contributed, as did several people whom I expect to vote for in future SHAFR presidential elections. The list also includes a number of rising younger scholars from history and other fields. It is an impressive assemblage of talent that brings a wide range of approaches to the challenge of explaining the history of U.S. foreign relations.

Perhaps even more than the previous two, this edition serves at one level as an exercise in temperature-taking for the field. It also raises the question of what SHAFR members should call our field in the first place. Is it “American foreign relations” or “U.S. international history” or “anything so long as it isn’t diplomatic history”? Much of the assessment

of the state of the field probably will not surprise regular readers of *Passport* and *Diplomatic History*, especially the emphasis on the rising importance of cultural history. At the same time, though, there is a surprising sense that transnational history has not quite lived up to its promise. Most important, however, as the editors note, is that the field is now in the vanguard of new methodologies. It is no longer the backwater it appeared to be in 1991, when the first edition was published; nor is it working to catch up, as it was in 2004, when the second edition appeared. SHAFR is a vibrant organization in part because it has become a big tent, welcoming the traditional approaches of diplomatic history and the innovations of cultural, transnational, and digital histories. There is a broad range of great work being done on the intersections between the United States and the rest of the world.

It is worth spending time praising the book and commending the editors, both for updating the topics and providing a more comprehensive introduction, but also for not throwing every baby out with the bathwater in the quest to be bold and highlight the cutting edge. Veterans from the second edition include Emily Rosenberg on borders, Nathan Citino on borderlands, Michael Hogan on corporatism, Nick Cullather on development, Mel Leffler on national security, and Richard Immerman on psychology, among others. In addition, memory, gender, race, and international relations theory are returning topics taken on by new authors Penny von Eschen, Judy Tzu-Chun Wu, Paul Kramer, and Robert Jervis, respectively.

New topics range from the traditional to the imaginative and include Andrew Rotter on the senses, Fred Logevall on domestic politics, Mary Dudziak on legal history, Barbara Keys on non-state actors, Brad Simpson on political economy, and Jessica Gienow-Hecht on nation branding. With regard to topics, I arched my unibrow only at the lack of attention to the planet—a real surprise, given the number of young scholars who are building reputations with their work on environmental diplomacy. The only exception came in Keys’s excellent essay, which briefly acknowledged the importance of environmental NGOs. The chapters on borderlands, senses, and development all might have fruitfully touched on the role of the physical environment.

Most of the essays are historiographical, and a few are even autobiographically so. They explain how the author has tackled a specific problem that not enough of us have grasped well yet. It is not really surprising that the authors of each piece tend to emphasize that their areas are relatively overlooked. Most of us who have written such essays believe that we have something important to add that is new or different. The newer it is, the fewer examples there are to cite. And the point of such a book is to wake scholars up to missed opportunities.

Unlike the second edition, with its useful primer aimed at graduate students on defining the field and doing the research, this one makes little pretense of trying to explain how to conduct research in the field. Only one essay is really about how to conduct research: Matthew Connelly and David Allen’s eye-opening piece on the challenges of dealing with big electronic data drops. The longest essay in the collection, it was both depressing (because of its description of the new difficulties in conducting traditional archival research in the age of mass data [2 billion emails per year in the State Department alone?]) and exhilarating (because of its suggestions about how smart grad students will be able to marshal data in ways that old fossils like me could not even imagine). Mary Dudziak also provides a general survival guide for scholars wishing to start incorporating legal history perspectives in their work.

Two concerns arose as I read the book, one perhaps unavoidable in a collection of essays, and one reflective of an interesting shift in the field. The first is simply that the

book does not so much explain the history of American foreign relations as it puts forth a range of methodologies that no mortal could ever master or possibly reconcile. Most of the chapters are specific calls for historians of foreign relations to incorporate some essential viewpoint, whether that be international relations theory or the impact of foreign lands on the senses of Americans abroad. There are plenty of “musts” and “shoulds” scattered through the book. But because they often run at cross purposes, I was left wondering how I could reconcile the demand for more attention to domestic politics while also being more authentically transnational, or be more attuned to the senses when I also have to master political economy. I feel sorry for a graduate student picking up this book who is already being told about the importance of deep archival research, along with issues of race and gender, and now learns that she has to master psychology, national security thinking, and religion. Perhaps the subtitle should have been “How to Make a Grad Student Cry.”

My specific concern is that in the drive to show what is cutting edge, the editors might have missed a chance to introduce students to the values and pitfalls of older methods and questions. The book has a presentist feel that seems to contradict the idea that SHAFR and the field have benefited from being a big tent. There is a brief nod to Charles Beard, and the Wisconsin school gets some sympathy for challenging some of the old masters, but generally, anyone who started publishing before about 1975 seems to have little to offer. In a book that really cannot have a thesis, there does seem to be a recurrent theme, which is that American exceptionalism (and its cousin triumphalism) needs to be stamped out. This position is particularly interesting, given that the second edition of the book has an essay by Costigliola and Thomas Paterson with the line “Like a myth, the story of American exceptionalism does have *partial validity*” that unfortunately “often becomes accepted as the *whole story*” (12). A decade later, that nuance is gone.

No author specifically names anyone currently writing as endorsing exceptionalism, although Barbara Keys does label Niall Ferguson a “cheerleader for US empire” (125), which I am guessing is not meant as praise. Samuel Hays Bemis appears to be the prime culprit, but that’s a bit like environmental historians holding up Frederick Jackson Turner (who is paired here with Bemis on a few occasions) as a scholar to be repudiated. Isn’t there fresher fish to fry? Also, as this book is aimed at students new to the field or perhaps faculty wandering over from another, less hip, field, American exceptionalism needs to be defined more thoroughly than the clause on page 5 that links the idea that the West is superior to the rest of the world with U.S.-centric approaches. And if the book is about exposing relative newcomers to the ways in which historians of foreign relations work, then it would make sense to have an author who is willing to define and defend what is exceptional about U.S. foreign policy. Since several people want to drive a stake through it, the monster must be breathing still. Or is it just a straw man?

Part of the problem is that there appear to be multiple definitions of exceptionalism. That complexity makes for confusion. In writing about international relations theory, Robert Jervis notes that both critics and defenders have called the United States exceptionalist, when in fact it “may be a pretty normal state” (20). Brad Simpson argues that the United States after 1945 was just one of two states to

ever really achieve hegemony, which seems like a form of exceptionalism; he adds later that corporations describe themselves in exceptionalist terms. Nick Cullather reports that “a distinctly American voice can be difficult to pin down” (113). Citino bluntly calls for the “exceptionalist traditions of Bemis and Turner [to be put] out to pasture” (181). Rosenberg, who is cited in most of the other essays for her path-breaking work, praises transnational history for its “frontal assault on US exceptionalism” by showing how the United States connected with the rest of the world (193). Michael Hunt argues that the study of nationalism challenges unnamed “proponents of US exceptionalism” who believe that the United States has values that are set apart from the rest of the world (227).

Ussama Makdisi’s essay is the only one with “exceptionalism” in the title, and he comes out swinging, suggesting that “the US and the world” field is both adolescent and contradictory. The attempt to define a field as “the US and the world” has “ostensibly anti-exceptionalist imperatives” he writes (203). Makdisi comes closest to defining exceptionalist history by noting what its opposite is and rejecting the official representation of the United States as the democratic, non-imperialist leader of the free world. And that’s just the first page. Makdisi argues

that, so far, scholars trained outside of American Studies or U.S. foreign relations have been “more adept at mining the promise of transnational history” (207). He then extends the point by suggesting that most U.S. historians trying to be transnational are just exercising an exceptionalist privilege of writing about other people. He concludes that only someone who has dual training can de-exceptionalize both the United States and the region being studied.

This point about de-exceptionalizing both a region and the United States reinforces why “American exceptionalism” needs a definition, if not a defender. Is exceptionalism the idea that every region or nation has something unique to offer, as Makdisi seems to imply? Or is it something particular to Americans’ perceptions of their nation’s goodness? We encourage our students to study abroad to gain new perspectives, which presumably implies that there is something exceptional both here and there, but if we actually want to de-exceptionalize everyone, then presumably nothing of substance is really different.

Two factors might explain why so many of the book’s authors hold the position they do. For all of their breadth of topics and expertise, the author roster is dominated by Cold War specialists. Emily Rosenberg and Michael Hunt are the prominent exceptions, although it would be fair to say that both of them have recently been focused on the twentieth century. Bemis began his research during World War I, so he was studying an era in which the exceptionalism of the United States might have appeared more believable. The timing of Bemis’s career is a useful reminder of the other point: that the Iraq War has made it unfashionable for scholars to defend almost anything that the United States has done, which is presumably the essence of exceptionalism.

And yet President Barack Obama appears to accept at least a part of the idea of American exceptionalism, even though Hunt calls his language “clichéd” and “mechanical” (219). The widely discussed article in the April 2016 issue of *The Atlantic* examined the Obama Doctrine and emphasized this part of a 2011 speech on the Middle East: “After decades of accepting the world as it is in the region, we have a chance to pursue the world as it should be. . . . The United States

supports a set of universal rights. And these rights include free speech, the freedom of peaceful assembly, the freedom of religion, equality for men and women under the rule of law, and the right to choose your own leaders. . . . Our support for these principles is not a secondary interest." I admit that I am still somewhat surprised to read such words from the president, but it does not seem prudent just to dismiss them as irrelevant or accidentally lifted from one of Woodrow Wilson's old speeches. Even if they were meant solely for domestic political consumption before the 2012 presidential election, they still warrant some serious analysis from a range of scholars, many of whom, I suspect, are generally sympathetic to the man from the "Hope" posters of 2008.

Frank Costigliola and Michael J. Hogan, eds., *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations*, 3rd ed.

Sandra Scanlon

The latest edition of *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations* reflects on the changes that have taken hold in this field of study over the past twelve years. Several of the same scholars contributed to both the second and third editions, and many of the same themes—including theories of international relations, national security, gender, and psychology—appear in both volumes. Indeed, both volumes contain essays by several of the same individuals. Yet if the two volumes complement one another in many respects, the third certainly marks a departure. It discusses the significance of traditional approaches to the study of American relations with other states and peoples, but its focus is squarely on recently developed and emerging categories of analysis.

In many respects, this volume reflects the extent to which what was once known, often derisively, as diplomatic history has become mainstream historical writing. International relations may be the subject matter, but methodological approaches are firmly grounded in innovative yet widely accepted forms of historical writing, and there is no evidence whatsoever of any desire to eschew the centrality of categories of analysis such as race, gender or ideology. The field has become "ever more diverse" and has "surged to the forefront of methodological innovation while retaining its solid grounding in the analysis of political, economic, cultural, and military power in world affairs" (2). It is precisely the international focus that allows scholars in our field to stand apart from many of their colleagues in the field of American history, however.

This volume serves both graduate students and more advanced scholars well, reflecting the complexity of a field in which no one methodology or area of scholarship can hope to dominate. It is an essential resource for scholars requiring an overview of the field as it stands in 2016 and is likely to develop in the next ten years. The search for synthesis appears elusive and raises questions about the scope of expertise that any junior scholar can be expected to obtain. Collectively, therefore, this most recent volume of *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations* starkly reveals the heightened levels of fragmentation within the now-broad field of United States engagement with the world, and obliges students and scholars to continue to push the boundaries of what can acceptably be defined as American foreign relations.

Four defined areas of scholarship are discussed: theories of international relations; domestic politics and the function of non-state actors; transnational approaches; and

culture or the "body and mind." In addition, an insightful chapter by David Allen and Matthew Connelly on using computational methods highlights the barely charted waters of born-digital materials that will almost certainly transform the ways in which scholars engage with materials from the 1990s onwards. If the chapters on culture reinforce a shared consensus on the importance of taking account of emotions, gender, race, ideology, religion, psychology, and the senses, the chapters dealing with theory posit the most direct challenges to scholars. Robert Jervis offers an overview of the continued utility of IR theories such as realism, liberalism, and social constructivism, but he also stresses that such approaches focus too heavily on causal factors to the detriment of understanding change over time, and "comparing cases while holding constant all factors except the one of interest does not make sense when we are dealing with an interconnected system" (22).

If Jervis therefore questions the relationship between IR theory and historical scholarship, Melvyn Leffler presents national security as a paradigm that is more useful than ever before. More than any other approach discussed in the volume, national security offers "synthetic qualities" that "arise from the fact that it is not a specific interpretation that focuses on a particular variable as much as a comprehensive framework that relates variables to one another and allows for diverse interpretations in particular periods and contexts" (25). Because national security encompasses individual and collective assessments of core values, Leffler argues that this approach "should be conceived as perfectly congruent with the new directions of scholarship that dwell on culture, identity, religion, and emotion" (33).

Michael Hogan and Brad Simpson, who discuss corporatism and political economy, respectively, are considerably less sanguine about the relationship of their work to social and cultural studies. "If the old diplomatic history," Hogan warns, "cut us off from the new work of social and then cultural historians, our current preoccupations tend to isolate us from the political, organizational, and economic aspects of foreign relations, and to forfeit these important topics to experts in other disciplines" (52). Simpson is even more direct in challenging current trends, arguing that the "study of political economy is a seriously neglected area of research and writing history of US foreign relations," despite being "essential to any narrative of US power" (58). The one area that has received significant attention, studies of U.S. development, cannot, according to Simpson, focus simply on its ideological and political dimensions, but must engage with larger social and economic forces (68). Nick Cullather's discussion of development and technopolitics reveals the diversity of approaches currently relevant to this subfield and recognizes that "development practices and concepts originated and spread not by design but by conflict and accommodation amid a running series of political crises" (108), while development was "never the exclusive preserve of government" (113).

Cullather's emphasis on the importance of nongovernmental organizations and private companies and foundations touches on a significant thematic development in this volume. Barbara Keys notes the "booming scholarship" in which "nonstate actors that once hovered at the periphery are moving to the center of scholarly attention," a trend that reflects a "broader shift in the field away from scholarly preoccupation with state-to-state relations" (119). Keys discusses the importance of studying a variety of nonstate actors in order to fully understand global governance, but she is more cautious

than other scholars in this volume in making claims about the unambiguous benefits of this approach. Leaping “on the nonstate actor bandwagon,” she notes, “poses potential risks.” It is not entirely clear to what extent this category of analysis might prove problematic to scholars, but Keys perhaps hints at a problem intrinsic to each of the individual chapters in this volume, namely the dangers inherent in becoming too narrow or reductive in one’s subject matter or approach to historical writing.

The significance of the domestic realm is explored explicitly in Mary Dudziak’s analysis of legal history and Fredrik Logevall’s discussion of domestic politics. Both certainly avoid any attempt to narrow the discussion to how policy is conceived, and each reflects Leffler’s emphasis on the varied ways in which threats and opportunities are conceptualized by policymakers. Dudziak notes that law is “part of the way the world is imagined and understood” (145) and not simply a tool to justify or sanction strategies already developed by the architects of U.S. foreign relations, especially during warfare. Logevall highlights the importance of political considerations, shared ideas, and the distinctive nature of the American political system in influencing policy options. With orthodox and revisionist accounts of U.S. foreign relations treating the American government as a unitary actor, Logevall argues that “historiographical trends among diplomatic historians have unquestionably conspired against a prominent place for domestic politics” (154). There can be little doubt, as the collection as a whole attests, that domestic considerations and especially political concerns have greatly influenced policy options throughout the history of U.S. relations with the world. These chapters therefore reveal the constraints upon and opportunities available to policymakers in terms of how policy options are defined.

The third section of the volume deals with transnational and borderlands histories. Nathan Citino, Emily Rosenberg and Ussama Makdisi offer provocative essays on the global frontier, borders and the rarity of antiexceptionalist histories. Perhaps more than any other set of chapters in the volume, these essays challenge the assumptions that often appear to underpin the history of American relations with the world. To varying degrees, each scholar pushes the field to consider the heretofore exceptionalist character of historical writing that centers primarily on the United States as the focal point of analysis. “The diverse group of scholars who study borderlands and frontiers do not simply offer those in US foreign relations another category of analysis,” Citino writes. Rather, “these subfields have played a pioneering role in studying the relationship between state power on the one hand and transnational movements of capital, people, commodities, and ideas on the other.” They have also helped to “reorient the American experience within a global, comparative context” (169). Rosenberg echoes Citino’s celebration of the “new methodologies, redefined geographies, and a more robust repertoire of disciplinary practices [that] have brought fresh excitement to a dynamic field that has moved from a principal concentration on ‘diplomatic history’ to a broader consideration of ‘foreign relations’ to a capacious examination of ‘America and the World’” (198).

Both Citino and Rosenberg champion the significance of local studies that demonstrate the global reach of U.S. economic and strategic positions and the importance of borders as zones of cultural exchange. Makdisi is considerably less positive in his dissection of recent scholarship, challenging scholars to question the extent

to which “an obsessive fixation with American actors, American machinations, American figures, American historiography, and American representations” will lead to the rejection of U.S. exceptionalism in the writing of America and the world. The “fetish of ‘transnational’ history,” furthermore, could be interpreted as “yet another exercise in the American privilege of acting upon and writing about others” (205). Makdisi pushes scholars to recognize the necessity of de-centering the American experience from narratives of U.S. relations with the world.

The final and longest section of the volume deals with what could loosely be defined as the “body and mind.” Collectively, the essays, which reflect the cultural turn now embraced by scholars across the field, demonstrate the significance of examining U.S. foreign relations through varied categories of analysis. The nine essays, which range in scope from Michael Hunt’s discussion of ideology and nationalism to Frank Costigliola’s analysis of the importance of emotional perceptions in understanding policymakers’ decisions, push scholars to take greater account of the realities of the lives of the subjects they

To varying degrees, each scholar pushes the field to consider the heretofore exceptionalist character of historical writing that centers primarily on the United States as the focal point of analysis. “The diverse group of scholars who study borderlands and frontiers do not simply offer those in US foreign relations another category of analysis,” Citino writes.

analyze in order to avoid what Andrew Preston describes as not taking “people of the past at face value” (290). Preston and Paul Kramer, for instance, each starkly demonstrate the relevance of religion and race in policymakers’ conceptions of power. Kramer notes that throughout U.S. relations with others “in different ways, at different moments, and with different degrees of intensity, racialized distinction played a critical role in shaping U.S.

policymakers’ calculus of interest, alliance, enmity, tactics and strategy” (250).

This theme, in alternative contexts, is reiterated in the essays dealing with gender, memory, the senses, psychology, and emotion. But there are clear divergences also, not least in terms of the extent to which historians must develop expertise in other disciplines. While Immerman and Gronich demonstrate the opportunities open to scholars via the use of psychology, they warn that “even when the evidence is available, the historian aiming to use psychology effectively must study it.” Scholars must therefore go beyond general textbooks and avoid the use of any one perspective “mechanically” (347). Costigliola, on the other hand, argues that historians “studying the emotions do not need special training in neuroscience or psychology.” Rather, “they need to read texts carefully and take seriously such evidence as discussion of emotion, words signifying emotion, emotion-provoking tropes, gestures, other visual and sensory cues, habitual behaviors, excited behaviors, ironies, silences—and the cultural contexts of these and other expressions” (364).

If the collection as a whole highlights the vitality of the field, it also reveals the tensions inherent in forging paths via interdisciplinary approaches. The emphasis on non-state actors as well as cultural approaches invariably requires that scholars develop extensive knowledge of other histories as well as other disciplines. As the field becomes more diverse, however, so too does it become richer and considerably more relevant not only to scholars working on other aspects of American history but indeed to scholars of international history and the histories of other peoples. Whether in the realm of nation-branding, gender, or religion, such developments in writing the history of American foreign relations offer unparalleled promise for collaboration.

While the editors have avoided prescriptive attitudes towards the direction of future scholarship, there is always

the danger that the volume's preponderant focus on "culture" will help define the field to the exclusion of more traditional approaches. Perhaps no single volume could be expected to deal equally with all aspects of historical writing in relation to the now diverse field of America and the world, but this volume reveals the dangers as well as possibilities offered by ever greater fragmentation.

**Review of Frank Costigliola and Michael Hogan, eds.,
Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations,
3rd ed.**

Christopher Endy

If psychiatrists have the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual*, diplomatic historians have *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations*. Often shortened to *Explaining* when diplomatic historians converse, these collections serve as the field's unofficial reference guide. Like the DSM, *Explaining* has the power to legitimate methods and lines of thought. And just as the DSM has evolved to recognize LGBT and women's rights, *Explaining* has grown more inclusive over time.

As a graduate student and SHAFR member in the mid-1990s, I took courage from the diversity of approaches that editors Michael J. Hogan and Thomas G. Paterson included in the inaugural 1991 volume. That first edition helped place new approaches into the canon. It is hard to underestimate the importance of Akira Iriye's chapter on culture and international history, Michael H. Hunt's chapter on ideology, and Emily S. Rosenberg's chapter on methodological borders. Rosenberg's four pages on gender in that first edition might seem cursory today, but they provided cultural historians in the field with a foothold.¹ A generation of SHAFR graduate students interested in culture and globalization could invoke those chapters in dissertation proposals and grant applications. If it was in *Explaining*, it was a valid field of study for diplomatic historians.

Twenty-five years later, the third edition of *Explaining* proves a worthy successor. New dissertations inspired by this volume will expand and improve the field. Expansion, however, brings new challenges. To contain the multitudes within this volume, SHAFR will need to push further with its commitment to innovation and inclusion.

The new editing team of Hogan and Frank Costigliola continues the "big tent" outlook of prior editions, but they also introduce a more speculative approach. Authors in *Explaining* usually write in one of two voices: they summarize or they prescribe. In summary mode, authors survey research breakthroughs and emerging subfields. In prescriptive mode, they present a vision for future research and call for others to jump on board. This new edition places a greater emphasis on the prescriptive, and the editors have embraced an element of risk. Not content just to summarize existing scholarship on the cutting edge, they have allowed some scholars to sketch visions of what the *next* cutting edge might be.

At their best, the summarizing sections of *Explaining* avoid historiographic triumphalism. They acknowledge instead that successful research methods often generate new problems. Perhaps the ultimate feat of historiographic summation appears in Paul Kramer's chapter on race, in which he identifies no fewer than eight schools of race scholarship (247). Rather than declare victory, Kramer poses a challenge. He warns that diplomatic historians too often approach race in "absolutist" terms that reflect the United States's own Jim Crow experience. Kramer calls instead for a more fluid approach to racial constructions (251, 264).

A similar critical note appears in Michael H. Hunt's substantially revised essay on ideology. Hunt takes

justifiable pride in how the ideological approach that he helped define in the 1980s is now "widely accepted." Still, he worries that the proliferation of ideological approaches, spanning race, gender, religion, and economic development, has left the concept of ideology somewhat "baggy" (218). He proposes that we prioritize nationalism to lend coherence to our research. A focus on nationalist ideology, he argues, can even help historians study transnational non-state actors "who want to escape the nationalist cage" (227).

Among the more prescriptive chapters, Jessica Gienow-Hecht's essay calls for research grounded in "nation-branding," a relatively new field for marketing and public diplomacy professionals. Andrew Rotter offers another forward-looking argument on sensory history. He cites historians of the human senses working in other fields, but for now, he stands as the principal exemplar of the sensory approach to U.S. international relations history. In fact, Rotter's chapter is the first in any edition of *Explaining* to draw heavily on the author's own primary-source research.

Two of the prescriptive chapters raise especially profound challenges for the field. In their chapter on "computational methods" and the "infinite archive," David Allen and Matthew Connelly call for a radically expanded definition of interdisciplinary research. Before Allen and Connelly, interdisciplinary usually meant working with political science, cultural studies, or other academic neighbors in the social sciences and humanities. Allen and Connelly broaden the concept to include computer science and statistics. They also point to a future in which we move away from the solitary author model of scholarship. Some in the field have already turned to collaborative research. Think of the National Security Archive and the Cold War International History Project, for instance. The age of Big Data will take collaborative research further. If the chapters on cultural history in the 1991 edition inspired and validated a generation of new research, this 2016 chapter on computational methods and research teams could do the same for a new generation.

Historians of U.S. international relations also need to take seriously Ussama Makdisi's discussion of "anti-exceptionalist histories." Makdisi's chapter title, with its reference to the Middle East, is the only one in all three editions of *Explaining* that refers to a specific geographic region.² The danger here is that casual readers might mistake the chapter for a geographic case study. In truth, Makdisi has a wide-reaching message. He challenges the coherence of the phrase that many scholars now use to describe our field: "the United States in the world." Noting that this formulation still assigns the United States a central position, Makdisi calls for more "robustly transnational or global" approaches. To achieve this, U.S. historians need "dual training" in "the languages, cultures, and historiographies of other parts of the world" (211). Otherwise, our sense of transnational history will remain shallow: "a stage upon which an essentially American story can be told" (209).

In light of this new edition, especially its prescriptive chapters, how should SHAFR respond? Costigliola and Hogan end their editors' introduction on a bullish note, highlighting the field's "healthy ferment and rich diversity" (8). The volume's twenty-one chapters prove their point. Still, it is worth recognizing some tensions among the chapters. If we read Makdisi's essay alongside Allen and Connelly's, we can see both opportunities and challenges for SHAFR. Allen and Connelly warn that we need to prepare for a deluge of born-digital primary sources generated by the U.S. government. Meanwhile, Makdisi calls for more immersion in foreign language training and area studies. These two visions of future research are not mutually exclusive, but they could produce a rift between scholars with different sets of academic skills.

We need to ensure that scholars who spend years

tinkering with algorithms for data-mining State Department documents can still converse with scholars who build their professional identity around immersion in the history and culture of another country or region. As we become a more polyglot academic society, speaking more human *and* computer languages, what institutions or concepts will preserve our community? SHAFR can help by supporting fellowships for quantitative and digital training. Another solution is for SHAFR to provide more awards to collaborative research teams, especially methodologically diverse teams. SHAFR can also commission a historiographic volume dedicated to other countries' traditions of understanding international and transnational history. Individual SHAFR members cannot build historiographic expertise in all regions of the world, especially if they also seek new digital skills, but SHAFR can bring that worldly expertise to its members by commissioning essays from international scholars.

Costigliola and Hogan no doubt worked hard to keep the anthology concise. Despite a proliferation of scholarship and approaches, this new edition runs just slightly longer than its predecessor. Talk about a successful containment policy! The editors have almost certainly thought more than anyone about the worthwhile topics and approaches they left out. With that caveat in mind, *Explaining's* status as a *de facto* reference guide for the field means that we should still note the topics excluded.

Leading the list, a chapter on decolonization would help advance the anti-exceptionalist message of Makdisi's essay. The influence of Amy Kaplan, Melani McAlister, and other experts in cultural studies suggests the value of a chapter on American Studies and its relationship to diplomatic historians. One can also imagine a valuable chapter on geography, including an analysis of how both policymakers and diplomatic historians organize the world into regions, areas, worlds, and blocs. What have policymakers and historians meant when they refer to the West, the Third World, or the Middle East? Perhaps most vexingly, what does it mean to call something global?³

Human rights, a topic ably discussed in Barbara Keys's chapter on non-state actors and in Mary Dudziak's chapter on law, has grown into a burgeoning field that could justify its own essay. A chapter on archives and declassification would shine badly needed light on the institutions and policies that structure much of our research—a complement to the prescriptive essay on computational research by Allen and Connelly. Lastly, a chapter on diplomatic historians in the public sphere could help us think critically about the wider purpose and impact of our research. How do diplomatic historians engage in political action, legal testimony, government advising, and media punditry? Which of the approaches described in the existing chapters make a difference outside the pages of *Diplomatic History* and beyond SHAFR conference hotels?

One final word of advice to graduate students and other newcomers in the field. You need this book in your personal library, but you also want the 2004 second edition. Many of the authors who contributed to both editions, including Rosenberg, Hunt, Costigliola, Gienow-Hecht, and Nick Cullather, are restless historiographers. They have chosen new topics for this third edition, yet their arguments and citations from 2004 remain relevant.

Although no single volume of *Explaining* can truly explain it all, we should not complain. Psychiatrists consulting the DSM's most recent edition need to wade through 991 pages. Even when we overlay *Explaining's* second and third editions, we remain in possession of a

concise and powerful reference guide.

Notes:

1. Emily S. Rosenberg, "Walking the Borders," in Michael J. Hogan and Thomas G. Paterson, eds., *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations* (New York, 1991), 24–35, esp. pp. 31–35.
2. Ussama Makdisi, "The Privilege of Acting Upon Others: The Middle Eastern Exception to Anti-Exceptionalist Histories of the US and the World," in Michael J. Hogan and Frank Costigliola, eds., *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations* (New York, 2016), 203–216.
3. Martin W. Lewis and Kären E. Wigen, *The Myth of Continents: A Critique of Metageography* (Berkeley, 1997). On the global, see Frederick Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History* (Berkeley, 2005), 91–112. The first edition of *Explaining* included an essay on geographic concepts. See Alan K. Henrikson, "Mental Maps," in Hogan and Paterson, eds., *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations*, 177–92.

Review of Frank Costigliola and Michael J. Hogan, eds., *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations*, 3rd ed.

M. Todd Bennett

Disquiet lurks just beneath *Explaining's* surface, expressed by authors concerned that the cultural turn has distanced the history of American foreign relations from the very thing—power exercised by the state in defense of the national interest—that traditionally defined the field.

In their introduction to the third edition of *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations*, the authoritative report on the historiographical state of the field, editors Frank Costigliola and Michael J. Hogan suggest that foreign relations history is healthier than ever. They begin with a familiar, if teleological, review of the Phoenix-like rise of American foreign relations history from the ash heap, a resurrection that began with help from the first edition of *Explaining*. That volume appeared in 1991 amid doubts about the future of diplomatic history,

then perceived as a scholastic backwater. It reappeared in 2004 with the field revitalized by the international and, especially, cultural turns. Happily, the publication of the third edition in 2016 finds that U.S. foreign relations history "has surged to the forefront of methodological innovation" (2). The anthology's twenty-one chapters highlight the field's "healthy ferment" (8).

It is easy to see why the editors write with such optimism. After all, those chapters are indeed exemplary. Notable newcomers to this edition of *Explaining* include Barbara J. Keys, whose chapter underscores the importance of nonstate actors to international history; Mary L. Dudziak, who outlines why and how diplomatic historians should study legal history; and Paul A. Kramer, who explores the "intersections between the politics of racialized difference and the United States' geopolitical histories, and the rich varieties of ways that historians have mapped them" (246). In other standout entries, Andrew Preston takes readers on a tour of the religious turn in diplomatic history, Andrew J. Rotter teaches them how to historicize the senses, and Costigliola explains why emotions matter.

If cultural analyses appear chiefly responsible for the vitality of foreign relations history, writes Emily S. Rosenberg in her contribution, "Considering Borders," that is because pioneering culturalists such as herself "pushed the borders" of the once staid field, unleashing needed innovation, nudging the journal *Diplomatic History* in new directions, and liberating international historians from the conservative methods that once bound them. "Interrogating the borders of politics and power, of culture and knowledge, has been transformative," Rosenberg concludes. With that happy past in mind, she encourages readers to interrogate "borders of all kinds," intellectual as

well as geographical (188).

However, disquiet lurks just beneath *Explaining's* surface, expressed by authors concerned that the cultural turn has distanced the history of American foreign relations from the very thing—power exercised by the state in defense of the national interest—that traditionally defined the field. In “Explaining the Political Economy,” for instance, Brad Simpson bemoans the inattention paid by international historians “to the role of money, banks, bankers, and the global financial system in constituting U.S. power” (63). This is an unfortunate oversight, he argues, given that “an understanding of political economy remains essential to any narrative of U.S. power, and to the wider world in which that power is constituted and exercised” (58). Hogan, in his chapter on corporatism, urges foreign relations historians to refocus on the state. Otherwise, he foresees a doomsday scenario, not unlike that faced decades ago, in which foreign relations history loses vibrancy, becomes isolated, and fades into obscurity. “If the old diplomatic history cut us off from the new world of social and then cultural historians,” Hogan asserts, “our current preoccupations tend to isolate us from the political, organizational, and economic aspects of foreign relations, and to forfeit these important topics to experts in other disciplines” (52).

Readers might well expect foundationalists¹ to disapprove of the direction in which the field is heading. Significantly, though, culturalists such as Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht express concern as well. Power “used to be at the center of . . . diplomatic history,” she writes, but the new international history does not always foreground it (233). Yet power remains central, and Gienow-Hecht proposes nation branding—that is, how and why entities attempt to exercise soft power by enhancing their images in a competitive marketplace—as a means to spotlight it.

Given the breadth of this concern, it seems reasonable to ask: is the history of American foreign relations really as “healthy” as *Explaining* claims? And if the answer is no—if the field is actually a house divided, with culturalism thriving but foundationalism struggling to uphold its end—isn’t *Explaining* itself indicative of the problem?

Encouraged by Rosenberg’s advice to interrogate borders, as well as David Allen and Matthew Connelly’s chapter, “Diplomatic History after the Big Bang,” I began to address such questions by using computational methods (to the extent that a spreadsheet and my Mac’s built-in calculator qualify as such) to map *Explaining's* editorial terrain. My method was simple: review the contents of all three editions of *Explaining*, classify chapters as either foundational or cultural in terms of subject matter or methodology, and tally the results for each volume. Then compare. Based on the assumption that editorial space is limited, that limited space is valuable, and that the printed word is costly—all of which the publishing world knows to be true—my objective was to chart the changing fortunes of two of the field’s major schools, as measured by *Explaining*.²

The results were striking, for they quantify the extent to which culturalism has colonized the history of American foreign relations in the span of just over one generation, literally occupying the space once dominated by foundationalism. Twelve of the first edition’s sixteen chapters fell easily into one camp or the other. (Each edition includes several chapters—“Dependency” in the first, for example, Louis A. Pérez Jr.’s examination of the North’s economic, political, and cultural domination of the South—that defy such classification.) A majority (seven, or 58 percent) of those dozen dealt primarily with such

foundational subjects as international economics (Thomas J. McCormick, “World Systems”), high strategy (Melvyn P. Leffler, “National Security”), or power politics (Stephen Pelz, “Balance of Power”).

The balance tilted decisively in culturalism’s favor with the second edition. A sizeable majority (nine, or 64 percent) of that edition’s fourteen classifiable chapters explored matters such as race, gender, and ideology. By comparison, only five foundational chapters, all holdovers from the first edition, made the cut.

The trend continues with the third edition, *Explaining's* largest to date. Even with the volume’s expansion to twenty-one “perspectives,” the number of foundational chapters remains stuck at five, including Simpson’s aforementioned piece as well as Fredrik Logevall’s on domestic politics. Meanwhile, ten of the edition’s fifteen categorizable essays—precisely two-thirds—fall on the cultural side.

Perhaps I should make myself clear at this point: my purpose is not to attack *Explaining's* editors, who face an impossible task. Historians of American foreign relations are doing so much good work worthy of publication these days that no single volume can hold representative examples of it all. And Costigliola and Hogan are careful to caution readers not to treat *Explaining* as a comprehensive historiographical overview. Rather, among their worthy aims is “to outline new analytical models” (8).

Neither is my purpose to curb culturalism. Culture matters to the history of American foreign relations, as luminaries such as Costigliola and Rosenberg have demonstrated. For me to insist otherwise would be to renounce my own comparatively meager contributions to the culturalist school as meaningless, and I am not prepared to do that. Culture matters in part because, as Preston explains, “People are not robots. They do not simply assess the material world in front of them, make precise calculations in a rigorous cost-benefit analysis, and then act accordingly. They are led as much by emotion as by reason,” with the former “often playing the dominant role.” Interior forces, religious belief included, Preston maintains, bear upon historical actors in some combination with exterior forces such as strategic, economic, and political calculations. “And exploring all these aspects of what motivates human behavior will give us a more complete picture of the history of American foreign relations,” he concludes (295).

