

A photograph of the University of Exeter featuring a prominent brick clock tower with a golden rooster finial on top. The tower has two clock faces and is flanked by brick buildings. In the foreground, a modern building with a large glass facade and a curved wooden roof is visible. The glass reflects the surrounding environment. A set of wide stone steps leads up to the modern building. The sky is a clear, bright blue.

BRITISH INTERNATIONAL HISTORY GROUP

Newsletter 2019

University of Exeter, BIHG 30th Annual Conference

Welcome

The **British International History Group** (BIHG) was established in 1987 by a group of university academics and is one of the oldest working groups within its parent organisation, the British International Studies Association (BISA).

The BIHG promotes research into international history, provides a forum for discussions in the field and highlights the relevance of an historical approach to the wider study of international relations. To help fulfil these purposes, the Group acts as a link to other relevant institutions, including the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and The National Archives, who each send a member along to our regular committee meetings. We also seek to defend the interests of historians of international relations at national level by, for example, making representations about the format of national research exercises and pressing for the membership of an international historian on the REF History sub-panel. To keep members informed of its activities, BIHG has an e-mailing list, an annual newsletter and a website. It holds its Annual General Meeting (AGM) at the annual conference, but has also supported a number of ad hoc conferences on particular subjects and has regularly organised panels at the BISA annual conference. The executive committee includes the Officers of the Group and a number of ordinary members, who meet a number of times per year to plan the annual conference and other events, oversee the preparation of the newsletter and website, and discuss particular challenges. We hope that you find us a welcoming and supportive organisation that listens to what you have to say.

We look forward to seeing you at our 31st annual conference at Lancaster University in September 2019.

Patrick Finney
Chair of the British International History Group

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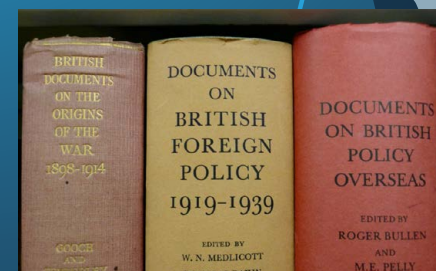
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BIHG 29th Annual Conference 2018
Exeter University



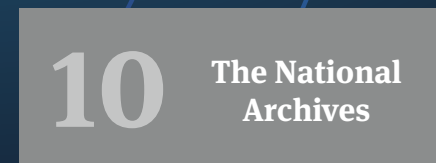
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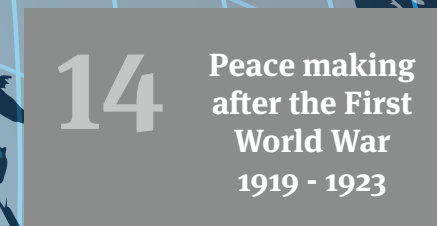
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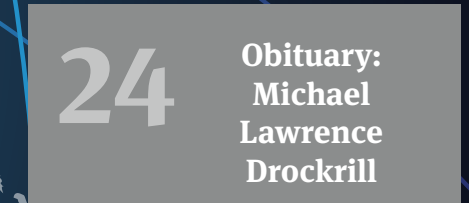
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BIHG 29th Annual Conference 2018

The conference attracted in excess of eighty delegates

Conference Report



The British International History Group Thirtieth Annual Conference was held at Exeter University from 30 August - 1 September 2018.

Around eighty delegates attended, and nearly sixty presented papers, in the fine surroundings of Exeter University's Streatham campus. Speakers from North America, Japan, China, the Middle East as well as Europe and the United Kingdom enjoyed two and half days of intellectual stimulation in convivial company. It was great to see and meet the combination of veterans making welcome returns and many first-time attendees. It is a delight that international history and the BIHG conference remain vibrant and relevant.

Roundtable

As is traditional, the conference was opened with a roundtable. This year it was entitled 'New Directions in Imperial and Global History' and was chaired by our host from Exeter, Professor Richard Toye, and comprised three of his departmental colleagues: Emily Bridger, Marc-William Palen and Gajendra Singh. The stimulating papers challenged old orthodoxies, opened up new vistas of investigation, provoked thoughtful questions from the audience and demonstrated the current vibrancy of work being done at the intersection between imperial and global history.



Panels

The nitty –gritty of the conference, as per usual, were the panels of which there were more than twenty. Delegates ranged over a diverse range of topics, from the Cold War, through Republican China, decolonization, cultural aspects of diplomacy, finance and international history, the Middle East and many others. Two panels, in particular, drew large attendances. The first featured Gill Bennett, Luke Gibbon and James Southern of the FCO Historians, expertly chaired by their colleague, Richard Smith. It marked the FCO's fiftieth anniversary and the centenary of the Historical Section. Gill Bennett's paper, which drew on some of her research on the Zinoviev letter controversy, was particularly well received and drew lots of questions and comments. Another well attended panel marked the retirement of Geoff Roberts as Professor of History at University College Cork, from where he has published dozens of articles and books over the last quarter century. Michael Cox, Patrick Finney, Caroline Kennedy-Pipe and Chris Bellamy examined aspects of Geoff's work on the Soviet Union in a fitting tribute to a well-respected international historian and stalwart BIHG member, who has not been afraid to challenge consensus on some of the most controversial issues of the last century.

Postgraduate/Early Career Researcher Job Workshop

Following its successful debut at the conference in Keele, Poppy Cullen and James Ellison again organised a Postgraduate/Early Career Researcher Job Workshop. ECRs were invited to submit sample covering letters and cvs in advance and, in a pre-dinner session on the first evening of the conference, they each received critical and constructive feedback on them from two senior scholars. We hope to continue this well received initiative at future conferences: it adds to BIHG's long standing commitment

to provide a supportive and hospitable venue for early career colleagues to present and receive feedback on their research by helping them with all important mentoring and career advice.

Annual General Meeting

After reports on activities and financial matters. The AGM also saw the announcement of the winner of the annual thesis prize: Dr Abhijit Sarkar won for his D.Phil thesis 'Beyond Famines: Wartime State, Society, and the Politicization of Food in Colonial India, 1939-1945' (University of Oxford, 2017). Other issues discussed included the Group's relationship with its parent body the British International Studies Association: members were encouraged to join BISA and also to consider contributing papers to BIHG-sponsored panels at the BISA annual conference in June 2019. Officers are now elected for two year terms and the senior members for 2017-2019 are: Patrick Finney (Chair); Rogelia Pastor-Castro (Secretary); James Ellison (Vice-Chair); and Helen Parr (Treasurer).

Keynote Speaker: Dr Jessica Reinisch

Following the AGM Jessica Reinisch of Birkbeck, delivered a paper on 'The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration' which demonstrated the importance of this transnational body to the survival of many Europeans during and after the Second World War and also raised important epistemological and methodological questions.



Fifty four papers were read over the three days of the conference in the various panels.

Jennifer Yuk Lum Yip (Pennsylvania) , “‘Fighting for Justice and Righteousness”: The Moral Meaning of International Law for Wartime Republican China, 1937–1942’
Henry Penfold (Oxford) , ‘The King Over the Water: What China Saw in the Labour Party, 1953-6’
Gultekin Sumer (Beykent) , ‘How Soviet Cold War Policies Fell Prey to the Temptations of Strategic Traps’
Spencer Mawby (Nottingham) , ‘The International History of Uganda 1945-2002: A Sketch’
Poppy Cullen (Cambridge) , ‘Decolonisation and the 1965 East and Central African Heads of Missions Meeting’
Bruno Cardoso Reis (CEI ISCTE-IUL) , ‘The Example of the Belgian Congo in Portuguese Decolonization: Real Impact or Legitimizing Discourse?’
Artemis Photiadou (LSE) , ‘Absolutely First Class’: Refugees as a Source of British Intelligence, 1939-45’
Matthew Gerth (Queen’s Belfast) , ‘Vansittartism: Anticommunist Political Repression in the United Kingdom during the Early Cold War Period’
Sophy Gardner (Exeter) , ‘Curating Violence: Air Policing in Iraq and Ireland in the 1920s’
Darius Wainwright (Reading) , ‘Britannia Overwhelmed? The British Council and the UK Foreign Office’s Attempts to Reassert Britain’s Cultural Presence in Iran, 1953-1958’
Joseph Higgins (Southampton) , ‘The South Arabian ‘Federal Moment’: Decolonisation and State-Building in the Western Aden Protectorate, 1952-63’
Ryo Ikeda (Tohoku) , ‘The Aftermath of the Suez War: Negotiations towards the Reopening of the Suez Canal’
Luke Gibbon (FCO) , ‘From “Ultimate Aim” to Proximate Reality: The End of Empire and the Origins of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, ca. 1962-1968’
Gill Bennett (FCO) , ‘Conspiracies and Controversies: The Work of Official In-House Government Historians’
James Southern (FCO) , “‘Reactionary Brahmins or Diabolically Clever Radical Schemers”? Class, British Culture and the Public Reputation of the 1960s Diplomatic Service’
Perry Biddiscombe (Victoria) , “‘Branding the United Nations: The Origins of the UN Insignia and Flag, 1941-1950’
David Gill (Nottingham) , ‘Inexcusable Default: Rethinking the Causes and Consequences of the United Kingdom’s Unpaid War Debts to the United States of America, 1917-1980’
Michael Hopkins (Liverpool) , ‘Bargaining for Justice: British Financial Negotiations with the United States and Canada, 1945-1946’
Paschalis Pechlivanis (Utrecht) , ‘When Promises of Change Meet Cold War Realities: The US and Romania during the Carter Years’
Andrew Cobbing (Nottingham) , ‘Propaganda and Public Diplomacy in Early Meiji Foreign Relations’
Antony Best (LSE) , Responding to Disaster: Britain and the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923’
Seung Mo Kang (LSE) , ‘The 1919 German Peace Settlement and the Post-World War II Japanese Reparations Question’
Ian Ruxton (Kyushu) , ‘Sir Ernest Satow at The Hague in 1907’
David Whittington (UWE) , ‘Professional and Amateur Diplomacy in the Balkans during the First World War’
David Kaufman (Edinburgh) , “‘I See no Merit except Ability and Vigour”: Lord Balfour, Sir Maurice Hankey and the Debate over the History of the Reparation Question’
Matt Hefler (KCL) , ‘Intelligence and Anglo-French Conflict in the Middle East, 1943-1947’
Lori Maguire (Paris 8) , ‘France and North Vietnam, 1954-1964’

