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Diplomatic History
Fall 2017

Cover image: *Three Balkan Presidents formally sign the Dayton Agreement in Paris December 14, 1995. Left to right at the table, President of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic, President of Croatia Franjo Tudjman, and Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic. Standing, third from the left, US President Clinton, French President Chirac, German Chancellor Kohl, British Prime Minister Major and Russian Prime Minister Chernomyrdin. (Photo courtesy of William J. Clinton Presidential Library.). Image from Peacemakers, page 27.*

Studies in Conflict, Diplomacy, and Peace

Series Editors: George C. Herring, Andrew L. Johns, and Kathryn C. Statler

This series focuses on key moments of conflict, diplomacy, and peace from the eighteenth century to the present to explore their wider significance for the development of U.S. foreign relations. The series encourages the research and publication of original monographs, interpretive studies, biographies, and anthologies from historians, political scientists, journalists, and policymakers. These studies will explore the U.S. engagement with the world, its evolving role in the international arena, and the ways in which the state, non-state actors, individuals, ideas, and events have shaped and continue to influence U.S. history both at home and abroad.

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Aid Under Fire

Nation Building and the Vietnam War

Jessica Elkind

“Elkind’s study fits nicely within a growing body of historical literature on the American experience in Vietnam.”—*American Historical Review*

In the aftermath of World War II, as longstanding empires collapsed and former colonies struggled for independence, the United States employed new diplomatic tools to counter unprecedented challenges to its interests across the globe. Among the most important new foreign policy strategies was development assistance—the attempt to strengthen alliances by providing technology, financial aid, and administrators to fledgling states in order to disseminate and inculcate American values and practices in local populations. While the US implemented development programs in several nations, nowhere were these policies more significant than in Vietnam.

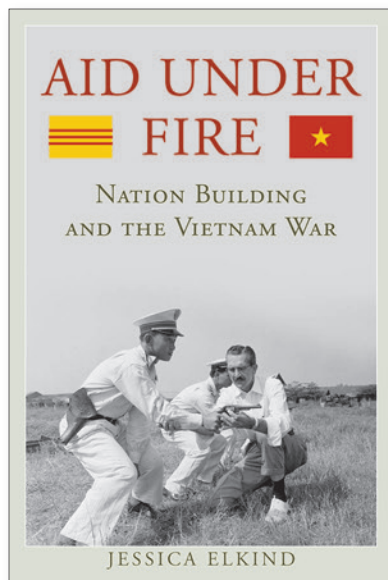
In *Aid Under Fire*, Jessica Elkind examines US nation-building efforts in the fledgling South Vietnamese state during the decade preceding the full-scale ground war. Based on American and Vietnamese archival sources as well as on interviews with numerous aid workers, this study vividly demonstrates how civilians from the official US aid agency as well as several nongovernmental organizations implemented nearly every component of nonmilitary assistance given to South Vietnam during this period, including public and police administration, agricultural development, education, and public health. However, despite the sincerity of American efforts, most Vietnamese citizens understood US-sponsored programs to be little more than a continuation of previous attempts by foreign powers to dominate their homeland.

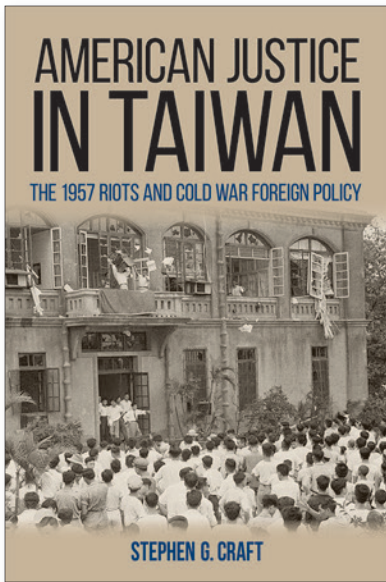
Elkind convincingly argues that, instead of reexamining their core assumptions or altering their approach as the violence in the region escalated, US policymakers and aid workers only strengthened their commitment to nation building, increasingly modifying their development goals to support counterinsurgency efforts. *Aid Under Fire* highlights the important role played by nonstate actors in advancing US policies and reveals in stark terms the limits of American power and influence during the period widely considered to be the apex of US supremacy in the world.

Studies in Conflict, Diplomacy, and Peace Series

2016 | 310 pp., 10 b/w photos, map

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American Justice in Taiwan

*The 1957 Riots and Cold War
Foreign Policy*

Stephen G. Craft

"If you're looking for a compact, knowledgeable, and quite interesting account of the post-World War II development of American SOFAs and their criminal jurisdiction provisions, issues that remain contentious today, this volume is a good place to start."—Journal of Military History

On May 23, 1957, US Army Sergeant Robert Reynolds was acquitted of murdering Chinese officer Liu Ziran in Taiwan. Reynolds did not deny shooting Liu but claimed self-defense and, like all members of US

military assistance and advisory groups, was protected under diplomatic immunity. Reynolds's acquittal sparked a series of riots across Taiwan that became an international crisis for the Eisenhower administration and raised serious questions about the legal status of US military forces positioned around the world.

In *American Justice in Taiwan*, author Stephen G. Craft provides the first comprehensive study of the causes and consequences of the Reynolds trial and the ensuing protests. After more than a century of what they perceived as unfair treaties imposed by Western nations, the Taiwanese regarded the special legal status of resident American personnel with extreme distrust. While Eisenhower and his advisers considered Taiwan to be a vital ally against Chinese communism, the US believed that the Taiwanese government had instigated the unrest in order to protest the verdict and demand legal jurisdiction over GIs. Regardless, the events that transpired in 1957 exposed the enormous difficulty of applying the US's Uniform Code of Military Justice (UCMJ) across cultures.