Nor do I intend to deepen division by drawing a sharp distinction between culturalists and foundationalists, a binary that Kramer finds “counterproductive” (247). “Too frequently,” adds Gienow-Hecht, “adherents of the traditional and cultural approaches view each other as antagonistic or as irrelevant” (236).

Rather, my purpose is just the opposite, namely, to delineate the border that exists in the field (as reflected in *Explaining*) so as to interrogate it, bridge it, and, hopefully, move beyond it to the benefit of all foreign relations historians. Where is this “border”? Imagine, if you will, diplomatic history as a circular landmass inhabited by two groups of scholars who share a fraught past but also a common future. A map drawn with data from my analysis of *Explaining* would show culturalists occupying fully two-thirds of that landmass and foundationalists clinging to just one-third. That is where the border lies. Half as much: if space signifies value, that is apparently how much foundationalism is prized relative to culturalism.

That imbalance strikes me as indicative of a field in distress. We live in serious times: terrorism, one major war in Iraq not yet complete, another in Afghanistan still

My purpose is just the opposite, namely, to delineate the border that exists in the field (as reflected in *Explaining*) so as to interrogate it, bridge it, and, hopefully, move beyond it to the benefit of all foreign relations historians. Where is this “border”?

Response to reviews of *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations*, 3rd edition

Frank Costigliola and Michael J. Hogan

We want to thank these six top scholars for their good work in reviewing the third edition of *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations*. We also appreciate the efforts of Andy Johns in making *Passport* a significant voice in our field.

Categories matter. How we classify the elements in what we are studying influences the results of our analysis. Discussing *Explaining* primarily in terms of the historiography in our field misses the point that the first, second, and third editions have all focused instead on approaches and methodologies that might be used in writing foreign relations history. For the recent historiography, readers can consult *America in the World*, 2nd edition, published in 2014 by Cambridge University Press and also edited by Frank Costigliola and Michael J. Hogan. [Editor's note: A review of *America in the World* is forthcoming in *Passport*. AJ]

Categories are also important in understanding the internal structure of *Explaining*. We did not organize the book on the basis of trying to balance traditional or "foundational" approaches off against more "cultural" chapters. We have regarded as outdated the once heated debate in our field over the relevance of cultural factors in the study of foreign relations history. Policy makers and non-state actors exercise power in a cultural context. Historians can choose to highlight that context or focus on other matters. Most of the contributors to *Explaining* seek to integrate cultural and political elements. For instance, the chapter on national security emphasizes the culturally constructed core values that shaped perceptions of U.S. foreign policy interests. The one on the senses shows how sensory perceptions helped justify and shape the nature of American empire in the Philippines. Looking at religion helps in understanding the belief structures of U.S. foreign policy makers. The chapter on the emotions points up how feelings influenced discussions of the Cold War and other foreign policy issues. We designed this third edition of *Explaining* to provide both new and experienced practitioners in our field suggestions for enriching their scholarship with various approaches and methodologies. The result, we hope, is a rich buffet from which historians can pick and choose.

ongoing, a U.S. national security state that has grown virtually unchecked since 9/11 to the point that the U.S. intelligence community now encroaches upon privacy. Never, it seems, has there been a greater need for diplomatic historians to speak truthfully and vocally to the exercise of American power upon the international stage. And yet never in its twenty-five year history has *Explaining*, preoccupied with culturalism's ascendancy, seen fit to publish a single chapter on such a foundational subject as intelligence history, even though, as Hugh Wilford recently pointed out in *Passport*, the importance of intelligence to the history of U.S. foreign relations "is so obvious as hardly to need stating." Due in no small part to the lack of such institutional support, continues Wilford, echoing Hogan, too few diplomatic historians study intelligence, effectively conceding a critical subfield to political scientists and journalists.³

Serious times demand the best possible scholarship, work that, as Ussama Makdisi argues in his contribution to *Explaining*, transcends borders and combines analyses of the international stage no less than the domestic scene, of policy no less than society, and of power no less than culture to explain the complex history of the United States' relationship with the wider world. To reach that high standard, however, foreign relations historians must be able to draw upon the energy of a field firing on all cylinders. Culturalism has done its part; now it is foundationalism's turn. And rather than pulling forward with additional cultural studies that may take diplomatic history further away from its core issue of power, I would argue that the field should instead push in the opposite direction—that is, back against the line separating foundationalism from culturalism. The border: that is where innovation is likely to occur if only more historians were to use newer analytical techniques to yield fresh insight into older topics. Intelligence history, for example—from threat perception to psyops to pop culture's obsession with spycraft—is ripe for cultural analysis, Wilford observes. Could not foundationalists pay more attention to the importance of culture and culturalists to the centrality of power to produce more well-rounded and insightful work?

May the fourth edition of *Explaining* strike a healthier balance between foundationalism and culturalism. For without a firm base, Hogan warns, foreign relations history risks losing its identity and crumbling to the ground.

Notes:

1. I prefer "foundationalists" (or "foundationalism") to characterize historians who study (or work that studies) the field's core subjects—foreign policy, high strategy, political economy, and the like—because the term 1) is less pejorative than "traditionalist" (or "traditionalism"); 2) suggests that those core subjects do in fact form the field's foundation; and 3) leaves open the possibility that nontraditional methods such as culture can be employed to analyze those issues.
2. Admittedly, my taxonomy is crude as well as subjective. Another analyst could well classify the chapters differently.
3. Hugh Wilford, "Still Missing: The Historiography of U.S. Intelligence," *Passport* 47, no. 2 (Sept. 2016): 20–25.

Madam Secretary: A Case Study in the Media Representation of Female Foreign Policymakers

Jessica F. Gibbs

The first season of *Madam Secretary* aired in September 2014; it was renewed twice, and the third season began in early October 2016. This review will cover the first season of twenty-two episodes, as it is the only one I have so far been able to watch in Britain. The premise of the first season is that Conrad Dalton, ex-CIA director and president of the United States, has cast back to his days at the CIA to select a former senior analyst, Dr. Elizabeth McCord, as a replacement for his first secretary of state, Vincent Marsh, who was killed in an airplane crash.

At the time, Elizabeth and husband Dr. Henry McCord are professors at the University of Virginia (UVA) who run a horse farm on the side, and Elizabeth is both surprised and challenged by Dalton's invitation to join the administration. As she puts it to her former colleagues at a spy reunion dinner before the offer is made, in her post-CIA life she and her husband are teachers, parents, and horse owners, "and every morning we wake up that's all we've gotta be."¹ The season develops in real time: it is 2014 when Elizabeth McCord is appointed secretary of state, and the scenarios, which range from the banal (Greek debt) to the sinister (Russian nuclear submarine crisis) to the faintly comic (Venezuela), are topical and at least somewhat plausible.

As Téa Leoni, who plays Elizabeth McCord, explains, the season attempts to portray "the gal behind the seal," and the interest of the season does not lie entirely in the foreign policy challenges with which the female secretary of state grapples, though the episode-long scenarios, the long-running pursuit of a treaty with Iran, and an undercover investigation of the suspected murder of her predecessor Marsh consume considerable screen-time. It lies also in the challenges of office management, romances, and politics, and of family relationships. Elizabeth, who is forty-six during the first season, is mother to Stephanie (Stevie), who is twenty and at college as the season begins; Alison (a fifteen-year-old); and Jason (a thirteen-year-old). She is wife to Henry (played by Tim Daly), a former Marine who saw active duty in the 1991 Gulf War, an academic theologian, and a prolific author with a particular interest in military ethics.

Henry is initially content with a transfer from UVA to the Washington-based Georgetown University when Elizabeth becomes Madam Secretary, but he is "reactivated" by the National Security Agency (NSA) early in the season so that he can participate in the surveillance of a foreign religious scholar who is an NSA suspect. By the end of the first season, he is contemplating a new post at the National War College. It would be a real job training the future military leaders of the United States rather than simply "cover," but it would still give him the high-level security clearance he would need to fulfil the calling to public duty he shares with his wife in ways beyond academic instruction.

My discussion will begin by focusing upon three aspects of *Madam Secretary*: women in the public eye and the media's focus on their appearance; women as high-level foreign policymakers and how people within and outside the U.S. political system respond to them; and women as jugglers who combine demanding professional lives with their non-negotiable responsibilities as mothers to minor children. The first of these aspects is given relatively little play by the writers, at least after the pilot episode. In the pilot, it is made clear that Elizabeth is not by nature a clotheshorse or a preener. She dresses quite casually for her workplace, where she is seen in conversation with a pushy young male student, and appropriately for mucking out the stables on her estate. With her hair in pigtails, and perhaps still smelling faintly of horse manure, Elizabeth is offered the position of secretary of state by President Dalton, who is dressed impeccably in suit and tie.

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Fast-forward two months, and the pantsuits and plain, rather masculine, shirts that Elizabeth chooses for the office do not cut it in Washington, D.C. Russell Jackson (played by Željko Ivanek), the president's chief of staff, who is at odds with Elizabeth over how to respond to the plight of two young Americans imprisoned in Damascus, recommends a stylist, claiming that the suggestion has come from a president aware that image is an important part of the job. The stylist, or "personal appearance specialist," is introduced to Elizabeth by Russell the following day. The secretary puts her off (she is shepherded away by Elizabeth's young male personal assistant, Blake Moran), noting that "I have never met a situation where I don't have a choice in the matter." However, the next call on her time is almost as trivial: arrangements

for a protocol dinner with the king of Swaziland and his many wives. When she urges her speechwriter to include "something of substance" about "global health issues" or "developing economies" in her speech at the dinner, Press Secretary Daisy Grant (Patina Miller) demurs: "I just don't think now is a good time for substance." In response, Elizabeth produces her own example of nothing-speech: "I am grateful for the opportunity to expose the world to a variety of cultural differences as we move toward a more global-thinking society."

The next day, however, when it turns out that the parents of the boys held in Damascus have given an interview to the *New York Times* that is likely to make a splash if it is not a big news day, Elizabeth calls in Russell's image consultant to create a diversion. Dressed in a bright red coat, dress and shoes, and with a fetching new hairstyle, she greets the public. Her new look gets substantial and positive TV coverage, to the mild disgust of son Jason, who comments that "a new outfit isn't really a global event." At the dinner with the king of Swaziland, Elizabeth manages to be both

gracious and full of substance. After the king toasts to the “beautiful secretary of state,” she offers U.S. assistance to put the AIDS epidemic in Swaziland back at the top of the king’s agenda, noting, as she acknowledges each wife by name, that he has no shortage of female counsel.

Following this episode, much less attention is paid to Elizabeth’s personal appearance or to the harsh standards typically used by the media in judging public women (think Hillary Clinton’s “Cleavagegate” in summer 2007).² We never see the red-coat-and-dress combination (or the shoes) again during the season, but the way Elizabeth dresses, now that she has discreet (off-screen) input from a stylist, is no longer the story. Her outfits are generally conservative though sometimes a little more fashion-forward: fitted pants, sometimes with coordinated jackets; short, but not too short, skirts and dresses; smooth and expensive-looking blouses. She never wears patterns and she chooses low-key accessories, except for the dark-framed glasses she sports from time to time. Her subtly highlighted blonde hair, shoulder-length and almost always worn loose (no “scrunchiegate” here), is sufficiently high-maintenance and feminine without slipping over into trophy wife territory. Just as we do not see the cleaning staff who presumably keep her Washington residence spic-and-span, we witness neither the effort that goes in to maintaining this public shield, nor the consequences of a crack in it. Unlike the narcissistic presidential wife Clare Underwood in *House of Cards*, Elizabeth is not seen running to keep herself fit, strong and slim. In episode 22 she rejects the suggestion from Blake that she might be “fitbitting,” though in an aside to troubleshooter Mike Barnow we learn that she has at least some acquaintance with the gym.

Employing a stylist does not turn Elizabeth into a fashion hound. Flipping through a magazine on the sofa, she reacts with equanimity to a reference to her outmoded footwear.³ On the other hand, the objectifying of the political spouse now works both ways. Henry McCord makes number three on a list of Washington arm candy.⁴ The female staffers dress appropriately for the workplace themselves, but make little comment about their own or *Madam Secretary*’s style choices. It is a non-story once professional help has been accepted. It is only in a flashback to 2005, in the last episode of the first season, that a link between Elizabeth’s emotional state and her appearance is visible. Hair scraped back in a high and unbecoming pony-tail, glasses on, she is scrubbing out a pot the morning after a critically important argument with her husband.

As one would expect with such a current political drama, there are references throughout the season to the public image of both Elizabeth and President Dalton. But rather than her looks or clothes, what is important is what is referred to in jargon as the “optics” of a particular situation. Elizabeth standing next to the female foreign minister of India outside an American industrial plant on the banks of the Ganges is good optics, but not when the plant begins to leak toxic materials into the sacred river.⁵ Yet she sounds faintly irritated by the attempts of her press secretary to clean up her image in the public mind before the problem itself has been resolved. Instead, Elizabeth works on fixing the leak by getting the Texas Hotshot firefighters flown out to India. Once again, it is substance over style.

The second aspect of the show, women as foreign policymakers, is one that has been explored in media representations before, though the scope of President Dalton’s commitment to gender equality in *Madam Secretary* is perhaps unusual. Not only does Dalton appoint Elizabeth, he also has Admiral Ellen Hill, USN (Johanna Day), who is

presented in a much less feminine way than Elizabeth), as chair of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and an African American woman as attorney general (Anna Deavere Smith). When the first season was released, a female secretary of state was not the novelty it had been in the 1990s. Three of the last five actual secretaries of state had been women (one made a guest appearance as herself in the second season of *Madam Secretary*). Yet the presence, which by 2014 was undeniable, of women in circles of power outside the United States is somewhat underplayed in the first season. An exception is the female chancellor of Germany, Frieda Schulz, whose character is a virtual impersonation of Angela Merkel.

Elizabeth’s gender is relevant not only to the American media, but also to others within the political system. Russell Jackson’s initial approach is by turns to patronize and undermine the new secretary, though Dalton does try to rein him in when he is present. Jackson mansplains how the withdrawal of the U.S. ambassador from Yemen would appear to the Yemeni government: “It’s tantamount to an act of war . . . that’s not an invitation to a sleepover. We’re not braiding each other’s hair after that.”⁶ The president himself is for the most part respectful, though he does not appreciate the exaggerated show of respect Isaac Bishop, the CEO of private security firm Vesuvian, pays to Elizabeth in episode 2, “Another Benghazi.” Bishop keeps the president and joint chiefs waiting in the situation room until the arrival of Elizabeth, who has eaten her own academic words about the perils of private security to choose him to provide additional forces to protect the ambassador.

Elizabeth refers to the possibility that her gender has an impact on the way people relate to her in a couple of jokey asides in this episode. In reference to Everard Burke,

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the chair of a key congressional committee who would need to approve an increase in U.S. military personnel for the embassy, she asks an advisor, “Is flirting going to get me anywhere?” Later she suggests that her golf game was too good for the congressman’s comfort. She is proved correct in her contention that the ambassador, a personal friend, is too macho to appreciate correctly the danger he faces from the demonstrators outside the embassy. Her own intuition that the new Iranian foreign minister might be someone “who could help lead us to peace,” is accurate, and her hunches, sharpened by her twelve years at the CIA and based upon a firm understanding of global realities and a willingness to accept advice from others, prove good in several other episodes as well.

We see Elizabeth interacting with foreign men, typically from countries where women have not taken a leadership role, and we see her responding to the human angle of the situations she encounters. Three episodes are particularly important in this regard. The eighth episode opens with separatist unrest in Moldova and a plea from the Moldovan prime minister, Diacov, for U.S. assistance to deal with the rebels. The Foreign Relations Committee is not due to meet in time, and in any case, the season consistently depicts Congress as a real or potential obstacle to the Dalton administration doing the right thing, so instead Elizabeth offers the help of a former CIA colleague. Jim, an ethnic Moldovan who can aid Diacov in building up a counterinsurgency capability, leaves for Moldova with the prime minister.

Meanwhile, we see that Elizabeth has also become the butt of the sexist comments of Russian General Kolba on social media, though she does not deign to respond. When the co-pilot, in league with the separatists, lands Diacov’s plane in Kolba-controlled Moldovan territory, Elizabeth devises a plan based on an earlier CIA operation in Sarajevo that guarantees U.S. special forces the advantage of surprise.

As Kolba treats the secretary to some heavy-handed flirtation over a video link, the rescue team drives a replica of the general's car into the compound, kills Kolba's guards and quickly finds the hostages (Diacov is dead, but Jim is still alive). Kolba is only made aware of what has happened when his helicopters explode. The episode ends well: most of Kolba's followers desert him after the destruction of his air force; the new female Moldovan prime minister takes the credit for the attack; Jim is ecstatically reunited with his wife at an American airbase; and Kolba, one assumes, now views the "little lady" with the "beautiful legs" at the State Department rather differently.⁷

In episode thirteen, Elizabeth's sympathy is engaged by the plight of an emaciated Indonesian maid imprisoned for three years in the home of a couple attached to the Bahrain embassy. Pursuing the couple through the American courts for human trafficking and false imprisonment would fit with the stress on human rights that Elizabeth is pursuing, but the Defense Department has an interest in Bahrain as the location for an important U.S. naval base. This leads to a testy exchange with Admiral Hill, who suggests State will lose if it comes down to a clash with Defense. Elizabeth feels she has an advantage because of her long-term friendship with Crown Prince Yusuf of Bahrain, who attended the same (fictional) boarding school she did and is a liberal hope for his country. As he flies into Washington, Elizabeth is optimistic that he will allow the couple, who have been arrested and strip-searched as they attempted to fly home, to stand trial.

Elizabeth greets Yusuf warmly, listens as he explains the sensitivities of the case, and invites him to experience her terrible cooking and meet her two younger children (as luck would have it, Henry's steelworker father is also visiting). As they part, Elizabeth is hopeful that he will persuade his father to do the right thing. The Bahrainis instead choose to promote the diplomat to a rank at which he is automatically entitled to immunity from prosecution.

Welcoming Yusuf to her home, Elizabeth reminds him of "all the times that you defended equality for women and vowed to stop the exploitation of the underclass." He replies, "We're not seventeen anymore," but she notes that they now have a chance to really make a difference. At dinner, Elizabeth is disappointed and her family members intemperate. Henry's father chides the crown prince, remarking that his country's wealth is "is built on the backs of the poor", and Henry has to step in to enforce good manners. As they say goodbye, Elizabeth quotes the words of Yusuf's younger self about the value of principled dissent back at him. In Elizabeth's conversation with the maid, we learn that the prince has "secured financial reparations", and she is also given the opportunity to apply for asylum in the United States. Instead, the maid says that she will accept the offer of a job in Bahrain from the diplomat's brother—perhaps a less frightening option than going it alone in a foreign country. Upon leaving, Daisy reminds Elizabeth that it is the maid's choice, and Elizabeth replies, "I wish her circumstances allowed her to make a different one." Immediately following this conversation, we see Yusuf on television saying that the couple will be prosecuted in Bahrain, using the same words Elizabeth had quoted back to him: "some dissent is good, especially when standing up for the right reasons." In mid-speech he is shot down by a radical opposition gunman.

The crown prince's funeral is rapidly scheduled, and at this point, the requirements upon Elizabeth become gender-specific. As a woman she cannot be an equal participant at her friend's funeral, but would instead be kept with the other women behind a curtain. Yet as U.S. secretary of state she cannot be seen to be thrust into the background. As Elizabeth puts it, "I'm not here to sit in judgment of the Bahraini culture, or to change it, but it is my job to represent ours without devaluing my office

or gender." The dilemma of representation and cultural differences is posed acutely here. The Defense Department is disgruntled by her hesitation to attend the funeral. The Bahrainis have already started to hold up deliveries to the U.S. base. When Elizabeth is helped by Henry to find a compromise (she flies in on a low-key visit to pay her condolences to the bereaved father, but not to participate in the funeral), the base problem is resolved. A coda to the episode is a revealing conversation between Elizabeth and Admiral Hill. Hill notes that she was previously speaking for the chiefs of staff as a group. They had been disappointed by her decision, but "then again, I don't think any of them have ever sat in a staff meeting and had their ideas undermined by male subordinates to their face."⁸

The importance of gender is obvious also in Elizabeth's interview with the Chinese foreign minister over China's designs on the Ecuadorian rainforest.⁹ She is at this point suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder, following a brave flight into the eye of an Iranian coup. During the coup she witnesses the violent deaths of her bodyguards and Iran's foreign minister, with whom she had been building an important diplomatic relationship and something approaching a friendship. The encounter with the Chinese foreign minister is prologue to a panic attack for which she is hospitalized, but the episode plays to a belief that norms of behaviour are stricter for women in public life than they are for men. The Chinese foreign minister is visibly discomfited at the expression of Elizabeth's disdain even before it becomes a harangue about the environmental legacy the current generation will leave for their children.

The third of the aspects under discussion, the juggling act performed by professional women who are also still in the intensive mothering years, is exemplified by the fictional Elizabeth McCord in a way it has not been by any of the three women who have actually served as U.S. secretary of state. The first female holder of the position, Madeleine Albright (born in Czechoslovakia in 1937), whose best-selling autobiography is referenced in the title of the show, became secretary of state in 1997 at the age of 59 and had three grown-up daughters.¹⁰ Like Albright and the fictional Elizabeth McCord, the second woman to occupy the role, Condoleezza Rice, appointed secretary of state in 2005 by George W. Bush, came from an academic background in political science, and like McCord, she became Madam Secretary at a relatively young age (50). However, Rice was famously single and unencumbered by children. Hillary Clinton reverted to the Albright model: she was older (61) and had one grown-up daughter when she was appointed secretary of state by Barack Obama in January 2009.

The show seems to have been informed by a high-profile article in the *Atlantic* by Anne-Marie Slaughter, which exposed the difficulties faced by a woman in a real-life position strongly resembling that of Elizabeth McCord.¹¹ Slaughter's prominent post as the first woman director of policy planning in Hillary Clinton's State Department had been made possible by a two-year release from Princeton University, where both she and her husband had tenure and she was dean of the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs. She commuted to Washington on a weekly basis, leaving on the 4:20 a.m. train from Trenton, but in January 2011, when the two years were up, she resigned and returned to Princeton. The article, which carried the provocative title "Why Women Still Can't Have It All," was an attempt to explain and justify her decision. Slaughter, aware of her own privileged status, argued that for "highly educated, well-off women" fortunate enough to have choices, there were still "social and business policies" in the United States that kept women, particularly mothers, from achieving their potential. Slaughter discussed the "maternal imperative" that made women feel that there was no real choice between work and home when children

demonstrated their pressing need for a mother's time and attention, referred to emerging evidence suggesting that flexibility in the workplace correlated with high performance, and ended the article with a call for Americans to "stop accepting male behavior and male choices as the default and the ideal. We must insist on changing social policies and bending career tracks to accommodate our choices, too."¹²

By October 2015, Slaughter's article had been viewed an estimated 2.7 million times, and her husband, Andrew Moravcsik, joined the debate, writing a companion piece for the *Atlantic* entitled "Why I Put My Wife's Career First."¹³ However, while Moravcsik comes across as a well-intentioned man who recognizes and values his wife's ambition and is a supportive spouse and "lead parent," the article does not touch upon why *he* did not up and move to Washington with their children, as so many women have done in the past. This is odd. As he points out, "a female business executive willing to do what it takes to get to the top—go on every trip, meet every client, accept every promotion, even pick up and move to a new location when asked—needs what male CEOs have already had: a spouse who bears most of the burden at home." So why does he not address the question of the family's failure to relocate head-on? There is a hint of an answer when Moravcsik comments that "to buck gender roles . . . you need the type of secure professional reputation that an Ivy League professorship offers," and when he recounts an anecdote of being asked by a woman in the audience at one of Slaughter's public events to stand up in the audience so she could see if "he really still is an alpha male." Although content to be less "alpha" than his wife, there were some sacrifices of self-esteem and career achievement that Moravcsik was not prepared to make or, perhaps, that his wife would not ask for.

The fictional Henry McCord goes to a little more trouble to accommodate Elizabeth's new state department position: he transfers to Georgetown University, though it is hardly a sacrifice. As he notes to his older daughter Stevie when she visits him in a rather beautiful lecture room, Georgetown, as a Jesuit college, is well-resourced for theology.¹⁴ The writers, however, seem to lack the courage of their convictions. Though they have plotted Henry as a college professor, this is not "alpha" enough, and Elizabeth's sudden promotion might impair the couple's marriage. The balance in their relationship is referred to directly by Elizabeth in the pilot. She remarks on a change since the move to Washington: "We used to have week-night sex. . . . Is it my masculine energy? I've got too much of it? Because I know some men are turned off by women in positions of power." Henry responds on cue, "I totally love women in power positions. I am completely attracted to your masculine energy. Tell me what to say."

To make up for any shortfall in Henry's alpha qualities, the writers have given him a number of roles. He is Elizabeth's ethical guide, he has a prestigious academic position, and he has a macho-man past. But he also takes control physically of a drunken U.S. serviceman who calls him "Mr. Secretary of State" and then calls Elizabeth "a real piece of work" for her deal with Iran (episode 5); he gets an important assignment from the NSA (episode 7); he risks his own safety in Bolivia to avert a mass suicide in an American religious cult (episode 18); and he goes shooting with the Russian president at a time of high tension between Russia and the United States and helps solve the puzzle of this episode by drawing upon his cultural knowledge (episode 20).

The McCords operate as a parenting team to their teenagers with only the most minimal friction. In episode two, when Stevie, who had been living out of the public gaze at Lovell University (a fictitious elite institution), comes under the press spotlight for protesting a shift in

college admissions policy from "need-blind" to "need-aware," Henry appears to needle Elizabeth for her lack of parental attention. "I listened to my daughter. Guilty," he says. Elizabeth asks, "Really, you're going to go there?" "I'm already regretting it," a rueful Henry replies.¹⁵ Later in the season he praises her for her success in combining parenting with work, noting that while she had returned after 4 a.m., she still remembered to get in the laughing string, a birthday tradition in the McCord family.¹⁶

Henry and Elizabeth consult with their children but remain in charge. They do hold a family meeting (off-screen) about whether Elizabeth should accept the job of secretary, but that does not mean that every decision is discussed in front of the children. At a later conference in which the family is briefed on Elizabeth's subpoena to appear before a senate committee, Alison and Jason move a vote on who "is officially over Mom's job," but Stevie breaks in, arguing that "we made a commitment as a family."¹⁷ When Stevie drops out of college, unable to stand the way in which classmates react to her mother's position, she is not given the luxury of time to work on a novel, but expected to look for a temporary job. Eventually, when she finds out that working as an intern for a cause she believes in—the microloan project at the State Department—is impossible without a college affiliation, she decides to apply to study at Georgetown. Elizabeth and Henry together beard the formidable female director of the private Quaker school they chose for Alison and Jason, perhaps a stand-in for the Sidwell Friends school attended by Sasha and Malia Obama, and both sympathize with Jason's determination to leave following a violent altercation with a bullying fellow student.¹⁸ They have some minor disagreements; they quarrel, for example, about the security detail that is necessary for Jason when he starts at a public school, but this dispute is clearly related to the post-traumatic stress disorder Elizabeth suffers.¹⁹

The McCords value the affection and closeness of their children, and are distressed when family bonds are strained. There are obvious and more subtle ways in which Elizabeth's job affects the family. Both Jason and Stevie have difficulty dealing with their classmates as a result of it. Stevie takes time to process the knowledge that as a CIA agent, her mother had authorized the torture of an Iraqi suspect in Baghdad (in mitigation, the episode stresses that he had participated in terrorism and had time-sensitive information). At the end of the season, Stevie has taken some wise decisions and some foolish ones. She has fulfilled her parents' trust by chaperoning her sister adequately; decided to return to college; ended her budding relationship with Arthur, the divorced thirty-nine-year-old boss of the microloan project; and reconciled herself to both parents. On the other hand, shaken up by the fear that her mother might be sent to prison for violating the Espionage Act, she is embarking upon an almost equally inadvisable relationship with the president's son Harrison, who has just come out of rehab. The younger children are depicted as basically sensible and reasonably well adjusted, though Alison is understood by her parents to be vulnerable to peer pressure (episode 2), and Jason needs some lessons about respecting girls from his father (episode 8).

It is this family closeness that makes implausible the backstory to Elizabeth's career choices, which we are given in the final episode. In 2005, after Dalton (then CIA director) shows the president her extremely critical report into interrogation practices in Iraq, she is offered the post as station chief in Baghdad. This is a promotion (as Henry puts it, "an enormous job") and a chance to put her ethical beliefs into practice, to oversee on behalf of the United States a system of intelligence that relies on increased human intelligence on the ground rather than on torture. However, she is the mother of three children, one of whom is only four, and it takes her husband, that

evening, to remind her of the impact that at least a year in Baghdad, away from the family, will have upon them. "I am talking about our marriage and our children." Yet even if Elizabeth's first response to the offer had been gratification at the honour and the vote of confidence and excitement about the challenge, surely her second thought, not hours, but only seconds later, would have been for the family. After a difficult conversation at night and a frosty morning, the "higher purpose" Elizabeth speaks of, which she would be serving if she went to Baghdad, is sacrificed to her immediate duty to family.

Through the lens of gender, and as a result of several hours spent getting to know the McCords, we are led to see her decision as the right one. The only person who questions it on-screen is Juliet Humphrey, the childless CIA friend who Dalton then sends to Baghdad. But Juliet's moral position is undermined by the ruthlessness with which she has dispatched those in the way of the coup she and CIA Director Andrew Muncie had been planning for Iran, and it is while being interrogated by Elizabeth that Juliet, handcuffed and shackled to the floor, charges her with abandoning the CIA.

In fact, the exact circumstances of Elizabeth's departure from the CIA remain unspecified. We are led to one interpretation of events in episode 22 (Elizabeth left because her husband convinced her of the negative effect a posting to Baghdad would have upon their family), but it does not square with the explanation she gives Stevie in episode 10 (the use of torture by the CIA was "ultimately . . . why I left") or with what Dalton says at the outset to Elizabeth. Dalton claims that her predecessor, Marsh, "was always running for office. You have no such ambition. You quit a profession you love for ethical reasons. That makes you the least political person I know."²⁰ This suggestion that women are not ambitious is problematic, though it is clear that Dalton is making a distinction between personal ambition and the ambition to serve.

The further difficulty with this narrative line is that if people with minor children should be precluded from serving the United States in dangerous posts abroad because they owe a greater duty to their families, people such as Alice Milavoy, the Foreign Service Officer featured in episode 10, will necessarily get more than their fair share of such assignments. Alice complains at some length to Nadine Tolliver, Elizabeth's chief of staff, that she has been reassigned to Angola instead of Lisbon not because of her unique language skills or experience but because, as single woman in her fifties, she is regarded by the State Department as dispensable. This is a new take on the longstanding problem of discrimination in the foreign service, and it is one that both Nadine and Elizabeth find convincing.

While not the most pressing gender issues around the world, these may be the most salient to an affluent American audience. Yet the very nature of that audience leads to some odd omissions and curious visual frames. I have already mentioned the unseen domestic help in the McCord household. But in addition, Elizabeth's final "private" exchange with the Iraqi translator who has threatened to expose her to the world as a torturer takes place in English in a function room at the State Department in front of two African American waitstaff who appear to be invisible to Elizabeth. These characters are immaterial to the narrative, serving as scenery, not people. We also see Harrison and Stevie get physical in the back of a presidential limousine, seemingly oblivious to the presence of the chauffeur and

bodyguard in the front seat.

Despite the fact that Henry and Elizabeth come from radically different backgrounds (one grew up with a steelworker union rep for a father, while the other was raised on a horse farm in Virginia), class relations within the United States are almost entirely unexplored. Global inequality and capitalist exploitation are rarely the focus of the storylines either, though the rapacity of American business is occasionally pointed out by Elizabeth or one of her foreign interlocutors (the Ecuadorians and the Chinese in episode 17, and the Greek prime minister in episode 20, for example).

Perhaps more important, the writers' emphasis on Elizabeth's (and by extension, the Dalton administration's) good intentions for the world minimizes some of the less pleasant aspects of U.S. foreign policy. The most glaring instance of this is the mention of fake evidence of civilian casualties from an American drone strike in Yemen in episode 2. Elizabeth, who represents the United States to the world, is doubly justified in this episode. She was right to engage Vesuvian to protect the ambassador (the protestors were indeed a threat), and she was right to criticize the operations of private security contractors when she was an academic, a public critique that led the firm to amend its practices ("Our men did not fire first"). Finally, she retains the humanity to reach out to the widow of the private security guard who lost his life in the operation. While this is an exceptionally positive ending, the episodes typically conclude with a win-win for both the Dalton administration and the admirable foreigners through the ingenuity of Elizabeth and her advisers in finding a solution that serves ethics and the U.S. interest. It is notable that the writers took a different approach towards concluding the season. It ends with Elizabeth and her husband triumphing over congressional opposition and the possibility of prosecution, but with the secretary's growing self-doubt regarding her crowning achievement of peace with Iran.

Notes:

1. *Madam Secretary* (2014/15). Season One, Episode 1.
2. Megan Garber, "Why the Pantsuit," *The Atlantic*, August 2, 2016.
3. *Madam Secretary* (2014/15). Season One, Episode 9.
4. *Madam Secretary* (2014/15). Season One, Episode 5.
5. *Madam Secretary* (2014/15). Season One, Episode 7.
6. *Madam Secretary* (2014/15). Season One, Episode 2.
7. *Madam Secretary* (2014/15). Season One, Episode 8.
8. *Madam Secretary* (2014/15). Season One, Episode 13.
9. *Madam Secretary* (2014/15). Season One, Episode 17.
10. Madeleine Albright, *Madam Secretary: A Memoir* (New York, 2003).
11. Anne-Marie Slaughter, "Why Women Still Can't Have It All," *The Atlantic*, July/August 2012.
12. Slaughter, "Why Women Still Can't Have It All."
13. Heidi Stevens, "A Shift in the 'Have It All' Debate, with Anne-Marie Slaughter at the Center." *Chicago Tribune*, October 3, 2015. <http://www.chicagotribune.com/lifestyles/columnists/ct-balancing-act-sun-1004-20150929-column.html>; Andrew Moravcsik, "Why I Put My Wife's Career First." *The Atlantic*, October 2015. <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2015/10/why-i-put-my-wifes-career-first/403240/>.
14. *Madam Secretary* (2014/15). Season One, Episode 2.
15. *Madam Secretary* (2014/15). Season One, Episode 2.
16. *Madam Secretary* (2014/15). Season One, Episode 16.
17. *Madam Secretary* (2014/15). Season One, Episode 22.
18. *Madam Secretary* (2014/15). Season One, Episode 15.
19. *Madam Secretary* (2014/15). Season One, Episodes 16, 17.
20. *Madam Secretary* (2014/15). Season One, Episode 1.