Andrew Smith (Chichester) , “‘Pushing and Shoving and Confusion”: Franco-British Relations and the June 1954 D Day Commemoration’
Ilaria Parisi (Paris 3 Sorbonne Nouvelle) , ‘Recovering European Security to Enhance French Independence: France and the Euromissiles Crisis, 1977-1987’
Yannick Pincé (Paris 3 Sorbonne Nouvelle) , ‘Domestic Politics First: French Communists and the Debates over Foreign and Strategic Policies’
Florian Galleri (Paris-Seine) , ‘The Political Question around the End of Nuclear Testing during the Mitterrand Presidency’
Rob Joy (Southampton) , ‘Facing Decolonisation: British Agricultural Officers in Postcolonial East Africa’
Przemyslaw Piotr Damski (Vistula) , ‘Ignacy Paderewski’s “Sound Diplomacy”, President Wilson’s Fourteen Points and the Emotional Turn’
Patrick Finney (Aberystwyth) , ‘Geoff Roberts and the Origins of the Second World War’
Caroline Kennedy-Pipe (Loughborough) , ‘Rethinking the Cold War’
Chris Bellamy (Greenwich) , ‘Re –examining Soviet Military Doctrine’
Mick Cox (LSE) , ‘Rethinking the End of the Cold War: What Did it all Mean for the Russians?’
Mark Minenko (KCL) , ‘Canada’s Compliance with the POW Articles of the 1907 Hague Convention’
Simon Tate (East Anglia) , ‘The Turkish ‘Counter Revolution’ of 1909: Reflections on the Autonomy of the British Embassy in the Age of the Telegraph’
Georgios Giannakopoulos (Durham) , ‘Weather Men: British Intellectuals, National Questions and Imperial Order in the Age of Nationalism and Internationalism’
Jonathan Best (Queen’s Belfast) , ‘Britain’s Enemies in Fact and Fiction, 1935-1950’
Scott Ramsay (Leeds) , ‘Appeasing Franco: Britain and the Continuation of Non-Intervention in Spain, 1939-1940’
Grace Livingstone (Cambridge) , ‘British Policy towards the Dictatorships of Argentina and Chile, 1973-82: How the Social Class of Foreign Office Officials Affects Foreign Policy’
Louise Clare (Manchester) , “‘War Does Not Begin with its Outbreak. It Begins with the Use of Words’: Media and Cultural Influences in the Prelude to the 1982 Falklands/Malvinas War’
Edward Hampshire (MOD) , ‘Operation Larder: Shadowing the Soviet Navy in the Later Cold War’
Jamie Perry (Birmingham) , ‘Chatham House Rules? The Liberal Internationalisation of Britain’s War Aims, 1939-1945’
Saho Matsumoto-Best (Nagoya City) , ‘The Christian Democrat Phenomenon in Mid-Twentieth Century Western Europe’
Victor Gavin (Barcelona) : ‘An Old Problem not Invented by Donald Trump: NATO’s Financial Burden-Sharing from the Common NATO Budget Proposal of August 1950 to the Temporary Council Committee Report of December 1951’
Jonas Mikkelsen (SOAS) , ‘Agency and International Organizations: Have IR Scholars Underestimated the Role of the Executive Head?’
Vesa Vares (Turku) : ‘22 Players Run after the Ball, and in the end England Wins: German Views of the 1935 and 1938 Germany-England Matches’
Marco Maria Aterrano (Padua) , ‘Allied Policy and Italy’s Long Postwar, 1943-1947’
Andrea Mason (LSE) , ‘British Policy towards Eastern Europe in the mid-1950s’
Daisuke Ikemoto (Meiji Gakuin) , ‘Not Maggie’s Fault? The Thatcher Government and the Re-Emergence of Global Finance’
Jack Harding (Glasgow) , ‘Strategic Culture and the Use of the Armed Forces for Domestic Security post-2001: France, Germany, and the United Kingdom’.

Report on BIHG Panels at BISA Conference, Bath, June 2019

The 43rd Annual Conference of the British International Studies Association – the BIHG’s parent body – was held at the Apex Hotel in Bath from 13 – 15 June 2018. The conference was a very well-attended and the venue – one of Bath’s newest luxury hotels – was extremely pleasant and convenient. BISA Working groups now have a central role in building the programme of the conference and the BIHG was delighted to be able to sponsor two panels.

The first was entitled ‘States and International Societies in Ancient, Modern, and Contemporary History’ and had been submitted as a full panel by a group of American colleagues convened by David Clinton of Baylor University who also acted as chair. The papers were: ‘The Origins and Implications of Military Autonomy’ by Peter Campbell (Baylor University); ‘The Promise of Phronesis for International Ethics’ by Stephen Sims (Rochester Institute of Technology); ‘The Political and Trans-political Character of Justice for Aristotle’ by Elizabeth Goyette (Baylor University); ‘Thucydides’ View of International Pressure and Technological Innovation’ by Jason Lund (Baylor University); and ‘Interwar International Law and Organizations’ Influences on the Anglo-American Transition’ by Jeremy Schmuck (Baylor University). The panel was well-attended and the papers ranged widely both chronologically and thematically, triggering a very stimulating discussion.

The second panel was entitled ‘Power, Conflict, Cooperation and Order’ and had been put together from individual paper submissions, with Patrick Finney, BIHG Chair, acting as chair. The papers were: ‘The Ottoman Empire and The English School Theory of International Society’ by Barbara Roberson (University of Warwick); ‘Why do states in conflict with each other also sustain resilient cooperation in international regulation? Britain and telegraphy, 1860s-

1914’ by Eva Heims (University of York) and Perri 6 (Queen Mary University); ‘”Imposing Liberalism By Authority”: The Political Role of the British Intelligence Division in Occupied Germany’ by Luke Daly-Groves (University of Leeds); ‘Power, Liberal Pacification, and the Phenomenology of Violence’ by Ilan Baron (University of Durham), Jonathan Havercroft (University of Southampton) and Jonneke Koomen (Willamette University) and Isaac Kamola (Trinity College); and ‘Dangerous Defaults: Rethinking the United Kingdom’s Management of Sovereign Debt, 1919- 34’ by David Gill (University of Nottingham). The panel brought together an international cast of speakers at various career stages for a very collegial and expansive exchange of views.

The BIHG hopes to intensify its participation at BISA conferences in the future, including at the 44th Conference which will be held at the Royal Society in London in June 2019. Members are encouraged to submit proposals for either individual papers or panels to BISA annually, indicating their affiliation to the BIHG.



News from FCO Historians and the National Archives

New volume of Documents on British Policy Overseas published

Series III, Volume XI: The Unwinding of Apartheid: UK-South African Relations, 1986-1990

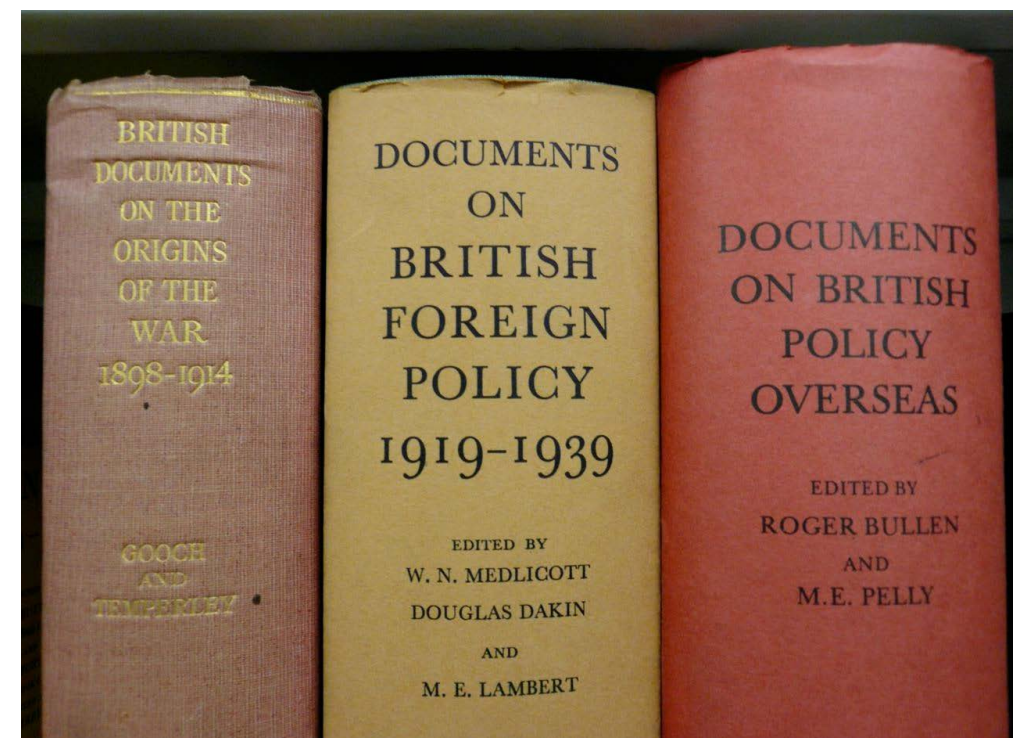
This volume continues the story of diplomatic relations between the United Kingdom and South Africa as deadlock gave way to the first stages in the unwinding of apartheid, symbolised by the release of Nelson Mandela from prison.