Employing meticulous research from both Western and Chinese archives, Craft demonstrates that the riots were only anti-American in that the Taiwanese rejected the UCMJ, the affording of diplomatic immunity to occupying US forces, and the military courts' interpretation of self-defense. His compelling study provides a new lens through which to examine US–Taiwan relations in the 1950s, US policy in Asia, and the incredibly charged and complex question of the legal status of US troops on foreign soil.

Studies in Conflict, Diplomacy, and Peace Series

2016 | 284 pp., 16 b/w photos, 2 maps

978-0-8131-6635-3 | Hardcover \$45.00

The American South and the Vietnam War

Belligerence, Protest, and Agony in Dixie

Joseph A. Fry

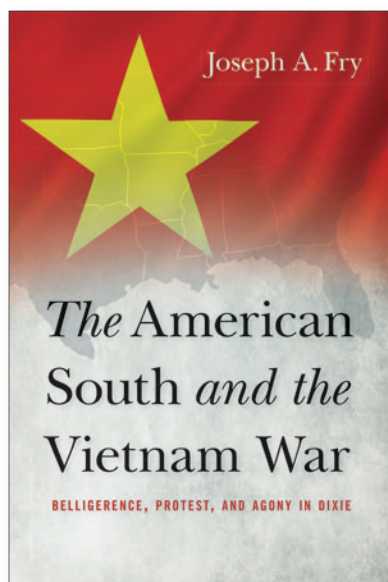
"A major contribution in an undeveloped area of foreign relations. Fry's research is superb and his writing is clear and persuasive."—George C. Herring, author of *From Colony to Superpower: U.S. Foreign Relations since 1776*

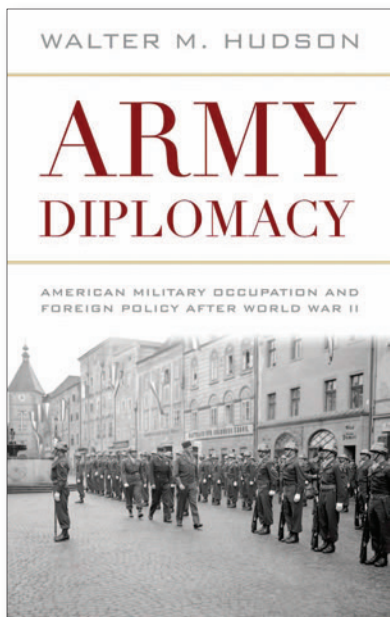
To fully comprehend the Vietnam War, it is essential to understand the central role that southerners played in the nation's commitment to the war, in the conflict's duration, and in the fighting itself. President Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas and Secretary of State Dean Rusk of Georgia oversaw the dramatic escalation of U.S. military involvement from 1965 through 1968. General William Westmoreland, born and raised in South Carolina, commanded U.S. forces during most of the Johnson presidency. Widely supported by their constituents, southern legislators collectively provided the most dependable support for war funding and unwavering opposition to measures designed to hasten U.S. withdrawal from the conflict. In addition, southerners served, died, and were awarded the Medal of Honor in numbers significantly disproportionate to their states' populations.

In *The American South and the Vietnam War*, Joseph A. Fry demonstrates how Dixie's majority pro-war stance derived from a host of distinctly regional values, perspectives, and interests. He also considers the views of the dissenters, from student protesters to legislators such as J. William Fulbright, Albert Gore Sr., and John Sherman Cooper, who worked in the corridors of power to end the conflict, and civil rights activists such as Martin Luther King Jr., Muhammad Ali, and Julian Bond, who were among the nation's most outspoken critics of the war. Fry's innovative and masterful study draws on policy analysis and polling data as well as oral histories, transcripts, and letters to illuminate not only the South's influence on foreign relations, but also the personal costs of war on the home front.

Studies in Conflict, Diplomacy, and Peace Series

2015 | 456 pp., 18 b/w photos
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Army Diplomacy

*American Military Occupation
and Foreign Policy after World War II*

Walter M. Hudson

“Anyone interested or concerned with current events in the Middle East, including Iraq and Afghanistan, will find *Army Diplomacy* a key contribution to the knowledge base of how to successfully conduct occupation and governance ‘when war stops and something like peace begins.’”—*On Point*

In the immediate aftermath of World War II, the United States Army became the principal agent of American foreign policy. The army designed, implemented, and administered the occupations of the defeated Axis powers Germany and Japan, as well

as many other nations. Generals such as Lucius Clay in Germany, Douglas MacArthur in Japan, Mark Clark in Austria, and John Hodge in Korea presided over these territories as proconsuls. At the beginning of the Cold War, more than 300 million people lived under some form of U.S. military authority. The army’s influence on nation-building at the time was profound, but most scholarship on foreign policy during this period concentrates on diplomacy at the highest levels of civilian government rather than the armed forces’ governance at the local level.

In *Army Diplomacy*, Hudson explains how U.S. Army policies in the occupied nations represented the culmination of more than a century of military doctrine. Focusing on Germany, Austria, and Korea, Hudson’s analysis reveals that while the post–World War II American occupations are often remembered as overwhelming successes, the actual results were mixed. His study draws on military sociology and institutional analysis as well as international relations theory to demonstrate how “bottom-up” decisions not only inform but also create higher-level policy. As the debate over post-conflict occupations continues, this fascinating work offers a valuable perspective on an important yet underexplored facet of Cold War history.