A Roundtable on Lori Clune, *Executing the Rosenbergs: Death and Diplomacy in a Cold War World*

*John Sbardellati, Neal M. Rosendorf, Bevan Sewell, Nicole L. Anslover, Grant Madsen,
and Lori Clune*

Introduction to the Roundtable on Lori Clune, *Executing the Rosenbergs*

John Sbardellati

A Democratic lame-duck president meets with the Republican president-elect in the White House. The press describes the meeting as “coolly formal.” The outgoing president begrudges his replacement for having engaged in “demagoguery” during the campaign. Indeed, months earlier he had reprimanded the Republican candidate for catering to “a bunch of screwballs,” lamenting that this electoral strategy could “injure this great Republic” (42-44). When I first read these opening pages of Lori Clune’s second chapter on the presidential transition from Truman to Eisenhower, I cannot say that I identified any eerie connections to the modern day. The 2016 election was still weeks away, and the prospect of a similar White House meeting was unthinkable. But it just so happens that I write my introduction to this stimulating roundtable on November 10, 2016, after just having watched the surreal White House encounter between Barack Obama and Donald J. Trump.

The focus of Clune’s book, of course, is not presidential transitions of power, but the notorious trial and execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, and specifically the feeble response of both presidential administrations to a global protest movement which, despite clear evidence to the contrary, was dismissed by Truman and Eisenhower officials as little more than communist propaganda. During the transition between their administrations, Truman and Eisenhower would not consult much and, according to Clune, the Rosenberg case and the unique diplomatic challenges it presented were never discussed between the two. Had they conferred on this case, however, it is doubtful that much would have changed. Both presidents, as Grant Madsen writes in his thought-provoking review, viewed the Rosenberg case from the perspective of a “moral framework built around the concept of loyalty,” and this made it difficult for them to comprehend the global opposition. Nevertheless, Nicole Anslover, in her prescient review (written prior to the 2016 election, I should point out), applauds Clune for her attention to the transition from the Truman to the Eisenhower presidencies, an approach which in her view models for “scholars a further line of questioning to pursue when analyzing Cold War foreign policy.”

It is every historian’s dream to land upon a trove of missing documents, especially when hitting this archival jackpot allows one to cast a much-studied event in an entirely new light. Clune’s persistence in locating, with the helpful assistance of College Park archivists, the missing State Department Name Cards for the Rosenbergs enabled her fascinating study of these diplomatic dispatches which reveal the existence of, and U.S. reaction to, a protest

movement that spanned the globe. One thing that all the reviewers here agree on is that Clune has uncovered a significant collection of documents which allow her to recast the Rosenberg case in a more global context.

Furthermore, despite the range of critiques put forward here, it bears pointing out that not one of these reviewers has taken Clune to task on her central argument that the U.S. international propaganda campaign failed dismally in its effort to justify the executions to international audiences. Neal Rosendorf, in what is otherwise the most critical take in this roundtable, nevertheless acknowledges that Clune has persuasively documented “the terrible damage the U.S. government did to itself in deciding to prosecute a capital case against the Rosenbergs and ultimately carry out a death sentence,” a move that amounted to a “colossal miscalculation” on the part of Truman and Eisenhower officials who unwisely discounted “the mounting international chorus of outrage” in the global protest movement. Bevan Sewell concurs that “the book provides a strong account of both the limitations of U.S. propaganda during the Cold War and the profound problems that emerge out of the incompatibility between domestic political concerns and broader international interests.” Meanwhile, Madsen is persuaded that indeed “Official Washington could never get ahead of the protests or develop a convincing narrative in response,” while Anslover delivers the pithy summation: “The rest of the world was watching, and the United States was losing credibility.” In short, Clune can take pride not only for successfully placing the Rosenberg story in its global context, but also for the cogency of her core argument.

To be sure, each of the reviewers has examined Clune’s work under a critical lens. Though Sewell applauds Clune for her masterful framing of the Rosenberg affair in the contexts of McCarthyism and Cold War domesticity, he believes the book would have been strengthened had she placed this international propaganda fiasco in the context of other moments during the Cold War when “the continual tensions between U.S. rhetoric and actions” drew global censure. Madsen calls for more attention to and analysis of the “various moral frameworks” that shaped the differing positions adopted by a diverse range of protesters, and puts forward a compelling sketch of the political patterns and local derivations of these disparate moral frameworks. Anslover credits Clune for highlighting connections between the Rosenberg case and the Korean War, but laments that Clune’s book “oversimplifies the issue to intimate that they were one of the major reasons Truman aggressively defended South Korea.” Finally, Rosendorf takes Clune to task for not stressing the couple’s agency in their own executions, concluding that “Clune’s own incomprehension of death-embracing fanaticism impinges on her scholarly judgment concerning the spy case.”

This roundtable concludes with Lori Clune’s response to the reviewers. While I will leave it to her to address the

comments here, I will take issue with one thing she writes. For when she conjures the image of the impressionistic technique of pointillism and tells us “I’ve added my dot,” she humbly neglects to add that her “dot” is one of the larger marks on the canvass, one that compels us to view the painting in an entirely new light.

Executing the Rosenbergs and the Shade of Joseph Conrad’s Professor

Neal M. Rosendorf

As I read through Lori Clune’s interesting, well-researched, but in a key respect deeply frustrating book *Executing the Rosenbergs: Death and Diplomacy in a Cold War World*, a quote from Joseph Conrad’s seminal 1907 political thriller *The Secret Agent* repeatedly reverberated in my mind. The Professor, a coldly fanatical man who carries a suicide explosive device on his person at all times, asserts bluntly to his revolutionary confederates, “What happens to us as individuals is not of the least consequence.”¹

The inability to grasp the mindset of an extreme ideologue who views death as an acceptable, potentially even preferable option led the U.S. government to exercise supremely poor judgment in handling the prosecution, conviction and death sentence leveled against Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. Analogously, despite some well-wrought sections in this volume, Lori Clune’s own incomprehension of death-embracing fanaticism impinges on her scholarly judgment concerning the spy case.

As Clune notes in the preface to *Executing the Rosenbergs*, she had the great luck (I use the term “luck” in the laudatory sense of preparation plus opportunity) to uncover a trove of previously unexamined documents at the National Archives, a torrent of reportage on international reaction to the Rosenberg affair that flowed from U.S. diplomatic posts around the world to State Department headquarters at Foggy Bottom. These documents provide a wealth of evidence concerning the terrible damage the U.S. government did to itself in deciding to prosecute a capital case against the Rosenbergs and ultimately to carry out the death sentence when Julius and Ethel stunned American authorities by categorically refusing to turn state’s evidence in order to save their lives.

Far and away the best sections of the book focus on the Truman and Eisenhower administrations’ colossal miscalculation—they clearly could not comprehend the mentality of “What happens to us as individuals is not of the least consequence”—and the mounting international chorus of outrage over the U.S. government’s seeming enthusiasm for the death penalty, especially in a situation where there seemed to be some ambiguity. That ambiguity arose in large part because the U.S. Army was adamant about not revealing—even, as it turns out, to President Truman—the wartime code-breaking secrets that helped point to the Rosenbergs’ spying activities.

Some senior U.S. officials, like C. D. Jackson, Henry Cabot Lodge, and John Foster Dulles, understood quite well what was at stake for America’s overseas image, even as they ultimately saluted President Eisenhower’s rigid determination to carry out the death sentence if the couple did not agree to confess and supply information. J. Edgar Hoover took a pragmatic position. He wanted to spare the

Rosenbergs because, in Clune’s words, “sitting in prison they could be of value to the United States by supplying the names of other spies; dead they became two martyrs for the Soviet Union” (84).

The author is surely correct in her damning assessment of Truman’s and Eisenhower’s egregiously ill-considered belief that executing the Rosenbergs would somehow enhance America’s international image of strength while dissuading other would-be spies from committing espionage. Indeed, some of the most damaging Soviet agents (e.g., the Walker spy ring, Aldrich Ames, and Robert Hanssen) would crop up decades later, although, as ex-CIA officer Michael J. Sulick has observed, “very few” would take up espionage “out of ideological sympathy for communism.”²

Clune also effectively drives home the FBI’s dreadful misjudgment, reaching clear up to Hoover, that threatening the electric chair would cause one or both of the Rosenbergs to crack. To be sure, though, atomic espionage agents Klaus Fuchs, Harry Gold, and Ethel’s brother David Greenglass had all capitulated readily to pressure and talked, and there was no way for Hoover and his subordinates to know beforehand that Julius and Ethel were made of sterner—that is, more fanatical—stuff.

Indeed, the FBI agents on-site at Sing Sing prison who were empowered to halt the execution if the Rosenbergs confessed, even if they were already “strapped into the chair,” were helplessly distraught at their intransigent silence. One of them later lamented, “We didn’t want them to die. We wanted them to talk” (126–27). Aside from the grave moral problems of capital punishment

(for the record, I am thoroughly opposed to the death penalty, past and present application), the Rosenberg case demonstrates that the irrevocability that is part of the moral objection is also disastrous when used as a blunt instrument to compel cooperation from those prepared to die for their cause.

Clune’s own perspective on the Rosenbergs’ actions and hence on apportioning responsibility for their execution is, rather like that of the blindsided FBI agents, undermined by an evident incomprehension of fanaticism and what it compels or gives the fanatic license to do. Clune, while acknowledging Julius Rosenberg’s espionage activities—how could she not, after all, in light of the Venona transcripts and the belated 2008 public confession of Julius’s confederate Morton Sobell—repeatedly thrusts exclusive responsibility for the couple’s death upon the U.S. government, as though their own Conradian calculus played no role in guaranteeing their demise. This is, quite simply, morally blinkered.

Julius was beyond doubt a Soviet agent at the head of a devastatingly effective network, and Ethel, despite Clune’s tendentious minimization of her involvement, was either an agent as well or at the very least the approving supporter and enabler of her husband’s espionage.³ They both had names and information to provide, should they have wished to do so. But when they were caught and offered the choice of confessing or execution they unhesitatingly chose the latter option, loudly—and quite falsely—protesting their complete innocence, denouncing American injustice (“If we are executed, it will be the murder of innocent people and the shame of it will be upon the Government of the United States” [100]), and ruthlessly orphaning their two young boys. They blithely lied to their sons, even as they were about to be led off to the electric chair, “Always

remember that we are innocent and could not wrong our conscience" (166). And thus Julius and Ethel "went to their deaths," as the *New York Times* reported, "with a composure that astonished the witnesses" (127). However, Joseph Conrad would not have been in the least surprised.

In embracing a martyrdom that would certainly injure the United States' international reputation and presumably score a propaganda victory for the USSR at the same time, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg quite deliberately performed yeoman's service for Moscow in the midst of the frigid wastes of the early Cold War. One might ask what the distinction is between the Rosenbergs' act and that of the ISIS guerrilla on the outskirts of Mosul I observed a few days ago, as of this writing, on CNN, a latter-day analogue of *The Secret Agent's* suicide bomb-carrying Professor who blew himself to pieces on live TV as he was approached by Peshmerga forces. In both cases the fanatics consciously chose self-immolation.

In the last pages of *Executing the Rosenbergs*, Clune heatedly proclaims that "executing Ethel was the cruel, unjust act of a terrified nation for which the U.S. government can and should apologize" (164). Concerning an apology: perhaps. (I will leave aside the question of whether it is appropriate for an historian to offer this kind of an exhortation in a scholarly work.) I agree wholeheartedly with her subsequent assertion that "the couple did not deserve to die" (165), although only because of the broad moral and instrumental objections noted above, not because I have any doubt that their activities and those of their associates were deeply injurious to American security interests. It certainly was a demonstrably wrongheaded act, in that it accomplished neither of its anticipated goals: enhancing America's international image of steely resolve in the face of communism and squeezing the Rosenbergs for actionable information about the Julius-led spy ring.

But Julius and Ethel Rosenberg eagerly—there can be no other word in light of the speed and vociferousness with which they publicly spurned the FBI's confidential offer of clemency in June 1953—cooperated with federal authorities in operating the machinery of their deaths. They knew they had information to trade, and they chose not to trade it. Instead they continued lying, carried the truth to their graves, and damaged the reputation of an American liberalism that for decades unswervingly supported their false protestations of innocence until in the face of incontrovertible evidence it became impossible to do so.

And then of course there is the trauma they helped to inflict on their children, as well as their callous manipulation of them in the service of their ideological agenda. The former was exemplified by their ten-year-old son Michael's wailing "one more day to live" after his last prison visit to his condemned parents; and the latter by the boy's composed statement to assembled journalists on the day of Julius and Ethel's execution: "You can quote me. The judges of the future will look back upon this case with great shame" (114, 126). In this light, Clune's assertion that "in many ways the Rosenbergs were like any loving married couple with children" (83) is nothing short of outrageous. Somewhere in the ether Conrad weeps and the Professor smiles in grim recognition.

"What happens to us as individuals is not of the least consequence."

Notes:

1. Joseph Conrad, *The Secret Agent: A Simple Tale* (London, 1907; repr. Garden City, NJ, 1953), 70.
2. Michael J. Sulick, *Spying in America* (Washington, DC, 2012), 269.
3. In my judgment Ronald Radosh offers a far more compelling and better-informed case than Clune. For a recent take by the historian who has been parsing the Rosenberg case for well over three decades, see Radosh, "Grasping at Straws to Try to Exonerate Ethel Rosenberg," *Wall Street Journal*, July 19, 2015, at <http://www.wsj.com/articles/grasping-at-straws-to-try-to-exonerate-ethel-rosenberg-1437342393>.

[wsj.com/articles/grasping-at-straws-to-try-to-exonerate-ethel-rosenberg-1437342393](http://www.wsj.com/articles/grasping-at-straws-to-try-to-exonerate-ethel-rosenberg-1437342393). Even Morton Sobell acknowledged in his self-justifying 2008 confession that Ethel Rosenberg "knew what [Julius] was doing." See Sam Roberts, "Figure in Rosenberg Case Admits to Soviet Spying," *New York Times*, September 11, 2008, at http://www.nytimes.com/2008/09/12/nyregion/12spy.html?_r=0.

Review of Lori Clune, *Executing the Rosenbergs: Death and Diplomacy in a Cold War World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016)

Bevan Sewell

On June 19, 1953, the New York- and Washington, D.C.-based correspondents of *The Times* rushed to file their reports on the executions of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg so that they would reach London in time to make the following day's paper. The decision to press ahead with the executions—both were sent to the electric chair at Sing Sing Prison in New York after being found guilty of a conspiracy to commit espionage two years earlier—marked the culmination of an intense period of legal and political maneuvering, as lawyers, the Supreme Court, the administration of Dwight D. Eisenhower, and people across the globe sought to intervene in the debate over the Rosenbergs' fate.

Rosenberg supporters argued that it was surely against the best traditions of the United States to sanction execution for these crimes, particularly when the evidence against Ethel was so underwhelming. It was a point that was clearly apparent in the report *The Times* subsequently published on June 20. "The fact that much of the evidence on which they were convicted was circumstantial and that the anti-Russian atmosphere in 1951, when they were tried, was so extreme," the paper reported, "aroused strong doubts about the death sentence all over the world." After the Rosenbergs' deaths were announced, the report continued, substantial protests broke out in Britain, France, and Italy. In Paris, shots were fired, and 386 people were detained; in Rome, fire hoses were used to disperse the protestors; in London, several hundred protestors held a vigil at the entrance to Downing Street, and further rallies were organized in Birmingham and Liverpool.¹

Prior to the execution, in an effort to explain why he was not inclined to consider clemency for the couple, President Eisenhower released a public statement setting out his position. "I am not unmindful of the fact that this case has aroused grave concern both here and abroad in the minds of serious people," Eisenhower stated, but "by immeasurably increasing the chances of atomic war the Rosenbergs may have condemned to death tens of millions of innocent people all over the world. The execution of two human beings is a grave matter. But even graver is the thought of the millions of dead whose deaths may be directly attributable to what these spies have done."²

Eisenhower's statement, like many of those produced by the government since the Rosenbergs' arrest in 1950, deliberately exaggerated the extent of their actions as part of a blatant attempt to court domestic and international opinion. At home, this effort was largely successful; most Americans were in favor of the death penalty and backed the government's position. As Moshik Temkin has noted, the Rosenbergs "were championed by few, abandoned by most liberals, and were a cause principally of and for the communist movement at home and abroad."³ The situation abroad, however, as illustrated by *The Times* report of protests in Britain, France, and Italy, was much more febrile. International condemnation of the Rosenbergs' treatment had been building since their arrest; in the period between their being found guilty and their eventual execution, U.S. officials were besieged with criticism from nations across

Europe, Asia and Latin America.

Lori Clune's new book, *Executing the Rosenbergs*, puts these events at the heart of the case and closely examines its international consequences. Making excellent use of a series of State Department records that had long been almost impossible to find in the National Archives, Clune provides a forensic account of the U.S. government's attempt to shape positive perceptions of its actions in the case and critically assesses its receptivity to foreign calls for leniency. It is a harrowing and frustrating story. Officials on the ground in many nations—and Douglas Dillon and the U.S. Embassy in Paris are particularly prominent here—were constantly sending reports back to Washington expressing the view that it would be a terrible propaganda blow if the United States went ahead with the executions.

At each stage, however, officials in Washington, whether in the Truman or Eisenhower administrations, remained largely unmoved. The necessity of being seen to be tough trumped all other concerns. Moreover, the need to appear tough prevailed despite the fact that the evidence against Ethel Rosenberg was far from conclusive; that several key witnesses had amended their testimony for personal reasons between grand jury hearings and the trial; that the death penalty had been imposed largely as a lever to compel further cooperation from the Rosenbergs; and, finally, that the death penalty had been pushed through by the presiding judge rather than recommended by the jury.

Ranging from the period directly preceding the Rosenbergs' arrest through the trial and execution, and then moving on to consider the case's ramifications, the book provides a strong account of both the limitations of U.S. propaganda during the Cold War and the profound problems that emerge out of the incompatibility between domestic political concerns and broader international interests. It is a tale, as the author notes in the conclusion, from which "no one emerges . . . unscathed. Administration officials, prosecutors, and defendants all made decisions that undermined their own interests, and there is a plague on all their houses" (159). But Clune reserves her greatest ire for the federal government and the administrations of Truman and Eisenhower. Eisenhower and John Foster Dulles come out of the tale slightly better than Truman and Dean Acheson. Eisenhower's understanding of the case and its international ramifications, and Dulles's attempt to downplay any notion of triumphalism while providing full and detailed accounts of the case's facts, suggest greater competence than the actions taken by their predecessors, but there are no heroes in this story. In the powerful indictment that closes the book, Clune writes that "Cold War terror and paranoia drove the U.S. government to prosecute the couple, but in killing them federal officials truly failed. They failed to compel the couple to talk. They failed to deter future spies. And they ultimately failed to convince the world that executing the Rosenbergs was anything but a morally repugnant travesty of justice" (167).

At times the book is a little uneven, and certain chapters work more successfully than others. The early chapters—on events in the Truman era, the transition period following the 1952 election, and the Eisenhower era—are interspersed with lengthy accounts of protests from across the globe ("in Paris protestors said A, in Stockholm they said B, and in Buenos Aires they said C") and can sometimes stray a little close to familiar Cold War narratives. In the chapter on the execution, however, the book crackles into life. It is a brilliant, captivating chapter, which superbly draws together the political and legal discussions taking place in the United States, the broad range of protests being received

from abroad, and the fate of the Rosenbergs themselves. Even though the reader knows the outcome, the account of the period leading up to their execution reads more like a thriller than a historical account. The desperate legal bid mounted by the Rosenbergs' lawyer and one justice of the Supreme Court for a stay of execution, the increasingly vocal protests coming from abroad, the shaky confidence of FBI agents at Sing Sing that the Rosenbergs would name names when facing death, the stoicism of the Rosenbergs, the fate of their two young children, the relative indifference of Eisenhower and his attorney general toward the couples' fate, the grisly and shocking fact of their execution—all combine to provide a captivating account of the international consequences of the execution. It is a brilliantly told tale.

I would have liked to see greater interrogation and discussion about the motivations of Truman, Eisenhower, their respective advisors, the FBI, the judge who tried the couple, and the Rosenbergs themselves. Throughout the book, the actions of the federal government and the prosecutors are framed tightly within the constrictive political atmosphere of the early Cold War. McCarthyism and the anti-Communist and anti-leftist crackdowns of the late 1940s and early 1950s loom large throughout. So too do the gendered politics of the era, when the need to appear to be acting in a strong, masculine fashion was so prevalent. Of course, these elements are critical to our understanding of the overall political climate that the Rosenberg case was a part of. It was a time, as Gary Gerstle has noted, when "the expanded scope and powers of America's national security state had facilitated . . . repression" and when the "checks that had formerly limited the central government's ability to intrude on the freedom of individuals collapsed."⁴

Clune explains these issues well and deals in some detail with the concept of "truthiness"—something that comedian Stephen Colbert described as "not truth, but what we want to believe is true" (146, 157). Her analysis sits well alongside Jessica Wang's examination of the way that "gossip, rumor, innuendo, political and ethnic stereotypes, and other forms of what we might call 'low' or vernacular knowledge" underpinned the political crackdowns of the Cold War security state and that operated "within an opaque netherworld that blurred the boundaries between conjecture and fact, belief and knowledge."⁵ Clearly, the climate of the Cold War political scene provided much of the context for understanding the Rosenbergs' fate.

Nevertheless, I would have liked to see the author dwell a little more on exactly why U.S. officials persisted with a course of policy that they absolutely knew would damage their international reputation. Their capacity to shape the narrative of the case, after all, had proved limited since the moment the Rosenbergs were arrested. Furthermore, as Eisenhower's reference to "grave concern" in his statement outlining his refusal to reconsider the execution demonstrates, the president and his advisors were fully aware of the damaging nature of their actions and of the McCarthy era more broadly. Indeed, writing in his diary in the summer of 1953, Eisenhower noted that "McCarthy, with his readiness to go the extremes in calling names and making false accusations, simply terrifies the ordinary European statesman."⁶

The reason this question kept nagging away at me while I read Clune's book is because U.S. officials kept running into this same problem throughout the 1950s (and arguably, for that matter, throughout the Cold War). For an administration supposedly as savvy and focused on public relations as Eisenhower's—a point that Ken

I would have liked to see the author dwell a little more on exactly why U.S. officials persisted with a course of policy that they absolutely knew would damage their international reputation. Their capacity to shape the narrative of the case, after all, had proved limited since the moment the Rosenbergs were arrested.

Osgood's *Total Cold War* deals with extensively—it remains a puzzle.⁷ Following the overthrow of Jacobo Arbenz, the democratically elected leader of Guatemala, for example, the CIA reported that protests had taken place across Latin America and Europe, and that several German “newspapers normally sympathetic to the U.S. position” had “reacted very unfavorably.” Propaganda operations were launched in Europe, Asia, and the Middle East in an effort to stem the bad press, and in Britain, an attempt was made to persuade the Guatemalan ambassador to make a statement supporting the United States.⁸

A similar pattern was in evidence with regard to civil rights. The image of ongoing segregation in the American South and of the federal government's inability and unwillingness to tackle worsening race relations was a continuing problem abroad throughout the 1950s, one perhaps best exemplified by the story (perhaps apocryphal) of Vice President Richard Nixon's encounter at an event in Ghana to mark that nation's independence in 1957. He turned to a person in the crowd and asked, “How does it feel to be free?” and was taken aback when that person told him “I don't know, I'm from Alabama.”⁹

Though no absolute proof of this exchange has emerged, it does typify the sorts of problems that U.S. officials continued to encounter when people in other nations looked critically at the state of American society. In his account of the Little Rock crisis in 1957, to cite just one example, Cary Fraser explains that “among the consequences of the crisis for the United States was the opening of American domestic politics and race relations to international scrutiny and criticism. As a result, international opinion increasingly became a constituency with which American policymakers had to contend when responding to the challenge of racial reform in the United States.”¹⁰ In the arenas of race, foreign policy, and domestic policing of dissent and espionage, therefore, the United States continued to struggle to present itself as a nation that lived up to its oft-stated and heavily publicized guiding principles.

In a speech in New York City in April 1957, John Foster Dulles told the nation that “peace, justice and liberty” were the core ideals that underpinned the nation's foreign policy.¹¹ The problem, as Clune's book amply demonstrates, is that too often these statements rang hollow. I don't think there is an easy explanation for the continual tensions between U.S. rhetoric and actions during an age of international relations, when image and propaganda were such integral parts of the policy process. Notwithstanding that disclaimer, I do think that there was space within the book for Clune to range more widely through the contradictions that were in evidence in the case of the Rosenbergs and in a number of other prominent foreign and domestic political events during the first fifteen years of the Cold War.

None of these stipulations, though, should detract from this fascinating account of the international ramifications of the Rosenbergs' executions. In focusing our attention on this overlooked aspect of the case, Clune compels us to delve more deeply into the uneasy relationship between the sort of values that the United States claimed to stand for during the Cold War and the sort of actions that were all too often a result of the growing national security state.¹²

Notes:

1. “The Rosenbergs Executed,” *The Times*, June 20 1953, 6.
2. Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project. Statement by President Eisenhower on the Rosenberg Case*, June 19, 1953, <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=9617>.
3. Moshik Temkin, “Cold War Culture and the Lingered Myth of Sacco and Vanzetti,” in *Uncertain Empire: American History and the Idea of the Cold War*, ed. Joel Isaac and Duncan Bell (New York, 2012), 239.
4. Gary Gerstle, *Liberty and Coercion: The Paradox of American Government* (Princeton, NJ, 2015), 259; Howard Brick and Christopher Phelps, *Radicals in America: The U.S. Left since the Second World War*

(New York, 2015), 67.

5. Jessica Wang, “A State of Rumor: Low Knowledge, Nuclear Fear, and the Scientist as Security Risk,” *Journal of Policy History* 28, no. 3 (Summer 2016): 406–8.

6. Diary Entry by President Eisenhower, June 1, 1953, in *The Eisenhower Diaries*, ed. Robert Ferrell (New York, 1981), 241–2.

7. Kenneth Osgood, *Total Cold War: Eisenhower's Secret Propaganda Battle at Home and Abroad* (Lawrence, KS, 2006).

8. CIA Memorandum by the Chief of the Information Coordinating Division for the Acting Chief of the Psychological and Paramilitary Operations Staff, July 26, 1954, CIA FOIA Electronic Reading Room, www.foia.cia.gov, February 25, 2009; Max Paul Friedman, *Rethinking Anti-Americanism: The History of an Exceptional Concept in American Foreign Relations* (New York, 2012), 141–45; Mark T. Hove, “The Arbenz Factor: Salvador Allende, U.S.-Chilean Relations, and the 1954 U.S. Intervention in Guatemala,” *Diplomatic History* 31, no. 4 (September 2007): 623–63.

9. Irwin Gellman, *The President and the Apprentice: Eisenhower and Nixon, 1952–1961* (New Haven, CT, 2015), 468–9.

10. Cary Fraser, Crossing the Color Line in Little Rock: The Eisenhower Administration and the Dilemma of Race for U.S. Foreign Policy,” *Diplomatic History* 24, no. 2 (Spring 2000): 233–64, quote on 234. Other excellent accounts of the relationship between domestic race relations and international affairs can be found in Mary Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton, NJ, 2000); Thomas Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena* (Cambridge, MA, 2001).

11. “Dynamic Peace,” Address by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, New York City, April 22, 1957, *Department of State Bulletin* 36, no. 932 (May 6, 1957): 715.

12. For a fascinating examination of the national security state and the opportunities it created for new forms of dissent, see Andrea Friedman, *Citizenship in Cold War America: The National Security State and the Possibilities of Dissent* (Amherst, MA, 2014).

Examining One of America's Most Famous Spy Stories: A Review of Lori Clune, *Executing the Rosenbergs: Death and Diplomacy in a Cold War World*

Nicole L. Anslover

Ethel and Julius Rosenberg's story remains one of the great true crime narratives of American history, but their case also heightened the hysteria of the early Cold War. The couple was executed in 1953 after being convicted of atomic espionage. The overwhelming majority of Americans approved of the use of the death penalty under the circumstances, despite evidence that was less than clear-cut, especially in Ethel's case. However, global protests show that the executions were viewed abroad as a deviation from democracy by the government of the United States. In her compelling new book, *Executing the Rosenbergs: Death & Diplomacy in a Cold War World*, Lori Clune provides her readers with a comprehensive overview of the case and explores the familiar story by usefully placing it in a more global context.

Clune notes that recent events, such as the turmoil over the hunt for Edward Snowden and the fear of Russian hackers, make revisiting the Rosenberg drama even more necessary. But instead of offering yet another detailed analysis of whether or not the couple was actually guilty or a retelling of the ins and outs of the investigation, Clune examines the case and the resulting reactions from a wider perspective. She frames her central argument by stating that she has attempted “to transcend the landscape of contested narrative” by writing a book that “moves beyond questions of guilt and returns the Rosenberg case to its rightful place as a central event of the early Cold War” (11). In Clune's view, the Rosenbergs' sentencing and resulting deaths were a pivotal moment in Cold War history. In this concise, readable work, she makes a compelling case that

the Rosenberg story illustrates several key points about the United States and its global image during the early Cold War years.

In her preface, Clune describes how she came to tell this significant story. She was working on another project at the National Archives when she discovered that the name cards for Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were missing. Whenever a person's name is mentioned in a dispatch or telegram sent from a diplomat to Washington, a name card is (or should be) filed. While Clune did not know the extent of the global reaction to the Rosenbergs' sentence, she knew there should have been some response. How could neither Ethel nor Julius have a name card?

What happened next is comparable to winning the lottery for a historian. With the help of an archivist, Clune was eventually able to access the missing name cards and come up with two boxes of previously unstudied documents to explore. Why the name cards had been hidden—and who hid them—remains unclear, though Clune does posit some plausible theories. In any event, she recognized the gold mine she had in hand and began to shift the focus of her project to examine the global protests surrounding the Rosenbergs. The result is this important analysis of global public opinion during the Cold War.

One of interesting early themes in *Executing the Rosenbergs* is that there was a clear connection between the case and the Korean War. Unfortunately for Julius and Ethel, Clune argues, the timing of the two events caused them to become intertwined. Truman was president when the Rosenbergs were arrested, McCarthyism was ramping up, and tensions in Korea were increasing. To Clune, it is clear that Truman and his top advisors believed that the Rosenbergs gave the Soviets the secret to developing the atomic bomb. She contends that Truman believed that without the atomic secrets, Stalin would not have pushed the North Koreans so aggressively to take action. Therefore, Truman blamed the conflict in Korea on the Rosenbergs.

Analyzing the connection to Korea and Truman's decision to escalate the conflict, Clune argues that domestic concerns dominated his thinking. "Exposing Communism at home took on a fanatical approach referred to as McCarthyism, and to prove his tough anti-Communism, Truman led Americans into a massive war that would kill millions, including more than 36,000 Americans whose families were left questioning why" (10). Clune does an effective job of illustrating that the Rosenbergs were on Truman's mind when he authorized decisive action in Korea. However, she neglects to fully consider other factors in Truman's decision-making process.

As several Truman scholars have noted, Truman did not make the decision to engage in the police action in Korea impulsively. It is important to note that he was committed to following the process set forth by the mandates of the United Nations Security Council. National and international security were his top priorities. The recent "loss" of China also made Truman that much more intent on preventing Communism from spreading across Southeast Asia.¹ Yes, the Rosenbergs were now part of national security, but it oversimplifies the issue to intimate that they were one of the major reasons Truman aggressively defended South Korea. No, Clune's work is not intended to be an analysis of the origins of the Korean conflict, but since she addresses the issue, it would be useful to place the Rosenbergs more fully in the context of these other factors. Would the Korean War really not have occurred without the Rosenbergs' espionage activities? A more nuanced analysis of this key

part of the argument would be useful.

Clune does make some clear connections between the Rosenbergs and Korea. She succinctly traces the chronology of these years and notes the important fact that the Rosenbergs' arrests coincided nicely with Truman's decision to begin a program of increased vigilance in the United States. He had the support of the public going into Korea, and he believed he could keep that support by demonstrating that his administration would also enforce vigilance at home. Clune convincingly argues that the arrest and trial of two Communist spies helped Truman show that he had a strong anti-Communist stance.

As *Executing the Rosenbergs* progresses, it becomes increasingly evident that Clune's book will be useful to scholars in many areas of Cold War studies. Early on in the book, Clune begins to explain her main point clearly: global interest in the Rosenberg case continued to grow, and the United States persisted in not fully understanding the importance of that dissent. Here she begins her detailed chronology of the protests that began appearing around the globe. Some of these protests were in the form of pamphlets or articles in the mainstream press. Blinded by its fear of and hatred for the Soviets, the Truman administration failed to consider that these protests might be anything other than Soviet-influenced propaganda. Clune notes that "as pro-Rosenberg articles continued to appear in the international Communist press, U.S. Foreign Service officials assumed that they were Soviet-directed. This misinterpretation overemphasized the strength of the Soviet propaganda apparatus, while simultaneously belittling what amounted to a growing global protest movement" (39). Clune supports this argument with numerous detailed examples.

Executing the Rosenbergs is organized in a clear, chronological fashion. After Clune thoroughly examines the Truman administration's reactions to the quickly moving events, she spends an entire chapter assessing the transition between the outgoing Truman administration and the incoming Eisenhower administration. While keeping an eye on her primary subject (the trial, the sentencing, and the global reaction to it), Clune also offers some interesting insight into an important topic that has not received nearly enough scholarly attention: the transition period between presidents and how it can greatly impact foreign policy issues. She tackles this topic skillfully. Noting that the transition was filled with tension, she reveals that Truman and Eisenhower did not discuss the Rosenberg case or how it should be handled. By this point in the book, she has illustrated that Truman and his staff were well aware that the Rosenbergs' fate was an important factor in how other countries viewed the United States. Eisenhower, with his penchant for propaganda, surely already understood that his administration would need to undertake a serious public relations campaign to deal with the case. Yet the two men did not discuss it. Clune doesn't try to answer the question of why, but she does the reader a great service by bringing the subject to light and giving scholars a further line of questioning to pursue when analyzing Cold War foreign policy.

Clune continues with a detailed examination of the increasing number of protests. As she delves into the transition period, she takes great care to look closely at the issue from a global perspective, pointing out that citizens in countries that were typically pro-United States, such as Canada, were as outraged as protesters in Eastern Europe and Latin America. One very useful example she provides is the outcry that arose in Paris. Clune gives a detailed analysis of the position paper written by Ben Bradlee, who

was in charge of press relations for the American Embassy in Paris. Bradlee wrote a thorough assessment of anti-American sentiment. While it was more thorough than those produced by most American observers in foreign cities, Clune notes that Bradlee still failed to address many issues that were seriously disturbing to Europeans. However, as she reminds us again, U.S. diplomats were still wrongly assuming that the anti-American sentiment abroad was directed by pro-Soviet agents.

Clune maintains that Eisenhower did not appear to grasp the seriousness of the situation any better than Truman did. This may be surprising to some scholars, who give Eisenhower credit for his masterful understanding of propaganda. Indeed, Eisenhower, perhaps more than other presidents, recognized the importance of propaganda and realized it was critical to waging and winning the Cold War. Working with Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, Eisenhower certainly tried to win hearts and minds. But Clune argues that his propaganda campaign was much more successful at home than abroad. An overwhelming majority of Americans continued to support the death penalty for the spies, and for the most part the American media also followed the government line. But while Eisenhower knew the importance of public opinion, he did not truly understand the significance of the global protests against the Rosenbergs' executions, and he was unable to manage global public opinion as well as he did domestic opinion. Citing telegrams, newspaper articles, and reports of public demonstrations, Clune demonstrates that global protests rose sharply after Eisenhower denied clemency.