By the middle of 1986 the South African Government had succeeded in containing the township revolt, but its hesitant moves towards reform had brought a solution to the problem of apartheid no closer. The intransigent figure of President P.W. Botha ensured that stalemate would continue until his reluctant departure from office in August 1989. The election of F.W. de Klerk as his successor marked the beginning of a period of irrevocable change, symbolised by the release of Nelson Mandela from prison in February 1990.

This volume documents the role of the United Kingdom in keeping up pressure on the South African Government, building contacts with the African National Congress and giving decisive encouragement to President de Klerk’s reform initiatives. It reveals recurrent differences of approach between the Foreign and Commonwealth Office on the one hand and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher on the other.

However, it also shows that despite her frequent confrontations with the international community in general, and the Commonwealth in particular, Mrs Thatcher repeatedly brought pressure to bear on President Botha and strongly supported President de Klerk during his first crucial months in office. Her part in bringing about change in South Africa was fully appreciated by Nelson Mandela, whose first meeting with Mrs Thatcher concludes the volume.

Patrick Salmon, FCO Historians



100 years of Historians in the Foreign Office

This year we celebrate our centenary so I thought it might be interesting to give you some background as to what we do and how we came to be in the FCO.

A Historical Section was first established in March 1918 by the then PUS, Sir Charles Hardinge, in an attempt to restore prestige to a Foreign Office whose standing had been damaged by the First World War. Headed by the academic George Prothero, its task was to produce briefings for use at an eventual Peace Conference. At the same time the Foreign Office established a Political Intelligence Department (PID) with Professor James Headlam-Morley as its deputy.

The Historical Section and PID produced 174 studies bound in 26 ‘peace handbooks’ on subjects ranging from Zionism to Easter Island, from Spitsbergen to the Kiel Canal. Members of the Section attended the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. The Section was dissolved in November 1920, owing to post-war economies, but Headlam-Morley was retained and appointed as Historical Adviser: the achievements of the former Historical Section having convinced the Foreign Office that historical knowledge was an important auxiliary to diplomacy.

The Historical Section began to rebuild when, in 1924, the Historians gained a second role. The first Labour government, headed by Ramsay MacDonald, decided to publish a series of volumes of British Documents on the Origins of the War, 1898-1914. The aim was to counter the influence of the famous German series Die Grosse Politik der Europäischen Grossmächte, 1871-1914, published to refute the Versailles ‘War Guilt’ clause that blamed Germany for starting the First World War.

During the Second World War, the Cabinet authorised another series to deal with the inter-war period: Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919-1939. A new Historical Section was formed and incorporated into the FO Library and Archives Department. As this project drew to a close the Foreign Secretary, Douglas-Home, announced in 1973 a further series: Documents on British Policy Overseas (DBPO), covering the period after 1945. Valued by historians of international relations and their students, these series also provide a form of public diplomacy, reminding people of the role that Britain has played in the shaping of the modern world.

What we do today

The work of FCO Historians, as we are now known, remains similar today: to provide historical information on issues that still have contemporary resonance such as the First and Second World Wars, the Holocaust, the UK’s colonial legacy and historical aspects of relations with individual countries (particularly where some historical controversy complicates relations); and to contribute to greater understanding of UK foreign policy by publishing diplomatic documents.

But our role has also broadened considerably to include other tasks:

- > Increasing FCO staff’s understanding of historical issues by organising events that bring together historians and policy makers, and contributing to the Diplomatic Academy.

- > Engaging with the public, academics and students through our publications, blogs, social media, seminars, and conferences.

- > Acting as curators for FCO history.

The job is nothing if not varied. Major highlights for 2019 include a new DBPO volume on the revolutions in Eastern Europe in 1989 (to coincide with the 30th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall) filled with great reporting from British embassies on the fall of the Iron Curtain. Also, we are organising a major conference in June (with partners TNA, LSE and Strathclyde) on ‘Peace-Making after the First World War’.

If you are interested in our work then follow us on Twitter @fcohistorians or check out our publications at www.issuu.com/fcohistorians .

Richard Smith, FCO Historians

New publications from the FCO looking at gender and race in the Foreign Office

Women and the Foreign Office (History Note 20)

Earlier this year, FCO Historians published an updated version of their History Note Women in Diplomacy. Essentially, it argues that there are two ways of thinking about the history of women in diplomacy. One way is to focus on the role women have played behind the scenes in the world of male diplomacy; thinking, for example, about the networks of Jacobean chamber maids who would exchange intelligence between courts. Another way is to think of women who have transcended their sex to operate successfully in a man’s world. Elizabeth I, for example, was a fine diplomat who once deliberately wrote to Peter the Great in Latin, a language she knew he could not understand, to demonstrate her cultural superiority.

Of course, since the formation of the Foreign Office in 1782, women have played both sets of roles, whether as typists or as high-profile individuals like Freya Stark and Gertrude Bell. The History Note takes a wide variety of experiences (space permitting) into account, and includes a comprehensive history of the Diplomatic Service Families Association (founded in 1958 as the Foreign Service Wives Association), as well as sections on topics from typists to lesbian diplomats.

From 1946, when the Gowers Report recommended that women be admitted to the Senior Diplomatic Service, another crucial story began as women fought to be recognised not just as women but as diplomats on equal terms with men. Many milestones have fallen since then: equal pay in 1961; the lifting of the marriage bar in 1972; the joining of the Opportunity 2000 campaign in 1993; the opening of the FCO Nursery in 2002; the launch of an e-learning module to train staff on gender equality in 2007. In 2018, Karen Pierce became the first woman to serve as Ambassador to the UN; Britain still awaits its first woman in Paris and Washington.

The History Note is available to download on the gov.uk website [here](#).



Black Skin, Whitehall: Race and the Foreign Office, 1945-2018 (History Note 21)

On 4 October, FCO Historians published the latest in their series of History Notes: a study of race at the Foreign Office since the Second World War. The Note uses archival documents and oral history to tell the story of Foreign Office policy towards ethnic minorities, from the effective institutional colour bar in the 1950s through to the growing impact of ‘diversity’ ideology and the growing representation of non-white staff in the 1990s and 2000s.

In 1948, the Nationality Act awarded British citizenship to anyone from any of the Commonwealth countries, making millions of non-white people technically eligible to apply for the British Diplomatic Service. At the same time, India, Pakistan and Ceylon gained their independence, thus undermining the Foreign Office’s erstwhile policy of recruiting only those from the Dominions (until then all white, of course). Officials considered only those with white skin as suitable for the representation of Britain overseas, but now struggled to justify such a policy and not be accused of racism: in 1949, an exasperated Treasury official made reference to the ‘mystic link between colour and security’.

Progress on race rights was mixed in Britain in the 1960s and 1970s – the anti-discrimination Race Relations Acts of 1965 and 1968 were accompanied by the effective end of Commonwealth Immigration in 1962 and a moral panic about race provoked by Enoch Powell in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Only when the Foreign Office began to analyse its recruitment statistics in the late 1980s, and subsequently to pursue actively greater ethnic minority representation, did the situation begin to change. The first non-white Ambassador was Indian-born Noel Jones, who was appointed to Kazakhstan in 1993; this year, NneNne Iwuji-Eme became the first female non-white Head of Mission when she was appointed High Commissioner to Mozambique.

The History Note is available to download on the gov.uk website [here](#).

James Southern, FCO Historians

News From The National Archives

Throughout 2018 The National Archives have continued to engage in a wide range of activities related to international history, from files releases, to conferences and postgraduate training.

Releases from December 2017 to December 2018 of interest to international historians.