Association of the United States Army Battles and Campaigns Series

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978-0-8131-6097-9 | Hardcover \$50.00

Before the Quagmire

American Intervention in Laos, 1954–1961

William J. Rust

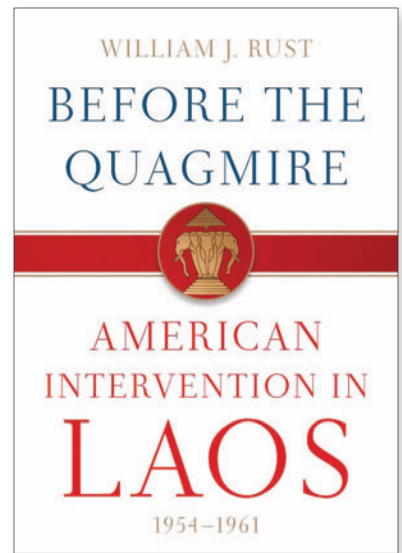
“William J. Rust has written an exceptionally thorough, very deeply researched, and well-written account of American policy toward Laos during the Eisenhower presidency. This is an excellent and badly needed work. It should stand for many years as the definitive diplomatic history of American involvement in Laos in the 1950s.”—*Journal of American History*

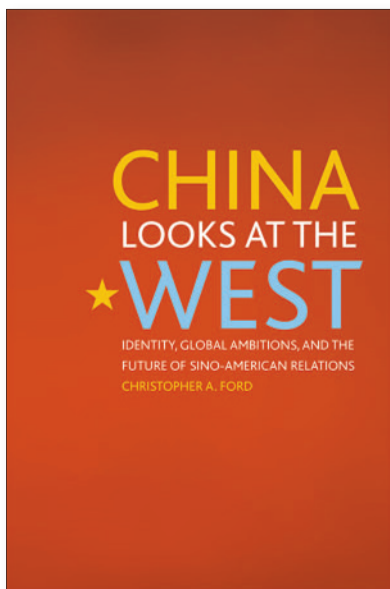
In the decade preceding the first U.S. combat operations in Vietnam, the Eisenhower administration sought to defeat a communist-led insurgency in neighboring Laos. Although U.S. foreign policy in the 1950s focused primarily on threats posed by the Soviet Union and the People’s Republic of China, the American engagement in Laos evolved from a small cold war skirmish into a superpower confrontation near the end of President Eisenhower’s second term. Ultimately, the American experience in Laos foreshadowed many of the mistakes made by the United States in Vietnam in the 1960s.

In *Before the Quagmire: American Intervention in Laos, 1954–1961*, William J. Rust delves into key policy decisions made in Washington and their implementation in Laos, which became first steps on the path to the wider war in Southeast Asia. Drawing on previously untapped archival sources, *Before the Quagmire* documents how ineffective and sometimes self-defeating assistance to Laotian anticommunist elites reflected fundamental misunderstandings about the country’s politics, history, and culture. The American goal of preventing a communist takeover in Laos was further hindered by divisions among Western allies and U.S. officials themselves, who at one point provided aid to both the Royal Lao Government and to a Laotian general who plotted to overthrow it. *Before the Quagmire* is a vivid analysis of a critical period of cold war history, filling a gap in our understanding of U.S. policy toward Southeast Asia and America’s entry into the Vietnam War.

2012 | 352 pp., 26 b/w photos, 2 maps

978-0-8131-3578-6 | Hardcover \$40.00





China Looks at the West

Identity, Global Ambitions, and the Future of Sino-American Relations

Christopher A. Ford

“A comprehensive and very impressive analytical survey of the role that various Chinese institutions, political and intellectual establishments, and the Communist Party-State play in shaping, manufacturing, and manipulating the images of the United States and using those images as bases to formulate political, ideological, and security policies. It marks a milestone in the field for its scope, depth of research, and unique conceptual framework.”—Maochun Yu, author of *OSS in China: Prelude to Cold War*

Chinese leaders have long been fascinated by the United States, but have often chosen to demonize America for perceived cultural and military imperialism. Especially under Communist rule, Chinese leaders have crafted and re-crafted portrayals of the United States according to the needs of their own agenda and the regime’s self-image—often seeing America as an antagonist and foil, but sometimes playing it up as a model.

In *China Looks at the West*, Christopher A. Ford investigates what these depictions reveal about internal Chinese politics and Beijing’s ambitions in the world today. In particular, Ford emphasizes the importance of China’s “return” to global preeminence in state images, which has become an essential concept in the regime’s self-image and legitimacy. He also examines the history of Chinese intellectual engagement with America, surveying the ways in which Chinese elites have manipulated attitudes toward the United States, and revealing how leaders from Qing dynasty officials to Mao Zedong and from Hu Jintao to Xi Jinping have altered and reconstructed this narrative to support their own political agendas.

Ford concludes the volume with a series of scenario-based alternatives for how China’s approaches to understanding itself and other nations may evolve in the future. Based on extensive research, including interviews with Chinese scholars and researchers, this groundbreaking study is essential reading for policymakers and readers seeking to understand current and future Sino-American relations.

Asia in the New Millennium Series

2015 | 650 pp.

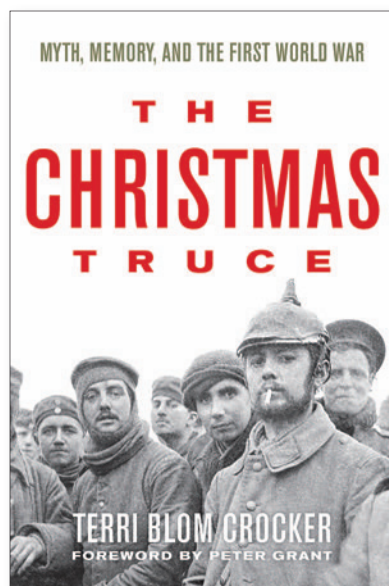
978-0-8131-6540-0 | Hardcover \$60.00

The Christmas Truce

Myth, Memory, and the First World War

Terri Blom Crocker

"Crocker's book will become essential reading for anyone who wishes to know how the First World War came to be understood as that 'exercise in futility' we have come to accept without question today. It is a sober corrective and a judicious revelation of how and why the myths surrounding this war have become so hard to dislodge."—Nicoletta F. Gullace, author of *The Blood of Our Sons: Men, Women, and the Renegotiation of British Citizenship during the Great War*



In late December 1914, German and British soldiers on the western front initiated a series of impromptu, unofficial ceasefires. Enlisted men across No Man's Land abandoned their trenches and crossed enemy lines to sing carols, share food and cigarettes, and even play a little soccer. Collectively known as the Christmas Truce, these fleeting moments of peace occupy a mythical place in remembrances of World War I. Yet new accounts suggest that the heartwarming tale ingrained in the popular imagination bears little resemblance to the truth.