Clune's writing style is extremely effective in the fourth chapter, "Execution." Her precise descriptions of the days leading up to the execution read like a fictional thriller, and she manages to enthrall readers without losing the gravitas of her subject. Readers do not forget that these are actual historical events, but they are also reminded that this was a story whose outcome was not clear from the outset. Clune also does a wonderful job of making the Rosenbergs themselves feel real to the reader. And by weaving global opinion into the narrative of the events, she keeps her main point front and center. The rest of the world was watching, and the United States was losing credibility.

Executing the Rosenbergs effectively illustrates several key points. First and foremost, Clune shows that even though the majority of Americans believed the Rosenbergs should die, there was also a great deal of global protest. The significance of this is clear: in a war of words and propaganda, the inability to alter the global view of the Rosenberg outcome was a serious failure on the part of U.S. diplomats. If an important focus of recent Cold War historiography is the placement of events in a more global context, Clune has certainly made an important contribution to the field with this work.

Clune's narrative also contributes to the scholarship of the early Cold War in other ways. For example, her keen analysis of the contentious transition from Truman to Eisenhower opens up new areas for discussion. Why is there not a clearer process for this important passing of power? And in what other ways have transitions impacted foreign policy decisions? Clune's assessment of Eisenhower is also insightful. She paints him as a popular leader with a clear view of his foreign policy goals, but she also acknowledges—more openly than other scholars have—his failure to adjust to changing circumstances.

To be sure, Clune adroitly demonstrates that the United States failed to account for the damage that the Rosenberg case did to the American image abroad. But perhaps the greatest contribution that she makes with *Executing the Rosenbergs* is that she enables scholars to ask additional questions. What was the impact of this failure? How did it affect later Cold War events? What could have been done differently? Lori Clune has revived an oft-told story

by placing it in a new, global context. Her work should be evaluated by Cold War scholars and used to spark new discussions about the American image and the global propaganda war.

Note:

1. Arnold A. Offner, *Another Such Victory: President Truman and the Cold War, 1945–1953* (Redwood City, CA, 2002), 348.

Review of Lori Clune, *Executing the Rosenbergs*

Grant Madsen

In the year 1953, the United States executed sixty-three of its citizens. Nearly all had committed murder. A few had committed multiple murders. Some had combined murder with another heinous crime (such as rape or kidnapping). But only two were executed for the crime of "conspiracy to commit espionage": Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. Ethel was one of three women executed that year. The Rosenbergs were one of two couples.¹ Yet as Lori Clune shows in *Executing the Rosenbergs: Death and Diplomacy in a Cold War World*, the Rosenbergs' case differed from the others because theirs set off a global round of protests that continues to reverberate in popular memory.

In a deeply researched monograph, Clune offers "a more nuanced view of the facts of the Rosenberg case" that can move "history away from myth-infused memory and truthiness and on to solid ground" (158). Her project was aided by a once-in-a-lifetime find of archival materials. Through her own persistence and the help of dedicated archivists, Clune obtained several boxes of cables from diplomatic stations around the world, each reporting the global response to the Rosenberg case. Whether these cables were originally lost through negligence or whether, as Clune seems to suspect, someone made a conscious effort to keep the records from the public, the new find "prompted a wholesale rethinking" of her project and added an important international dimension to a story already covered by a number of monographs, articles, and dramatic retellings.²

Clune begins her book with a brief recitation of the facts as we currently know them. Julius and Ethel Rosenberg both came from Jewish immigrant families in New York. They were "true communist believers, joining the CPUSA in the 1930s" (20). Ethel finished high school and became a housewife; Julius earned a degree in electrical engineering. Through the communist party Julius came in contact with the KGB, and he apparently initiated the idea of spying on behalf of the USSR. During World War II he had only a minimal involvement in the war industries and therefore had limited access to the kind of technology that interested the Soviets (although he passed along a trigger mechanism eventually used in the missile that brought down Gary Powers's U-2 spy plane a decade later). His contact with other engineers, however, allowed him to become a spy-maker, a job he apparently practiced with skill. Eventually his ring of spies included about a dozen engineers, the most important of whom was probably Ethel's brother, David Greenglass, who spent the last years of World War II working on the atom bomb in Los Alamos, New Mexico. Greenglass passed along information about the bomb to Soviet agents, using his wife as his scribe.

As a result of informants and the secret breaking of the Soviet diplomatic code, FBI agents learned of Soviet espionage at about the time the war ended. In particular, they learned of the Soviet interest in atomic weaponry. When the Soviets detonated their first atomic bomb in 1949, the FBI had already arrested a number of people involved in the Soviet atomic spying effort. By 1950 that included Greenglass.

Greenglass named his brother-in-law as ringleader once it became clear the FBI might also prosecute Greenglass's wife. On July 17, 1950, "less than a month after the invasion of South Korea" by North Korea, FBI agents captured Julius at home (22). They immediately pressured him to give up the names of the spies in his ring, which he refused to do. Using the same strategy on Julius that they had on Greenglass, they then arrested Ethel (despite having little evidence of espionage on her part). Despite the lack of evidence, the head of the FBI, J. Edgar Hoover, told his agents that arresting Ethel made sense, since it "might serve as a lever in this matter" to get Julius to talk (23). He never did.

Nearly everyone involved in the government's case, from Truman down to the lead prosecutor—a young Roy Cohn, who later served as Joseph McCarthy's chief counsel—agreed that Julius had enabled the Soviets to develop the bomb. The Truman Administration assumed that, with the bomb in hand, the Soviets had felt free to engage in international provocation: hence the invasion of South Korea. In retrospect, however, it is not clear that Julius's ring played a critical part in helping the Soviets develop the bomb. Moreover, the impetus for invasion came from North Korean leader Kim Il-sung, not Stalin. Yet none of this was apparent to Truman and his advisers at the time. In their minds (and in the minds of many Americans) the blood spilled in Korea was, to some degree, on the hands of the Rosenbergs and their spy ring.

Perhaps because of this belief, Cohn and the judge in the case, Irving Kaufman, engaged in *ex parte* conversations specifically "to ensure the opportunity to issue the death penalty" (27, 152). Tragically, this violation of the constitution's due process clause was not the most troubling aspect of the government's prosecution. Once the FBI had committed to the strategy of using Ethel as a "lever," it had to secure enough evidence to sustain the charge once the case went to trial. The FBI therefore "reinterviewed" Greenglass with the understanding that he would provide that evidence. During this second interview he offered the incriminating testimony necessary to convict his sister, testimony he later admitted to "embellishing" to save his own wife from prosecution (29, 30). By the end of the trial the jury had convicted the Rosenbergs and Judge Kaufman had sentenced the couple to death.

The trial became an international sensation. Clune spends several chapters chronicling the alarmed messages coming from diplomats around the world, reporting the near-universal opposition to the sentence. People from every corner of the globe found reason to oppose the executions, yet nearly all the reports coming from the diplomatic corps fell on deaf ears. Official Washington could never get ahead of the protests or develop a convincing narrative in response, because (as Clune shows) officials were "caught off balance," caught in bureaucratic infighting, or simply inept (11, 43, 68). This is was as true of Eisenhower's administration as Truman's. As a result, in "the eyes of the world in the first months of 1953," Clune writes, "the United States seemed more arbitrary and erratic than reasoned and democratic" (68).

Clune makes it clear that the Soviet propaganda machine accounted for only some of the protests (38–9). If the protests had a global ringleader, it might have been Pope Pius XII, who surprised Truman officials by condemning the executions (58). His opposition likely encouraged protests within Latin America as well. But Clune feels that the protests ultimately represented a true grassroots movement—albeit at the global level—in search of justice

for the Rosenbergs.

In this sense, the book fits within a growing genre we might call "America's global conscience." The genre largely explores times when the global community has taken stock of American domestic policy and found it inconsistent with American values. The classic entry in the genre is Mary Dudziak's *Cold War Civil Rights*. But unlike Dudziak's account, Clune's book shows that the global conscience ultimately failed to move American leaders. Both Truman and Eisenhower had the power to provide clemency, yet both chose not to. On June 19, 1953, the Rosenbergs were executed. They proclaimed their innocence until the very end. Ethel, at least, was telling the truth, a fact tacitly acknowledged by Deputy Attorney General William Rodgers, who "somerberly concluded: 'She called our bluff'" (127).

In many ways this book is about loyalty and betrayal. Did American justice betray the Rosenbergs or did they betray America? Did America betray its ideals to win the Cold War, or did the world betray America's righteous cause?

In his *Inferno*, Dante reserves the last and lowest level of hell for those who have betrayed their family, friends, and country. Disloyalty is far worse than greed, wrath, or even heresy; the devil himself resides with those who have been disloyal. As the moral psychologist Jonathan Haidt points out, the ethics of loyalty create a powerful moral framework that reserves its greatest wrath for those who "betray the group." For this reason enemy combatants have often gotten better treatment in war than deserters and "cowards."³

A moral framework built around the concept of loyalty can be found particularly among those whose careers have depended on group cohesion: people who have thrived as partisan politicians, for example (like Truman), or career military officers (like Eisenhower). Haidt's insight offers a contrasting vision to Clune's assertion that "the definitive guilt or innocence of the couple was not the issue for administration officials." that was important" (2). Truman and Eisenhower saw the *betrayal* as the central truth of the matter. And in fact, *Executing the Rosenbergs* does much to support this view. Clune demonstrates effectively that, contrary to her claim, no advertising "campaign" really existed in either the Truman or Eisenhower administrations. Again and again, Foreign Service dispatches arrived in Washington and went nowhere. A comprehensive response had barely emerged by the time the Rosenbergs had been executed. Truman and Eisenhower produced at best a piecemeal and haphazard response to the global protests.

More to the point, administration officials usually met the opposition with disbelief. Initially they assumed that only communists could take issue with the Rosenberg verdict. When it became clear that the global opposition included definite non-communists (like Pope Pius XII), most administration officials responded with...more disbelief. In a telling episode, Clune has Eisenhower expressing his surprise to Clare Booth Luce (his ambassador to Italy) that "the Italian people could have no knowledge of the enormity of the offense committed by the Rosenbergs" (137). For him, the issue was the "enormity" of the *betrayal*; if the Italians could understand that, they would surely also understand the verdict.

Clune's careful cataloging of responses could lend itself to a very interesting investigation of a second theme implicit

A moral framework built around the concept of loyalty can be found particularly among those whose careers have depended on group cohesion: people who have thrived as partisan politicians, for example (like Truman), or career military officers (like Eisenhower). Haidt's insight offers a contrasting vision to Clune's assertion that "the definitive guilt or innocence of the couple was not the issue for administration officials."

in the book: how various moral frameworks ultimately shaped the “truthiness” of the case. Nearly all protesters took one of three positions: (1) the Rosenbergs were entirely innocent, (2) the Rosenbergs had committed espionage but the death penalty was either immoral or inappropriate, or (3) the Rosenbergs had committed espionage and deserved to die, but executing them would be bad public relations in the Cold War. Protestors on the political left typically believed that the Rosenbergs were totally innocent (and might have been framed); those in the middle assumed guilt but objected to the death penalty; and those on the right accepted the verdict and sentence but thought it bad public relations for America to execute spies (even if they deserved it).

Consider the case of France. Taking position (1), the leftist philosopher Jean Paul Sartre wrote that “whenever innocent people are killed it is the business of the whole world” (138). Taking position (2) were the mainstream papers, which asserted “that the Rosenbergs had been ‘fairly convicted and guilty as charged’” but also “expressed strongly [the] belief that execution is too severe a punishment” (52, italics in original). Taking position (3) was the Nobel Laureate Leon Jouhaux, who argued that “as a friend of the U.S.” he feared the “great impetus” the executions “would give to the Communist cause in France and throughout free Europe” (117). The same pattern appeared around the globe, although as Clune *also* shows, the pattern took on a local flavor. Thus, in South America, protestors “saw proof of a flawed justice system” but equated it with “a disturbing example of what they labeled U.S. imperialism” (72, see also 103). In Israel, the daily newspaper *Davar* called for clemency, and not “primarily because of [the] Jewish factor ‘although it does enter into calculations here’” (120). Other countries added their own local politics to their interpretations of the case.

Of course, philosophers and social scientists have long understood that people interpret facts within moral frameworks. Clune takes up this question directly in her last chapter, “Reverberations,” a reflection on the way the Rosenberg story has been reinterpreted in the decades since the execution—or at least how it has been reinterpreted in the United States. In the last chapter the global dimension disappears. This is unfortunate. While it would have required a great deal of additional research, maintaining the international focus might also have answered a question left unresolved, at least in any explicit way, throughout the book: *why* did people around the world care so much about the Rosenbergs? Sixty-one other people died at the hands of the U.S. government that year, but global protest movements only focused on the two killed for spying. Similarly, *how* did interpretations fall into such predictable groupings? And why did protests find expression through local and regional concerns?

Unfortunately, Clune avoids addressing these questions explicitly. Rather, “in an attempt to transcend the landscape of contested narrative, this book moves beyond question of guilt and returns the Rosenberg case to its rightful place as a central event of the Cold War” (8). But what better way to understand the global Cold War if not by investigating the “landscape of contested narrative?” A broader investigation of the “contested landscapes” might have shed light on the international culture of the Cold War by getting at the motivations behind the many interpretative frameworks that all converged on this “central event of the Cold War.” For example, does it matter that Europeans opposed the United States’ plan to execute Jewish spies at a time when Europe was just coming to terms with its own complicity in the Nazi Holocaust? Were the protestors, in a sense, projecting their own war guilt by championing a Jewish couple set to die somewhere else?

In leaving the motives and frames of the global protest largely unanalyzed, America’s “global conscience remains”

uncomplicated, its condemnation pure. Perhaps that is Clune’s point. Admittedly, it would have been a real challenge to work through the moral frameworks of such diverse protests, but also very rewarding. Perhaps in a follow-up book?

In her conclusion, Clune brings her own moral framework to bear upon the case. Many of the critical federal figures, from J. Edgar Hoover to Truman and Eisenhower, had moments of doubt about the executions. But none of these moments occurred simultaneously, and thus they never slowed the momentum towards execution. Given the “shadow of a terrifying mushroom cloud,” Clune recognizes that Truman’s and Eisenhower’s actions “can be understood.” But they cannot “be praised.” As for the other important federal officials, Clune quotes the legal scholar Robert Lichtman, who writes that the “prosecutors were guilty of misconduct, the defense lawyers barely competent, Judge Kaufman’s death sentence for Ethel a ‘grave miscarriage of justice,’ and the Supreme Court’s performance patently inadequate” (161).

On her last two pages, and in perhaps a bit of a surprise, Clune *also* takes the Rosenbergs to task. They should have confessed, she feels. Instead, the “liberal left” took them at their word and defended them over the following decades, only to discover years later that Julius in fact “turned over military secrets to the Soviets.” This made the protestors look “naïve” and proved “terrifically damaging” for the “liberal left.” In the long run, Julius and Ethel helped discredit the political left, both in the United States and around the world (166).

With this turn Clune once again brings the narrative back to questions of loyalty and betrayal and expresses her own frustration at the Rosenbergs. Through “their actions and deception” they “led liberals on a wild goose chase and tarnished the global credibility of liberalism” (166–67). In the end, it would appear, Clune also finds the Rosenbergs guilty, not for betraying their country, but for betraying the political cause that stood by them.

Notes:

1. See “Death Penalty USA,” Juan Ignacio Blanco, <http://death-penaltyusa.org/usa1/date/1953.htm>.
2. Her chapter “Reverberations” provides an excellent guide to the broad range of accounts of the Rosenberg case in historical work as well as fiction.
3. Jonathan Haidt, *The Righteous Mind: Why Good People are Divided by Politics and Religion* (New York, 2012), 162–63.

Author’s response, roundtable on *Executing the Rosenbergs: Death and Diplomacy in a Cold War World*

Lori Clune

I have discovered that having one’s book chosen as the focus of a roundtable is a humbling experience. At the request of *Passport* editor Andrew L. Johns, reviewers Nicole Anslover, Grant Madsen, Neal M. Rosendorf, and Bevan Sewell have done me a great service; they read *Executing the Rosenbergs* with the attention authors hope for.

I did not intend to write a book about Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. I was researching the international perceptions of several high-profile Cold War security cases—such as singer Paul Robeson, actor Charlie Chaplin, Senator Joseph McCarthy, and atomic scientist J. Robert Oppenheimer—when a discovery of State Department documents prompted me to rethink the entire project. I used the new material to tell the U.S. response to a Rosenberg global protest movement that spanned eighty-four cities in forty-eight countries around the world from 1952 to 1954. The book puts the Rosenberg case into a transnational context, furthers our understanding of propaganda during the

Truman and Eisenhower administrations, and sharpens our focus on this significant event of the early Cold War.

Rosendorf kindly observes that “the best sections of the book focus on the Truman and Eisenhower administrations’ colossal miscalculation...and the mounting international chorus of outrage over the U.S. government’s seeming enthusiasm to apply the death penalty.” In grappling with this controversial case, Sewell argues that I compel the reader “to delve more deeply into the uneasy relationship between the sort of values that the United States claimed to stand for during the Cold War and the sort of actions that were all too often a result of the growing national security state.” Madsen pays me a great compliment when he calls the work “a deeply researched monograph,” and when Anslover generously writes that I have “made an important contribution to the field of Cold War history,” it convinces me that this nine-year journey has been worth it.

As they should, the reviewers also note the work’s limitations. I appreciate Madsen’s assertion that the book neglected a more nuanced discussion of loyalty and betrayal, on the part of both the Rosenbergs and American officials. I also acknowledge that my treatment of the Rosenberg case leaves some readers questioning the motives of the protesters before and after the executions, and I agree that the patterns of political protest necessitate further study. I wish I had the time, money, and language skills to flesh out these stories in the nearly fifty countries where protests were recorded. They would add to our understanding of why protests emerged and how they differed around the world. However, I ultimately decided not to focus the story on the protests in their local environs or on the motives of the involved parties, but rather on what State Department officials learned from the demonstrations and how that knowledge impacted or did not impact policy.

Sewell wanted me to better explain why administration officials “persisted with a course of policy that they absolutely knew would damage their international reputation.” I am not convinced Truman or Eisenhower

knew that. Sometimes they were not informed of growing protests around the world; at other times they knew about protests but decided that the risk of reducing the Rosenbergs’ sentence and appearing weak was a gamble they were not willing to take. Sewell reminds us that the Eisenhower administration responded in a savvy way to international pressure regarding Civil Rights. I would argue that Civil Rights was a problem Eisenhower could ameliorate with little risk, but allowing the Rosenbergs to live was – according to Ike – too great a threat (both pragmatically and in terms of prestige) to the U.S. during the Cold War.

Rosendorf claims that my assertion that “in many ways the Rosenbergs were like any loving married couple with children” (83) is “nothing short of outrageous.” I am disappointed that he did not read my very next sentence: “Of course the Rosenbergs were anything but an ordinary family.” His larger argument is that my interpretation of Julius and Ethel Rosenbergs’ true motives is incorrect. Their intentions – as much as one can ascertain them – are beyond the scope of the project. It does not help clarify my major interest: the previously untold story of the global reaction to the Rosenberg case and the State Department’s bumbling response.

These reviews remind me of a guiding ethos for history I discovered while in graduate school at UC, Davis. Consider pointillism, a form of impressionistic painting that relies on distinct dots of color. Observed up close, Georges Seurat’s stunning *A Sunday Afternoon on the Island of La Grande Jatte* (1884) appears to be just an ocean of dots in brilliant blues, greens, and yellows. But when the viewer steps back, the active scene on the water’s edge emerges. Anslover observes that *Executing the Rosenbergs* “should be evaluated by Cold War scholars and used to spark new discussions about the American image and the global propaganda war.” I have added my dot. May future historians add theirs to further sharpen the picture of this important case and help illuminate the larger mosaic in which it occurred.

2017 SHAFR Annual Meeting

The 2017 SHAFR annual meeting, "Power, Publics, and the U.S. and the World," will be held from June 22-24 at the Renaissance Arlington Capital View in Arlington, Virginia, site of the 2013 and 2015 conferences. We hope you will join us there!

The 2017 keynote address will be delivered by Mae Ngai, Lung Family Professor of Asian American Studies and Professor of History at Columbia University. A renowned scholar of immigration history and policy, transnational history, and the American state, Ngai is the author of *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton, 2004) and *The Lucky Ones: One Family and the Extraordinary Invention of Chinese America* (Houghton Mifflin, 2010). She currently is working on a study of Chinese gold miners and racial politics in nineteenth-century California, Victoria, and the Transvaal.

The conference also will feature a Thursday afternoon panel moderated by SHAFR President Mary L. Dudziak entitled, "Can Law Restrain War?" Participants will include:

Rosa Brooks, Professor of Law, Georgetown University
Author of *How Everything Became War and the Military Became Everything: Tales from the Pentagon*

Jack Goldsmith, Henry L. Shattuck Professor, Harvard Law School
Author of *The Terror Presidency: Law and Judgment Inside the Bush Administration*

Helen M. Kinsella, Associate Professor in Political Science, University of Wisconsin-Madison
Author of *The Image Before the Weapon: A Critical History of the Distinction Between Combatant and Civilian*

John Fabian Witt, Allen H. Duffy Class of 1960 Professor of Law, Yale Law School
Author of *Lincoln's Code: The Laws of War in American History*

The presidential luncheon address will be delivered by SHAFR President Mary L. Dudziak, Asa Griggs Candler Professor of Law at Emory University. The lecture will be entitled, "'You didn't see him lying...beside the gravel road in France': Death and the History of American War Powers." Tickets for the presidential and keynote luncheons will be sold separately at \$50 standard or \$25 for students, adjunct faculty, and K-12 teachers. The reduced-price luncheon tickets are available for both Friday and Saturday, but will be limited to one per person.

Printed program booklets and registration forms will be mailed out to all SHAFR members with a current domestic U.S. address prior to the conference. Online registration, including luncheon and social event tickets, will be available in early April. Registration fees for the 2017 conference are \$100 standard and \$40 student, adjunct faculty, or K-12 teacher. After June 1, 2015, fees increase to \$120/\$55.

This year's Friday night social event will be a seafood feast on the gorgeous East Pier at National Harbor catered by Foster's Clambake. We hope you will be able to join us for a full meal and complimentary beer/wine/soda bar. Vegetarian and vegan options will be available. Tickets are \$50 standard or \$30 for students, adjunct faculty, and K-12 teachers. Round-trip chartered bus tickets will be available for separate purchase.

The LEED-certified Renaissance Arlington Capital View is located at 2800 South Potomac Avenue, two miles from Ronald Reagan Washington National Airport (airport code DCA). There is complimentary hotel shuttle service every 20 minutes between 7 am and 11 pm to DCA and the Crystal City Metro (blue and yellow lines). In the lobby, SOCCI Urban Italian Kitchen and Bar serves breakfast, lunch, and dinner, while Espressamente illy Coffee House serves coffee and light fare during the day. A 24-hour fitness center and heated indoor pool are also available on site, and there is complimentary wi-fi access in the lobby.

Conference room rates are \$165/night, single or double occupancy, plus tax. The tax rate is currently 13%. Hotel guests will receive complimentary high-speed internet access in their rooms. On-site parking is available for the reduced rate of \$18 per day self-park or \$20/day valet.

Hotel reservations can be made by calling 1 (800) 228-9290 and mentioning "SHAFR 2017," or by going online to <https://goo.gl/hKdPyC>. The deadline for receiving the conference rate is **June 1, 2017**. The hotel is required to honor the reduced rate until this date OR until all the rooms in the SHAFR block have been booked. Once the block is fully booked, the hotel will offer rooms at its usual rate, if any are available, or may even be completely full. Please make your reservation as early as you can.

For more details about conference arrangements, visit <https://shafir.org/conferences/annual/2017-annual-meeting> or follow us on Twitter @SHAFRConference. For questions about registration and other conference logistics, please contact Julie Laut, Conference Coordinator, at conference@shafir.org.

Bringing Great Things to Pass: Changing the Pedagogical Paradigm in the Teaching of U.S. Foreign Relations

James McKay

Editor's note: In 2015, a group of historians at the University of Wisconsin–Madison began laying the groundwork for an online, audio/visual U.S. Foreign Relations Reader entitled *Voices and Visions of the American Century*. They are now soliciting input from the SHAFR community after securing support from SHAFR's Teaching Committee at the annual meeting in San Diego. The following is a joint statement by James McKay (UW–Madison, james.mckay@wisc.edu), David Fields (UW–Madison, dpfields@wisc.edu), Daniel Hummel (Harvard Kennedy School, daniel_hummel@hks.harvard.edu), and Scott Mobley (United States Naval Academy, mobley@usna.edu). While this is a statement jointly edited and endorsed by the group, it is written from the perspective of James McKay. **AJ**

Higher education is in the midst of what some term a crisis. Long-held assumptions about our collective mission are being shattered or are dropping by the wayside. New national guidelines are dramatically changing K-12; the high costs of college are changing the way universities approach teaching and learning as well as how students evaluate the value of college; and bedrock principles of college teaching, such as tenure, are shifting or under attack. Technology is also disrupting the educational field. Higher education is facing new challenges everyday.

While sometimes threatening, these changes also present opportunities. How we respond to them will play a part in determining the future of our profession and the overall educational environment we operate in. We have a chance to make history as well as study it. Models and ideas already exist that may help us to firmly anchor the teaching and learning of history over the coming decades. One such path to the future lies in the idea of openness.¹

Openness encompasses an old educational idea: that research, teaching, and learning should be done for the benefit of society, broadly speaking. To enhance that benefit, research should be shared as widely as possible, and educational resources should be open, free and accessible to the broader public. The idealism of openness may leave the more practically minded among us questioning the validity of a course that seems to ignore the cost of producing scholarship and educational resources of value. In other words, while we may all agree that openness is a desirable destination, charting a course to it seems risky, if not impossible. Fortunately, there are ways we can match our pedagogical efforts with the idealism that brought many of us to the academy in the first place. One such way is by using Open Educational Resources (OERs) to help us steer in the right direction.

OERs have been around for a long time. We have all stumbled across a free website or publication that we found useful in our research or teaching. Because such digital resources are convenient and free, many of us do not put

much thought into how they come about. The general reputations that follow OERs as unrefined and uneven in quality have banished many of them into isolation and obscurity; or, just as damning, they have been rendered quaint by the rapid advances in web design in the last twenty years. In other words, the OERs we are familiar with probably do not inspire confidence that they are worth emulating. However, a more recent, innovative model for OERs promises to capitalize on the advances of digitization, while avoiding its quixotic pitfalls.

My first introduction to this new model was when a colleague contacted me about contributing to a free, online, collaboratively built American history textbook. Then-graduate student, now University of Texas-Dallas professor Ben Wright asked me to write a thousand words on a topic related to my dissertation for the textbook, which he called *The American Yawp*. I agreed to Ben's request, as I could see myself using such a resource in my future teaching, and writing a thousand words on a topic I was familiar with was just not that hard. In my excitement, I invited several of my colleagues to also contribute. While some declined, those that accepted my invitation not only contributed to the project, but extended invitations of their own. In this way we built an ever expanding OER network where literally hundreds of graduate students and professors accepted the invitation to donate a little time and expertise, while also passing on the invitation to others. The product of this network was a high-quality, easy-to-use, and popular resource for teaching U.S. history (<http://www.americanyawp.com/>).

The genius of *The American Yawp* is that it does not sacrifice rigor for price or multiple authorship. No one is collecting royalties for the book, but we all find value in its existence. Limited and defined contributions by hundreds of individuals make it usable and sustainable. As the old saying goes, "many hands make light work." The vision of contributing something useful to our discipline, our society, and ourselves was all the motivation we needed. Individual costs in time and expense were not burdensome. In many ways, the project is the epitome of academic idealism: scholars contributing knowledge and expertise to help society writ large.

Digitization made *The American Yawp* possible. The contributors were spread across the United States, and most never talked to each other over the phone or in person. Communication was mostly via e-mail, and when it came time to consolidate all the entries into chapters, we simply used the collaborative virtues of Google Docs. Once "published" on the website, *American Yawp* solicited feedback, and contributors were able to go line-by-line and suggest changes or highlight typos. Some contributors played a bigger role than others. Ben Wright and his colleague Joseph Locke were the main editors, but

after collating all the contributions, they asked individual contributors to edit specific chapters.

A board of advisors, made up of a number of well-known and respected historians, also reviewed content and made editing suggestions. This diversity of roles allowed individuals to choose a level of involvement that matched their time and resources. While we have all been involved with or known projects where multiple authorship led to fuzzy lines of responsibility and a questionable result, the *American Yawp* model has the advantage of dispersing the workload while maintaining a high-quality product. Today, literally hundreds of classes and teachers are using the *American Yawp* to great effect and at no cost to their students.

As a disciplinary society, SHAFR can build on the *American Yawp* model to improve the teaching and learning of U.S. foreign relations. Inspired in part by the *Yawp*, my colleagues and I at the University of Wisconsin–Madison came up with an idea for an online, audio/visual U.S. Foreign Relations Reader called *Voices and Visions of the American Century*. Like the *Yawp*, *Voices and Visions* will rely on small contributions from experts. However, expanding on the *Yawp* model of individual collaboration, *Voices and Visions* will also bring institutions together in a collaborative way. University of Wisconsin Digital Collections has agreed to host the collection of images and audio/visual files used in the reader; University of Wisconsin–Madison Libraries has agreed to help with copyright issues; and now SHAFR's own Teaching Committee has agreed to support *Voices and Visions*. This institutional collaboration will ensure the permanence and scalability of *Voices and Visions*.

Voices and Visions will further innovate through the flexibility it gives us (the experts). There are no predetermined sets of resources or topics in the reader. Instead, it will use crowdsourcing to determine which entries and topics should be included. This is, of course, a specific kind of crowdsourcing: the crowd is made up of scholars (including graduate students) in U.S. foreign relations.

The process for building *Voices and Visions* is straightforward: each contributor selects an image, audio or video primary source that is significant to the history of foreign relations in the twentieth century and writes an entry on it. The stunning rise in new forms of media in the last 120 years—widespread color photography, radio, television, and the internet— not only makes this type of reader possible, it makes it more relevant, as it helps us explore the mediums of foreign relations as

well as the content. Entries will consist of three sections (Introduction, Context, Significance) totaling between 800 and 1000 words. Once an entry is submitted, the *Voices and Visions* steering committee will review it or send it out to an appropriate colleague for review before adding it to the website. The steering committee will also place the entry in a pedagogically appropriate category—for example, “Southeast Asia,” “Economic Relations,” or “Before 1950”—to make it more usable and understandable for teachers, students and the general public.

As with *American Yawp*, those interested in supporting the project can choose their level of involvement. The greatest need is for content authors who can pick a primary source and write a short entry on it. If time does not currently allow, people can also recommend sources that should be part of the collection. More established scholars can serve as editorial advisors, reviewing entries relevant to their specialty before “publication.”

If you are unsure exactly how you want to contribute or would simply like to register support for the project with the possibility of contributing something down the line, feel free to reach out to a steering committee member or to the SHAFR Teaching Committee. We would be glad to help you figure out what you feel comfortable doing. In addition, everyone can spread the word about *Voices and Visions* and encourage colleagues who have not heard of it to contribute. Whatever your interest, we invite you to view our working prototype for an entry at <https://goo.gl/XH7kpv>. You may also contact the editors directly by email at vandvshافر@gmail.com.

Over time, peer-reviewed individual entries will accumulate into something bigger and more useful. Expanding content will help *Voices and Visions* maintain a dynamic edge by allowing for cross-listing and tagging of content, which will make it easily searchable and thus more useful for teaching and research. And although the reader was conceived of and developed as a discrete entity, it has the potential to connect to and work with other OERs like *Yawp*, and therein lies the real excitement. As we grow OERs of this size and quality, we are helping to steer the future of education toward a culture of openness that delivers on its egalitarian promise.

Note:

1. <http://er.educause.edu/articles/2012/1/opening-up-the-academy-the-open-agenda-technology-and-universities>.

Bringing Great Things to Pass: Changing the Pedagogical Paradigm in the Teaching of U.S. Foreign Relations

Jean Bauer, Thomas I. Faith, Micki Kaufman, and Zoe LeBlanc

Editor's Note: The following essay is derived from a panel on the intersection of digital history and diplomatic history from the 2016 SHAFR conference at the University of San Diego. AJ

With the growth of digital archives and the proliferation of “born digital” primary sources, diplomatic historians are amassing and accessing ever-larger corpuses and datasets. They are also doing more research on defining aspects of our digital age, from the Clinton email scandal to the new frontiers of cyber warfare. Yet diplomatic history remains relatively isolated from the growing fields of digital history and digital humanities. At SHAFR 2016, our panel converged to share the work of diplomatic historians who have started to bridge this divide and to highlight the potential that uniting “the two DHs” holds.

The papers presented provided case studies of how digital history can produce new research avenues for diplomatic historians, whether through text mining, network analysis, or visualizations. Using a diverse range of digital archives, methodologies, and research questions, the presenters also demonstrated how “the two DHs” bring diplomatic history into dialogue with new scholarship and broaden how we share our work. In sharing abridged versions of our papers, we hope to continue the discussion of how to meaningfully bridge digital and diplomatic history beyond SHAFR 2016—perhaps even at SHAFR 2017. Ultimately, we believe, SHAFR and its members will have much to contribute to the field of digital history, and we hope our panel helps stimulate and facilitate greater engagement between the two fields. Interested SHAFRites are welcome to reach out to the presenters if they have further questions.

Jean Bauer, associate director of the Center for Digital Humanities at Princeton University, presented “Gatekeepers and Bottlenecks: The State Department and Jay’s Treaty,” drawn from her dissertation, “Republicans of Letters: The Early American Foreign Service as Information Network.”¹ Bauer’s presentation charted the operational capacity of the State Department as an information gathering and distributing institution at the beginning of the French Revolutionary Wars.