The bulk of files released in these came from the 1992 to 1994 period when John Major was prime minister shedding light on a range of subjects both at home and abroad. There was some material from earlier periods, particularly the last years of the Mrs Thatcher government. Releases of most interest for international historians were mainly from the Prime Minister's Office and Cabinet Office as well as a selection of files from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. The FCO release focussed on British activity in Germany post-1945. There were also Private Office papers of various individuals including former Foreign Secretaries James Callaghan and Douglas Hurd. In the PREM release a number of the notable files released include some of particular interest to international historians. The December 2017 release featured files on the final disintegration of the USSR, the resignation of Gorbachev, and questions about the security of the Soviet nuclear arsenal (PREM 19/3562). In addition, the ongoing government response to the Chernobyl disaster continues into the 1990s (PREM 19/3656). John Major's visit to Zimbabwe for a Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, which also included a charity cricket match at the suggestion of the Prime Minister of Pakistan, is included (PREM 19/3908), as is a file outlining sanctions against Yugoslavia and Belgrade's withdrawal from the 1992 Olympic Games in Barcelona (PREM 19/3955). The release also includes a file on the internal situation in Iraq in aftermath of the Gulf War (PREM 19/3401), and one containing requests by former US President Richard Nixon to meet with the Prime Minister (PREM 19/3986). The December 2018 release included various files relating to John Major's work with US President Bill Clinton and wider UK-US relations (PREM 19/4495-4501), UK-Russian relations (PREM 19/4420-4422), Nelson Mandela's visits to the UK (PREM 19/4454), the continuing conflict in Yugoslavia (PREM 19/4510 and PREM 19/4513), and UK government policy towards Europe (PREM 19/4640-4666).

A selection of files have been digitised and can be viewed and downloaded using the National Archives catalogue, Discovery.

Cold War Season from April 2019

The National Archives is running a 2019 Cold War season, comprising a new exhibition 'Protect and Survive: Britain's Cold War Revealed' and a season of events that will offer a fascinating insight into life in Britain during the turbulent Cold War era.

Opening on 4 April 2019, exactly 70 years since NATO was formed, the programme will mark a series of Cold War milestones and will run until the end of November 2019, the 30th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall.

Mark Dunton, Contemporary Records Specialist at The National Archives and Curator of the exhibition, said: 'People will have the opportunity to explore our Cold War documents and learn more about this period of secrets and paranoia. The pervasive threat of nuclear war impacted everyday life for millions of people and this thought-provoking exhibition will offer a unique look into political and ideological tensions between the East and West.'

An array of original documents will be on display, including political memos, spy confessions, civil defence posters and even a letter from Winston Churchill to the Queen. These documents will provide visitors with a rare glimpse into the complexities of government operations during this time of infiltration and betrayal.

The exhibition will be accompanied by a programme of high-profile events exploring the Cold War from a multitude of perspectives. Speakers will include Dame Stella Rimington, former Director General of MI5, who will discuss her extraordinary career in government and subsequent success as a writer.

To secure priority booking and be the first to obtain details of the Cold War season, sign up to The National Archives' mailing list at nationalarchives.gov.uk/coldwar.

Conference and Workshop Reports

Ruptures and Resumptions: Crises of Diplomatic Practice in the 20th Century.

June 21-22, 2018

Humboldt Universität zu Berlin

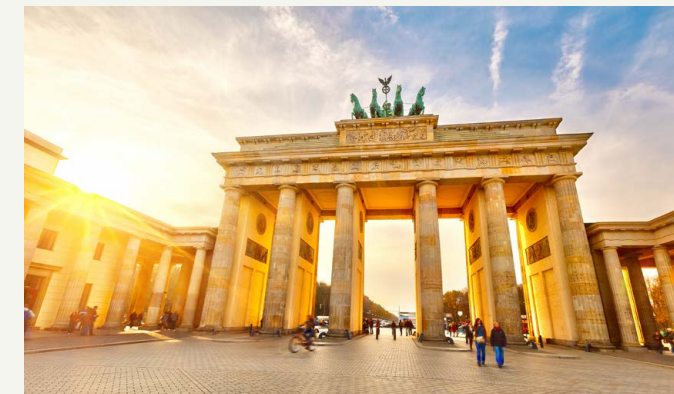
Convenors: Julia Eichenberg, Marcus Payk

Workshop Report

In March 2018, a sudden deterioration of British-Russian diplomatic relations following the Skripal case produced headline after headline. The British government expelled 23 Russian diplomats. Russia followed suit by expelling 23 British diplomats and shutting down the British Council, a programme promoting British culture and the English language. In support of the UK, other states (the US in particular, but also the Ukraine and EU countries) decided to follow the British example and expel Russian diplomats based in their own countries. Russia summoned the British ambassador to demand a further downsizing of British diplomatic staff in Russia to match the size of its diplomatic mission still left in the UK.

From the outside, this spiral of retaliation seemed hard to follow. What does it mean to summon an ambassador and what consequences does it have? How do political crises translate into diplomatic practices? What is the scale of possible escalation? What are the origins of these practices?

The workshop 'Ruptures and Resumptions: Crises of Diplomatic Practice in the 20th Century' examined the diplomatic practice of handling crises in history, its legal framework and its agents. It



engaged with topics ranging from legal conflicts of exiled monarchs with the Hapsburg monarchy to the negotiations for nuclear disarmament between the Cold War superpowers in order to investigate ruptures and resumptions in diplomatic contexts.

MARCUS PAYK (Berlin) opened the workshop by suggesting several themes and questions to frame the discussion. Drawing on the conference title, he noted that while diplomacy usually refers to the formalised contacts between governments, in extraordinary circumstances diplomatic practice must navigate through unknown waters outside of established rituals. Highlighting the processes of diplomatic crisis management, analysing what happens in moments of rupture and how relationships are restored after such incidents allows us to better understand diplomacy.

On the first panel dubbed "embassies", ALASTAIR KOCHO-WILLIAMS (Aberystwyth) presented an analysis of Anglo-Soviet relations in the 1920s that pointed out how threats and menace were employed to maintain diplomatic relations. The Soviet Union's main diplomatic aim of the 1920s, he argued, was to secure recognition from foreign states. This in turn was supposed to enable it to develop economically by opening and maintaining channels for international trade. The Soviet Union successfully used the threat of supporting anti-colonialism in India in what Kocho-Williams called the "Great Game Reloaded" to pressure the United Kingdom into diplomatic and trade relations, while secretly supporting anti-colonial propaganda to keep the threat alive. Subsequently, MARION ABELLEA (Strasbourg) examined four attacks on British Embassies in the Middle East between the 1930s and the 1970s. She conceptualised embassy buildings as a stage for diplomatic crises and identified a pattern of crisis management following these ruptures: an increasingly professionalised chain of destruction of official documents during an attack, the introduction of resumption procedures such as fixing physical damage and reopening embassies, paired with punitive diplomatic measures such as economic sanctions and assuring sentences for embassy attackers through pressuring local politics. Finally, protection of British embassies was structurally increased as result of attacks on embassies, with the security measures around embassies increasing throughout the 20th century because of attacks.

“Diplomatic entrepreneurs” was the topic of the second panel. With the case study of the exiled House of Hannover in the mid-to-late 19th century Hapsburg monarchy, TORSTEN RIOTTE (Frankfurt a.M.) traced the creation of the legal term „monarch in exile”. A grey area of diplomacy, the Austrian government established multi-layered diplomatic practices with the exiled royals to support them in what he termed „dynastic survival.” Exiled monarchs, he argued, were diplomatic entrepreneurs in keeping up their status in the European „société des princes” through formal contacts with other governments and exerting their agency through influencing the law in the Hapsburg monarchy to create the legal status of “monarch in exile” which allowed treatment more similar to acting sovereigns rather than private people. PETER JACKSON’s (Glasgow) paper examined a twofold argument that structural ruptures in diplomatic practices are heavily linked with the make-up of the professional staff in foreign offices, which usually does not change world-views easily. Therefore, generational change in foreign ministries is pivotal in shaping the long-term evolution of policy-making by state institutions. Jackson underlined this point by referring to the example of the attempts to ‘republicanise’ the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs before 1900 by opening up the position of diplomats to non-aristocrats. Only the 1907 reforms saw the emergence of a new generation of increasingly professional officials who were better equipped than the old generation of diplomats to adapt to the challenges of peace-making and stabilisation in the post-1918 era.

The third and fourth panels examined the role of diplomatic practices in negotiating crises and handling ruptures and resumptions. ROGELIA PASTOR-CASTRO (Strathclyde) opened this section with a paper exploring how the diplomatic staff at the British embassy in France navigated through the fall of France in 1940. The embassy faced a political, military and humanitarian crisis and had to meet these challenges under increasingly difficult operating conditions. The embassy followed the French government to Bordeaux and the nature of the crisis would test the embassy’s influence, resilience and adaptability. The embassy had to adapt continuously as it moved from conducting normal diplomatic relations with a close ally to dealings with an increasingly hostile regime. ARVID SCHORS (Freiburg) examined the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks between the United States and the Soviet Union, which marked the first negotiations on the control of nuclear weapons. Whereas the outcome of those negotiations were often portrayed as disappointing, he showed that the negotiations themselves rather than the formal results were decisive, as they crossed the ideological barriers of the Cold War and enabled experts, diplomats and top politicians of the superpowers to

gradually build trust and understand each other’s position. The most fruitful result of the negotiations, therefore, were the newly opened diplomatic channels which themselves decreased the likeliness of a nuclear confrontation. ALEXANDER FRESE (Berlin) pointed out a rather different kind of crisis. In interwar Moscow, the revolutionist government violated basic vectors of diplomatic sociability as they suspected international diplomats, often from their mother countries’ upper class, to be enemies of the revolution and met them with deep distrust. The resulting lack of communication between international diplomats and the Russian government in Moscow, Frese argued, can already be seen as an early stage of the cold war, as diplomatic contact was reduced to a minimum.