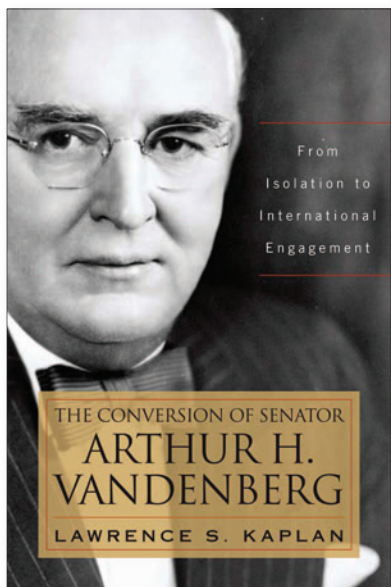
In this detailed study, Terri Blom Crocker provides the first comprehensive analysis of both scholarly and popular portrayals of the Christmas Truce from 1914 to present. From books by influential historians to the Oscar-nominated French film *Joyeux Noël* (2006), this new examination shows how a variety of works have both explored and enshrined this outbreak of peace amid overwhelming violence. The vast majority of these accounts depict the soldiers as acting in defiance of their superiors. Crocker, however, analyzes official accounts as well as private letters that reveal widespread support among officers for the *détentes*. Furthermore, she finds that truce participants describe the temporary ceasefires not as rebellions by disaffected troops but as acts of humanity and survival by professional soldiers deeply committed to their respective causes.

The Christmas Truce studies these ceasefires within the wider war, demonstrating how generations of scholars have promoted interpretations that ignored the nuanced perspectives of the many soldiers who fought. Crocker's groundbreaking, meticulously researched work challenges conventional analyses and sheds new light on the history and popular mythology of the War to End All Wars.

2015 | 310 pp., 8 b/w photos, 2 maps

978-0-8131-6615-5 | Hardcover \$40.00

978-0-8131-7402-0 | Paperback \$24.95



The Conversion of Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg

*From Isolation to International
Engagement*

Lawrence S. Kaplan

“Lawrence S. Kaplan scrupulously retraces the way in which Vandenberg remade himself from a standard-issue Republican right-winger to an icon of the anti-Communist liberals. [He] has provided an authoritative account of Vandenberg’s political and intellectual pilgrimage.”—*Weekly Standard*

The United States has looked inward throughout most of its history, preferring to avoid “foreign entanglements,” as George Washington famously advised. After World War II, however, Americans became more inclined to break with the past and take a prominent place on the world stage. Much has been written about the influential figures who stood at the center of this transformation, but remarkably little attention has been paid to Arthur H. Vandenberg (1884–1951), who played a crucial role in moving the nation from its isolationist past to an internationalist future.

Vandenberg served as a U.S. senator from Michigan from 1928 to 1951 and was known in his early career for his fervent anti-interventionism. After 1945, he became heavily involved in the establishment of the United Nations and was a key player in the development of NATO. As chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee during 1947 and 1948, Vandenberg helped rally support for President Truman’s foreign policy—including the Marshall Plan—and his leadership contributed to a short-lived era of congressional bipartisanship regarding international relations.

In *The Conversion of Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg*, Lawrence S. Kaplan offers the first critical biography of the distinguished statesman. He demonstrates how Vandenberg’s story provides a window on the political and cultural changes taking place in America as the country assumed a radically different role in the world, and makes a seminal contribution to the history of U.S. foreign policy during the initial years of the Cold War.

Studies in Conflict, Diplomacy and Peace Series

2015 | 320 pp., 10 b/w photos

978-0-8131-6055-9 | Hardcover \$45.00

The Currents of War

A New History of American-Japanese Relations, 1899–1941

Sidney Pash

“Pash is not content to write traditional narrative diplomatic history in his ambitious and compelling study of U.S.-Japanese relations from the late 19th Century to the outbreak of the Pacific War in 1941. Instead, he writes ‘revisionist’ history in the best sense of the word—as a cautionary tale of mistakes and lessons that should not be repeated but often are.”—J. Garry Clifford, University of Connecticut

From 1899 until the American entry into World War II, U.S. presidents sought to preserve China’s territorial integrity in order to guarantee American businesses access to Chinese markets—a policy famously known as the “open door.” Before the Russo-Japanese War in 1904, Americans saw Japan as the open door’s champion; but by the end of 1905, Tokyo had replaced St. Petersburg as its greatest threat. For the next thirty-six years, successive U.S. administrations worked to safeguard China and contain Japanese expansion on the mainland.

The Currents of War reexamines the relationship between the United States and Japan and the casus belli in the Pacific through a fresh analysis of America’s central foreign policy strategy in Asia. In this ambitious and compelling work, Sidney Pash offers a cautionary tale of oft-repeated mistakes and miscalculations. He demonstrates how continuous economic competition in the Asia-Pacific region heightened tensions between Japan and the United States for decades, eventually leading to the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941.

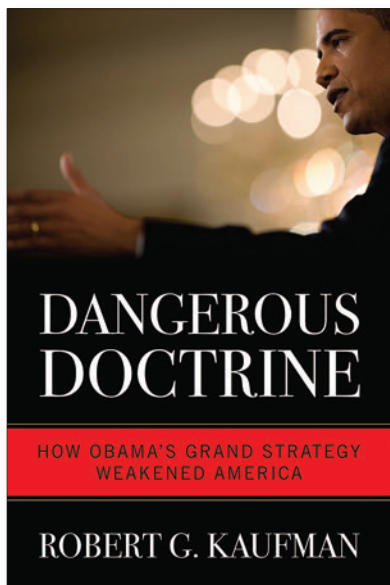
Pash’s study is the first full reassessment of pre–World War II American-Japanese diplomatic relations in nearly three decades. It examines not only the ways in which U.S. policies led to war in the Pacific but also how this conflict gave rise to later confrontations, particularly in Korea and Vietnam. Wide-ranging and meticulously researched, this book offers a new perspective on a significant international relationship and its enduring consequences.