Bauer described the software package she built to facilitate her analysis of historical diplomatic information networks, ProjectQuincy,² which powers the *Early*

Letters sent to Jay from within London

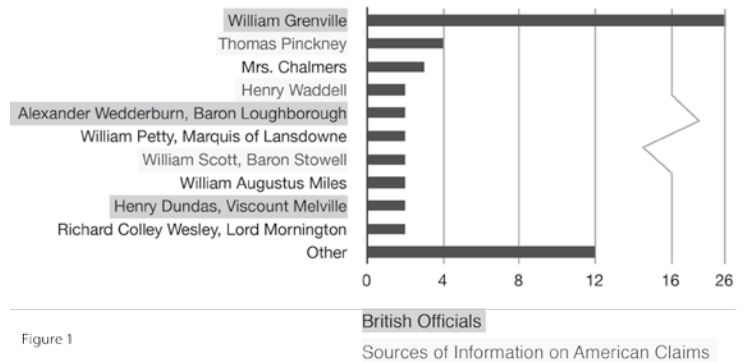


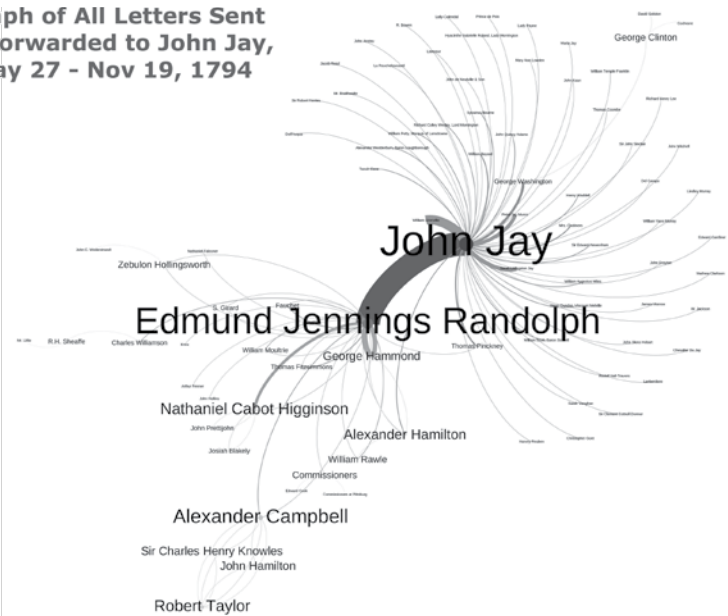
Figure 1

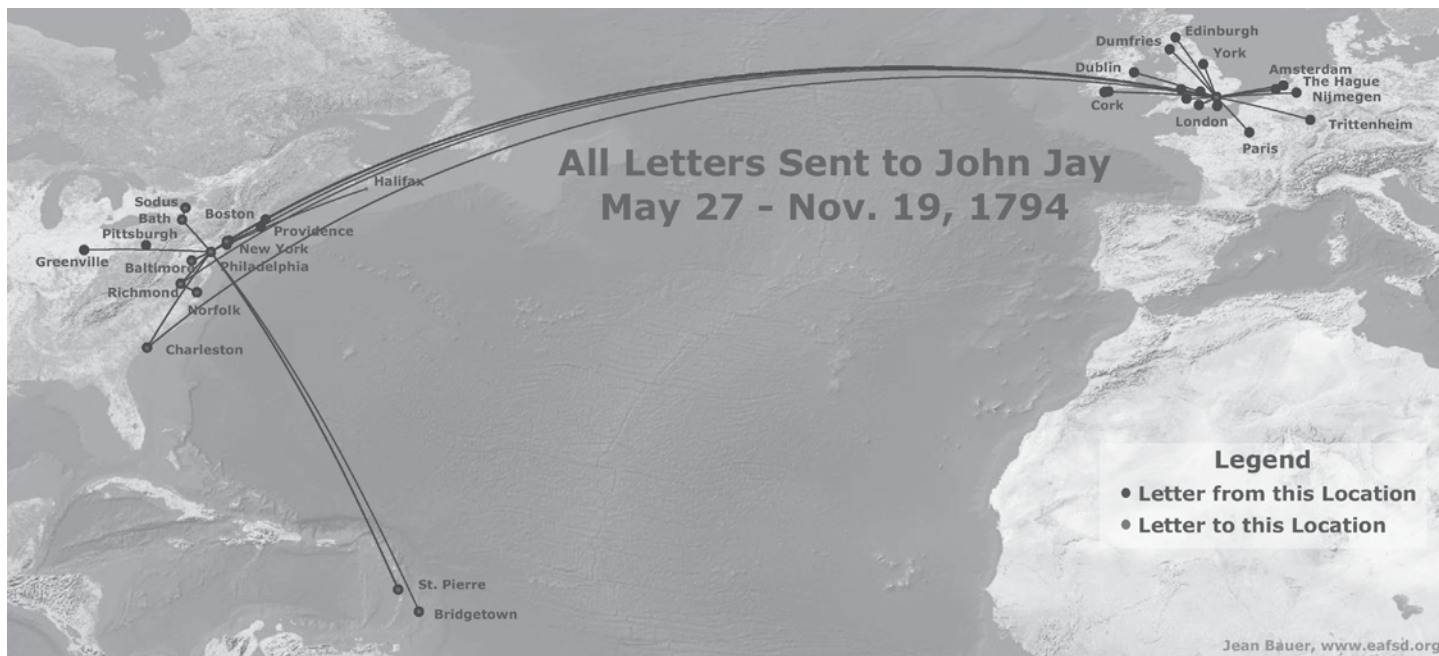
British Officials
Sources of Information on American Claims

*American Foreign Service Database.*³ She entered index data from the *Papers of John Jay*⁴ into her custom system—authorizing correspondents’ names, adding geographic coordinates, and connecting letters with their enclosures—so that she could pull the data out in multiple formats (see Figure 1, above). A structured examination of the letters sent to Jay during his months in England reveals the scope and limits of the office of the secretary of state.

Bauer explored the information network available to both Jay and Secretary of State Edmund Randolph during Jay’s time in London with social network analysis⁵ and

Graph of All Letters Sent or Forwarded to John Jay, May 27 - Nov 19, 1794





geographic information science (GIS).⁶ Using network analysis on the letters sent to Jay during his negotiations offered two immediate benefits. First, it enabled Bauer to reconstruct the conversations that found their way into Randolph's correspondence with Jay as enclosures. Second, it established a heightened role for the secretary of state in a story that, in the historiography to date, has privileged Alexander Hamilton (see illustration, lower left). Pairing social network analysis with mapping technology allowed Bauer to see how these conversations, which included many of Jay's many direct correspondents throughout Great Britain and the European continent, were distributed geographically. The spatial component is crucial. The Anglo-American conflict was not confined to the Caribbean, but encompassed border issues with Canada and the western frontier, while the West Indian seizures inflamed residents in all the major port cities on the eastern American coast.

Bauer discussed how network analysis (see figure at right) allows diplomatic historians to break away from the question that so often haunts the study of any diplomatic negotiation: "What did they know and when did they know it?" Information is the currency of diplomacy, but focusing solely on the negotiators exacerbates a teleological push toward the final, ratified treaty and relegates any piece of information that did not make it to the negotiating table to a status lower than that of a red herring in a mystery novel.

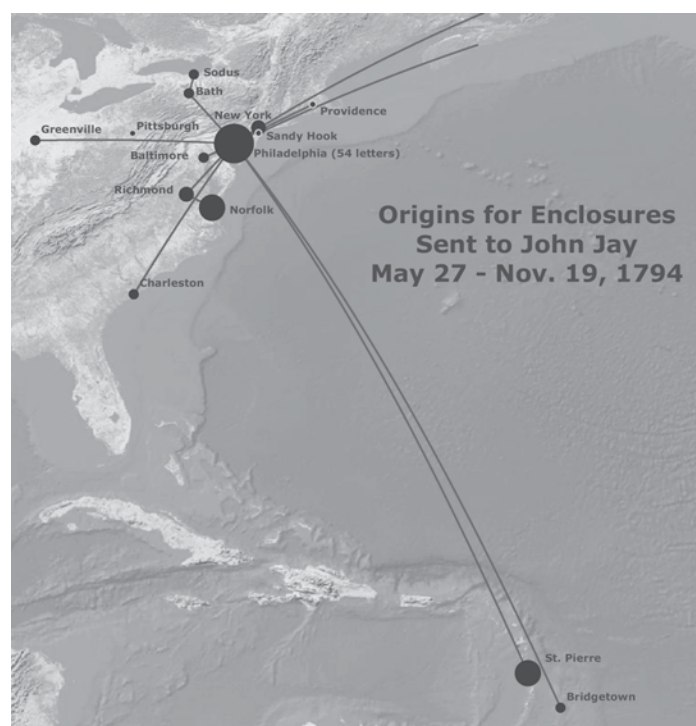
Jay was sent information from every hotspot in the Anglo-American conflict: the western posts, the disputed American-Canadian border, the sea towns, and the Caribbean (see figure at right).

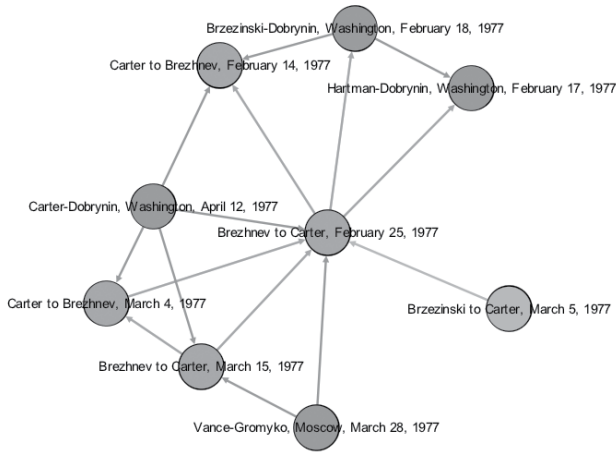
This comprehensive geographic coverage was made possible by Randolph's efforts in the State Department. All the locations represented in the Americas had at least one letter that was sent to Jay by way of Philadelphia and the State Department. These networks show the emergence of something like an information clearinghouse for diplomacy in the State Department. Randolph had information from all over North America—all the places Jay was sent to London to calm. Aside from the recalcitrance of the British Admiralty courts, the limiting factor was not accessing the information, but getting it to Jay. Letters had to be copied (by the woefully understaffed State Department) and ships found to take them to London. The state had no control over this last leg of the journey. Without a navy to convoy ships, there was no way to guarantee lines of communication would remain open during wartime, even though the

United States had refused to join the fight.

Thomas Faith, from the Department of State's Office of the Historian, presented "Networks of Diplomacy: Visualizing Diplomatic Correspondence Using the *Foreign Relations Series*." The *Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS)* series undergoes a thorough and multi-tiered editorial process that produces accurately transcribed and annotated, hand-coded XML versions of historical foreign policy documents that become available at <https://history.state.gov>. This collection not only serves as a critical resource for scholars of U.S. foreign policy and open government advocates, it is also a boon to digital humanities practitioners.

Faith demonstrated how the availability of *FRUS* documents in this full-text digital format opens the door to a variety of digital analyses using modern software and methods. After cautioning digital humanists to approach *FRUS* documents with an awareness of their limitations





Document provenance network for Carter administration FRUS volumes

and biases, he explained several methods of charting and analyzing ten *FRUS* volumes from the administration of President Jimmy Carter—a sample of over three thousand individual documents.

First, Faith presented a method of analyzing the geographic coverage of *FRUS* by creating a map with the XML-coded cities of origin for all *FRUS* documents published in the Carter subseries. He noted that only a portion of the Carter administration *FRUS* series has been published so far and that the map will presumably fill in as more volumes are brought to publication in the future. But he concluded that the data indicates that more research on the ways in which foreign policies are developed by different presidential administrations would be fruitful. The data also invite questions about how *FRUS* volume documents are selected and organized.

Another method of charting the *FRUS* series that Faith presented used source citation data from the first footnote

of each document in the Carter administration subseries. He designed a query to search and compile all of the repository information for each document printed in those *FRUS* volumes and used it to create a network graph with nodes representing each Carter administration volume and each repository where documents for those volumes were found. The chart showed that all of the *FRUS* volumes contained documents found at the Department of State, the Carter Library, and the National Archives. Additionally, six of the volumes contained documents found at the CIA; four had documents found at the NSC; and four had documents found at the National Records Center, among other repositories. This type of chart demonstrates that *FRUS* volumes provide relatively easy access to documents from a variety of archives, but it also illustrates how *FRUS* volumes are compiled and can facilitate questions about which source repositories were used to assemble the volume and why (see illustration at left).

The final method of charting the *FRUS* series that Faith highlighted involved the use of document cross references in network analysis. *FRUS* compilers annotate the documents they publish with a document number cross reference if one document refers to another, or if another *FRUS* document can provide a researcher with additional context. Faith argued that cross references represent a relationship between documents that spans the entire *FRUS* series, and he presented a network graph of *FRUS* documents represented as nodes with lines between them to represent cross references. The result formed a structure, a virtual map of the *FRUS* series, that illustrates how foreign policies are formed and documented. Documents from volume I, *Foundations of Foreign Policy*, gravitated toward the center; documents from volumes II, *Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs*, and III, *Foreign Economic Policy*, were intertwined near the top of the graph, graphically illustrating how documents on those subjects are interrelated.

Faith highlighted one document, a letter published in volume VI, *Soviet Union*, from Soviet General Secretary Brezhnev to President Carter on February 25, 1977, to



Document cross reference network for *FRUS*, 1977-80, vol VI, *Soviet Union*, Document 12

describe how documents relate to each other through cross references and how they frame the policymaking process. He explained that in general, the most significant documents in Carter administration network analysis tend to be more personal communications, such as letters (not memoranda) and meeting transcripts, and he concluded that digital analysis provides important methods of discerning how closely the *FRUS* series resembles the foreign policymaking process that it documents (see illustration, bottom left).

Micki Kaufman, a Ph.D. candidate in U.S. History at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York, presented on her dissertation, "Everything on Paper Will Be Used Against Me: Quantifying Kissinger."⁷ Her project, awarded the Paul Fortier Prize for New and Young Scholars by the Alliance of Digital Humanities Organizations (ADHO) in 2015, is a digital history investigation of the National Security Archive's Kissinger Correspondence Collection, a substantial curated subset of the vast volume of material generated by Kissinger during his tenure with the Nixon and Ford administrations. Comprising over eighteen thousand declassified meeting memoranda ("memcons") and teleconference transcripts ("telcons"), the archive details Kissinger's correspondence during the period 1969–1977. In addition to researching Kissinger's policies and persona, the project attempts to engage new computational methods in the study of big data archives, following a computational "distant reading" approach as detailed in Guldi and Armitage's *The History Manifesto*.⁸ An effort to understand the 9 years of the Kissinger Collection using computational analysis in historical research, Kaufman's data, text and network analyses are afforded additional dimension, support and contrast by the extremely useful archivist-supplied metadata (e.g., date, classification status, origin, etc.) that accompany each document—metadata that are a product of the exceptional work of the archivists at the National Security Archive (above right)⁹

One text analysis method employed in Kaufman's research, topic modeling, involves measuring correlations in frequency between words and grouping the source documents according to those commonalities.¹⁰ Using open-source topic modeling software called MALLET, which has been employed in a number of digital history projects, Kaufman created timeline visualizations for each of the forty Kissinger memcon topics.¹¹ Peaks in the graphs indicated the dates whose documents contain the highest cumulative weighting, or relevance, to that respective topic. Documents' associations with topics as diverse as the wars in Indochina, including Kissinger's correspondence with North Vietnamese diplomats Le Duc Tho and Xuan Thuy; the opening to China with Chairman Mao and Chou En-lai; and the October War of 1973 and the resulting shuttle diplomacy of 1974–1975 are differentiated and visible as peaks and valleys on the timeline graphs. This use of interactive visualization allows a researcher using such a distant reading to "drill down" into the documents along a timeline and create a "networked reading" path to understanding the material that is different from what can be obtained by following a traditional alphabetized subject or last-name index (see figure on page 46).¹²

Next, Kaufman presented the topic frequency graphs in a single big picture, allowing viewers to see the relationships between the topics as a whole by aligning their distribution patterns and concurrence along a timeline. Seen this way, these topic clusters represent a dynamic, detailed monthly topic index of the entire archive, enabling us to quickly understand the distribution and nature of its varying

A Comparison Between an Archivist-Prepared Topic List and a Computer-Generated Topic Model of the National Security Archive's Kissinger Collection (Memcons)

Computer-Generated Topic List		Human-Generated Topic List
1. back-put-fact	23. sovchin-indopak	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Wars in Indochina: not only Vietnam, but also Laos and Cambodia, and the White House's managerial role in United States military operations in these countries U.S. (especially Kissinger's) interactions with the North Vietnamese, the Chinese, and the Soviets in trying to bring conflicts in Indochina to an end the final stages of the Indochina wars, including U.S. reactions to the collapse of the client regime in Saigon and the rise of the Cambodian Khmer Rouge U.S.-Soviet détente and Kissinger's conduct of "back channel" diplomacy with the Soviet leadership U.S.-China rapprochement, including initial White House efforts to communicate with Beijing; Kissinger's "secret trip" to China, July 1971; and subsequent high-level meetings with Chinese officials, including visits by presidents Nixon and Ford in 1972 and 1975, respectively developments in South Asia, including the 1971 India-Pakistan war and the Nixon/Kissinger tilt to Pakistan during that crisis the Middle East, including U.S. conduct during the 1973 October War and Kissinger's role as shuttle diplomat during 1974–1975 negotiations to end minority white rule in Rhodesia/Zimbabwe U.S.-European relations, including policy coordination and consultations on a variety of "hot spots" and "hot issues," including the rise of Euro-Communism the 1974 Cyprus crisis and U.S. relations with Greece and Turkey international economic, energy and raw materials policies relations between the mass media and policymakers
2. Kissinger	24. Thuy-Xuan	
3. er-st-te-ha	25. Question-Problem	
4. Johnson-Sec-Sens	26. Congress-National	
5. North-South-Thieu-Vietnam	27. Habib-Rogers-Hartman	
6. SALT-Missile-Talks	28. People-Policy-Years	
7. Saudi-Arab-Oil-Russians	29. Syria-Khaddam-Sabbagh	
8. Negotiations	30. sec-min-amb-sir-foreign	
9. Dinitz-Allon-Dayan-Meir-Rabin	31. China-Mao-Huang	
10. Laughter	32. Soviet-Brezhnev-Gromyko-Talks	
11. Soviet-Dobrynin	33. Nuclear-Weapons	
12. France-Euro-NATO	34. South-Africa-Vorster-Smith	
13. don-told	35. Soviet-Group-Options	
14. Chou	36. Le-Duc-Tho-Agreement	
15. Israel-Asad-Egypt-Syria	37. US-Nixon-Relations	
16. air-military-forces	38. Cambodia	
17. Southern-Europe	39. Oil-Energy-Econ	
18. Archives	40. Talks Ismail	
19. Greece-Turkey		
20. se-ve-tl-al		
21. Agreement		
22. il-li-il-li		

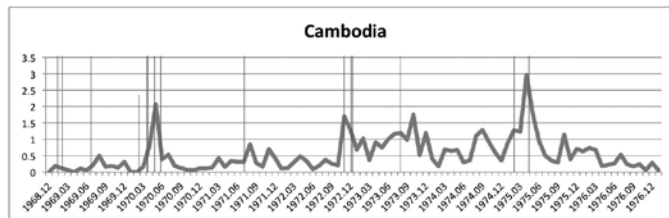
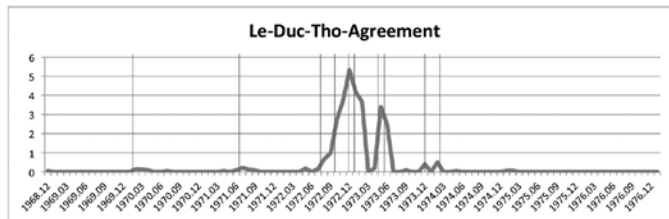
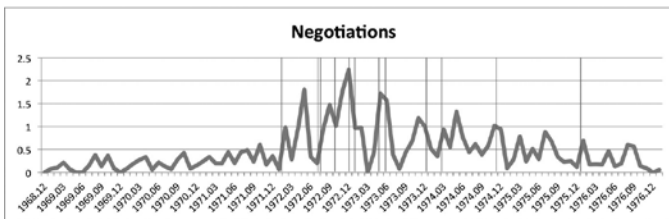
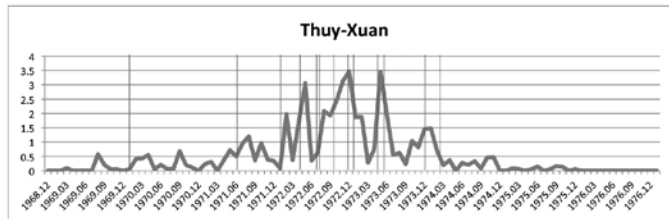
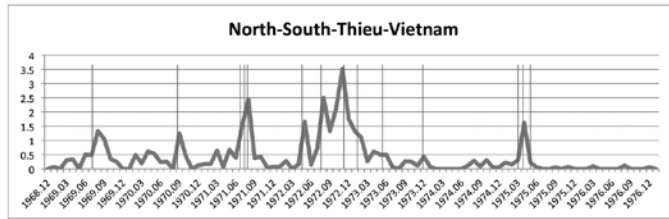
Source: National Security Archive

subject matter and providing insights into the Kissinger apparatus across both corpuses—memcons and telcons—for the entire eight-year time span of the collection. For example, from this perspective one can clearly see Kissinger's focus and use of the two corpuses shift from his more balanced use of the memcons and telcons (bottom) as National Security Advisor to the more predominant use of memcons (top) after Kissinger was promoted to secretary of state in September 1973 (see figure on page 47). Kaufman also showed a "force-directed" network diagram of the same topic model data.¹³ Synthesizing the information gathered through metadata analysis and topic modeling in one visualization, this approach allowed for the surfacing of interrelationships not always readily apparent from a tabular view of the underlying data values. For example, the diagram reveals a relationship between the documents' topics, dates and classification status, shown in the use and distribution of colors. Specifically, the diagram's preponderance of bluish tint in the upper left-hand quadrant of the graph and the opposite distribution of yellow tint in the lower-right. Documents formerly accorded a top-secret-level classification were in blue, while documents originally classified secret were in yellow, and their distribution on the diagram reflects a complex but perceptible relationship between subject matter, former classification status, and the dates of the documents in question (see illustration, top of 48).

All of the documents were hyperlinked and clickable so that they could be brought up in a browser for close reading and annotation. While acknowledging the axiom that a more complete historical understanding must by necessity include a close reading of relevant documents, Kaufman also pointed to the potential scholarly benefits that computational and interdisciplinary methods—including text, data and network analysis, "distant reading," networked reading and data visualization—offer in the study of large-and ever-larger-scale historical archives like the National Security Archive's Kissinger Collection.

Finally, Zoe LeBlanc presented on "Dispatches from Cairo: The Digital History of the British and American Embassies in Cairo 1955–1965."¹⁴ Her larger dissertation explores the international aspects of anti-colonialism in Cairo in the 1950s and 60s. Her digital project, "Dispatches from Cairo," leverages digital history methods to examine the archival records of these embassies and explore the production of "on-the-ground" foreign policy knowledge.¹⁵

A Selection of Topics from a Topic Model of the National Security Archive's Kissinger Collection Topic Models (Memcons)



- 8/4/69 Secret talks begin
- 9/15/70 Kissinger in Saigon
- 7/12/71 Paris meeting
- 8/1/71 Paris talks
- 8/16/71 Secret meeting
- 5/2/72 Kissinger secret meeting
- 1-Aug-72 Henry Kissinger meets again with Le Duc Tho in Paris
- 11/18/72 Paris talks
- 1/23/73 Kissinger and Le Duc Tho come to terms
- May-73 Paris
- Dec-73 Aid begins to Thieu under Gerald Ford
- Mar-75 Easter Offensive Begins
- 3/25/75 Hue captured by NVA
- Apr-75 South Vietnam Falls

- 21-Feb-70 Kissinger starts secret talks w/Le Duc Tho
- 7/12/71 Paris meeting
- 5/2/72 Kissinger meets with Le Duc Tho and Suan Thuy
- Feb-72 Nixon in China
- 7/19/72 Meeting
- 1-Aug-72 Henry Kissinger meets again with Le Duc Tho in Paris
- 8-Oct-72 Both sides agree to major concessions.
- 13-Dec-72 Talks collapse after Kissinger presents a list of 69 changes demanded by President Thieu.
- 8-Jan-73 Kissinger and Le Duc Tho resume negotiations in Paris.
- 9-Jan-73 agreement between Kissinger and Le Duc Tho.
- May-73 paris
- 6/1/73 paris ii
- 12/10/73 nobel peace prize
- 2/19/74 Meeting w/unforseeable circ

- Feb-72 Nixon in China
- 7/19/72 Meeting
- 1-Aug-72 Henry Kissinger meets again with Le Duc Tho in Paris
- 8-Oct-72 Both sides agree to major concessions.
- 13-Dec-72 Talks collapse after Kissinger presents a list of 69 changes demanded by President Thieu.
- 8-Jan-73 Kissinger and Le Duc Tho resume negotiations in Paris.
- 9-Jan-73 agreement between Kissinger and Le Duc Tho.
- May-73 paris
- 6/1/73 paris ii
- 12/10/73 nobel peace prize
- 2/19/74 Meeting w/unforseeable circ
- Nov-74 Kissinger returns to Peking
- 12/1/75 Ford visits China

- 21-Feb-70 Kissinger starts secret talks w/Le Duc Tho
- 7/12/71 Paris meeting
- 1-Aug-72 Henry Kissinger meets again with Le Duc Tho in Paris
- 8-Oct-72 Both sides agree to major concessions.
- 13-Dec-72 Talks collapse after Kissinger presents a list of 69 changes demanded by President Thieu.
- 8-Jan-73 Kissinger and Le Duc Tho resume negotiations in Paris.
- 9-Jan-73 agreement between Kissinger and Le Duc Tho.
- May-73 paris
- 6/1/73 paris ii
- 12/10/73 nobel peace prize
- 2/19/74 Meeting w/unforseeable circ

- 23-Feb-69 Pres. Nixon orders plans for the secret bombing of Cambodia.
- 18-Mar-69 President Richard M. Nixon authorizes Operation Menu
- 8/1/69 Paris talks
- 18-Mar-70 Prince Sihanouk overthrown by Gen'L. Lon Nol in a right-wing coup backed by the US.
- 24-Apr-70 US invades 'Parrot's Beak' in Cambodia
- 29-Apr-70 50,000 US and South Vietnamese troops invade Cambodia [see Apr 30].
- 31-May-70 Nixon Speaks to Military Officials About Operations in Cambodia
- 29-Jun-70 The United States ended a two-month military offensive into Cambodia.
- 9-Oct-70 Khmer Republic (Cambodia) declared independence.
- 8/1/71 Paris talks
- 11/18/72 Paris talks
- 23-Dec-72 Christmas Bombing
- 29-Dec-72 Christmas Bombing Ends
- 14-Aug-73 The U.S. "secret" bombing of Cambodia comes to a halt
- 6-Feb-75 President Gerald Ford asked Congress for \$497 million in aid to Cambodia.
- 17-Apr-75 US-backed Lon Nol government of Cambodia surrenders to the Khmer Rouge.

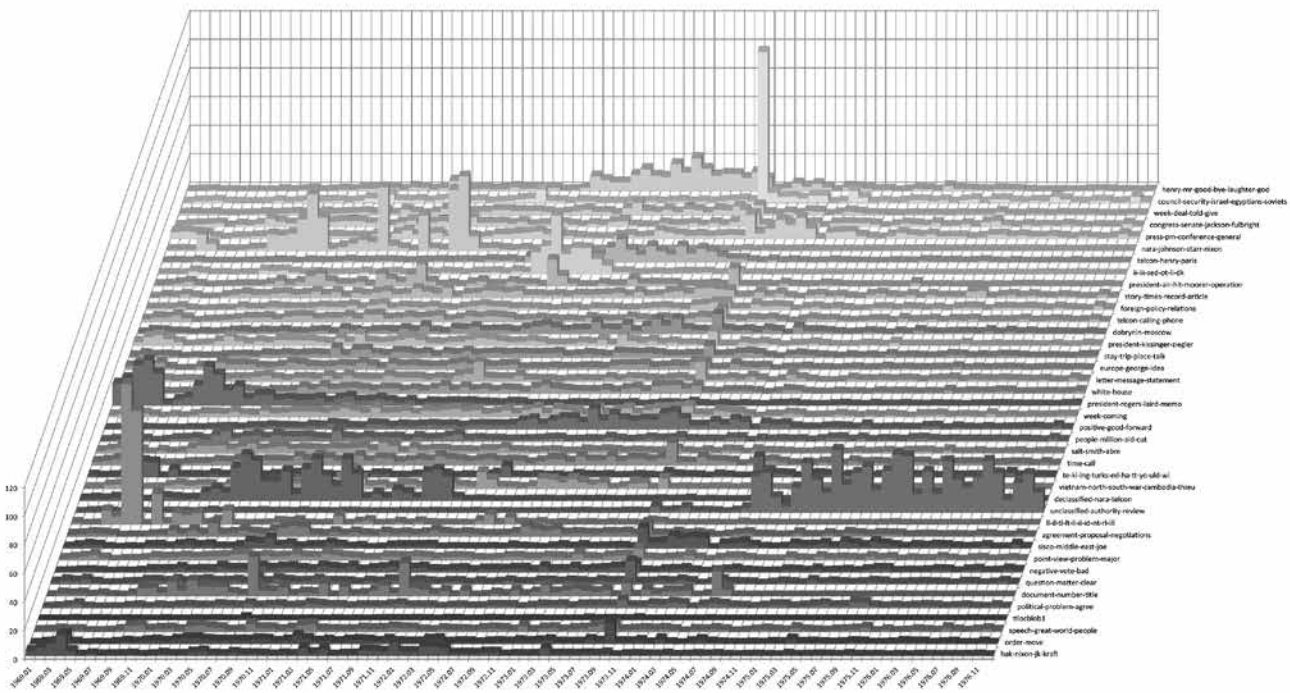
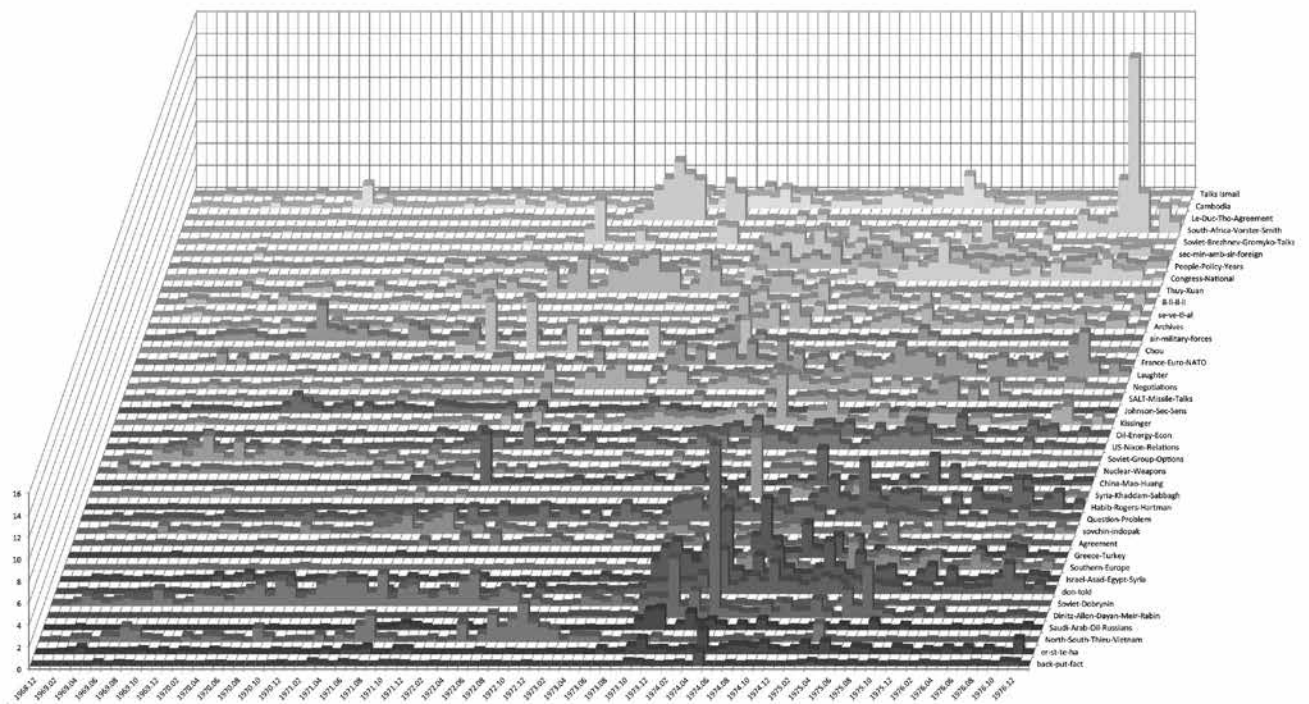
Source: National Security Archive

The project developed out of her research experience at the National Archives Records Administration in College Park, where she was researching how embassy officials reported on anti-colonial activities in Cairo. While the research trip was a success, LeBlanc struggled with the thousands of images now sitting on my hard drive. With the advent of digital cameras and cheap digital storage, this dilemma is increasingly common for diplomatic historians. As one potential solution, she explored how digital history can help diplomatic historians manage archival materials as well as produce and analyze new research findings (see

illustration on top of page 48).

The majority of the records in "Dispatches From Cairo" are from the State Department record groups, and their structured format makes them particularly suited to the digital history subfield of text mining and analysis. LeBlanc described my workflow for the project: imaging the dispatches; running them through an optical character recognition program; and then organizing them in the various archival folders and boxes. Though laborious, this process enables the researcher to use the documents with a number of text-mining tools. Using the case study

Topic Model of the National Security Archive's Kissinger Collection (Memcons)



Topic Model of the National Security Archive's Kissinger Collection (Telcons)

Source: National Security Archive

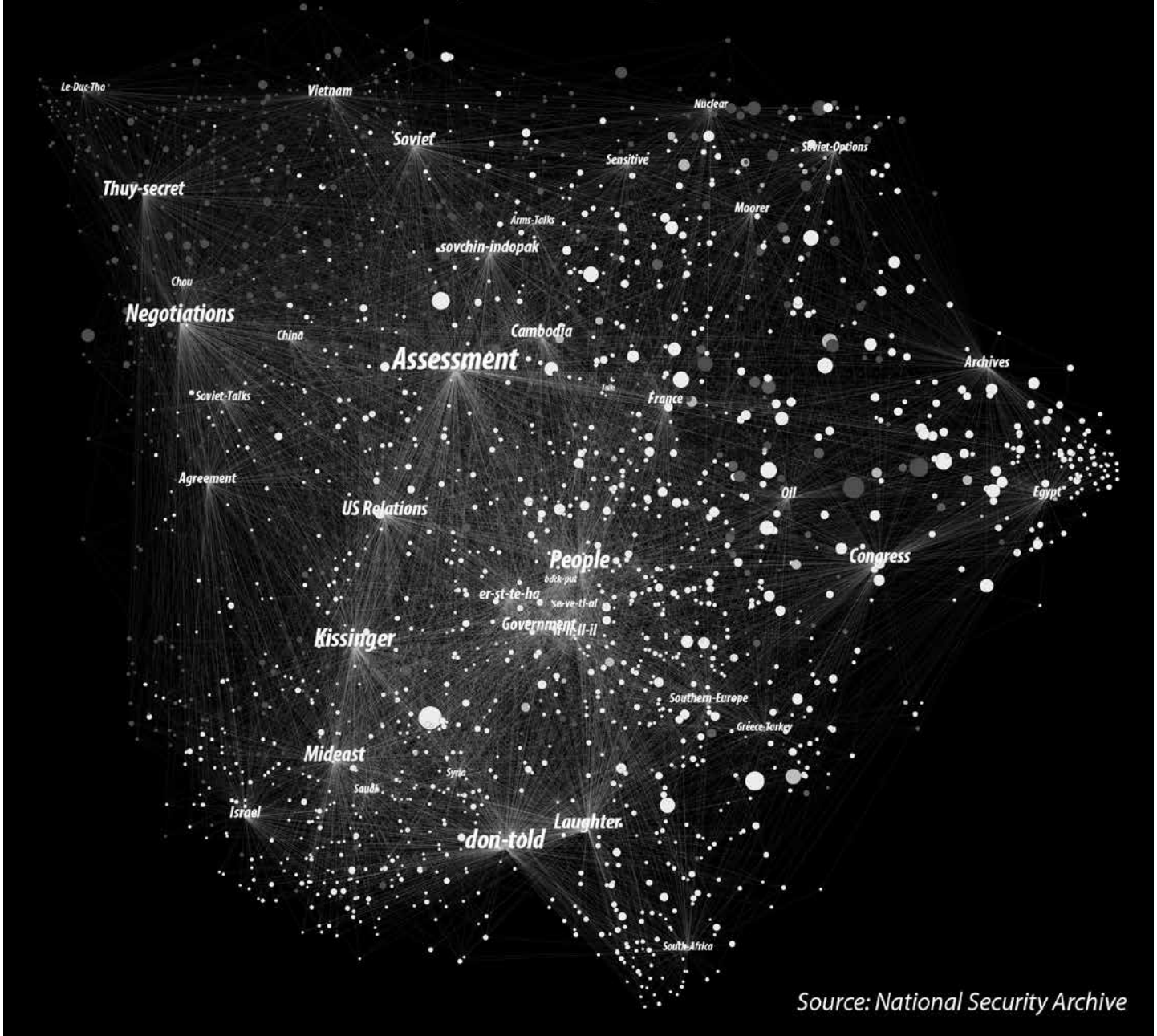
of the impact of the Congo Crisis of 1960–61 in Cairo, she described how these tools helped analyze the thousands of documents related to the crisis (see illustration on page 49).