Before chairing the vivid final discussion, JULIA EICHENBERG (Berlin) tied together the central themes of the workshop, summarising that the presented case studies had shown how in acute crises, the agency of the individual is expanded through the absence of prescribed plans. In contrast to peace-time diplomacy dominated by formalised procedures, a state of emergency opens up room for single actors to develop and enact creative solutions. The final discussion engaged, amongst other topics, with potential bias in the study of diplomatic crises: the deformation professionnelle of diplomats is that they want to keep open channels of communication at all times. Rupture is therefore a problem for them, because it might cause them to lose their jobs. Historians should be more aware of this in order to not fall into the trap of normative assumptions. However, a learning curve can also be identified: diplomats and governments learned how to handle crises better and rules for diplomacy were established throughout the 19th and 20th century. The participants agreed that space and control over it is important in this field, as embassies are symbolic space specifically constructed as an embodiment of diplomacy. It became clear that a study of diplomatic crises opens up diplomatic history for more than only the study of bilateral relations, since local populations, emotions of diplomats and the governments behind them influenced diplomats and their professional work, providing further potential research questions in the field.

**Simeon Marty, simeon.marty@hu-berlin.de,
Humboldt Universität zu Berlin**

Britain, France and Europe: Reassessments

On 22 May 2018 the French Ambassador to the UK, Jean-Pierre Jouyet, hosted a debate on the history of relations between the UK and France at his Residence in London. This was the third event in the Royal Society of Edinburgh-funded network on relations between the UK and France during the Second World War led by BIHG colleagues from the University of Strathclyde, Dr Rogelia Pastor-Castro and Dr Karine Varley. The event was organised in conjunction with the French Higher Education Attachée and the Institut Français du Royaume-Uni. The speakers included Ambassador Jouyet, Professor Peter Jackson (Glasgow) and Professor Robert Tombs (Cambridge). Speakers discussed the history of the two countries and the lessons that might be derived from experiences of cooperation during the Second World War. A vibrant contemporary discussion from different perspectives was brought to life even more by the historical insights. Members of the audience engaged with the topic and contributed to the lively debate. The audience included policy makers, parliamentarians, diplomats, representatives of the UK and international press, as well as academics.

It was an excellent and convivial evening, admirably hosted in the opulent surroundings of the Residence.

Social media coverage of the event #UKFranceWW2 and <https://www.flickr.com/photos/ambafruk/sets/72157696544406394>



Arts and Humanities TV Masterclass The Barbican Centre

The Arts and Humanities Research Council organised its first ever Arts and Humanities TV Masterclass at the Barbican on 7 February 2019. This new collaboration between the AHRC and the Edinburgh Television Festival brought together arts and humanities researchers and the UK’s television industry. Professor Andrew Thompson, Executive Chair AHRC said: ‘Today is very much the start of the conversation to germinate ideas and explore new opportunities to find the new faces and voices of the future.’ The programme included a lecture by David Olusoga, historian and broadcaster, who spoke about his personal journey from academic to producer to presenter. A number of panels involved programme makers, explored how commissioning works and the role of academics. The final session was devoted to one-to-one meetings for academics and programme makers and commissioners. The event generated a great deal of interest and discussion and will probably return next year.

The event on twitter #AHTV2019

**Rogelia Pastor-Castro
University of Strathclyde**

Conference

Peace making after the First World War 1919 - 1923

27 & 28 June 2019

To mark the centenary of the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, a two-day conference in June 2019 will explore the peace-making process that followed the First World War. The conference is jointly organised by The National Archives, the Foreign & Commonwealth Office Historians, the University of Strathclyde, the International History Department at the London School of Economics and Political Science, and the British International History Group.

The conference will be held in two locations. The first day will be held at The National Archives; it will include an exhibition of The National Archives' unique collection of certified copies of all the treaties, alongside a selection of other materials. The second day will be held at Lancaster House. Speakers include:

- Prof Gaynor Johnson (University of Kent),
- Prof Alan Sharp (Ulster University),
- Dr Mark Jones (University College Dublin),
- Prof Alexander Watson (Goldsmiths),
- Prof Eugene Rogan (University of Oxford),
- Prof Rana Mitter (University of Oxford),
- Prof Michael Cox (LSE),
- Prof David Stevenson



Research Note

The Ronald Reagan Library, Simi Valley, California, USA.
www.reaganlibrary.gov



Since Franklin Roosevelt every American president's legacy has included a purpose built museum and library. The Reagan Library, opened in 1992, is located in Simi Valley - a small city in southern California about 45 miles north of Los Angeles International airport. The library and museum is usually one of the most visited of the Presidential Libraries run by the National Archives and Records Administration – a testament to Reagan's continued iconic, and arguably misunderstood, status among American conservatives. Simi Valley is a sleepy dormitory city of LA laid out on the usual US grid system of very long roads of endless rows of houses and dozens of shopping malls. It is apparently a favoured retirement spot for the LAPD. As far as I can judge there are only two hotels in the town – though there are more options through Air BnB. The Reagan Library is just in the countryside outside it at the top of a mountain where it commands views over rugged hilly, and often burnt, countryside – it was wildfire season when I was there. There is a bus service from the Simi Valley Town Centre, which is a mall development rather than an actual town centre. I stayed in a hotel near the town centre (6 miles from the library) and this will get you to the library for 0940 after a 30 minute trip and return you at 1630. It is 10-15 dollars for an Uber or Lyft taxi. Walking is possible but this would take at

least twenty minutes up a very steep hill even if you were able to stay somewhere close. This is quite exposed to the sun and is not recommended in July.

The building itself is designed like a nineteenth century hacienda. It is cleverly built into the hill side and is deceptively small on first sight. Entering via a large courtyard you take a door straight ahead for the museum or take a door on the left hand side for the archive reading room. The museum is worth a visit with some spectacular exhibits such as an F14 Tomcat in the garden and the Air Force One used by American presidents from Kennedy to Reagan in a large hanger at the end of the museum. The museum is remorselessly pro-Reagan with little or no room for criticism of the fortieth president. Instead the theme throughout is how one man made America great again, which may sound familiar. Its partisan propaganda unintentionally diminishes a president who was often a quite different and more nuanced leader (worse in some ways, better in many others) than this portrayal. Contrary to the myths of the Republican party today, it was his ability to work with Democrats and his recognition, in advance of his advisors, that Gorbachev was changing Soviet policy fundamentally that are his finest achievements.

The Reagan Archive

Of course, international historians will not be here primarily for the museum. They will be there for the archives contained in the library. Readers are free to bring in and use laptops, digital cameras, pencils and paper. It should be noted that space is relatively limited with only about 10 tables available. In the two weeks I was there in July 2018, most were occupied. It is, therefore, essential that you make an appointment in advance. The archivists are unfailingly helpful from initial email inquiry through on-site orientation and the answering of queries. They are usually very quick to bring you the carts of grey archive boxes familiar from other US presidential libraries. Unlike other presidential libraries or the National Archives at Suitland, however, they do not have set times to pull orders from the archives and will get the material to you quickly.

Most of the records at the library are the working papers of officials who worked directly for the president – the counsellors, the special assistants and advisers. These cover the gamut of domestic and foreign affairs. The most important of these for the international historian are the papers attached to the offices of the National Security Adviser. These drew up the briefing papers, managed cable traffic to the White House, developed policies, managed overseas crises and ran covert operations. They also had the task of drawing up the rather disconcertingly simple ‘talking points’ papers which were given to the President, who apparently struggled to master long documents. They give the not altogether inappropriate impression of being the presidential equivalent of actors’ idiot boards. More alarmingly, away from these ‘idiot boards’ Reagan could be remarkably prone to gaffes. A widespread judgment in the liberal press in the 1980s was that Reagan was poor, indeed completely uninterested, at being the chief manager of the executive branch. However, at the same time he remained an effective political salesman in getting the message of the administration across. Moreover, as anyone who has been to the Jimmy Carter Library will have noted, reading everything, being exceptionally well briefed and getting involved in policy minutiae does not necessarily make you an effective president. Moreover, while Carter had one National Security Adviser, Zbigniew Brezinski, for his whole term in office, Reagan had an extraordinary six in eight years. This means there are discontinuities and abrupt shifts in personnel and administrative procedures, but it made little difference to how Reagan was judged by public opinion. (And,

in his defence, his diaries, which have been published, are quite eloquent in their folksy manner).

Other important staffers outside the national security team include the Chief of Staffs of the White House, particularly James Baker. One important collection of a non-White House staff member that is of obvious interest is that of George Shultz, Secretary of State 1982-89, who donated photocopies of his state records. But relatively little of that material is open. Indeed, its legal status is somewhat unclear and the limited open material relates mainly to 1986. Shultz, from these and other records I have viewed, emerges very well in comparison to his maladroit predecessor, Alexander Haig.

Using the records

Before you head out to California, you need to consult the finding aids online using the names of White House staffers (<https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/document-collection/white-house-staff-and-office-inventories>), White House offices and departments (<https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/white-house-offices>) and the useful topic guides e.g. <https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/sites/default/files/archives/textual/topics/libya.pdf>

Usually there is a link to a PDF of the finding aid. There are also offices within the NSC that usually dealt with a geographic area. These were, it should be noted, reorganized at different times.