Studies in Conflict, Diplomacy and Peace Series

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Dangerous Doctrine

*How Obama's Grand Strategy
Weakened America*

Robert G. Kaufman

"One of the best sustained and systematic critiques of the foreign policy of the Obama administration I have seen. Kaufman's empirically driven theorizing is a breath of fresh air among the largely counter-factually driven theories of international relations of recent years"—Douglas J. Macdonald, author of *Adventures in Chaos: American Intervention for Reform in the Third World*

Much like Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan, President Barack Obama came to office as a

politician who emphasized conviction rather than consensus. During his 2008 presidential campaign, he pledged to transform the role of the United States abroad. His ambitious foreign policy goals included a global climate treaty, the peaceful withdrawal of American military forces from Iraq and Afghanistan, and a new relationship with Iran. Throughout Obama's tenure, pundits and scholars have offered competing interpretations of his "grand strategy," while others have maintained that his policies were incoherent or, at best, ad hoc.

In *Dangerous Doctrine*, political scientist Robert G. Kaufman argues that the forty-fourth president has indeed articulated a clear, consistent national security policy and has pursued it with remarkable fidelity. Yet Kaufman contends that President Obama has imprudently abandoned the muscular internationalism that has marked US foreign policy since the end of World War II. Drawing on international relations theory and American diplomatic history, Kaufman presents a robust critique of the Obama doctrine as he situates the president's use of power within the traditions of American strategic practice.

Focusing on the pivotal regions of Europe, the Middle East, and Asia, this provocative study demonstrates how current executive branch leadership threatens America's role as a superpower, weakening its ability to spread democracy and counter threats to geopolitical order in increasingly unstable times. Kaufman proposes a return to the grand strategy of moral democratic realism, as practiced by presidents such as Harry S. Truman, Ronald Reagan, and George W. Bush, with the hope of reestablishing the United States as the world's dominant power.

2016 | 304 pp., Illus.

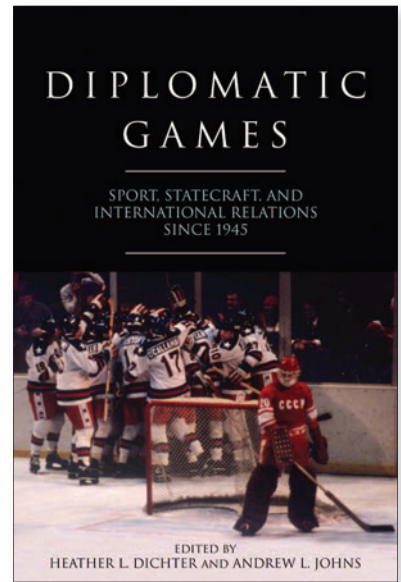
978-0-8131-6720-6 | Hardcover \$40.00

Diplomatic Games

Sport, Statecraft, and International Relations since 1945

Edited by Heather L. Dichter
and Andrew L. Johns

"This volume makes a significant contribution to historical knowledge and understanding in the sphere of the diplomacy of sport. The American politico-sporting scene occupies center stage, but due regard is paid to non-American topics. Moreover, the book meets the editors' aim to provide a framework of reference for future research and publications on the interaction between sport and diplomacy."—Peter J. Beck, author of *Scoring for Britain: International Football and International Politics 1900–1939*

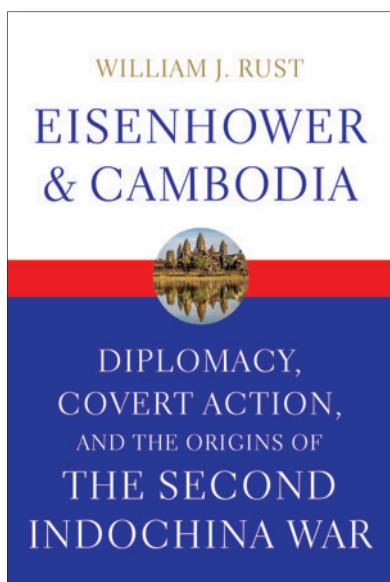


International sporting events, including the Olympic Games and the FIFA World Cup, have experienced profound growth in popularity and significance since the mid-twentieth century. Sports often facilitate diplomacy, revealing common interests across borders and uniting groups of people who are otherwise divided by history, ethnicity, or politics. In many countries, popular athletes have become diplomatic envoys. Sport is an arena in which international conflict and compromise find expression, yet the impact of sports on foreign relations has not been widely studied by scholars.

In *Diplomatic Games*, a team of international scholars examines how the nexus of sport and foreign relations has driven political and cultural change since 1945, demonstrating how governments have used athletic competition to maintain and strengthen alliances, promote policies, and increase national prestige. The contributors investigate topics such as China's use of sports to oppose Western imperialism, the ways in which sports helped bring an end to apartheid in South Africa, and the impact of the United States' 1980 Olympic boycott on U.S.-Soviet relations. Bringing together innovative scholarship from around the globe, this groundbreaking collection makes a compelling case for the use of sport as a lens through which to view international relations.

Studies in Conflict, Diplomacy and Peace Series

2014 | 496 pp., 6 b/w photos
978-0-8131-4564-8 | Hardcover \$40.00



Eisenhower and Cambodia

Diplomacy, Covert Action, and the Origins of the Second Indochina War

William J. Rust

"Eisenhower and Cambodia should not only be considered the standard work on US–Cambodia relations during this period, but it is also a highly useful text for understanding US foreign policy formulation during the Eisenhower years, Washington's often fraught relationship with its anti-communist allies, and the limits of covert action."—International Affairs

Although most Americans paid little attention to Cambodia during Dwight D. Eisenhower's presidency, the nation's proximity to China and the global

ideological struggle with the Soviet Union guaranteed US vigilance throughout Southeast Asia. Cambodia's leader, Norodom Sihanouk, refused to take sides in the Cold War, a policy that disturbed US officials. From 1953 to 1961, his government avoided the political and military crises of neighboring Laos and South Vietnam. However, relations between Cambodia and the United States suffered a blow in 1959 when Sihanouk discovered CIA involvement in a plot to overthrow him. The coup, supported by South Vietnam and Thailand, was a failure that succeeded only in increasing Sihanouk's power and prestige, presenting new foreign policy challenges in the region.