One tool, Textplot, was developed by Dave McClure at Stanford to help extract and visualize how words are connected and form clusters in a corpus (see bottom of page 49).¹⁶ LeBlanc used Textplot to explore the term “Congo” in various boxes from the Cairo Embassy collection. In one box “Congo” clustered with “freedom,” “Africa,” “liberation,” “afro,” “Asia,” and “Bandung,” words that represented some of the anti-colonial discourse in 1960 Cairo. However, in another box, “Congo” clustered with “Lumumba,” “Belgium,” and “killed,” which highlights a

focus on the assassination of Lumumba in February 1961. In another box, she described finding the word “Rhodesia” close to these anti-colonial clusters in 1959. This finding was surprising, since Rhodesia only started showing up in Cairo newspapers in the 1960s. She described using antConc, a text-analysis tool, to investigate further, and found a document from the American Embassy about the visit of Joshua Nkomo to Cairo in March of 1959, when many African liberation movements established offices in Cairo.¹⁷ Such a finding represented the proverbial needle in the haystack of thousands of images.

While these tools help find connections in the documents, LeBlanc cautioned that any text analysis needs

Force-Directed Diagram of a Topic Model of the National Security Archive's Kissinger Collection (Memcons)



Source: National Security Archive

to be validated with other methods, and she described using Voyant Tools to run principal components analysis to explore the same texts about the Congo, but with a different statistical approach.¹⁸ She also discussed using the MALLETT tool, which separates words into probabilistic clusters, for topic modeling the documents.¹⁹ In both Voyant Tools and MALLETT, LeBlanc described finding similar anti-colonial relationships around the term “Congo”, which confirmed my early findings about how the crisis was a key turning-point for anti-colonialism in Cairo.

The final tool LeBlanc discussed was Overview Docs, which shares some of the same features as Voyant Tools.²⁰ Most notably, though, Overview Docs also enables the sharing and hosting of document sets. She ended her talk by underscoring that most digital history projects currently focus on time periods before the early twentieth century because of copyright constraints. However, these restrictions do not apply to most national archival records.

LeBlanc then called for diplomatic historians to consider using digital history methods not only because such tools open up new ways to explore their own research, but also because they present opportunities for sharing archival materials digitally, and sharing would help create a more collaborative and international SHAFR community.

Notes:

1. Dissertation available through the University of Virginia Library, <http://libraprod.lib.virginia.edu/catalog/libra-oa:9454>.
2. <http://projectquincy.org>.
3. <http://eafsd.org>.
4. <https://dlc.library.columbia.edu/jay>.
5. For the graphs associated with this presentation, Bauer used the open source network analysis program Gephi, at <http://gephi.org>.
6. Georeferenced networks created in ArcGIS, <http://www.arcgis.com>.
7. The dissertation's Web site is available at <http://www.quantifyingkissinger.com/>.

Reflections on the SHAFR 2016 Summer Institute

Daniel Bessner, Alice Byrne, Susan Colbourn, Molly Geidel, Sharon Park, Joseph Parrott, Susan Perlman, Agnès Vollmer, and Yanqiu Zheng

This year, the SHAFR Summer Institute made its first trip across the Atlantic to the University of Leiden in the Netherlands. The 2016 SHAFR Summer Institute, co-hosted with the Transatlantic Studies Association (TSA), brought together participants from universities in Canada, France, Germany, the United States, and the United Kingdom. Our discussions extended far beyond the Institute's core theme of culture, propaganda, and intelligence in foreign relations. We thought about issues at the heart of our discipline: the meaning and feasibility of international history and the expansion of the field into the cultural and social dimensions of foreign relations.

Organizers Kenneth Osgood, Simon Rofe, Giles Scott-Smith, and Hugh Wilford encouraged us, as scholars working across the borders of diplomatic history on culture, propaganda, and intelligence in foreign relations,

to consider their intersections. Our week in Leiden included seminars on pedagogy, methodology, and job placement. Each of us had a chance to workshop aspects of our current research projects; those who were lucky got to do so in what appeared to be a former prison cell in one of the university's many historic buildings. We took a field trip to Amsterdam for a demonstration of active learning: a tour of the Dutch Resistance Museum and surrounding sites related to the Dutch experience during the Second World War.

Throughout the week, we tackled questions about the study of diplomatic history. When Thomas Zeiler surveyed the state of the field in 2009, he celebrated its growing inclusiveness, as evidenced by the cultural turn and a growing emphasis on transnational approaches. Others responded with reminders that diplomatic history could do better still at integrating the ideas and methods of other



fields. As we attempted to define and distinguish our fields of study, we often identified clear similarities between them. Studies of culture, propaganda, and intelligence all share struggles over meaning and how images are created, but we noted the persistence of distinctions and barriers between these sub-fields. Works that examine the role of intelligence in foreign relations, for example, are routinely referred to as intelligence history. This disregards the possible uses of intelligence as another important lens through which we can view processes of policy-making and image creation. All too often, intelligence's role in foreign policy is limited to the role of agencies like the Central Intelligence Agency or MI-6. It seemed to us that these distinctions can be unnecessarily limiting. Those who overlook these critical, intertwined aspects of diplomacy can lose sight of the transnational networks or the state/private and state/state relationships that are so crucial to our work.

Conversely, many of us working on international cultural diplomacy and propaganda faced the challenge of limiting the seemingly infinite lines of inquiry we could pursue. While most of our projects aim to uncover the motivations of the individuals, organizations, and state actors who produced propaganda, we were often dealing with multiple ideologies and agendas, some of which were in tension with one another. We attempted to distinguish international culture, which suggested universalism of some kind and might be forged in organizations like UNESCO, from culture in international relations and other forms of cultural exchange between nations. But overlaps between these categories persisted. Then there was the question of reception: is it possible to measure the impact of propaganda? We did not necessarily resolve this dilemma, but we discussed strategies for more effectively tracking the movement of an idea and how it might have changed, adapted, and been interpreted in different contexts.

We repeatedly returned to the topic of conceptualizing and defining the fields of global history, transnational history, diplomatic history, and world history. We all had spontaneous associations with these concepts, but it was difficult to develop concise definitions. These are not isolated fields. The limits between them are fluid and often ambiguous. By bringing together culture, propaganda, and intelligence, the Summer Institute demonstrated that an exchange of different perspectives and approaches enables us to broaden our views — and the relevance of our research — to develop a deeper understanding of the frameworks and relationships which are essential for our historical analysis. Our discussions reaffirmed not only the need to explore across the boundaries within and around diplomatic history, but also the many benefits of a more collaborative approach. Terms such as “diplomacy,” “progress,” “nationalism,” or “culture” did not always carry the same meaning or significance once they crossed international borders; this reminded us to be cautious and precise in our language, but it also made us aware of another benefit of transnational collaboration.

Together, we talked about the challenges of writing international histories. Since the release of Odd Arne Westad's path-breaking 2006 study, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times*, graduate students have been encouraged to conduct multi-archival and multi-lingual research. Broadly speaking, we identified two problems that can hamper the writing of international history. It takes a significant amount of time to learn numerous foreign languages in order to conduct primary research, as well as to become familiar with archival access policies. Furthermore, the sheer quantity of relevant secondary literature can be overwhelming. If international history is to remain vibrant and viable in an era of increasingly uncertain funding, SHAFR likely needs to confront these problems head on. In particular, it might be worthwhile for the organization to consider how it can help provide younger scholars with the time and resources without which international history cannot be written.

One potential response to the challenges of producing quality international history is the expansion of collaborative relationships, such as those fostered by the SHAFR Summer Institute, particularly with an eye to publishing jointly authored works. This would mean utilizing individual conferences, workshops, and new technologies to provide forums for regular, prolonged interaction between scholars that allows for the active exchange, reflection, and incorporation of shared evidence and ideas into articles and monographs. This would ease some of the demands placed on international historians with limited resources. Simultaneously, it would address a major criticism of the discipline: its tendency toward Eurocentric (and often U.S.-centric) positions and lack of expertise in local histories and historiography. Participation in such exchanges by area studies specialists in particular could introduce welcome new theoretical perspectives and local texture that might otherwise be missing from histories written from the proverbial 10,000-foot view.

This practice of collaborative scholarship — relatively common in many other disciplines, particularly in STEM — is often disincentivized by history departments. Hiring and promotion committees tend to view edited volumes and co-authored publications as less rigorous or thoughtful than individual works. Certainly, there are numerous examples that demonstrate the value of collaborative scholarship, such as works by Timothy Naftali and Aleksandr Fursenko or Campbell Craig and Fredrik Logevall's provocative take on the U.S. Cold War. As international history pushes beyond a focus on the United States and Europe, increased collaboration offers the best opportunity to give serious scholarly attention to “big” topics in international history like nuclear proliferation, Third World identity, and globalization. SHAFR — as an organization committed to international history and a collection of increasingly diverse scholars — is especially well-placed to encourage fruitful, collaborative relationships.

Declassified Breakthroughs in Germany: A Highly Organized Data Dump is Underway

William Glenn Gray

Since the fall of the Berlin Wall, historians of the Cold War have shown a keen interest in the archives of former adversaries. The “Cold War International History Project” supplied us with masses of translated documents from Poland, East Germany, Romania, and beyond. Access to the former Soviet and Chinese archives has proven more challenging, but as things stand, the field has benefited from several important books written on the basis of documentation from Moscow and Beijing.

By contrast, the rush into the West German archives has been—to put it gently—more of a slow walk. The greater level of openness prevailing in Western societies during the Cold War may have fostered the impression that there were fewer burning secrets waiting to be exposed. Even Germans showed little curiosity about the history of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG); during the two decades after 1989, attention focused instead on the ruling party, security apparatus, and foreign entanglements of the German Democratic Republic. This made a certain amount of practical sense: the East German archives had been thrown wide open; those on the Western side had not. Until recently, there was little public pressure to hold West German institutions accountable for their conduct during the Cold War.

The situation is now changing at great speed, offering substantial opportunities for historians—even those with a primary interest in U.S. foreign relations—to revisit the Cold War through West German eyes. Historical commissions have probed the origins of key state institutions, all of them founded with heavy U.S. influence. A “freedom of information act” is in place. Most important, a rolling calendar for blanket declassification has been established that offers a clear and predictable timeline for the release of material from the 1960s, 1970s, and (eventually) the 1980s. It is a good time to take stock of what the German records might have to offer.

Germany, like the United Kingdom, follows a thirty-year rule. Government documents are bound together in volumes (Bände) that are released for public use when all of the records in that volume have reached the thirty-year mark. This is measured at the end of the calendar year, so in 2017 researchers can order volumes dating up to and including 1986. A wide swath of material from the Reagan years is already available in the German archives, in contrast to the situation that pertains in the State Department Central Files. Repositories with foreign policy relevance include the Political Archive of the Foreign Office in Berlin (PA/AA); the Federal Archives in Koblenz (BArchK); and the Federal Military Archive in Freiburg (BAMA).¹

The longstanding weak spot in the German system involves the handling of classified material. The automatic

thirty-year release does not apply to volumes of West German documents marked confidential, secret, or top secret (*vertraulich*, *geheim*, *streng geheim*). Until recently, the archives did not even supply finding aids listing the classified volumes—meaning that researchers could not know the extent of what they did not know. This lack of information made it extremely difficult for scholars to make declassification requests. And there was no agreed-upon procedure for handling such requests in the first place!

To fill in what gaps they could, historians pursued two major avenues to get a glimpse of what classified material remained unseen. First, they turned to party archives, where the personal and office files of top politicians often wound up. These party archives—each supported by an affiliated political foundation—make their own judgments about access to personal papers. Some donors stipulate that records will remain closed for thirty years after their death. Others, fortunately, allow access to their papers even while they are still alive. The papers of Willy Brandt’s top aide, Egon Bahr, could be viewed at the Archive of Social Democracy in Bonn long before his death in 2015. Bahr’s papers include copies of numerous classified documents, which remains something of a sore point for federal authorities but has been a real boon for researchers.²

Second, scholars have relied on a series of maroon-bound volumes called *Documents on the Foreign Policy of the Federal Republic of Germany* (its German acronym is *AAPD*). Since the early 1990s, Munich’s Institute for Contemporary History has managed this crucial document declassification and publication project. A team of historians with security clearances pores over classified files and selects between 300 and 500 documents annually for publication. The corresponding documents are then examined by the originating agencies and (in most cases) cleared for release after the thirty-year period. Editions of *AAPD* are currently available for the years 1949–53 and 1962–85. A much larger cache of declassified documents deriving from the *AAPD* project is printed on microfiche each year; this file, known as Bestand 150, must be viewed in person at the Foreign Office archive.

The *AAPD* has supplied a baseline of declassified material for dissertations for more than two decades now. Still, how many historians of U.S. foreign relations are content to rely exclusively upon the series *Foreign Relations of the United States*? Even the best-trained editors cannot anticipate new lines of inquiry that might open up after a given year’s documents are already fixed on paper. The supplemental files in Bestand 150 broaden the source base somewhat, yet in most cases these extra documents relate directly to issues already covered in the main volume. Up to now, researchers in German archives have not had the

liberty of leafing through box after box of declassified material, examining the workings of powerful ministries firsthand. That level of transparency was not available—nor was it even really demanded by the public—before the end of the twentieth century.

Three developments over the past decade or so have transformed the circumstances for research on contemporary international history in Germany. The first development was agency-based and was set into motion shortly after the seat of government moved from Bonn to Berlin in 1999. The Foreign Office's archive moved to Berlin as well and set up shop in a building formerly occupied by the East German council of ministers. Critics noticed that retired diplomats were publishing elaborate and laudatory obituaries for their deceased colleagues in a Foreign Office staff magazine—obituaries that glossed over activities under the Nazi regime. Stung by the complaints, Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer summoned an Independent Historians' Commission into being in 2005. Its mandate was to investigate what role the Foreign Office had played during the Third Reich, and what measures it had (or had not) undertaken since then to address the ministry's actions. The commission was granted access to materials never before seen, including the ministry's personnel files. The final report, published in 2010, offered a stark condemnation of the ministry's pattern of re-hiring ex-Nazis (or ex-SS officers).³

Comparable independent commissions have since been organized by other sensitive agencies, including the interior ministry, the Office for the Protection of the Constitution, the Federal Criminal Office, and the Federal Intelligence Service.⁴ In all cases a strong U.S. hand was evident in the early phases of the agency in question; American officials applied direct pressure to exploit the skills and expertise of certain individuals—former Gestapo or intelligence agents, for example. These findings dovetail with work undertaken separately by historian Joseph Foschepoth, who has documented how West Germany's postal ministry opened letters and eavesdropped on telephone conversations at the behest of the Allied powers.⁵ Foschepoth's book resonated massively with the public, as it closely paralleled Edward Snowden's 2013 revelations about National Security Agency data collection in Germany. The cumulative result of these revelations is that Germans are eager at long last to study the Cold War activities of their own institutions. Unfortunately, it is not always clear when the public will have direct access to the files that the commissions have consulted.

The second change that may lead to greater access to government records occurred in 2006, when Germany's version of a Freedom of Information Act went into effect. The name of the law (Informationsfreiheitsgesetz, or IFG) is a literal translation of the comparable U.S. law, and it established—for the first time—an ordinary citizen's right to see government documents. "No reason is needed, curiosity suffices," as reporters for the magazine *Die Zeit* note.⁶ There is no reference in the law to a thirty-year rule, meaning that the IFG could in theory be invoked to obtain information about recent events. However, in practice this channel has only limited utility for scholars.⁷ Agencies are allowed to charge very high fees for researching and reproducing documentation, so only journalists from well-funded publications are in a position to make routine use of the IFG. Even then, authorities have the right to deny requests if the information in question might create "disadvantages for international relations"—which, when interpreted broadly, could sideline most topics having to do with foreign policy.

Perhaps the most helpful aspect of the IFG is its implicit acknowledgment that the public has a right to hold institutions accountable. At the Foreign Office, at least, this has resulted in greater responsiveness to public controversy.

A 2015 feature film, *Colonia*, starring Daniel Brühl and Emma Watson, called attention to the monstrous sexual abuse and torture perpetrated by a German emigré, Paul Schäfer, at a cult-religion orphanage in southern Chile.⁸ The film raised the charge that German ambassadors in Santiago had helped to paper over the abuses at "Colonia Dignidad" for decades.

In April 2016, Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier ordered the immediate release of all the ministry's pertinent files through 1996, when Schäfer fled Chile. In other words, Steinmeier suspended the thirty-year rule for the sake of informing the public.⁹ Soon thereafter, he faced demands for a similar opening of German files concerning the military dictatorship in Argentina from 1976 to 1983. In this case Steinmeier balked; yet his reply to the parliament included a surprising amount of detail about the number of files still classified at the Foreign Office, the Chancellor's Office, and the Federal Intelligence Service.¹⁰ All in all, these exchanges suggest that a culture of transparency is beginning to take hold in Germany.

The third and most far-reaching initiative to make classified material more accessible—blanket declassification—was launched in 2009. Recognizing that there was an enormous backlog of classified documents dating all the way back to founding of the FRG in 1949, the federal cabinet mandated an aggressive calendar for the routine declassification of this material across all government ministries. In January 2013, the years 1949–59 were released. Since then, three more years' worth of classified documents are made available with each passing calendar year: through 1962 in 2014; 1965 in 2015; 1968 in 2016; and so forth. Within a few years, the entire decade of the 1970s will be declassified, and the 1980s will soon follow. In 2025, the release schedule will catch up to 1995, and at that point the thirty-year rule will move forward in parallel annual increments for classified and unclassified material.¹¹

Compared with the other two approaches discussed above, this method of declassification is astonishingly un-bureaucratic. Quite suddenly, piles of classified material that historians could not even be sure existed are now available for inspection (or will be soon). There is still a review involved: no volumes can be opened for research until they have been green-lighted by the ministries in which the material originated. And the decree does nothing to create additional funding or positions to undertake the work of declassification.¹²

What, then, should researchers expect when arriving in the German archives? What promise does all of this documentation hold for the study of the Cold War and the world since 1945 more generally? The new system is already well established at the Foreign Office archive (PA/AA). The PA/AA has long been an innovator within the German landscape; digital photography has been permitted there since the early 2000s. (By contrast, the Federal Archives in Koblenz were only just experimenting with photography in 2016.) The collection of the PA/AA is well-cataloged, and the continuing publication of the *AAPD* series ensures that the archive keeps on top of the thirty-year rule when handling unclassified records. So it is no surprise that the PA/AA is handling the new blanket declassification mandate smoothly.

Researchers arriving at the archive should ask for the finding aid for "Bestand 130," which appears to be the archive's destination for all classified records. The finding aid for B 130 is now more than three thousand pages long! Sadly, this PDF is only available for use on the reading room's internal computers. It lists files by internal reference numbers, using a system that might take a little time to master; but a keyword search by country name can quickly move users to volumes of interest. One of the most useful features of the new finding aid is that it lists

many items that are not yet available for release but will be soon, and it indicates when they will become available. This unprecedented level of clarity should be very helpful to researchers trying to plan ahead.

Unlike standard Foreign Office files, which can be ordered through the archive's internal computer system, the newly available classified volumes must be ordered by hand on paper slips. Only at that point is the declassification review process set in motion, so users should anticipate that those volumes will not be available until a week or two has passed. (The wait need not be in vain; there will likely be a sizeable pile of non-classified volumes in the same general subject area.) Some of the classified volumes might, of course, have already gone through review at the behest of other users. In that case, the volumes will show up in the system inventory (known as Invenio) with an "A" designation: 5038A, for example, rather than 5038.

During the review process, individual papers can be removed from the file and replaced with a marker similar to the withdrawal slips familiar to users of the National Archives or the presidential libraries. The archive's willingness to break up a bound volume is novel in German practice: ordinarily, one gets to use all of a volume or none of it. Withdrawn items tend to be confidential documents that originated outside the Foreign Office—the defense ministry, for example, or foreign governments. Getting permission for release of those items would take considerably longer than for internal Foreign Office documents. All in all, however, these withdrawals surely speed up the review process. The withdrawn documents are numbered, and users can petition to have specific documents re-examined down the road.¹³ The upshot is that researchers no longer face the problem of "unknown unknowns." These are known unknowns.

Because declassification is happening on a volume-by-volume basis, many of the documents inside are not physically marked as downgraded. This means certain files that users photograph might still appear to be classified, making their appearance on a laptop something of a liability. So far the Foreign Office archive has not hit upon the convenient workaround established at the National Archives, where "declass" stickers are simply taped down alongside the files being photographed. The safest approach in Berlin is to show the archivists at the reading room desk which items are to be duplicated, so that staff can mark the documents accordingly.

How significant are the newly declassified files? Considering the volume of material in question—millions of pages are in play across the federal ministries—I would not even hazard a guess. To get a sample of the lay of the land, I ordered my first batch of files under blanket declassification during a visit to the Foreign Office archive in June 2016. Having already published an article on West German military aid and arms exports, I wanted to know what I had missed without having had full access to classified material.¹⁴ It turned out that nearly every declassified volume contained between two and three hundred pages of rich documentation. For starters, I was able to follow the interaction between Bonn's foreign office and the defense ministry in much greater detail. Coordination between these two agencies—whether in Bonn or halfway around the world—was so poor that foreign governments successfully played German diplomats and Bundeswehr officers against one another in order to secure higher levels of military aid.

Historians of decolonization may see a big payoff from the sudden availability of the full German record. The files show just how touchy newly independent countries such as Guinea and Nigeria could be about sovereignty issues, such as the legal status of German officers working in their countries. In their own way, officials in Bonn's defense ministry were jealous of their sovereignty as well;

in the early 1960s they refused to inform British diplomats about military sales to Africa, fearing competition from UK manufacturers. However, West Germans showed a far greater openness toward coordinating with their American counterparts. German diplomats and officers recognized the dangers of developing too stark a military presence in Third World, yet they were pulled in anyway by governments impressed by German technical prowess. By late 1964, a German lieutenant colonel was in command of Nigeria's fledgling air force—until he refused orders from the Lagos government to bomb an opposition group.

Not surprisingly, peculiar angles on the Arab-Israeli conflict are abundant. In 1964, for example, a Libyan pilot-in-training was expelled from Germany after insulting an Israeli trainee at an army base. That same year, Sudanese authorities were furious to learn that mortars supplied by a staggeringly large German aid program had been partially manufactured in Israel. Meanwhile, Bonn's defense ministry apparently saw no downside to helping Egypt design its own jet fighter. The ministry assumed—correctly, as it turned out—that the project would eventually falter. Looking ahead, document releases in 2017 and 2018 may offer valuable perspectives on German government responses to a wave of Palestinian terror attacks in the early 1970s.¹⁵

Cold War historians might be intrigued by German reporting from foreign capitals. German diplomats stayed on in Havana and Tehran long after the U.S. embassies had closed. In the second half of the 1970s, Bonn threw its support behind U.S. (and South African) efforts to thwart Soviet advances in Angola, Ethiopia, and beyond. West German sources might be quite valuable in writing the history of those proxy wars, particularly if East German sources are used in parallel. Then again, stacks and stacks of volumes concerning the Cold War in Europe will open soon and will include subjects like Willy Brandt's famous *Ostpolitik* and the "Helsinki Process." For both of these subjects, the corresponding AAPD volumes already offer substantial coverage, yet it will surely be worthwhile to see what upcoming releases show.

The German archives are significantly underutilized, at least by historians writing for the English-language historical community. Graduate students studying U.S. foreign relations or international history would do well to develop a reading knowledge of German, and established scholars might wish to dust off their German-language skills. The declassification of millions of pages of government files promises to touch off a gold rush—or perhaps a "black/red/gold" rush?

Notes:

1. In theory, all government records fall under the purview of the Federal Archives system. Most of the ministry files are in Koblenz, including those of the Chancellor's Office (Bundeskanzleramt), the Ministry for Economic Affairs (Bundesministerium für Wirtschaft), and the Ministry of Finance (Bundesministerium der Finanzen). The defense ministry—and the files of the Bundeswehr—are located in the system's Military Archive in Koblenz. The Foreign Office retains control of its documents in a special in-house archive that is designed to serve the ongoing needs of the diplomatic corps.

2. "Bundesregierung verlangt Herausgabe der Akten von Helmut Schmidt," *Spiegel Online*, May 14, 2016, at <http://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/bundesregierung-verlangt-herausgabe-der-akten-von-helmut-schmidt-a-1092321.html>.

3. Eckart Conze, Norbert Frei, Peter Hayes, and Moshe Zimmermann, *Das Amt und die Vergangenheit. Deutsche Diplomaten im Dritten Reich und in der Bundesrepublik* (Munich, 2010). For an overview of scholarly and journalistic responses to the report, which were quite critical, see Martin Sabrow and Christian Mentel, eds., *Das Auswärtige Amt und seine unstrittene Vergangenheit. Eine deutsche Debatte* (Frankfurt, 2014). Full disclosure: I contributed two brief

sections to *Das Amt*, but I had no opportunity to preview the work as a whole and find the book's conclusions regarding postwar personnel policy to be overdrawn.

4. Imanuel Baumann et al., eds., *Schatten der Vergangenheit. Das BKA und seine Gründungsgeneration in der frühen Bundesrepublik* (Köln, 2011); Constantin Goschler and Michael Wala, *Keine neue Gestapo: Das Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz und die NS-Vergangenheit* (Reinbek, 2015). The team studying the early years of the Bundesnachrichtendienst (BND), led by Jost Dülffer, is still completing its report. On the Interior Ministry's program, which is just getting under way, see Sven Felix Kellerhoff, "Wie gute Auarbeitung aussieht—und wie nicht," *Die Welt*, Feb. 5, 2015.

5. Joseph Foschepoth, *Überwachtes Deutschland. Post- und Telefonüberwachung in der alten Bundesrepublik*, 4. Auflage (Göttingen, 2014).

6. Kai Biermann und Martin Kotynek, "Achtung! Geschäftsgeheimnis," *Die Zeit*, April 18, 2013.

7. For an exchange on the subject, see Stephan Lehnstaedt and Bastian Stemmer, "Akteneinsicht. Das Informationsfreiheitsgesetz und die Historiker," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 60, 6 (2012): 493–512; and Martina Wiech, "Informationsfreiheit. Eine Erwiderung aus archivischer Sicht zum Beitrag von Stephan Lehnstaedt und Bastian Stemmer," *Archivar* 66, 1 (Feb. 2013): 49–50.

8. The film was released in the United States as *The Colony*.

9. Richard A. Fuchs, "Die Akte 'Colonia Dignidad' wird geöffnet," *Deutsche Welle*, April 27, 2016, at <http://www.dw.com/de/die-akte-colonia-dignidad-wird-geoffnet/a-19216664>.

10. Antwort der Bundesregierung, July 21, 2016, Drucksache

18/2160, at <http://dip21.bundestag.de/dip21/btd/18/092/1809260.pdf>. According to Steinmeier, nearly all of the Foreign Office files on Argentina are already open; just three remain closed.

11. BMI-Pressemitteilung, "Neuregelung zur Freigabe von Verschlussachen des Bundes beschlossen," Sept. 16, 2009, at <http://www.bmi.bund.de/SharedDocs/Pressemitteilungen/DE/2009/mitMarginalspalte/09/verschlussachen.html>.

12. A round table of archivists at the German Studies Association in October 2015 discussed the challenges in detail. I am thankful to the participants in this session for their insights: Rainer Hering of the Schleswig-Holstein State Archive; Martin Häußermann of the Baden-Württemberg State Archive; Knud Piening of the Foreign Office Political Archive; Andrea Hänger of the Federal Archives in Koblenz; and Ulrich von Bülow of the Marbach Literary Archive.

13. Further, items that are still classified are entered into a centralized digital "Nachweisdatenbank" to facilitate declassification decisions down the road.

14. William Glenn Gray, "Waffen aus Deutschland? Zur parlamentarischen Kontrolle der Rüstungshilfe und der Waffenausfuhr, 1961–1975," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 64, 2 (April 2016): 327–64. Research and writing for the piece was largely completed in 2013, before declassified files for the 1960s were available. Fortunately, various years of the AAPD and B 150 did provide a good sample of the material otherwise still classified.

15. For background, see Jeffrey Herf, *Undeclared Wars with Israel: East Germany and the West German Far Left, 1967–1989* (Cambridge, UK, 2016).

Book Reviews

Jon A. Shields and Joshua M. Dunn Sr., *Passing on the Right: Conservative Professors in the Progressive University* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016)

Robert David Johnson

Jon Shields and Joshua Dunn have produced a remarkable study of conservatives within the academy. Focusing on six disciplines—economics, sociology, history, political science, literature, and philosophy—they show how conservatives have successfully navigated a sometimes hostile intellectual environment (outside of economics, at least) by focusing on non-political matters, where they can find common ground with leftwing colleagues, and by concealing their views to varying extents.

An extraordinarily rich research base of detailed interviews with 153 conservative professors (19 percent of whom come from history departments) gives a sense of the conservative mindset in the academy. These professors are not, for the most part, radicals. They generally reflect Republican beliefs—except on immigration, which they overwhelmingly favor. Shields and Dunn portray them as “Madisonian”; they tend to be suspicious of the Tea Party and concerned with the GOP leadership’s lack of faithfulness to conservative principles. On social issues, majorities oppose abortion and marriage for same-sex couples. Many have a fondness for their departments and institutions, even as they admit they sometimes receive poor treatment. The authors, who concede they could have been subjects in their own study, clearly believe that higher education would be better served if it included at least a few more people with such beliefs.

The book offers two broad and not necessarily compatible theses. First, Shields and Dunn suggest that the paucity of conservatives in academia can be alleviated only by more conservatives voluntarily entering the profession—a pipeline problem, in other words. Second, they portray the contemporary academy as one in which conservative academics routinely engage in self-censorship to protect their professional standing.

Although they downplay the phenomenon, the authors don’t deny that intentional discrimination against conservative job applicants occurs. They quote from a number of senior professors with unambiguously closed-minded, negative views about conservatives. (One law professor, for example, declared that “the fact that conservatives are more dogmatic, intolerant of ambiguity, rigid and closed-minded, than are liberals, may explain why fewer of them are hired than their more open-minded, flexible colleagues.”) Shields and Dunn also—correctly—dismiss claims by defenders of the status quo that ideological discrimination is all but impossible, since hiring committees have no way to discern the political viewpoints of applicants. They even counsel conservatives to avoid sociology altogether, given its left-leaning nature as a field. The one shortcoming in this section is that the authors don’t discuss the increasing tendency of institutions to require applicants to demonstrate a commitment to “diversity” as

part of the job interview. That requirement could introduce ideological litmus tests into the search process far more easily than the book suggests.¹

In the event, Shields and Dunn don’t see discrimination in the search process as a key factor in explaining the academy’s ideological imbalance. Instead, they lament that a vicious circle has developed, in which rightwing attacks on the university (which the authors consider “overdrawn”) discourage young conservatives from choosing academics as a career. Then, because liberal professors don’t often “encounter thoughtful conservative intellectuals,” they come to associate conservatism with anti-intellectual, populist approaches, and that results in a myth that conservatives are poorly suited to academic life. This belief, in turn, hampers the prospects of the few conservatives who do choose higher education for a career.

Even as Shields and Dunn urge more conservatives to enter academic life, they uncover a culture of conservative self-censorship, a willingness to stay quiet for the sake of professional advancement or personal relationships. One chapter on “closeted conservatives” features a conservative professor who remarks that he is “the equivalent of someone who was gay in Mississippi in 1950. That’s how comfortable I feel. I’m basically looking to hide.”

Though the quote seems extreme, the sentiment appears to be widespread. Forty-six percent of the book’s subjects have engaged in at least one form of self-censorship. The most common forms are withholding information from CVs and refraining from writing editorials that would reveal the professor as a conservative. Even more alarming, though less common, are indications that self-censorship affects research choices: scholars may eschew grants from foundations perceived as rightwing or simply avoid subjects considered conservative.

that self-censorship affects research choices: scholars may eschew grants from foundations perceived as rightwing or simply avoid subjects considered conservative. Shields and Dunn suggest that conservative scholars become less closeted once they receive tenure (42 percent of conservative historians say that they concealed their political beliefs while untenured), but the habit of self-censorship can be hard to break. Moreover, even tenured professors can have a variety of reasons—ensuring favorable teaching schedules, safeguarding access to sabbaticals or university grants, or simply maintaining relationships with longstanding colleagues—to continue a pattern of self-censorship.

The data on self-censorship is quite convincing, so the authors’ decision to bolster it by including a section on the experience of Mark Regnerus is unfortunate. After the University of Texas sociologist produced a major study that he said showed how children raised by same-sex couples fared worse than children raised by married heterosexual couples, hundreds of liberal sociologists criticized him, and the journal in which he published conducted an audit of the publication process. Shields and Dunn lament the Regnerus affair for the “signals it sends to more reticent academics.” Yet they chose not to mention that—after Regnerus’s disastrous performance as an expert witness in the bench trial, before a Reagan-nominated federal judge, over Michigan’s marriage amendment—even the state of Utah (no bastion of political correctness) disclaimed any

reliance on his study's findings.² The real lesson of the Regnerus affair seems to be that conservatives get much less of a pass on bad scholarship.

If I were a conservative (although I am a critic of many elements of the contemporary academy, politically I am a centrist Democrat), I would not be eager to enter a profession in which I—but not those on the other side of the political aisle—needed to refrain from participation as a full citizen. Shields and Dunn argue that conservatives outside academia “should be careful not to overstate the intolerance inside its walls,” but they never really grapple with the question of why large numbers of conservative students would want to enter the environment that the book describes.

The authors conclude by offering suggestions on how to improve the position of conservatives in the academy. Joining nearly all of their interview subjects, they reject the idea of affirmative action for conservatives. They urge administrators to add political pluralism as part of institutions' commitment to racial, ethnic, and gender diversity; and they hope that leftwing professors will make it clear that they welcome conservative perspectives on campus. Neither development seems terribly likely. Another of their suggestions seems more promising, and is of direct relevance to historians in general and diplomatic historians in particular: they urge administrators to consider a greater focus on pedagogical diversity, with a special emphasis on neglected subfields. Such areas could include the history of religion or business, along with military, constitutional, ancient, and some types of political and diplomatic history.

“One cannot always spot a conservative professor by reading his or her scholarship,” the authors note. But if affirmative action for conservatives is unwise and relying on the good will of those currently in power is naïve, then indirect ways of enhancing ideological diversity on campus might be the best option. And if that approach has the effect of broadening the range of faculty perspectives in most history departments, so much the better.