As I was working on Southern Africa and apartheid in the Reagan Library, one of the NSC collections that I wished to consult was the African Affairs Directorate: <https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/sites/default/files/archives/textual/smf/nsafrica.pdf>. This collection is arranged into four series: SERIES I: Country File (RAC Boxes 1-12); SERIES II: Subject File (RAC Boxes 13-17); SERIES III: Filing (RAC Boxes 17-18); SERIES IV: Chronological File (RAC Boxes 18-22). If you go to the link you will see that a majority of the boxes are not open – notably none of the folders on Angola where US support for South Africa and its allies, the UNITA movement, was very controversial in the 1980s. There are more folders open with regard to South Africa, but even if boxes and folders are open they are often filled with withdrawal sheets. It is hard to believe that there actually are any real secrets from twenty-five years ago – other than the obvious ones regarding ciphers and code breaking and the protection of agents – but

only a fraction of the national security material has come out on these topics. The staff have also begun to digitize some of the Reagan collections, which can be accessed through the Reagan Library website, though again the caveats regarding lots of withdrawal sheets apply equally to these. To give one example: this folder on Libya <https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/sites/default/files/digitallibrary/smf/counterterrorism/r6/libya3-16-1987-06-30-1987.pdf> sounds like gold dust for the student of terrorism, Gaddafi and Libya. However, every item on the file is withheld under the B-1 clause relating to national security clauses of FOIA. There is some material on Libya but the sense one gets is that what has been released is only the tip of the iceberg. It is worth making periodic visits to the website of the library to see what has been newly digitized.

Twenty years ago, most would have agreed that American archival policies were amongst the most liberal in the world. The Freedom of Information Act and Mandatory Declassification reviews have opened up much of the archives through to Richard Nixon’s presidency. But after that things are noticeably less liberal. I was amazed how much national security material from the Ford and Reagan libraries was still unavailable for public inspection; perhaps this reflects the presence of so many from those administrations in the George W. Bush White House? The extent of the material in the folders seems to depend on whether someone has made FOIA requests which have achieved some measure of success or on the Mandatory Declassification review which supposedly takes place after 25 years, though in practice it would appear these reviews are running late. Regarding FOIA requests, the Thatcher Foundation has been notably tireless in getting Thatcher - Reagan meetings and correspondence released. However, you are likely to get a better picture of Anglo-American relations in the 1980s from the records at the UK National Archives at present. There is also better material on US-Soviet relations. Central American policy has been subject to lots of FOIA requests which means scholars of it are better served than, say, scholars of Africa. A fellow scholar interested in the Reagan administration and European integration found the pickings relatively slim, presumably because it has not received a great volume of FOIA requests.

What one can say now is that a combination of more illiberal release policies, particularly the requirement for multiagency clearance and the staggering amount of paper generated by the federal government, has meant that many foreign policy and national security archives have not yet begun to

release papers on the Reagan era. Moreover, the slow pace of production of the Foreign Relations of the United States volumes (many lying in declassification limbo) which usually spurs releases of material means that series is only now publishing volumes on the Carter era. State Department cables for the 1973-79 period have been digitized and can be viewed at <https://aad.archives.gov/aad/series-list.jsp?cat=WR43> but again there is nothing yet for Reagan.

After your visit

This is not to say that the Reagan Library is not worth a visit. In the end, you will invariably find lots of material. You will, however, return with lots of photos of withdrawal sheets and be disappointed that so much continues to be withheld from public and scholarly scrutiny. The next steps you will need to take upon your return home will be to send all your withdrawal sheets back to the Reagan Library requesting a Mandatory Declassification review. The process is explained here. <https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/mandatory-declassification-review-request>. If your request concerns national security material and it is more than 25 years old, use this procedure rather than an FOIA request. Then you will have to wait and be very patient because this process takes at least a couple of years.

Robert McNamara
Ulster University



Keynote Interview

Professor Kathleen Burk

Kathleen Burk is Professor Emerita of Modern and Contemporary History at University College London (UCL), where she taught for many years. Her scholarly interests lie primarily in twentieth century international history, with a primary focus on Anglo-American relations, but she has written widely on other aspects of politics, diplomacy, finance and wine. She was a doctoral student of A.J.P. Taylor at Oxford and subsequently wrote an acclaimed biography of perhaps Britain's most famous international historian. Her recent publications include *Old world, new world : Great Britain and America from the beginning* (2009), *Is this bottle corked? : the secret life of wine*, (2008), *Troublemaker : the life and history of A.J.P. Taylor*, (2002). Professor Burk will be the keynote speaker at the BIHG annual conference at Lancaster University in September 2019. Her book, the subject of this interview, *The Lion and the Eagle: The Interaction of the British and American Empires 1783–1972* was published by Bloomsbury in 2018.

RMN: Hi Kathy, I hope this finds you well. Many thanks for agreeing to be our keynote and many congratulations on your new book. It is your second major book on British and American interactions following *Old World, New World*, which I guess begs the question, what is the lacuna that this book is attempting to fill?

KB: I published *Old World, New World* in 2007. The reviewer in the TLS, whilst very kind, made a comment that piqued me, which was, roughly, that I had not followed the imperial thread. I had two reactions. Firstly, the text of the book was already over 650 pages long – how long a book did he want to read? And secondly, I was tired of Anglo-American relations, given that I had been teaching and writing about the subject for at least twenty-five years. I went off and wrote a book on wine. But the question kept nagging my brain, and I began to read around the subject. I also consulted two of our most distinguished imperial historians, who answered me that there was no book on the subject of the interactions of the British and American empires and encouraged me to write one. So I did.

RMN: Hence, the focus on imperialism in this volume?

KB: Beyond the fact that no such book existed, I was interested in the peripheries. The book is not a history of the two empires: rather, it looks at where they came into conflict or co-operated. Thus, I concentrated on the Canadian border, China, Japan, and the Middle East. There is virtually nothing on India, Africa or the Antipodes. It is, of course, set within the geopolitical context.

RMN: Thucydides' Trap - the notion that as one power rises and another relatively declines, war is inevitable - has recently been given renewed attention by Graham Allison and John Mearsheimer regarding the US and China. Yet, the British and the Americans avoided this, as UK dominance in the international system declined and the USA's rose. Why do you think this was so?

KB: The British and the Americans avoided the Thucydides Trap for two reasons. First of all, lacking missiles, neither could defeat the other, and both governments knew this. After 1812, no war broke out: the British had the ships and the Americans had two oceanic moats – in short, a sea power versus a land power. And secondly, the awareness of common values had a strong influence, particularly in the UK. This was particularly the case when there arose a strong common enemy, such as Germany in the two world wars and the USSR in the Cold War. Otherwise, they were strong commercial rivals, but ones who believed in the rule of law.

RMN: On that point of shared values, I note that the later part of the 19th century and early 20th century saw much mutual backslapping between British and American elites regarding the superiority of the Anglo-Saxons, but it was not until 1941 that it finally became a durable strategic partnership. Did culture forge the special relationship and, if so, why did it take so long?

Praise for
OLD WORLD, NEW WORLD:
The Story of Britain and America

'A formidable achievement; scholarly, readable and entertaining ... Excellent'
Daily Telegraph

'The most reliable, lucidly narrated and generous history of the mutual entanglement of Britain and America we are likely to have for some time'
Times Literary Supplement

'Balanced, intelligent, insightful and sometimes funny, Burk's book is sure to be regarded as the definitive work on the subject'
Dominic Sandbrook, *Literary Review*

'*Old World, New World* should be compulsory reading in No. 10 and the Foreign Office'
The Times

'A remarkable achievement ... It will undoubtedly become the first port of call for anyone seeking to understand this vast subject'
Spectator

'Immensely thought-provoking ... [a] lucid, enjoyably propulsive narrative'
Guardian



KATHLEEN BURK

THE
LION
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KB: Culture did not forge the 'special relationship', although it has helped it to endure. The relationship is fundamentally a military relationship, with its bones being the intelligence and nuclear links. An alliance requires both sides being able to provide what the other needs or wants. For the US, this included from Britain US air bases and intelligence-gathering sites, Diego Garcia, American access to Singapore and other British bases in the Far East – as Frank Wisner, the head of covert operations for the CIA told Kim Philby (still unmasked) in 1957, 'Whenever there is somewhere we want to destabilize, the British have an island nearby.' The British had, and possibly has, diplomatic prowess, and they had great influence in Europe, on which the US could call. The UK remained a global power. And the British spoke English – even a superpower needs someone trustworthy to talk to. On the other side, the British looked to the US for access to American power. What culture does is to support a relationship or alliance. In a democratic society, it can be difficult for a government to maintain an alliance in the face of an overwhelmingly adverse public opinion.

RMN: Where does the special relationship sit nowadays? I have always been rather dubious about it. I would, for instance, consider the power and influence of the Israeli prime minister to far exceed that of a British prime minister in the Washington beltway?