In *Eisenhower and Cambodia*, William J. Rust examines the United States' efforts to lure Cambodia from neutrality to alliance. He conclusively demonstrates that, as with Laos in 1958 and 1960, covert intervention in the internal political affairs of neutral Cambodia proved to be a counterproductive tactic for advancing the United States' anticommunist goals. Drawing on recently declassified sources, Rust skillfully traces the impact of "plausible deniability" on the formulation and execution of foreign policy. His meticulous study not only reveals a neglected chapter in Cold War history but also illuminates the intellectual and political origins of US strategy in Vietnam and the often-hidden influence of intelligence operations in foreign affairs.

Studies in Conflict, Diplomacy, and Peace Series

2016 | 374 pp., 22 b/w photos, map
978-0-8131-6742-8 | Hardcover \$40.00

Enemies to Allies

Cold War Germany and American Memory

Brian C. Etheridge

"This excellent book will be of interest to those studying war and memory, the history of recent German-American relations, and the origins of the postwar Western alliance."—*Journal of Military History*

At the close of World War II, the United States went from being allied with the Soviet Union against Germany to alignment with the Germans against the Soviet Union—almost overnight. While many Americans came to perceive the German people as democrats standing firm with their Western allies on the front lines of the Cold War, others were wary of a renewed Third Reich and viewed all Germans as nascent Nazis bent on world domination. These adversarial perspectives added measurably to the atmosphere of fear and distrust that defined the Cold War.

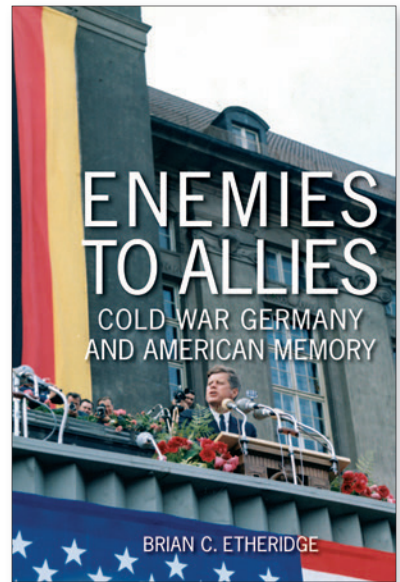
In *Enemies to Allies*, Brian C. Etheridge examines more than one hundred years of American interpretations and representations of Germany. With a particular focus on the postwar period, he demonstrates how a wide array of actors—including special interest groups and US and West German policymakers—employed powerful narratives to influence public opinion and achieve their foreign policy objectives. Etheridge also analyses bestselling books, popular television shows such as *Hogan's Heroes*, and award-winning movies such as *Schindler's List* to reveal how narratives about the Third Reich and Cold War Germany were manufactured, contested, and co-opted as rival viewpoints competed for legitimacy.

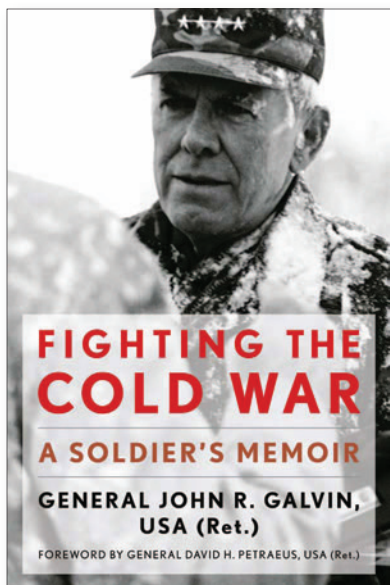
From the Holocaust to the Berlin Wall, Etheridge explores the contingent nature of some of the most potent moral symbols and images of the second half of the twentieth century. This groundbreaking study draws from theories of public memory and public diplomacy to demonstrate how conflicting US accounts of German history serve as a window for understanding not only American identity, but international relations and state power.

Studies in Conflict, Diplomacy, and Peace Series

2016 | 382 pp., 11 b/w photos

978-0-8131-6640-7 | Hardcover \$45.00





Fighting the Cold War

A Soldier's Memoir

John R. Galvin USA (Ret.)

"Galvin's memoir (introduced by an admiring Petraeus) is a characteristically modest, wry, and thoughtful account, not only of leadership but also of the rise, fall, and rise again of U.S. military power in the second half of the twentieth century. And it is, as well, a reminder that now and again, one comes across generals with the stuff of greatness in them."—*Foreign Affairs*

When four-star general John Rogers Galvin retired from the US Army after forty-four years of distinguished service in 1992, the Washington Post hailed him as a man "without peer among

living generals." In *Fighting the Cold War: A Soldier's Memoir*, the celebrated soldier, scholar, and statesman recounts his active participation in more than sixty years of international history—from the onset of World War II through the fall of the Berlin Wall and the post–Cold War era.

Galvin's illustrious tenure included the rare opportunity to lead two different Department of Defense unified commands: United States Southern Command in Panama from 1985 to 1987 and United States European Command from 1987 to 1992. In his memoir, he recounts fascinating behind-the-scenes anecdotes about his interactions with world leaders, describing encounters such as his experience of watching President José Napoleón Duarte argue eloquently against US intervention in El Salvador; a private conversation with Pope John Paul II in which the pontiff spoke to him about what it means to be a man of peace; and his discussion with General William Westmoreland about soldiers' conduct in the jungles of Vietnam and Cambodia. In addition, Galvin recalls his complex negotiations with a number of often difficult foreign heads of state, including Manuel Noriega, Augusto Pinochet, Mikhail Gorbachev, and Ratko Mladić.