Notes:

1. For an example, see “UC to Request ‘Diversity and Inclusion’ Statements of New Faculty, Staff Job Applicants,” 22 June 2016, <http://www.uc.edu/news/NR.aspx?id=23526>.

2. Dale Carpenter, “Utah Backs Away from Anti-Gay Parenting Study,” *Volokh Conspiracy (blog)*, 10 April 2014, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/volokh-conspiracy/wp/2014/04/10/utah-backs-away-from-anti-gay-parenting-study/>.

Review of Timothy Nunan, *Humanitarian Invasion: Global Development in Cold War Afghanistan* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015)

Elisabeth Leake

The history of Afghanistan has been a focus of scholarly debate in the decades since the September 11 attacks. Many historians have sought answers for the impasse in the “War on Terror” and for NATO's intervention in Afghanistan in nineteenth-century British colonial encounters with Afghan representatives (implicitly recognizing that an Afghan nation-state did not necessarily yet exist). But increasingly, they have turned to Afghanistan's twentieth-century past and its interactions with the international community. Timothy

Nunan's *Humanitarian Invasion* joins works by scholars such as Artemy Kalinovsky and Nick Cullather in recognizing the numerous links that Afghanistan—so often sidelined in area studies of South Asia, Central Asia, or the Middle East—shared with the international community, both before and during the Soviet intervention in 1979.

Nunan's *Humanitarian Invasion* is an ambitious study of “a history of sovereignty in Afghanistan seen through foreign eyes” (17). He considers how a number of actors from across the Soviet Union and Europe understood, molded, or undermined the Afghan state, particularly in the latter half of the twentieth century. His narrative emphasizes the tensions that emerged between “a territorial order of states and a transnational order of human beings” (5)—in other words, a clash between state officials and policymakers interested in defining a specific Afghan space, on the one hand, and humanitarian organizations interested in Afghans across borders, on the other.

Nunan's study covers events from 1919 onwards, though his story is strongest in its detailing of events in and after the 1970s. Each chapter largely revolves around a certain set of actors and their understandings of and practices in Afghanistan. The first two chapters detail, respectively, Soviet intellectual conceptions of Afghan history and foreign efforts to develop Afghanistan's economy and state against the backdrop of the global Cold War. The next five reveal numerous ways in which the Afghan nation-state was destabilized and re-conceptualized during the Soviet invasion. These chapters focus on the key roles played by Soviet youth advisers (chapter 4), Soviet and Soviet-sponsored women's activist groups (chapter 5), and the USSR's Border Forces (chapter 6). The story of European humanitarians, particularly those working under the auspices of Doctors without Borders

and the Swedish Committee for Afghanistan, intertwines and overlaps with this focus on Soviet actors (chapters 3, 6, and 7).

Throughout the text, Nunan effectively demonstrates the complexity of the “idea” of Afghanistan. Describing a range of foreign actors—Soviet policymakers, intellectuals, development experts, and border guards; European humanitarian workers; West German and American technocrats—he illustrates the frequent difficulties that foreigners had in translating their understandings of Afghanistan into political, social, developmental, or economic change. Frequently, attempts to undertake specific development efforts, assert Afghanistan's international borders as matching the sovereign claims of the Afghan state, or change (or “modernize” or “Sovietize”) Afghanistan's social structures ended in failure.

One of Nunan's key goals is to demonstrate that Afghanistan was a critical battlefield of the Cold War, not only between East and West but between different leftist actors. Accordingly, he offers broader reflections on the rise of humanitarian concerns within the European left and on Soviet conceptualizations of territoriality and statehood. He also highlights geopolitics and local Afghan concerns, as well as foreigners' myopia, as key causes for the disconnect between Afghanistan as a place and Afghanistan as a state. Focusing specifically on Central and South Asia, he links developments in Afghanistan directly to the 1947 partition of South Asia, through which independent Pakistan emerged. The specter of “Pashtunistan” (Afghan leaders demanded, albeit in ambiguous terms, that such an autonomous state be crafted from the ethnically Pashtun regions of

Pakistan) runs throughout the narrative. The promotion of Pashtunistan served as a tool for bringing international attention and, subsequently, financial and political support to Afghanistan. But it also detracted from political relations with Pakistan and destabilized the Durand Line as an international boundary. Both these factors had serious repercussions during the Soviet invasion: with Pakistani state support, for example, mujahidin fighters began to move from Pakistan into Afghanistan.

Nunan's discussion of Afghan sovereignty as it was understood and acted upon by both Afghans and foreigners is one of the most interesting, though complicated, aspects of the text. He cautions against unqualified acceptance of the idea that modern-day Afghanistan is a "failed state," based on territoriality and economy, and he points to different ways in which Afghan sovereignty has been both affirmed and undermined in the twentieth century by local as well as foreign actors. The Afghans refused to acknowledge the Durand Line as an international boundary shared with Pakistan; Afghan leaders focused on Pashtun nationalism as a source of national cohesion and a way to appeal to the international community; humanitarians engaged in transborder collaborations with the mujahidin; the Soviet Border Force engaged in activity miles deep into Afghan territory.

This discussion proves both a strength and a challenge of the book. Nunan links events in Afghanistan to "global transformations in the concept of sovereignty" (10), but his definition of sovereignty shifts. At various points, he describes sovereignty in terms of territoriality, postcolonialism, socialism, ethnonationalism, and developmentalism. What he certainly makes clear is that despite these "isms," both foreign and local actors struggled to exert sovereignty as the ability and right to govern. These are critical points, but the complexity of the ideas, embedded in a narrative involving numerous actors at numerous points in time, can on occasion make following the narrative and argument an exacting task.

Humanitarian Invasion is an important book that complicates and expands the ways in which we can understand Afghanistan's interactions with the rest of the world. Read alongside other works on twentieth-century Afghanistan, such as those by Kalinovsky, Cullather, Thomas Barfield, and David Edwards, it reveals a fraught story of a state built and a state undermined. Nunan rightly demonstrates that far beyond being just a "graveyard of empire," Afghanistan has played a critical role in shaping both regional and international relations in the twentieth century, with major repercussions for state and non-state actors in the twenty-first.

Review of Aragorn Storm Miller, *Prekarious Paths to Freedom: The United States, Venezuela, and the Latin American Cold War* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2016)

Michael E. Neagle

By almost all accounts, Venezuela descended into chaos in the post-Hugo Chávez era. As *The Atlantic* reported in May 2016, the country "experienced the kind of implosion that hardly ever occurs in a middle-income country like it outside of war."¹ The litany of problems included spikes in violent crime, rampant corruption, extraordinary inflation, rising poverty, and widespread

shortages of staple goods such as bread and toilet paper. What's more, U.S.-Venezuelan diplomatic relations remained in a deep freeze for the better part of the twenty-first century. Despite the mutually beneficial patron-client connection that Venezuelan oil provided, Chávez had looked to distinguish his "Bolivarian Revolution" and disrupt the pattern of U.S. hegemony over Latin America by tweaking and criticizing the "Colossus of the North" at every opportunity. Little of this dynamic changed after Chávez's death in March 2013.

Aragorn Storm Miller points out that conditions in Venezuela were far different a half-century ago. Certainly, the country faced its share of challenges, not least of which was fending off a variety of small-scale rebellions as the nation cemented a transition from autocracy to democracy. But from the late 1950s throughout much of the 1960s, Venezuela seemed to be a pillar of progressive socioeconomic development and a reliable Cold War ally for the United States. The two nations enjoyed a strong bilateral relationship that was as durable as any that the United States had in the region.

Miller's central argument is that Venezuela was a successful bulwark against leftist revolution at a time when the Cuban Revolution's international popularity was at its peak. More importantly, Venezuela was able to forestall a socialist uprising without succumbing to the military dictatorships and right-wing counterrevolutions that many other countries in the region endured. Miller makes the case that Venezuela served as the "essential third party" (xx) in the Cold War rivalry between the United States and Cuba for influence and allies in Latin America. In the end, he asserts, Venezuela's strong connection to the United States shows that U.S. Cold War policy was not a total failure.

Miller does not refute the contention that U.S. Cold War policies exacerbated violent conflicts across the region, as recent studies by Stephen Rabe, Gilbert Joseph, Greg Grandin, and Daniela Spenser have shown.²

But in a time before the grotesque excesses of reactionist governments like those that would come to power in Argentina and Chile, the U.S. approach to Venezuela—particularly its encouragement of political moderation and socioeconomic development—was a model that could and should have been followed in the rest of the hemisphere. Instead, by the late 1960s the United States opted to support a more militarily oriented, authoritarian-friendly approach to anticommunism, one that would have severely detrimental effects in the region.

Miller's narrative of Venezuela's emergence as a progressive yet avowedly anticommunist nation is mostly chronological. Its evolution began with the fall of strongman Marcos Pérez Jiménez and the ensuing rise of Romulo Betancourt, who was elected to the presidency in 1958. The first of the book's six chapters mainly spotlights Betancourt, who stands as the pivotal figure in this story. Driven by a commitment to democracy, socioeconomic development, and independence from foreign interventions, Betancourt set the policy template that would be followed by his successors.

Although his views dovetailed with those of the John F. Kennedy administration, Betancourt was no U.S. proxy. While a dependable Cold War ally, he also tried to nudge the United States away from its traditional support of authoritarian leaders. That effort earned him the enmity of Rafael Trujillo of the Dominican Republic. Chapter 2 examines how Betancourt fended off challenges from the right, including those directly supported by

the longtime Dominican dictator. These challenges backfired, serving only to boost Betancourt's popularity in Venezuela and provide additional support for his political platform. Betancourt's resilience convinced the Kennedy administration that it had a useful ally in the region who could be a "bulwark against political extremism and . . . a key partner in the implementation of socioeconomic modernization in the form of the Alliance for Progress" (63).

Chapter 3 chronicles the challenges that Betancourt faced from leftist groups, particularly those inspired by the Cuban Revolution. While the Venezuelan Communist Party attempted to reform the existing system, other small-scale factions took up arms. Miller deftly illustrates that the left's lack of solidarity and the strength of the U.S.-Venezuelan alliance isolated and weakened these groups. And much like Trujillo, whose animosity toward Betancourt led to a fraying of Venezuelan-Dominican relations, Fidel Castro met with little success in Venezuela: his support of leftist rebels strained the nation's ties with Cuba. In fact, the two countries severed diplomatic relations in 1961.

The ascension of Lyndon Johnson to the Oval Office heralded an important shift in U.S. policy. Miller shows in chapter 4 that Johnson did not want to wait for socioeconomic development, which Kennedy had supported through the Alliance for Progress, to create stability in Latin America. He put more emphasis on military force to suppress leftist rebellions. The new Venezuelan president, Raúl Leoni, Betancourt's democratically elected successor, supported this approach, as small-scale uprisings continued to plague Venezuela, and he was just as fervently anti-Castro as his predecessor. Miller demonstrates that not all Cold War-era hostility toward Cuba originated from the United States.

In chapters 5 and 6, the narrative focuses on the various Venezuelan revolutionary groups. As small-scale attacks continued, Venezuela's government—supported by military aid from the United States—began to emphasize anti-guerrilla actions more heavily. Miller makes the compelling case, though, that the guerrilla groups were undone as much by a lack of cohesion as they were by Venezuelan authorities. By the mid- to late 1960s, the revolutionary movement had fractured, and the broader appeal of Soviet-style communism was undermined by the USSR's 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia. By then, only about 200 guerrilla fighters remained at large, and that number dwindled further still. This decline leads Miller to conclude that although Venezuela was "the country most targeted by the forces of hemispheric extremism throughout the previous decade, democracy had thrived and the country was well into an era of unprecedented prosperity at the national and per capita level" (210).

On the whole, Miller provides a lucid narrative political history that illustrates Venezuela's importance in Cold War Latin America. Castro viewed it as a significant prize in his rivalry with the United States, because it would serve as both a potential gateway to socialist revolution in South America and a key source of oil that could help sustain Cuba. Miller concedes that he was not able to access many Venezuelan government documents of the era; nevertheless, he makes good use of published primary sources to illuminate the perspectives of both state and non-state actors, including politicians and guerrilla leaders. He also brings in new archival materials from the Dominican Republic that chronicled how Trujillo tried to undermine the Betancourt government.

As a bilateral study of U.S.-Venezuelan relations, Miller's book is a triumph. As a regional history, it could have been stronger if it had greater depth in Dominican and especially Cuban perspectives (since the Cuban Revolution figures heavily in the narrative). One of its other problems is nomenclature. In many instances, Miller refers to leftist rebels as "extremists" and "terrorists," but he doesn't

define these terms. They are loaded qualifiers that merit more careful explanation.

These points, however, should not detract from this study's achievement in showing the importance of Venezuela during the early years of the Cold War in Latin America. This book will be of particular use to U.S. foreign relations and Latin American scholars, especially for its insight into Venezuela. Miller's contribution adds important nuance to our understanding of how the Cold War transpired in Latin America.

Notes:

1. Moisés Naím and Francisco Toro, "Venezuela is Falling Apart: Scenes from Daily Life in a Failing State," *The Atlantic*, May 12, 2016, <http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2016/05/venezuela-is-falling-apart/481755/>.

2. Stephen G. Rabe, *The Killing Zone: The United States Wages Cold War in Latin America* (New York, 2011); Gilbert M. Joseph and Greg Grandin, eds., *A Century of Revolution: Insurgent and Counterinsurgent Violence during Latin America's Long Cold War* (Durham, NC, 2010); Gilbert M. Joseph and Daniela Spenser, *In From the Cold: Latin America's New Encounter with the Cold War* (Durham, NC, 2008).

The Myth of the No-Spin Zone: A Review of David Greenberg's *Republic of Spin: An Inside History of the American Presidency* (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, 2016)

Autumn Lass

What is spin? Has a "no-spin zone" ever truly existed or has "spin" always been an integral part of modern presidential communication? David Greenberg answers these questions emphatically in his *Republic of Spin*, which provides a thorough narrative of the history of spin and its relationship with the American presidency. He examines the development of presidential communication in conjunction with the evolution of communication technology, shifts in publicity and advertising trends, and the changing nature of the American public; and he argues that "the emergence of a strong presidency in the twentieth century brought with it an increasing need for presidents (as well as their aforementioned rivals and critics) to master the arts of public persuasion, in order to promote their policies and themselves (6)." *Republic of Spin* tells three distinct stories. First, Greenberg recounts the rise of presidential spin and the men behind its evolution; second, he describes the changing nature and attitudes of the American public toward spin; and third, he examines the continually contested nature of presidential spin. In combining these stories, Greenberg provides an excellent political history of the twentieth century and of the modern presidency in the United States.

To accomplish this enormous task, Greenberg delves deep into the historiographies of presidential communication throughout the twentieth century. He also examines a plethora of primary sources ranging from oral histories, government documents, and private papers. His book is divided into six different ages: publicity, ballyhoo, communication, news management, image-making, and spin. Each section examines how the presidents (and their public relation advisors) of that age approached managing and communicating with the public. These divisions serve as excellent markers for the major events and shifts in American history during the twentieth century. It is no coincidence that changes to presidential communication are directly related to improvements in technology and major events in U.S. history. Greenberg does an excellent job of linking those connections throughout his work.

Greenberg tackles the incredibly complicated task of defining spin at the very beginning of his work. According

to Greenberg, spin is just the most current name given to the ancient practice of rhetoric. He claims that "spin has always been a part of politics" and that it has always been required in the American democratic because politicians must "appeal to the public (4)." Using this broad definition, he argues that spin has undergone several name changes. These names include publicity, public relations, propaganda, communication, news management, psychological warfare, public diplomacy, image-making, strategic communication, and, finally, spin (7). The varying names are indicative of the changing nature of presidential communication as well as the shifting public opinion toward spin. Greenberg argues that the term spin is symptomatic of our time, like news management and ballyhoo, before it. It reflects the public's awareness and wariness of political manipulation. Ultimately, he maintains that public opinion toward presidential spin is dual-natured. As a society we decry spin for Platonic reasons: all rhetoric is fraudulent and used to manipulate the public. Yet we still ascribe to the Aristotelian understanding of rhetoric: it exists and that it can be used for both good and evil. (9-10.)

The author's first age, the age of publicity, ranges from the presidency of William McKinley to that of Woodrow Wilson. Greenberg argues that President Theodore Roosevelt initiated presidential publicity. Roosevelt felt that the president should guide the public into supporting progressive policies and strongly believed that creating an educated populace was key to building a stronger democracy. The Age of Publicity culminates with the Committee on Public Information. Wilson and George Creel's communication tactics turned into propaganda, which led to public skepticism toward presidential efforts to mold public opinion.

The next stage, the age of ballyhoo, involves the rise of industries of advertising and public relations. Greenberg argues that these industries brought new methods of creating and spreading messages to the public. He examines the professional lives and contributions of men like Albert Lasker, Bruce Barton, and Edward Bernays. Combined with the advent of public relations, the rise of the radio made reaching the masses even easier for presidents. The presidents of the 1920s continued to advance the development of spin: President Harding, for example, brought in professional speechwriters. Yet these advances were met with considerable pushback from journalists and intellectuals who began to equate executive publicity with propaganda (169).

The crises of the 1930s and 1940s helped to ease growing public anxiety toward presidential publicity. During this period, President Roosevelt perfected the use of the radio with his fireside chats and utilized pollsters to gauge shifts in public opinions. According to Greenberg, the development of spin was greatly aided by the crises of the Great Depression and World War II, which it reduced criticism and opened up more avenues to the president. New leaders in public relations also emerged mollifying fears of government publicity. Scholars such as Archibald MacLeish believed it was the government's responsibility to spread the truth and rally public support during times of crisis.

The Cold War brought about a new age of presidential communication - the age of news management. During the presidencies of both Truman and Eisenhower, the government strictly guarded information and carefully controlled what and how the media reported about policies and events while working even harder to sustain popular support. This more controlled approach to information resurrected criticism of presidential communication, and many scholars labeled it an attempt at manipulation of public opinion. Another important change that influenced presidential communication was the advent of television. Television allowed presidents to present themselves

visually to the public and create an even more direct link to the masses. Its true impact on presidential spin became clear in the age of image-making. President Kennedy used television to much the same way Roosevelt used radio, but his telegenic appearance and calm demeanor on the screen helped him ease growing concern over the misuse of the technology (317).

Television increased the importance of images and appearances in presidential communication. Because it created a closer connection between the president and the people, Johnson's failure to live up to his image and messages during the Vietnam War did serious damage to his standing with the American public and to executive communication (317). The increased consumption of government communications made it even more important to carefully control information and more crucial for presidents to live up to the images they tried to convey in their messages.

In the final age, the age of spin, Greenberg examines presidential communication from Nixon to Obama. He contends that the presidents of this era were not tactical innovators but instead more focused on selling themselves and their policies to the American public. But as the intensity of the selling increased, so too did the public's awareness of spin also grew. More fractionalized news media and outlets led to increased partisanship within the American populace and among politicians, which made executive publicity and public opinion management even more difficult. To combat this more hostile environment, President Obama lamented the use of spin and promised to change the culture in Washington in an effort to combat this more hostile environment. According to Greenberg, this "no-spin" was the "spin of no spin (441)." He contends that while it did help to get President Obama elected, it was unhelpful in tempering the mounting public cynicism toward Washington and presidential publicity.

Greenberg sets out two broad conclusions. First, *Republic of Spin* makes a clear case that the contested nature of spin demonstrates deep-seated and long-lasting questions about the relationships between democracy, public opinion, and national leadership (447). In a democracy, can or should the president actively work to shape public opinion? What should the limits of such those actions be? Where is the line between spin and propaganda? Greenberg show us that the answers to these questions are constantly changing and evolving due to circumstances (both domestic and international) and new technology. Second, Greenberg determines that after years of spin and persuasion the American public have now reached the point where no one will "be able to persuade anyone of anything (447)." He laments this new trend. In fact, Greenberg's most important conclusion is "if spin is used for misleading, it's also used for leading (448)." He contends that while some presidents have used spin to feed wartime hysteria and fear others have used it to help establish policies that ultimately served the public's needs.

Greenberg's *Republic of Spin* is an excellent examination of presidential communication and opinion management. He provides not only an insight into the evolution of spin but also a much deeper look into the men behind the curtains who helped to direct the development of presidential spin. One of the book's many strengths is the deep examination of the contributions made by these men (speechwriters, publicists, public relations experts, pollsters, and image-makers) and the analysis of the intellectual debates over the place of and need for presidential publicity. *Republic of Spin* is also an excellent study of how changes to technology - particularly communication - directly affect presidential politics and public policy. Taking his analysis all the way to the Obama administration's use of Twitter, YouTube, and other social media platforms, Greenberg shows us just how important technological advances have been to the

evolution of presidential spin.

Finally, the organization of Greenberg's book is masterful. It not only helps the reader follow the long history of the development of presidential spin but also helps to solidify Greenberg's argument that the history of the presidency and the development of U.S. politics are directly tied to the evolution of spin. Throughout the book, Greenberg focuses on the unique contributions of each president to the development of spin and demonstrates that presidential spin did not just instantly appear in the twenty-first century but instead evolved throughout the course of the American presidency.

Greenberg offers his readers some parting advice. Although at times it is easier to always follow Plato's lead and dismiss all the communications of those in authority as duplicitous, he encourages us to follow Aristotle's "to see that it isn't really spin itself we fear but rather its use by the wrong leaders, at the wrong moment, for the wrong ends (448)."

Review of Edwina S. Campbell, *Citizen of a Wider Commonwealth: Ulysses S. Grant's Postpresidential Diplomacy* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2016)

Tizoc Chavez

In the last two years of his presidency, Dwight Eisenhower journeyed abroad on several goodwill tours. He met numerous world leaders, visited every continent, and was greeted enthusiastically by millions. Journalist Merriam Smith, who accompanied Eisenhower on his travels, wrote that "an American President must be a participating citizen of the world and not an absentee benefactor."¹ Eight decades earlier another general who became president made a similar tour of the globe. Between 1877 and 1879, Ulysses S. Grant visited Europe, the Middle East, the Indian subcontinent, and the Far East. Though Grant's sojourn abroad came in his postpresidential years, his trip foreshadowed the kind Eisenhower and other modern presidents took and continue to take.

In *Citizen of a Wider Commonwealth*, Edwina Campbell documents Grant's forgotten travels. She contends that his "world tour has not so much been mischaracterized . . . as it has not been characterized at all" (1). Be they military, diplomatic, or presidential, historians have either ignored Grant's multiyear stay abroad or treated it as a side note at best. He has also been portrayed as simply a tourist. But Campbell persuasively shows that was not the case. Rather, Grant was engaged in important diplomacy on behalf of the U.S. government.

However, while the U.S. government sought to use Grant in the role of what today would be called a special ambassador and offered him the use of U.S. naval ships, it gave him little direction, offering "only the broadest guidance . . . in terms of *what* it wanted him to accomplish and nothing at all . . . about *how*" (4). Thus, Grant had to improvise. In the process, he pioneered certain practices and dealt with issues that would become central to American diplomacy in the twentieth century. Campbell argues that Grant served U.S. interests in three areas. First, he interacted directly with the people of the countries he visited, thus inaugurating the practice of public diplomacy. Second, he engaged in summitry with other world leaders from Europe to Asia. And third, while in Asia, he grappled with the issue of self-determination.

Part of what made Grant's journey so important was the context in which it occurred. A little over a decade removed from the Civil War, the United States was seen as a rising power with great potential, and as American interests grew around the world, many abroad—both government officials and private citizens—wanted to better

understand the nation. Grant provided an opportunity for them to do so. He "personified American republicanism and nationalism," Campbell writes (24). Everything he said and did was imbued with special meaning. And for most foreign officials, Grant was the first American president they had ever met. Thus, all the world leaders who encountered him at the summit were not only taking measure of him personally, but learning what an American president was like.

Adding extra drama to the trip was the possibility that Grant might serve a third term as president. There was speculation that Republicans might nominate him again in 1880. Foreign leaders and officials were well aware of this possibility and therefore keen to speak to Grant, not only to get the views of the next potential American leader, but also to perhaps ingratiate themselves with him. At the same time, Grant's successful diplomacy added to the presidential buzz back home.

Grant's journey began in Europe in May 1877, where he traveled all over the United Kingdom and Western Europe. In December he left to tour the Mediterranean, visiting Italy, Greece, the Ottoman Empire, and Egypt. In May 1878, he returned to Europe for the rest of the year, engaging extensively in summitry. As 1878 came to an end, it did not appear that Grant's European sojourn would turn into a worldwide journey. But some members of his traveling party, such as his wife and journalist John Russell Young, urged him to continue east, and when Secretary of the Navy Richard Thompson wrote Grant about how a journey east would be an exercise in public and commercial diplomacy, the former president decided to accept. Thompson put the flagship vessel of the U.S. Asiatic fleet at Grant's disposal and said that his trip would "so arrest public attention as to bring prominently into view, not merely the character and extent of our commerce, but the nature and value of our institutions" (93). In January 1879, Grant took off from France on a journey that would take him to Egypt again on his way to India, Burma, Singapore, Thailand, China, and Japan.

It was not until September 1879 that he set foot back in the United States, arriving in San Francisco to an enthusiastic reception. But Grant's foreign policy advocacy was not finished. On his journey back east from the West Coast, he gave a variety of speeches and interviews, even meeting with President Rutherford B. Hayes. Campbell shows how, in these speeches and meetings, Grant was prescient about the changing international system and America's role in it, even though many of his fellow countrymen could not grasp these developments. In his public pronouncements and private talks he emphasized four themes: the reform of the diplomatic and consular services, the importance of mutual respect and political-commercial reciprocity in Sino-American relations, the peaceful settlement of international disputes, and the importance of nurturing American interest in Japan (180). But overall, through his summitry and public diplomacy, Grant laid the groundwork for numerous goals that would be central to U.S. foreign policy in the decades to come. High on his list were the pursuit of Anglo-American cooperation, the preservation of China's territorial integrity, the promotion of universal (male) suffrage, and the recognition of the need for all states—not just the European powers—to be treated justly. With his journey around the world, Campbell says, Grant "prepared the ground for America's international role in the twentieth century" (205).

This is a splendid story, and the coverage of Grant's diplomacy abroad is wonderful. Certain elements on the domestic side, however, could have used elaboration. First, central to the story is the official support the U.S. government gave Grant's trip, and how the Hayes administration saw the journey as a boon to American foreign policy. We catch numerous glimpses of this view

through high-ranking officials such as the secretary of state and the secretary of the navy. Yet overall there are few details about the thinking of American officialdom. Most notably absent are the particulars of Grant's meeting with President Hayes upon his return home. On a related note, Campbell points out that journalist John Russell Young was by Grant's side for most of the worldwide tour and that his accounts of the trip were read by many back in the United States. The reader, however, rarely gets to know what exactly Young wrote and how he portrayed events. This omission would not matter if not for the fact that Campbell describes Grant's trips as hugely popular back home and as boosting his chances for a third term. And it was the possibility that he might serve as president again that gave extra significance to his trip and his meetings with world leaders.

These points aside, Campbell has written a fascinating book that explores not only a particular moment in nineteenth-century U.S. foreign relations, but the origins of many diplomatic techniques that would become central to American foreign policy in the twentieth century. Grant's pioneering of these methods—particularly summitry—also foreshadowed the role that future presidents would play and the methods they would use to manage their foreign policy. Jimmy Carter's postpresidential career and his involvement in diplomatic ventures abroad may be more illustrious, but Campbell reminds us that we should not forget Grant and what he achieved once he left the White House.

Note:

1. Merriman Smith, *A President's Odyssey* (New York, 1961), xii.

Review of Johannes Kadura, *The War After the War: The Struggle for Credibility During America's Exit from Vietnam* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2016)

Richard A. Moss

Author's note: *The thoughts and opinions expressed in this publication are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the U.S. government, the U.S. Department of the Navy or the Naval War College.*

Johannes Kadura's *The War After the War* is a welcome addition to the literature on America's exit from the Vietnam War. It focuses particularly on Washington's approach to Indochina as a whole after the Paris Peace Accords were signed in January 1973. Seeking a "new synthesis" between the "orthodox" interpretation of memoirists like Nixon and Kissinger and the "revisionist" interpretations of historians and political scientists such as Jeffrey Kimball and Larry Berman, Kadura introduces the concepts of the "equilibrium strategy" and the "insurance policy" to describe the evolution of the Nixon-Kissinger-Ford approach to Indochina (3). He explains that the White House "followed a twofold strategy of making a major effort to uphold South Vietnam while at the same time maintaining a multilayered fallback strategy of downplaying the overall significance of Vietnam and looking for the means to counterbalance possible defeat in Indochina in order to preserve US credibility" (3–4). Firmly grounded in existing scholarship, Kadura's conceptual framework is clear and concise, and will provide plenty of material for further debate.

Kadura's "insurance policy" concept provides additional nuance to the "decent interval" theory popularized by Jeffrey Kimball.¹ He shows that Nixon and Kissinger's desire for a "decent interval" between the U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam and the imposition of a communist government in South Vietnam was at least initially predicated on a political process rather than a military one. In an effort to avoid endless fighting and at the same time preserve American credibility, Nixon and Kissinger sought, in the immediate aftermath of the Paris Peace Accords, to maintain the threat of resumed U.S. bombing as a deterrent to military action. Kadura views this deterrent as a means to maintain an equilibrium in Indochina: neither side would have the ability to defeat the other, and South Vietnam would have a chance to survive.

The equilibrium strategy failed, Kadura argues, for a number of reasons: the unfolding Watergate scandal occupied Nixon's attention; Congress and public opinion constrained the White House's ability to respond to North Vietnamese probing; there were missteps by the South Vietnamese; and, ultimately, the North Vietnamese were strongly committed to winning by waging war.

probing; there were missteps by the South Vietnamese; and, ultimately, the North Vietnamese were strongly committed to winning by waging war. "Washington had to try to avert the fall of Saigon by deterring the North Vietnamese," Kadura asserts, although "if the measures failed (as it was clear they had after the summer of 1973), an insurance policy had to be in place" (101).

This is where the decent interval came into play. It would postpone North Vietnam's victory rather than prevent it, as Jeffrey Kimball and Ken Hughes have argued.² Kadura discovered a revealing memorandum in which Alexander Haig, Kissinger's deputy, underlined the administration's assumptions in Indochina. Haig wrote that "in the longer term, it is this [Washington-Moscow-Beijing] relationship, the dynamics of which offer every hope of decoupling the outcome in South Vietnam from the viability of US worldwide relevance and credibility, that must have time to flourish" (64). Kadura asserts that the strategy was at least marginally successful "in a narrow sense." Furthermore, "the insurance policy . . . helped ease the effects of defeat in Indochina. . . . Although Washington had lost a battle in the global Cold War, neither friends nor foes ultimately questioned that the United States would continue to play a leading role in the world" (161).

The War After the War demonstrates solid research in the textual records of the Nixon and Ford administrations, with particular weight on the files of the National Security Council. Kadura thoroughly mined Henry Kissinger's telephone conversation transcripts, or telcons, most of which have been available to scholars since 2004.³ As national security advisor and later as secretary of state, Kissinger had his staff transcribe his phone conversations, either by listening in on a "dead key" phone extension or by using recordings that were then destroyed. While the telcons have quite a checkered history, their content is historically valuable because they provide a fly-on-the-wall perspective on Kissinger's exchanges with government officials, journalists, foreign diplomats, and others.

Kadura uses these rich records to good effect. For example, he cites a number of telcons to show the changes in the relationship between Kissinger and Nixon over the course of 1973, as Watergate began to devour the administration from within and Kissinger, with Nixon's encouragement, increasingly commanded the foreign policy portfolio. Kadura also uses the telcons to show the evolution of Kissinger's relationship with Gerald Ford. His research yields insights into both the continuity and,

more important, the differences between Nixon's policies and Ford's; and it shows Ford's sophisticated understanding of the foreign policy implications of aid to South Vietnam.

Unfortunately, Kadura's use of long-available presidential recordings does not quite match the thoroughness of his research in textual records. While there is some overlap between telcons and the Nixon presidential recordings, the two sources complement each other and provide a more comprehensive record of the Nixon White House decision-making process. As the "Sources" section of the *Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS)* volume on Vietnam for 1973 notes,

Presidential tape recordings of Nixon's telephone conversations and of his meetings with senior advisers add greatly to our ability to document the Vietnam policy process and its implementation. The transcript of conversations reveals crucial pre-decisional discussions between and among principals to the policy process, and on occasion even capture [sic] the moment of decision itself. Because Vietnam represented so complicated and difficult a problem, or problems, for the President and his inner circle, the tape transcripts provide additional richness in the sources. These frank conversations yield a deeper understanding of the players, their actions, and the consequences of action.⁴

Granted, there are a number of challenges to using presidential recordings, but there are a number of resources and collections of published transcripts that Kadura could have consulted for at least the first half of the book, which covers the time period when the tapes were recorded (from January 1971 to July 1973). For example, Luke Nichter and Douglas Brinkley published *The Nixon Tapes: 1971–1972* in 2014 and *The Nixon Tapes: 1973* in 2015.⁵ Nichter and Brinkley's transcripts on Vietnam draw heavily from the *FRUS* volumes on Vietnam, which were published between 2006 and 2010 (and are available online for free).⁶ In addition, digital audio, finding aids, and hundreds of transcripts for the declassified Nixon tapes have been online since 2008 at nixon tapes.org, or more recently at the Miller Center of Public Affairs and the Nixon Library website.⁷ In fact, between June 2009 and August 2013, the National Archives released approximately 759 hours of Nixon tapes, covering all the conversations from January 1973 to the end of the taping system in July 1973.

Considering that part of Kadura's argument is that the unfolding Watergate scandal constrained the ability of the Nixon White House to maintain a deterrent against North Vietnamese violations of the Paris Agreement, it is curious that he cites Stanley Kutler's *Wars of Watergate* but does not include any of the transcripts from Kutler's *Abuse of Power: The New Nixon Tapes*, the first major release of Nixon tapes transcripts.⁸ In fact, *Abuse of Power* was the result of Kutler's lawsuit that finally forced the National Archives to begin the systematic public release of the tapes during the 1990s.⁹ Instead of a passing reference to John Dean's "cancer on the presidency" conversation with Nixon—which Kadura acknowledges was something of a bombshell, as Dean, Nixon's desk officer on Watergate, turned into the star witness against Nixon—why not include excerpts from one of the plentiful transcripts that exist?¹⁰

As to whether or not the tapes are worth the time and effort, I would offer a biased but unequivocal answer: yes. The barriers to their use in 2016 do not compare to those of the past, when researchers had to travel to the National Archives and listen on analogue audiocassettes. Identifying

potentially pertinent conversations involves only a simple text search with the National Archives-produced finding aids and then calling up the audio from the comfort of one's office or home with a basic internet connection.

Although Kadura does a masterful job of showing the divergence between Nixon and Kissinger over the deterrent issue after the Paris Peace Accords, he portrays them—I think not quite accurately—as of one mind on détente prior to the Moscow Summit of May 1972. According to Kadura, "Although [Nixon and Kissinger] clearly sought to suppress or at least minimize Chinese and Soviet deliveries of war materiel to the DRV, they were *not willing to seriously endanger détente with Moscow* or rapprochement with Beijing" (38, emphasis added).¹¹ On the contrary, between the start of the North Vietnamese Easter Offensive in late March 1972 and early May, Nixon was critical of Kissinger's efforts to delink Vietnam from détente. In addition, the president seriously considered cancelling the Moscow Summit—and thereby jettisoning détente before it could yield concrete results.