KB: Nowadays, the Anglo-American relationship is in decline in both power and influence. It is still important militarily, in particular the intelligence relationship. But if and when the UK ceases to be a nuclear power, that link clearly will go. They co-operate closely in NATO, the armies work well together, and there is a good degree of interoperability in the two navies. But if Britain continues to run down her forces, she will be less valuable to the Americans; the Americans do not want this to happen, and there are complaints about this in Washington. The diplomatic relationship has remained relatively strong, but the run-down in the resources devoted to it in both countries has weakened both. Fortunately for both Britain itself and the Anglo-American relationship, the UK government is now rectifying this. With regard to individual countries, power and influence is normally specific to the topic under consideration. Yes, the Israeli prime minister is very important with regard to issues in the Middle East but is unimportant if the topic is Latin America or the Far East or even Europe. Where Britain outranked other countries was in its importance to the US over many topics. In this particular case at this particular time, May has virtually no influence in Washington, but which foreign leader does, beyond Putin? Perhaps Salman? Perhaps Kim? Even Xi's barometer goes up and down.

Interview by Robert McNamara

The Michael Dockrill Thesis Prize 2019 Announcement

The BIHG Thesis Prize has been awarded annually to the best doctoral thesis on any aspect and any period of International History, which has been awarded a degree by a British University or a British University College or College of Higher Education during the **calendar year**. In honour of our distinguished founder, the late Professor Michael Dockrill, the prize will henceforth be named in his honour. Authors should send two returnable copies (preferably copied on both sides of the page to reduce weight) of their thesis to the BIHG Thesis Prize Officer by **31 March** of the year following that in which their doctorate is awarded. They should also inform the Officer of the names of their internal and external examiners, whose views on the thesis may be requested. The thesis is judged by a Panel drawn from members of the BIHG Committee. In judging the competition the Panel pay particular attention to originality of approach, thoroughness of research, style of writing and presentation, and contribution to historical scholarship. The result of the competition is announced at the annual conference each September.

Rules

1. The thesis prize is awarded annually.
2. Only theses awarded a doctoral degree by a United Kingdom University or University College or College of Higher Education are eligible for consideration.
3. The thesis can be on any aspect and period of International History.
4. The competition will be judged by a Panel drawn from members and officers of the BIHG Committee.
5. The final submission date is 31 March of the year following the award of the doctoral degree.
6. The doctoral degree must be awarded during the calendar year preceding the award of the prize. Candidates should include a copy of the correspondence from their university or college which confirms the award of the degree.
7. Candidates for the prize should submit two copies to the BIHG and these will be returned on completion of the competition.
8. Candidates should provide the names of their internal and external examiners, whose views on the thesis may be requested.
9. The successful candidate will be invited to present a paper on an aspect of his/her thesis to the annual conference of the BIHG where all their conference expenses will be met.

Address:

Dr Michael Hopkins, Department of History, University of Liverpool, 8-14 Abercromby Square, Liverpool L69 7WZ.

BIHG Thesis Prize winner 2018

Awarded at the British International History Group Annual Conference, University of Exeter, August-September 2018

Dr. Abhijit Sarkar won the BIHG Thesis Prize 2018 for his D.Phil thesis, "Beyond Famines: Wartime State, Society, and the Politicization of Food in Colonial India, 1939-1945" (University of Oxford, 2017)

Journals

Diplomacy and Statecraft

(ISSN 0959 2296)

The Editor of *Diplomacy and Statecraft* (Taylor & Francis) is Professor Brian McKercher of Victoria University, British Columbia, Canada. Professor McKercher welcomes articles on all aspects of International/Diplomatic History.

Manuscripts, submitted in duplicate, and editorial correspondence should be sent to B.J.C. McKercher, Editor, *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, Department of History, University of Victoria, P.O. Box 3045 STN CSC Victoria, B.C. V8W 3P4 Canada. E-mail: brianmck@uvic.ca



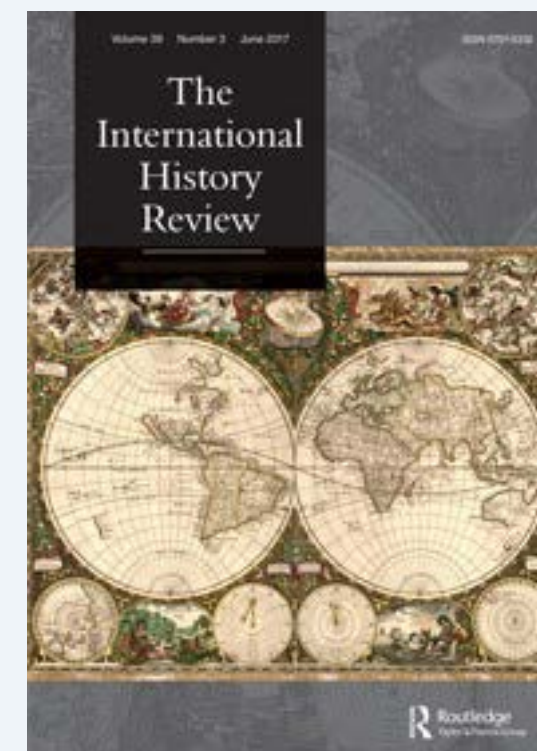
International History Review

(ISSN 0707 5332)

The Editor of the *International History Review* (Taylor & Francis) is Professor Alan Dobson (Swansea University) and the book reviews editor is Dr Gavin Bailey. Members and supporters of the BIHG are encouraged to submit articles, on all aspects of international history, and to ensure that publishers send review copies of any research monographs they publish to the journal.

The editors of the *International History Review* wish to expand the book review section, so members of BIHG who are willing to act as reviewers are always welcome as are those with new publications. In both cases please contact the book review editor Gavin Bailey g.j.bailey@stir.ac.uk; gjbbailey@gmail.com and liaise with your publisher.

Professor Dobson is also keen on expanding the number of themed issues that the IHR publishes. This is already bearing fruit and seems to have great future potential. Professor Dobson would be delighted to see more themed collections emerging from panels at the BIHG annual conference, so please do consider submitting themed panels in response to the conference Call for Papers and pursuing this option with him.



The International History Review/Taylor & Francis Research Award

Award: in May annually, the International History Review in conjunction with Taylor and Francis will award up to £1500 for expenditure on essential travel and subsistence to visit archives, conduct interviews or other fieldwork to an application which the judges consider is likely to produce the highest quality article for submission to the IHR. The result of the award will be published on-line by Taylor & Francis as well as the research output.

Criteria: judges will assess which application is likely to produce the highest quality article for submission to the IHR by applying standard article peer review criteria.

Eligibility: persons of any nationality who have a PhD or equivalent publishing record and who wish to engage in research into any aspect of international history.

Application form: <https://documentcloud.adobe.com/link/track?uri=urn%3Aaaid%3Aasc%3AUS%3Ad81791ec-a3a2-4a10-a1ff-1a30fffb291>

Submissions: to ihreviewprize@gmail.com between 1 January and 1 March annually.

Output: Minimum required output is an article which must be submitted to the IHR for consideration for publication within 18 months of the receipt of the award.

Report: required within 12 months of the receipt of the award of approximately 300 words in length on the conduct of the research and likely total outputs associated with the award. The report will be published on-line by Taylor & Francis.

Conferences

**Transatlantic Studies Association
18th Annual Conference, University of Lancaster,
8-10 July 2019**

Plenary guests confirmed include: Professor Brian Ward (Northumbria University) on “The Beatles in Miami, 1964: Race, Class and Gender in the Atlantic World”
AND
Professor Kevin Hutchings (University of Northern British Columbia)
“Transatlantic Romanticism and British-Indigenous Relations: 1800-1850”
PLUS
A Roundtable discussion on: **Transatlantic Relations in the Age of a Rising China**

Following its first trip across the Atlantic for last year’s annual conference at the University of North Georgia, the TSA is returning to the UK for its eighteenth annual conference at the University of Lancaster.

The TSA is a broad network of scholars who use the ‘transatlantic’ as a frame of reference for their work in a variety of disciplines, including (but not limited to): history, politics and international relations, and literary studies.

Contact details and further information

Vice-Chair of TSA / Local Organiser:
Thomas Mills: t.c.mills@lancaster.ac.uk

Chair of TSA:
Christopher Jespersen: christopher.jespersen@ung.edu

www.transatlanticstudies.com

Recent Publications by BIHG members

BIHG Chair Patrick Finney was one of the guest editors of a themed section of the International History Review dealing with ‘culturalist’ approaches to international history. Originating in a conference in Lisbon, the collection brought together British, American, Portuguese and Brazilian colleagues to explore the achievements, limitations and future of the ‘cultural turn’, both in conceptual and empirical terms: ‘The Cultural Turn and Beyond in International History’, guest edited by Pedro Aires Oliveira, Bruno Cardoso Reis and Patrick Finney, International History Review, vol. 40, no. 3, 2018, pp. 573-697

The full contents are as follows:

- ‘Introduction: The Cultural Turn and Beyond in International History’, Pedro Aires Oliveira, Bruno Cardoso Reis and Patrick Finney
- ‘Systems and Boundaries in International History’, Joseph Anthony Maiolo
- ‘Power, Culture, and the Rise of Transnational History in the United States’, Petra Goedde
- ‘Narratives and Bodies: Culture beyond the Cultural Turn’, Patrick Finney
- ‘The Power and Limits of Cultural Myths in Portugal’s Search for a Post-Imperial Role’, Bruno Cardoso Reis and Pedro Aires Oliveira
- ‘The War of Seduction: The Anglo-American Struggle to Engage with the Portuguese Ruling Elite (1943–1948)’, Alexandre Moreli
- ‘Establishing a “Cultural Base”? The Creation of the Fulbright Program in Portugal’, Luís Nuno Rodrigues

Dr Robert Pee (BIHG member), University of Birmingham with Dr William Michael Schmidli, University of Leiden has edited a forthcoming book on the Reagan Administration and the later days of the Cold War.*

The Reagan administration oversaw key developments in US democracy promotion which laid the foundations of much of America’s post-Cold War foreign policy. During the 1980s, new tactics and organisations for shaping overseas political structures emerged, and the US put political, economic and military pressure on regimes in Eastern Europe and the Third World to democratize. This volume goes beyond conventional readings of democracy promotion under Reagan as an ideological priority, and one focussed narrowly on the anti-

Soviet struggle, to analyse on how these new programs and policies influenced, and were influenced by, wider US foreign policy objectives in the final phase of the Cold War. The chapters in this collection examine key issues such as: the origins of the turn towards democracy promotion in the US state and civil society during the Reagan Administration; the connection between democracy promotion and human rights; and the linkages between the rise of democracy promotion and the spread of neoliberal economics. The volume also examines the significance of democracy promotion in the Reagan administration’s global Cold War strategy through case studies of US democracy initiatives in the Soviet bloc, and in US-allied states in Latin America and East Asia.