As NATO Supreme Allied Commander in Europe during the tumultuous five years that ended the Cold War, Galvin played a key role in shaping a new era. *Fighting the Cold War* illuminates his leadership and service as one of America's premier soldier-statesmen, revealing him to be not only a brilliant strategist and consummate diplomat but also a gifted historian and writer who taught and mentored generations of students.

Association of the United States Army American Warriors Series

2015 | 568 pp., 52 b/w photos
978-0-8131-6101-3 | Hardcover \$39.95

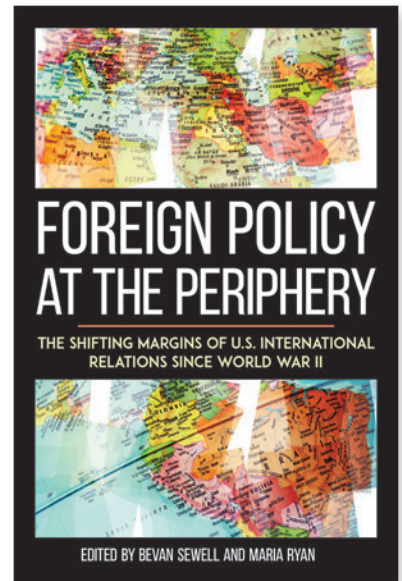
Foreign Policy at the Periphery

The Shifting Margins of US International Relations since World War II

Edited by Bevan Sewell and Maria Ryan

“Even after the United States became a global superpower, some regions of the world remained peripheral to American interests. What set these areas apart? And why did the U.S. eventually become drawn into their affairs? In this smart collection of original essays, an all-star lineup of historians answers these questions, and more, and uncovers the powerful dynamics that have shaped America’s rise to globalism.”

—Andrew Preston, Cambridge University



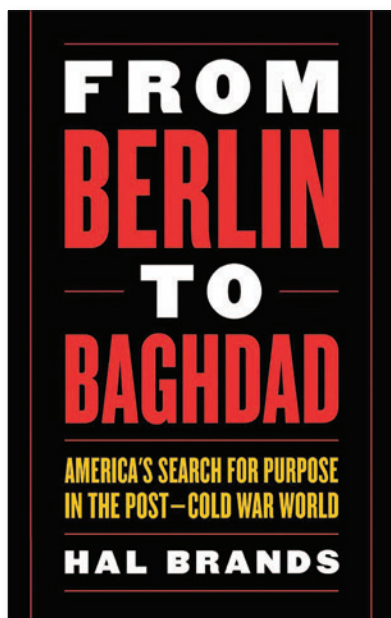
As American interests assumed global proportions after 1945, policy makers were faced with the challenge of prioritizing various regions and determining the extent to which the United States was prepared to defend and support them. Superpowers and developing nations soon became inextricably linked and decolonizing states such as Vietnam, India, and Egypt assumed a central role in the ideological struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union. As the twentieth century came to an end, many of the challenges of the Cold War became even more complex as the Soviet Union collapsed and new threats arose.

Featuring original essays by leading scholars, *Foreign Policy at the Periphery* examines relationships among new nations and the United States from the end of the Second World War through the global war on terror. Rather than reassessing familiar flashpoints of US foreign policy, the contributors explore neglected but significant developments such as the efforts of evangelical missionaries in the Congo, the 1958 stabilization agreement with Argentina, Henry Kissinger’s policies toward Latin America during the 1970s, and the financing of terrorism in Libya via petrodollars. Blending new, internationalist approaches to diplomatic history with newly released archival materials, *Foreign Policy at the Periphery* brings together diverse strands of scholarship to address compelling issues in modern world history.

Studies in Conflict, Diplomacy, and Peace Series

2017 | 386 pp.

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From Berlin to Baghdad

*America's Search for Purpose
in the Post-Cold War World*

Hal Brands

"Diplomatic historians will welcome this excellent new study of American foreign policy since the fall of the Berlin Wall."—J. Garry Clifford, *Journal of American History*

On November 9, 1989, a mob of jubilant Berliners dismantled the wall that had divided their city for nearly forty years; this act of destruction anticipated the momentous demolition of the European communist system. Within two years, the nations of the former Eastern Bloc toppled their authoritarian regimes, and the Soviet Union ceased to exist, fading

quietly into the shadows of twentieth century history and memory. By the end of 1991, the United States and other Western nations celebrated the demise of their most feared enemy and reveled in the ideological vindication of capitalism and liberal democracy.

As author Hal Brands compellingly demonstrates, however, many American diplomats and politicians viewed the fall of the Soviet empire as a mixed blessing. For more than four decades, containment of communism provided the overriding goal of American foreign policy, allowing generations of political leaders to build domestic consensus on this steady, reliable foundation. *From Berlin to Baghdad* incisively dissects the numerous unsuccessful attempts to devise a new grand foreign policy strategy that could match the moral clarity and political efficacy of containment. Brands takes a fresh look at the key events and players in recent American history. He charts the often onerous course of recent American foreign policy, from the triumph of the fall of the Berlin Wall to the tragedies of 9/11 and beyond, analyzing the nation's search for purpose in the face of the daunting complexities of the post-Cold War world.

2008 | 440 pp.

978-0-8131-2462-9 | Hardcover \$50.00

Grounded

The Case for Abolishing the United States Air Force

Robert M. Farley

“A well-written, bold, and thought-provoking book that handily sums up the feelings of many. The author is to be congratulated for articulating some of the most important issues involving the future of airpower and armed forces in general.”—Martin van Creveld, author of *The Age of Airpower*

The United States needs airpower, but does it need an air force? In *Grounded*, Robert M. Farley persuasively argues that America should end the independence of the United States Air Force (USAF) and divide its assets and missions between the United States Army and the United States Navy.