Nixon saw a contradiction in going to Moscow when Soviet assistance to North Vietnam had made the Easter Offensive possible. As he asked Haig, "How can you possibly go to the Soviet Union and toast to Brezhnev and Kosygin and sign a SALT agreement in the Great Hall of St. Peter when Russian tanks and guns are kicking the hell out of our ally in South Vietnam?" He was outraged about a failed negotiating session between Kissinger and North Vietnamese negotiator Le Duc Tho in Paris on May 2, a session facilitated in part by the Soviets, and he criticized Kissinger's approach. "I think what we have to realize that . . . Henry's judgment has been really fantastically good on so many things—I mean the China initiative, playing the Chinese against the Soviets, and so many other things—but I think we have to realize that his judgment with regard to negotiations with the North Vietnamese has been faulty," he said.¹²

With public opinion polls trending positive for a summit as well as for bombing and mining, Nixon decided to follow the advice of his hawkish treasury secretary, John Connally, and to mine Haiphong Harbor and commence the unprecedented Linebacker I bombings.¹³ He also decided to let the Soviets determine the fate of the summit, but after tortured deliberation in April and May 1972 he finally came around to Kissinger's more pragmatic view. (The tapes captured the moment of decision on May 4, showing their utility beyond just adding colorful material.)

The War After the War is an excellent contribution to the field and fills an important gap in the literature by looking at Indochina as a whole and by focusing on the evolution of policy. It includes an excellent choice of maps and photographs and should appeal both to scholars and undergraduates. Despite its shortcomings where presidential recordings and U.S.-Soviet relations are concerned, it paints a complex and realistic portrait of the main protagonists—Nixon, Kissinger, and Ford—and shows their successes as well as their failures. Kadura does not pull punches. He gives an impartial assessment of his subject, ultimately viewing Nixon, Kissinger, and Ford's foreign policy "as a kind of treatment with a toxic medication. Although they were able to provide answers to some critical problems and reinvigorated US foreign policy, they failed to control the poisonous side effects of their approach" (164). In the end, the efforts to spin achievements, the overwhelming reliance on secrecy, and the self-inflicted wound of Watergate resulted in what is best described as a mixed record for the Nixon-Kissinger-Ford Indochina policy.

Notes:

1. Jeffrey Kimball, *Nixon's Vietnam War*, (Lawrence, KS, 1998); Jeffrey Kimball, *The Vietnam War Files: Uncovering the Secret History of Nixon-Era Strategy* (Lawrence, KS, 2004).

2. Ken Hughes, "Nixon's 'Decent Interval' Vietnam Strategy Should Give Obama Pause on Afghanistan," July 17, 2011, *History News Network*, <http://historynewsnetwork.org/article/140712>.
3. The National Archives and Records Administration released approximately 20,000 pages of transcripts from Kissinger's tenure as Nixon's national security advisor (1969–1974) in 2004. See Nixon Presidential Materials Staff, National Archives and Records Administration, "Henry A. Kissinger Telephone Conversation Transcripts (TELCONS)," May 2004, nixonlibrary.gov/forresearchers/find/textual/kissinger/telcons.pdf and <https://research.archives.gov/id/579113>. The State Department has made multiple separate releases from Kissinger's tenure as secretary of state (1973–1977) available through its Freedom of Information Act website, https://foia.state.gov/Search/Results.aspx?collection=KISSINGER&searchText=*. The State Department collection includes more than 900 telcons that had originally been withheld from declassification; a lawsuit brought by the non-profit National Security Archive forced their release in 2015. See National Security Archive, "The Kissinger Telcons: New Documents Throw Light on Sensitive Ford and Kissinger Views," August 19, 2015, <http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB526-Court-Ordered-Release-of-Kissinger-Telcons/>.
4. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969–1976, v. X, Vietnam, January 1973–July 1975*, ed. Bradley Lynn Coleman (Washington DC, 2010), xiii.
5. Douglas Brinkley and Luke A. Nichter, eds., *The Nixon Tapes: 1971–1972* (Boston, 2014); Douglas Brinkley and Luke A. Nichter, eds., *The Nixon Tapes: 1973* (Boston, 2015). To be fair, *The Nixon Tapes: 1973* may have been released after Kadura finalized the manuscript for *The War After the War*.
6. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969–1976, v. VI, Vietnam, January 1969–July 1970*, ed. Edward C. Keefer and Carolyn Yee (Washington DC, 2006); *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969–1976, v. VII, Vietnam, July 1970–January 1972*, ed. David Goldman and Erin Mahan (Washington DC, 2010); *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969–1976, v. VIII, Vietnam, January–October 1972*, ed. John M. Carland (Washington DC, 2010); *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969–1976, v. IX, Vietnam, October 1972–January 1973*, ed. John M. Carland (Washington DC, 2010); *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969–1976, v. X, Vietnam, January 1973–July 1975*, ed. Bradley Lynn Coleman (Washington DC, 2010).
7. Nixontapes.org; National Archives and Records Administration, For Researchers: White House Tapes, <https://www.nixonlibrary.gov/forresearchers/find/tapes/index.php>; Miller Center at the University of Virginia, "Presidential Recordings," <http://millercenter.org/presidentialrecordings>. The Miller Center also has thousands of pages of transcripts available behind a paywall from the Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon administrations.
8. Stanley I. Kutler, *The Wars of Watergate: The Last Crisis of Richard Nixon* (New York, 1992); Stanley Kutler, *Abuse of Power: The New Nixon Tapes* (New York, 1997).
9. Sam Roberts, "Stanley I. Kutler, Historian Who Got Nixon Tapes Released, Dies at 80," *New York Times*, April 11, 2015, http://www.nytimes.com/2015/04/12/us/stanley-i-kutler-80-historian-who-won-release-of-nixon-tapes-dies.html?_r=0.
10. Oval Office Conversation 886-008, March 21, 1973, 10:12 a.m.–11:55 a.m., Richard Nixon Library channel on YouTube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w3PVIIIT6Ars>. Watergate Trial Conversations, Exhibit 12 (WTT-EX12), 1–8, online at the Nixon Library website: <https://www.nixonlibrary.gov/forresearchers/find/tapes/watergate/trial/transcripts.php>, transcript at https://www.nixonlibrary.gov/forresearchers/find/tapes/watergate/trial/exhibit_12.pdf, audio at https://www.nixonlibrary.gov/forresearchers/find/tapes/watergate/trial/exhibit_12_02.mp3. See also Miller Center, "Cancer on the Presidency," <http://millercenter.org/presidentialclassroom/exhibits/cancer-presidency>; Transcripts, Kutler, *Abuse of Power*, 247–49.
11. Stephen Randolph, currently the Historian at the U.S. Department of State, used the Nixon tapes and textual records to give a compelling account of Nixon's response to the Easter Offensive in *Powerful and Brutal Weapons* (Cambridge, MA, 2004).
12. Oval Office Conversation 717-20, May 2, 1972, The conversation took place at an unknown time between 12:42 p.m. and 1:20 p.m. Partial transcript available in "Document 186. Conversation Between President Nixon and his Deputy Assistant for National Security Affairs (Haig)," *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969–1976, v. XIV, Soviet Union, October 1971–May 1972*, ed. David C. Geyer, Nina D. Howland and Kent Sieg (Washington DC, 2006), online: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v14/d186>.
13. Oval Office Conversation 719–22, May 4, 1972. The conversation took place between 1:24 p.m. and 1:51 p.m.

In the next issue of *Passport*...

A roundtable on Matthew Karp,
This Vast Southern Empire

The historiography of race and U.S.
foreign relations

Cruising as a projection of U.S.
power

....and much more!



Professional Notes

SHAFR members will play a leading role in the new journal *Modern American History*, just launched by Cambridge University Press. **Beth Bailey** (University of Kansas), **Barbara Keys** (University of Melbourne), **Adriane Lentz-Smith** (Duke University), **Melani McAlister** (George Washington University), and **Andrew Preston** (Cambridge University) are members of the editorial board, and **Brooke L. Blower** (Boston University) will serve as founding co-editor.

Heather Dichter has accepted the position of Principal Lecturer in the Business Management in Sport graduate program at DeMontfort University in Leicester, UK, effective in January 2017. She will also be affiliated with the International Centre for Sports History and Culture.

Jacob Darwin Hamblin (Oregon State University) received the 2016 Watson Davis and Helen Miles Davis Prize from the History of Science Society for his book, *Arming Mother Nature: The Birth of Catastrophic Environmentalism* (2013).



Errata

Editor's note: Due to problems with the publication and printing process for the September 2016 issue, Salim Yaqub's "In Memoriam" essay on Alexander DeConde contained several typographical and formatting errors. *Passport* regrets and apologizes for those errors. A corrected version of the essay appears in the online version of the September 2016 issue, which is available at SHAFR.org/publications/review. *AJ*



Recent Books of Interest

Altayli, Enver. *A Dark Path to Freedom: Rusi Nazar from the Red Army to the CIA*, (Oxford, 2017).

Bauerkamper, Arnd and Grzegorz Rossolinski-Liebe. *Fascism Without Borders: Transnational Connections and Cooperation between Movements and Regimes in Europe from 1918 to 1945*, (Berghahn, 2017).

Benevuti, Andrea. *Cold War and Decolonisation: Australia's Foreign Policy toward Britain's End of Empire in Southeast Asia*, (Singapore, 2017).

Biskupski, M.B.B. *Diplomacy and War in East and West: A Biography of Józef Retinger*, (Routledge, 2017).

Brazinsky, Gregg A. *Winning the Third World: Sino-American Rivalry During the Cold War*, (North Carolina, 2017).

Brecher, Michael. *Dynamics of the Arab-Israeli Conflict: Past and Present: Intellectual Odyssey II*, (Palgrave, 2017).

Brown, Jonathan C. *Cuba's Revolutionary World*, (Harvard, 2017).

Burns, Adam D. *American Imperialism: The Territorial Expansion of the United States, 1783-2013* (Edinburgh, 2017).

Calis, Saban. *Turkey's Cold War: Foreign Policy and Western Alignment in the Modern Republic*, (Tauris, 2017).

Casey, Matthew. *Empire's Guest Workers: Haitian Migrants in Cuba during the Revolution*, (Cambridge, 2017).

Cassidy, Jennifer. *Gender and Diplomacy: Theory and Practice*, (Routledge, 2017).

Chen, Song-Chuan. *Merchants of War and Peace: British Knowledge of China in the Making of the Opium War*, (Hong Kong, 2017).

Clune, John V. *The Abongo Abroad: Military-Sponsored Travel in Ghana, the United States, and the World, 1959-1992*, (Vanderbilt, 2017).

Cooper, James. *The Politics of Diplomacy: U.S. Presidents and the Northern Ireland Conflict, 1967-1998*, (Edinburgh, 2017).

Deyermond, Ruth. *The US and Russia After the Cold War: Diplomacy and Power in a Post-Soviet World*, (Tauris, 2017).

Doran, Michael. *Ike's Gamble: America's Rise to Dominance in the Middle East*, (Schuster, 2016).

Dockter, Warren. *Eastern Adventures: Churchill and the Middle East*, (Tauris, 2017).

Elson, R.E. *Sovereignty and the Sea: How Indonesia Became an Archipelagic State*, (Singapore, 2017).

Foliard, Daniel. *Dislocating the Orient: British Maps and the Making of the Middle East, 1854-1921*, (Chicago, 2017).

Frazier, Jessica. *Women's Anticwar Diplomacy during the Vietnam War Era*, (North Carolina, 2017).

Gorman, Daniel. *International Cooperation in the Early 20th Century*, (Bloomsbury, 2017).

Green, Michael J. *By More Than Providence: Grand Strategy and American Power in the Asia Pacific Since 1783*, (Columbia, 2017).

Hamblin, Jacob Darwin. *Arming Mother Nature: The Birth of Catastrophic Environmentalism*, (Oxford, 2017).

Harvey, Frank P. and John Mitton. *Fighting for Credibility: U.S. Reputation and International Politics*, (Toronto, 2017).

Hudson, Peter James. *Bankers and Empire: How Wall Street Colonized the Caribbean*, (Chicago, 2017).

Iida, Keisuke. *Japan's Security and Economic Dependence on the United States: Cool Politics, Lukewarm Economics*, (Routledge, 2017).

Irwin, Julia F. *Making the World Safe: The American Red Cross and a Nation's Humanitarian Awakening*, (Oxford, 2017).

Jobs, Richard Ivan. *Backpack Ambassadors: How Youth Travel Integrated Europe*, (Chicago, 2017).

Jones, Bruce. *The Marshall Plan and the Shaping of American Strategy*, (Brookings, 2017).

Kazamias, Alexander. *Greece and the Cold War: Diplomacy, Rivalry and Colonialism in Post-War Greece*, (Tauris, 2016).

Kechichian, Joseph. *The Arab Nationalist Advisor: Yusuf Yassin of Sa'udi Arabia*, (Sussex, 2017).

Kidd, Geraldine. *Eleanor Roosevelt: Palestine, Israel, and Human Rights*, (Routledge, 2017).

Lehrman, Lewis E. *Churchill, Roosevelt & Company: Studies in Character and Statecraft*, (Stackpole, 2017).

Liow, Joseph Chinyong. *Ambivalent Engagement: The United States and Regional Security in Southeast Asia after the Cold War*, (Brookings, 2017).

McDaniel, Cadra Peterson. *American-Soviet Cultural Diplomacy: The Bolshoi Ballet's American Premiere*, (Rowman & Littlefield, 2016).

Mickenberg, Julia. *American Girls in Red Russia: Chasing the Soviet Dream*, (Chicago, 2017).

Mills, Bill. *Treacherous Passage: Germany's Secret Plot Against the United States in Mexico during World War I*, (Potomac, 2017).

Pach, Chester. *A Companion to Dwight D. Eisenhower*, (Wiley, 2017).

Parsi, Trita. *Losing an Enemy: Obama, Iran, and the Triumph of Diplomacy*, (Yale, 2017).

Patnaik, Utsa and Prabhat Patnaik. *A Theory of Imperialism*, (Columbia, 2016).

Press, Steven. *Rogue Empires: Contracts and Conmen in Europe's Scramble for Africa*, (Harvard, 2017).

Preston, Andrew and Doug Rossinow. *Outside In: The Transnational Circuitry of US History*, (Oxford, 2016).

Prufer, Curt. *Germany's Covert War in the Middle East: Espionage, Propaganda, and Diplomacy in World War I*, (Tauris, 2017).

Renwick, Robert. *Fighting with Allies: America and Britain in Peace and War*, (Biteback, 2017).

Roberts, Priscilla and John M. Carroll. *Hong Kong in the Cold War*, (Hong Kong, 2016).

Romano, Angela. *The European Community and Eastern Europe in the Cold War: Overcoming the East-West Divide*, (Routledge, 2017).

- Sabaratham, Meera. *Decolonizing Intervention: International Statebuilding in Mozambique*, (Rowman, 2017).
- Sedivy, Miroslav. *Crisis Among the Great Powers: The Concert of Europe and the Eastern Question*, (Tauris, 2017).
- Sevin, Efe. *Public Diplomacy and the Implementation of Foreign Policy in the US, Sweden, and Turkey*, (Palgrave, 2017).
- Shanahan, Mark. *Eisenhower at the Dawn of the Space Age: Sputnik, Rockets, and Helping Hands*, (Rowman & Littlefield, 2016).
- Smith, S.A. *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Communism*, (Oxford, 2017).
- Stewart, Geoffrey. *Vietnam's Lost Revolution: Ngo Dinh Diem's Failure to Build an Independent Nation, 1955-1963*, (Cambridge, 2017).
- Tarling, Nicholas. *The British and the Vietnamese War: Their Way with LBJ*, (Singapore, 2017).
- Tonra, Ben. *Constructing EU Foreign Policy: Identity, Narrative and Postmodern Power*, (Routledge, 2017).
- Throntveit, Trygve. *Power Without Victory: Woodrow Wilson and the American Internationalist Experiment*, (Chicago, 2017).
- Travis, Philip W. *Reagan's War on Terror in Nicaragua: The Outlaw State*, (Rowman & Littlefield, 2016).
- Vatanka, Alex. *Iran and Pakistan: Security, Diplomacy, and American Influence*, (Toronto, 2016).
- Wheeler, Nicholas. *Trusting Enemies*, (Oxford, 2017).
- Whitman, Charlie. *Post-War Business Planners in the United States: The Rise of the Corporate Moderates*, (Bloomsbury, 2016).
- Wichart, Stephanie. *Britain, Egypt and Iran during World War II: The Decline of Imperial Power in the Middle East*, (Tauris, 2017).
- Wiel, Jerome. *East German Intelligence and Ireland, 1949-1990: Espionage, Terrorism and Diplomacy*, (Manchester, 2017).
- Wilson, Sandra, Robert Cribb, Beatrice Trefalt and Dean Ashkielowicz. *Japanese War Criminals: The Politics of Justice After the Second World War*, (Columbia, 2017).



Announcements

Call for Papers: 2017 UCSB/GWU/LSE International Graduate Student Conference on the Cold War

The Center for Cold War Studies and International History (CCWS) of the University of California at Santa Barbara, the George Washington University Cold War Group (GWCW), and the LSE IDEAS Cold War Studies Project (CWSP) of the London School of Economics and Political Science are pleased to announce their 2017 International Graduate Student Conference on the Cold War, to take place at the University of California, Santa Barbara, on April 27-29, 2017.

The conference is an excellent opportunity for graduate students to present papers and receive critical feedback from peers and experts in the field. We encourage submissions by graduate students working on any aspect of the Cold War, broadly defined. Of particular interest are papers that employ newly available primary sources or nontraditional methodologies. To be considered, each prospective participant should submit a two-page proposal and a brief academic c.v. (in Word or pdf format) to Salim Yaqub at syaqub@history.ucsb.edu by Friday, January 27, 2017. Notification of acceptance will occur by Friday, February 24. Successful applicants will be expected to email their papers (no longer than 25 pages) by Friday, March 24. The author of the strongest paper will be awarded the Saki Ruth Dockrill Memorial Prize of £100 to be spent on books in any form. The winner will also have an opportunity to publish his or her article in the journal *Cold War History*. For further information, please contact Salim Yaqub at the aforementioned email address.

The chairs and commentators of the conference sessions will be prominent faculty members from UCSB, GWU, LSE, and elsewhere. UCSB will cover the accommodation costs of admitted student participants for the duration of the conference, but students will need to cover the costs of their travel to Santa Barbara.

In 2003, UCSB and GWU first joined their separate spring conferences, and two years later LSE became a co-sponsor. The three cold war centers now hold a jointly sponsored conference each year, alternating among the three campuses. For more information on our three programs, please visit the respective Web sites:

<http://www.history.ucsb.edu/ccws/> for CCWS
<http://www.gwu.edu/~ieresgwu/programs/coldwar.cfm> for GWCW
<http://www.lse.ac.uk/IDEAS/Projects/CWSP/cwsp.aspx> for CWSP



Samuel Flagg Bemis Dissertation Research Grant Report
Allison Wells, University of Iowa
Spring 2016

The Samuel Flagg Bemis Dissertation Research Grant gave me the opportunity to travel to three invaluable archives to conduct much of the primary research for my dissertation entitled "Close Encounters: Romantic and Sexual Relationships Between Americans and Filipinos in the American Empire, 1898-1946." In March of 2016 I traveled to the U.S. Army Heritage and Education Center in Carlisle, Pennsylvania and the National Archives and Records Administration locations in Washington, D.C. (NARA I) and College Park, Maryland (NARA II). The sources I surveyed ranged from Spanish-American War Veteran Surveys to immigration bureau reports to courts martial, and have inspired me to spend more time exploring the significance of Filipino repatriation in the 1930s. While few Filipinos actually repatriated to the islands, the program inspired discussions about the eligibility of American-born members of Filipino families. These debates raise questions about birthright citizenship and married women's citizenship that have not been fully explored in the context of the American empire in the Philippines.

This research has also enabled me to start writing my dissertation; I have drafted the first chapter and I have already started writing the second. I am very grateful to the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations for offering me these research opportunities and facilitating these lines of inquiry.



Mark Sanchez
SHAFR Bemis Report

The Samuel Flagg Bemis Dissertation Research Grant was integral to my dissertation research during the past year. Since the summer of 2015, my research has taken me around the United States (San Francisco, Seattle, Boston, Madison, and St. Louis), the Philippines, and the Netherlands. I was able to conduct research in at least 15 formal and informal archives and record around 60 oral history interviews. Without the funding support of grants such as the Bemis Dissertation Grant, this research would have been impossible.

Going into my research, I had an idea of the role that international solidarity groups played in the opposition to the Marcos government as well as U.S. government support of Marcos. However, my research has allowed me to trace, in detail, the interaction between international solidarity groups and grassroots activists. I am currently writing about these interactions in the first chapter of my dissertation, which will be on the work of a Philippines-based religious group, Task Force Detainees Philippines (TFDP), to draw international support from organizations and funding agencies across North American and Europe. As I have learned from my interviews and archival research, TFDP and its chairperson Sr. Mariani Dimaranan carefully crafted its orientation to draw support from international funding agencies while fiercely maintaining its organizational autonomy along with the centrality of the political prisoners that they worked to support.

My research and travels over the past year also drew my attention to the continuing relevance of my work on international opposition to the Marcos dictatorship in the Philippines (1965-1986). I happened to conduct research in the Philippines during the 2016 national election campaign season in which Ferdinand Marcos's son, Bongbong Marcos, was running for Vice President. His campaign for national office, and the subsequent efforts to have Ferdinand Marcos's body buried in the Cemetery for Heroes in the Philippines, has brought to the foreground conflicting interpretations of the Marcos period in the Philippines. The contests between authoritarian nostalgia and the unresolved histories of political oppression and government corruption became quite prominent in national media coverage and in social media discourse. It is clear that there continues to be a need for more histories about this time period in the Philippines and in U.S.-Philippine relations.

As I return to University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign this academic year, I am prepared to continue writing and progressing towards the completion of my dissertation. Currently, I am working on a chapter of my dissertation that focuses on the international circuits of Sr. Mariani Dimaranan, former chairperson of Task Force Detainees Philippines. Sr. Mariani traveled worldwide to gather support for political detainees in the Philippines. She also spent countless hours visiting Philippine prisons and documenting disappeared activists. In addition, I am systematically processing through the tens of thousands of pages of sources and hundreds of hours of interview recordings that I was fortunate enough to collect during the past year, and I am grateful for the support of SHAFR that helped make the collection of this important data a reality.



Grant Report

I received a Samuel Flagg Bemis Dissertation Research Grant in support of my summer research in Washington D.C., New York, and Boston for my dissertation, entitled “From Enemies to Friends? The Rise of U.S.-Chinese Reconciliation, 1964-1980.” It examines the role of bilateral exchange in changing Sino-American relations during the Cold War. The entire travel took place between July and August 2016, and was also partially supported by the D. Kim Foundation and the Konosuke Matsushita Memorial Foundation. I visited the National Academy of Sciences (NAS) Archives, the Library of Congress (LOC), the New York Public Library (NYPL), and university archives of the University of Maryland, Columbia, Harvard, and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). These archives possessed various primary documents on bilateral exchange between the United States and China from the mid-1960s to the late 1970s, involving scholars, scientists, teachers, and students. It is impossible to cover all my findings in this short report, but general descriptions and a few highlights are in order.

The NAS Archives has a record of the Committee on Scholarly Communication with People’s Republic of China (CSCPRC), a semi-governmental organization devoted to scholarly exchange with China. It was originally not open for research, but archivist Janice Goldblum kindly organized the documents for my visit. The collection consisted of approximately 60 folders and covered the period from its birth in the mid-1960s to the initiation of full-fledged scholarly exchange in the late 1970s. The materials included correspondence among CSCPRC members, memoranda for government officials, and research papers on scholarly exchange. They show how the CSCPRC built a scholarly network to promote exchange with China, managed a dozen delegations to and from China each year, and embraced resumption of exchange of scholars and students on the eve of China’s reform and opening. Particularly interesting was the CSCPRC’s efforts to negotiate longer, more in-depth visits with the Chinese, who preferred short visits to many research sites in China, a practice the Americans called “scientific tourism.” The CSCPRC urged the U.S. government and Chinese counterparts to agree on more substantial scientific exchange, although both sides remained reluctant until the late 1970s.

At the LOC, I consulted both textual and moving image materials. The most useful textual collection was the papers of the League of Women Voters (LWV), one of the private organizations that began lobbying the U.S. government to change its hostile China policy as early as the mid-1960s. Compared to the CSCPRC or other major China exchange organizations established by prominent scholars with extensive government connections, the LWV focused more attention on grassroots activities to educate American people about the realities of Communist China—a subject they knew little about—through local workshops and information sessions held by LWV chapters throughout the United States. The LOC’s moving image materials include dozens of films and television programs about China in the 1960s and 1970s. Since TV became significant part of American life in this period, one cannot underestimate the role of moving image in the (re)formation of the U.S. public image of China. All major TV networks sent crews to China to shoot documentary films in the 1970s, for which the Chinese meticulously prepared in the hopes of spreading among American people China’s image as a country where people lived happily, free from the social ills before the Communist Revolution.

The NYPL holds the U.S.-China People’s Friendship Association (USCPFA) collection, as well as personal papers of New York Times writers, such as James Reston, William Safire, and Seymour Topping. The USCPFA was a private organization established in 1974 by leftist scholars such as William Hinton and Mark Selden, who criticized the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations (NCUSCR), a government-backed China exchange organization formed by conservative scholars, such as John Fairbank and Joseph Levenson. Contrary to the NCUSCR, which sought to educate the elite class and university students about China, the USCPFA, like the LWV in the 1960s, focused on grassroots education of the American public, with local chapters holding seminars and printing newsletters. Due to its pro-communist tendency, Beijing saw the USCPFA as an effective propaganda tool to reach out to American people and accepted far more delegations from it than from the NCUSCR. Papers of New York Times correspondents included not only trip reports but also personal correspondence regarding Beijing’s failed campaign to persuade the New York Times to stop printing Taiwanese advertisement. In many other occasions, the Chinese sought to make bilateral exchange a pawn of the Taiwan question.

The University of Maryland Archives holds the AFL-CIO collection. I found a few boxes of the Department of International Affairs that dealt with the China problem in the 1960s and 1970s. Counterintuitive as it may be, mainstream labor unions in the United States supported U.S. isolation policy toward the mainland during the Cold War, when business relationships with Taiwan flourished. When Richard Nixon announced his China visit, and Taiwan was ejected from the U.N. in 1971, the AFL-CIO received protest letters from Taiwanese friends and lobbied the U.S. government for not abandoning Taiwan. The Columbia, Harvard, and MIT Archives possess personal papers of prominent scholars involved in China exchange, such as Doak Barnett, John Fairbank, Edwin Reischauer, and Frank Press. The Barnett Papers at Columbia contained several large boxes of documents related to the NCUSCR. It contained executive committee minutes, annual reports, and personal correspondence, all of which described how the NCUSCR—probably the most influential member of the “new China lobby”—sought to educate American people about China and negotiate cultural exchange with China. The Fairbank and Reischauer Papers at Harvard also dealt with the NCUSCR, as well as the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars, an organization of scholars who opposed the Vietnam War. One interesting incident involving the NCUSCR was the cancellation of China’s performing arts troupe in 1975. When the Chinese refused to change the lyrics of one opera song, which called for “liberation of Taiwan,” Henry Kissinger decided to cancel the entire delegation a few weeks before its planned arrival, which left a deep scar on the relationship between the NCUSCR and Chinese counterparts.

The Press Papers at MIT consisted of several large boxes of documents pertaining to various facets of the CSCPRC activities, as well as MIT’s approach to scholar and student exchange with China. One interesting aspect of Sino-American scientific exchange in the 1970s was social science. The CSCPRC’s “scholar escort” program enabled American social scientists to accompany natural science delegations. Between 1974 and 1976, when the Gang of Four was on the rise, Beijing, suspicious of China experts with critical views of Communist China, tried to reject American social scientists in natural science delegations in linguistics, wheat studies, and steroid chemistry. For instance, Sinologist Frederick Mote’s visa application was almost denied due to his alleged “anti-Communist” activities after WWII. When Deng Xiaoping decided to open

China's natural and social sciences to the outside world in 1978, however, the United States began accepting Chinese students in U.S. universities, while sending American scholars—mostly social scientists—to Chinese universities. MIT, which the Chinese regarded as the most advanced scientific institution in the world, received letters from Chinese scientists who wished to obtain scholarships to study at MIT.

Those archival materials reveal deeper aspects of Sino-American reconciliation during the Cold War than the strategic triangle between Washington, Moscow, and Beijing that we usually think of. When anti-communist biases permeated American people, bilateral exchange helped to reshape their image of China. Among those involved in China exchange, few were so naïve as to believe that Chinese socialism was the solution to mounting social problems facing the United States, including racism, poverty, inflation, low-wage, and juvenile delinquency, but many looked to China as a place to learn from. More important, bilateral exchange helped American people to form a near consensus that China, despite its very different political and cultural systems, was a rising power with which the United States can and should cope with, instead of neglecting. To be sure, the influence of the aforementioned organizations and individuals on overall Sino-American relations was severely limited. There was no evidence that their activities directly impacted U.S. government policy toward China. Nor could they persuade all Americans of the virtue of deepening relationships with China. There were many Americans who resisted China initiatives. For instance, Barnett received letters criticizing his testimony in the 1966 Senate hearing held by J. William Fulbright. Some LWV local chapters opposed the national league's support for ousting Taiwan from the United Nations. Many congressmen asked the U.S. government how to cope with local constituents complaining about U.S. policy toward China and Taiwan. In fact, one may well argue that the Cold War tension that divided American society in the early Cold War continued, albeit not as evidently, to define America's relationships with China after rapprochement and normalization in the 1970s.

In conclusion, the Samuel Flagg Bemis Dissertation Research Grant was of great help for me to conduct productive research at the aforementioned archives. I am now shifting my focus to writing and aiming at completing the dissertation within one or two years.

Kazushi Minami
University of Texas, Austin



September 25, 2016
Dr. Amy L. Sayward
Executive Director
Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations

Dear Dr. Sayward,

I am writing to convey my sincere gratitude for the Samuel Flagg Bemis Dissertation Research Grant, which defrayed the expense of conducting research at the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library in Simi Valley, CA and the Hoover Institution in Stanford, CA. These archives contained materials of critical importance for my dissertation, which explores the 1982-1984 U.S. intervention in Lebanon and the evolution of American perceptions of threat and opportunity in the Middle East.

The documents I collected clarify why policymakers chose to commit U.S. forces to Lebanon and shed light on the internal politics of the Reagan administration. At the Reagan presidential library, I combed through the personal collections of White House officials involved in Middle East policy as well as relevant National Security Council records. Read together, these documents provided an insider's view into the peacekeeping mission, clarifying how information reached the White House and revealing the difficulties American officials faced as they sought to balance competing regional interests and manage unanticipated threats, including the rise of new terrorist organizations.

From Simi Valley I travelled to the Hoover Institution, where I focused my research on collections relevant to the 1980 presidential campaign and transition. These records described the administration's effort to organize a foreign policy staff and provided a baseline from which to trace the administration's learning process as the Lebanon crisis escalated and policymakers' perception of the region's importance intensified.

As I begin writing my dissertation, the documents I gathered this summer have allowed me to develop stronger arguments and reconsider presumptions made in my earlier work. I am grateful for the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations' generous support and its commitment to furthering the work of graduate students. Thank you again for this opportunity.

Sincerely,

Alexandra Tejblum Evans
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The Last Word: Team SHAFR

Andrew L. Johns

Team sports have always appealed to me, both as a participant and as a spectator. The sense of camaraderie, the life lessons learned, and the shared experiences that you participate in with people who may be from completely different backgrounds or circumstances have value that transcend the field or court. I have witnessed this both personally and as a parent, as my now-grown children all had tremendous experiences being part of teams that—win or lose—have helped to shape their personalities, work ethic, and character in a multitude of positive ways. Even now, in my decrepit middle-age (due largely to sports, ironically enough), I can walk into a Buffalo Wild Wings in College Station, a restaurant in Toronto, or a pub in Leicester (if I ever finally make it to the UK) and find common ground about sports and become part of a community (a temporary one, to be sure). A shared passion for football even helped me to bond with my son-in-law, despite his unfortunate and inexplicable support for the Philadelphia Eagles.

Life as an academic can be quite different. Unlike team sports—or even individual sports for the most part—a career in academia tends toward the solitary. While opportunities to collaborate with others exist—not to mention our regular interactions with students, colleagues, and (unfortunately) a growing number of overpaid, intrusive, and superfluous administrators—we spend much of our time alone doing research, writing, and developing ideas. Solitude can be good and, at least in my case, increases productivity. But sometimes we all need a little external engagement to avoid falling into an abyss of myopia or just to have someone to talk to.

Perhaps that is why I have so willingly devoted so much of my time and energy to SHAFR over the past twenty-five years.

In her presidential message at the beginning of this issue, Mary Dudziak describes the intellectual community that she discovered at her first SHAFR conference in 1993 and how it has become such an important part of her scholarship. I could not agree with her more. Being part of a group of scholars who share my interests and push me intellectually balances the solitary aspects of our profession in a way that is invaluable to me. But it is more than that. SHAFR is a community in every sense of the word, from the baseball games and social events, to the bar at the Renaissance (or pretty much anywhere else), to the long discussions about everything from books to elections to sports to families. The third weekend in June is like a reunion every year because so many of us embrace SHAFR for more than just its scholarship. SHAFR is, in so many ways, our team.

It is because SHAFR is more than just another mundane group of academics that I want to use this column to bring something to the attention of my teammates. Many of you know Brad Simpson, Associate Professor of History at the University of Connecticut at Storrs. What you may not be aware of is that in May 2016, Brad's eight year-old son, Elijah, was diagnosed with a very rare and aggressive form of brain cancer. For anyone who is a parent, this is the realization of your dystopian nightmare. Nothing is worse than having your child suffer through something that you are powerless to make better. I do not know Brad well—we have had dinner and have attended baseball games as part of a larger group of SHAFR members a few times—but I do know that this tragic illness has been profoundly challenging and stressful for him and his family.

In September 2016, Laura Belmonte, Professor of History at Oklahoma State University, made several SHAFR members aware of an opportunity to help the Simpson family navigate the extraordinarily expensive process of getting the best possible treatment for Elijah. I decided then that I would—with Brad's consent and deep gratitude—take the extraordinary step in this uniquely unfortunate circumstance to extend that invitation to the rest of our community on the pages of *Passport*. We have a singular chance as a group to have a positive—indeed, life-changing—impact on the lives of the Simpson family. If you would like to make a financial donation to help Brad, Elijah, and their family defray their medical and other expenses related to this heartbreaking situation—or if you are interested in reading more about Elijah's condition and progress—please visit <https://www.youcaring.com/elijah-sundell-634219>. Team SHAFR and the Simpson family thank you for your generosity and support.

Completely unrelated postscript: I am sure that some of you may have been expecting a column that discussed the recent U.S. presidential election. Despite the nearly overwhelming temptation to do so, I will settle for only quoting a comment made by Theodore Roosevelt in August 1905 during the negotiations to end the Russo-Japanese War:

"To be polite and sympathetic and patient in explaining for the hundredth time something perfectly obvious, when what I really want to do is to give utterances to whoops of rage and jump up and knock their heads together—well, all I can hope is that the self-repression will be ultimately helpful for my character."

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