By the time the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991 the essential features of post-Cold War American democracy promotion had already been generated. This book will be of interest to scholars of the Reagan Presidency and the Cold War, and to those seeking to understand roots of US democracy promotion under Clinton, Bush and Obama.

***The Reagan Administration, the Cold War, and the Transition to Democracy Promotion, (Series: Security, Conflict and Cooperation in the Contemporary World) (Palgrave Macmillan, 2019)**

Other Publications by BIHG members:

Thomas Davies, “Rethinking the origins of transnational humanitarian organizations: the curious case of the International Shipwreck Society”, Global Networks 18(3), July 2018: 461-478.

Thomas Davies, “Understanding non-governmental organizations in world politics: The promise and pitfalls of the early ‘science of internationalism’”, European Journal of International Relations 23(4), December 2017: 884 – 905.

Helen Parr, Our Boys: The Story of a Paratrooper (London: Allen Lane, 2018)

Obituary

Michael Lawrence Dockrill, 1936 - 2018 by Keith Hamilton



Professor Michael Dockrill was a founder member of the British International History Group (BIHG). On a wet Thursday evening in December 1987, he joined others attending the British International Studies Association's annual conference in the students' union bar in Aberystwyth. The atmosphere was convivial, drinks were ordered and consumed, and a lively discussion ensued on how historians might achieve better representation at future gatherings. The result, after a further and more

formal meeting at Bristol Polytechnic (now the University of the West of England), was the formation of BIHG, of whose executive committee Mike, as he was more usually known, was the first vice-chair. He would later become chairman and one of the mainstays of the organization, promoting its interests, regularly attending its conferences, and delighting other participants with his wit and humour.

By the time of the BIHG's initial conference, Mike Dockrill, was already a well-established diplomatic historian. He had recently been promoted to a senior lectureship in the Department of War Studies at King's College, London, and was the author of books and articles on British foreign and defence policy in the twentieth century. But neither in his education nor early career could he be said to have followed a linear trajectory. Born in Tooting on 7 November 1936, Mike was the only son of Hilda and Ernest Dockrill. His father was a postal worker and he and his wife brought Mike up in their semi-detached house in Ewell, Surrey, a suburb from which Mike never seemed quite able to detach himself. For much of his working life and retirement he resided within a five to ten-mile radius of his parental home. He was 'an 11+ failure' and, like the majority of his generation, he went from primary, to secondary modern, school, an experience which helped shape his progressive views on education and other social issues. In 1953 he secured a clerical grade job in the Foreign Office and was employed for some of his time there in Cornwall House, a building to the south of Waterloo Bridge which he would know again when in the 1990s it was purchased by King's College for its expanding campus. A more profitable experience followed when in 1955 he was called up for National Service in the Royal Air Force and found himself working in the Ministry of Defence for what, as he would frequently recall, was better pay. After his return to the Foreign Office in 1957 he was able to negotiate sabbatical leave and, having gained the requisite qualifications at night school, in 1958 he was admitted to the London School of Economics to read for BSc Econ degree in international history.

On his graduation in 1961 Mike returned to the Foreign Office, but subsequently left to study first for a Master's degree at the University of Illinois, and then in 1964, for a PhD, once more at the LSE. There, under the supervision of Professor W. N. Medlicott, he began researching his doctoral thesis, 'The Formulation of a

Continental Foreign Policy by Great Britain, 1908-1912', a work upon which he drew in the three-volume monograph he co-authored with Cedric Lowe, *The Mirage of Power: British Foreign Policy, 1902-1922* (1972). In 1966, whilst still researching his thesis, Mike was appointed lecturer in the Department of International Politics, University College of Wales, Aberystwyth. Whilst there, he first met Laurence Martin, the then Woodrow Wilson Professor of International Politics, a distinguished academic who was soon to succeed to the Chair of War Studies at King's College London. However, Aberystwyth's geographical remoteness did not suit Mike and, though in later years he frequently returned there, he soon began to look for a position closer to London. Portsmouth Polytechnic (now the University of Portsmouth) beckoned and in 1967 he moved to a lectureship there. Four years later, he was appointed a lecturer at King's. Mike was a much-loved teacher and mentor in a prestigious and rapidly-expanding department. His lectures were popular with undergraduates and postgraduates alike, and his commitment to his students was legendary, assisting and encouraging their research and showcasing their work. Many who went on to become eminent scholars see him as having exercised a defining influence on their careers. Meanwhile, he maintained a steady academic output, co-authoring with Barrie Paskins, *The Ethics of War* in 1979, and with J. Douglas Goold, *Peace without Promise: Britain and the Paris Peace Conference, 1919-23* in 1981. Books on the Cold War and British defence policy followed in 1988 and 1989, and 1999 saw the publication of his illuminating monograph, *British Establishment Perspectives on France, 1936-40*. He also co-edited several important essay collections, and he was founder and editor of the Palgrave/Macmillan series, *Military and Strategic History*. He was a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society and a member of its Council from 1998 to 2002; the Chair of the King's College Senior Common Room from 1989 to 1995; and the British project leader of the British Council's British-German Academic Research Collaboration Programme from 1993 to 1995. Promoted Professor of Diplomatic History in 1995, he remained at King's until his official retirement in 2001. Thereafter, he continued his collaboration with former colleagues, and was always ready to offer guidance to those embarking on further research and to serve as an examiner of theses. Mike Dockrill's private life was not invariably happy. His marriage in 1970 to Felicity Deen proved short-lived and ended in divorce. But in the mid-1980s he met and married Saki Kimura, a research student at King's, who in the following decade was appointed lecturer and later, professor in the War Studies Department. The two were mutually supportive and formed a formidable intellectual and social alliance. Unfortunately, in 2006 Saki was diagnosed with cancer, and after a long and brave fight with the disease she died in 2009. Mike was naturally devastated by her death, but despite his own deteriorating health he remained a familiar figure at seminars and other academic gatherings, always ready to extend a friendly hand to newcomers to an academic world he knew so well. Gregarious and fun-loving, he was a wonderful raconteur, always ready with a fund of anecdotes and other tales, many of which related to his own misgivings and mishaps. To know Mike was to enjoy Mike.

Professor Michael L. Dockrill died peacefully in his house in Cheam on 17 August 2018 after he was diagnosed with cancer.

BIHG Committee 2018-2019

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The Editor would like to thank all the contributors. Please send items for the newsletter, and the news and events e-mail bulletins to Dr Robert McNamara rm.mcnamara@ulster.ac.uk. The deadline for the newsletter is **30 September 2019**.

You can also follow us on twitter and tweets for @BIHGroup can be sent to Dr George Roberts gr316@cam.ac.uk

Call for Papers

BIHG 31st Annual conference 2019

5-7 September 2019

Lancaster University

The BIHG Committee invites you to contribute a paper to the conference. As in previous conferences we are pleased to receive offers to present papers on a wide range of subjects in International History, for any period.

These include:

- Inter-State Diplomatic Relations
- Domestic Issues in Foreign Policy
- History of International Relations
- Military History (including strategic issues, POWs etc)
- Intelligence and/or Propaganda
- International Organisations and Institutions
- Inter-Imperial Relations
- International Economic Relations
- Cultural and/or Transnational Processes

The committee accepts both individual papers (20 minutes) and complete panel submissions consisting of three 20 minute papers. We also welcome the submission of multiple panels on a related theme; papers from such panels will be considered for publication in a theme issue of the International History Review.

If you wish to offer a paper, please submit your details and 250 word abstract online at www.bihg.ac.uk

The deadline for receipt of offers to contribute is **1 March 2019**



www.bihg.ac.uk



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Lancaster University



Keynote Speaker:
Professor Kathleen Burk,
University College London

Please note that this year the BIHG will waive the conference registration fee for BISA members. We encourage all BIHG members to join BISA; BISA membership fees are tax deductible and there are reduced rates for ECRs and PG students.

For details see:

<https://www.bisa.ac.uk/index.php/membership>



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