In the wake of World War I, advocates of the Air Force argued that an organizationally independent air force would render other military branches obsolete. These boosters promised clean, easy wars: airpower would destroy cities beyond the reach of the armies and would sink navies before they could reach the coast. However, as Farley demonstrates, independent air forces failed to deliver on these promises in World War II, the Korean War, the Vietnam War, the first Gulf War, the Kosovo conflict, and the War on Terror. They have also had perverse effects on foreign and security policy, as politicians have been tempted by the vision of devastating airpower to initiate otherwise ill-considered conflicts. The existence of the USAF also produces turf wars with the Navy and the Army, leading to redundant expenditures, nonsensical restrictions on equipment use, and bad tactical decisions.

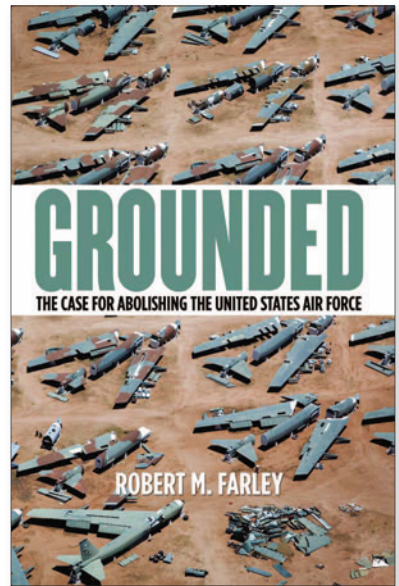
Farley does not challenge the idea that aircraft represent a critical component of America's defenses; nor does he dispute that—especially now, with the introduction of unmanned aerial vehicles—airpower is necessary to modern warfare. Rather, he demonstrates that the efficient and wise use of airpower does not require the USAF as presently constituted. An intriguing scholarly polemic, *Grounded* employs a wide variety of primary and secondary source materials to build its case that the United States should now correct its 1947 mistake of having created an independent air force.

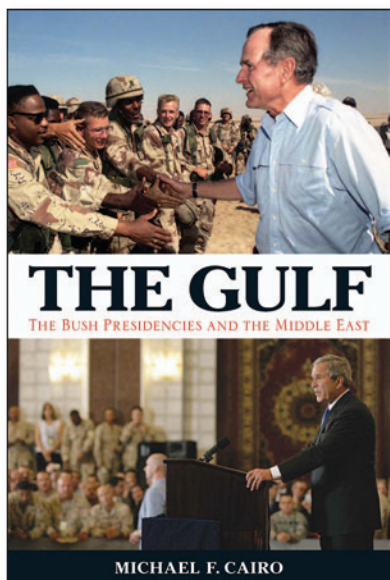
Studies in Conflict, Diplomacy and Peace Series

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The Gulf

The Bush Presidencies and the Middle East

Michael F. Cairo

"Political scientist Michael F. Cairo confronts questions of agency and decision making in this outstanding study of the two Bush presidencies, as they relate to two wars in the Gulf. [. . .] In the end, this well-documented, elegantly written, forcefully argued book is both important and groundbreaking. This book will be of particularly high value to young scholars as a model of excellent scholarship that they may wish to follow and from which much can be learned."

—*Presidential Studies Quarterly*

Presidents George H. W. Bush and George W. Bush both led the United States through watershed events in foreign relations: the end of the Cold War and the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. Many high-level cabinet members and advisers played important foreign policy roles in both administrations, most notably Dick Cheney, Colin Powell, and Condoleezza Rice. Both presidents perceived Saddam Hussein as a significant threat and took action against Iraq. But was the George W. Bush administration really just "Act II" of George H. W. Bush's administration?

In *The Gulf*, Michael F. Cairo reveals how, despite many similarities, father and son pursued very different international strategies. He explores how the personality, beliefs, and leadership style of each man influenced contemporary U.S. foreign policy. Contrasting the presidents' management of American wars in Iraq, approach to the Israeli-Palestinian peace process, and relationships with their Israeli counterparts, Cairo offers valuable insights into two leaders who left indelible marks on U.S. international relations. The result is a fresh analysis of the singular role the executive office plays in shaping foreign policy.

Studies in Conflict, Diplomacy and Peace Series

2012 | 232 pp., 3 maps

978-0-8131-3672-1 | Hardcover \$35.00

Henry Watterson and the New South

*The Politics of Empire, Free Trade,
and Globalization*

Daniel S. Margolies

“Daniel S. Margolies brings Watterson to the attention of a new generation of scholars. Margolies tells Watterson’s story in an engaging way.”—*American Historical Review*

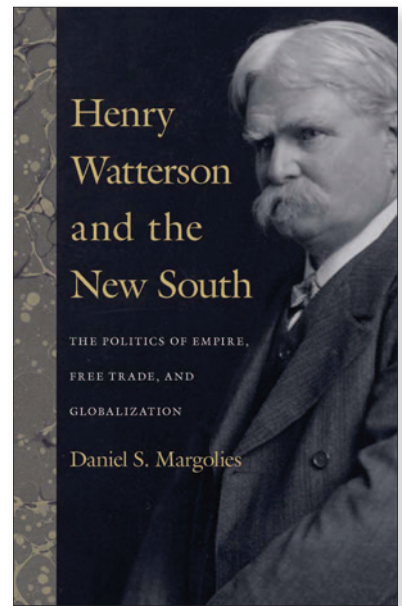
Henry Watterson, editor of the *Louisville Courier-Journal* during the tumultuous decades between the Civil War and World War I, was one of the most influential and widely read journalists in American history. At the height of his fame in the early twentieth century, Watterson was so well known that his name and image were used to sell cigars and whiskey. A major player in American politics for more than fifty years, Watterson personally knew nearly every president from Andrew Jackson to Woodrow Wilson. Though he always refused to run, the renowned editor was frequently touted as a candidate for the U.S. Senate, the Kentucky governor’s office, and even the White House.

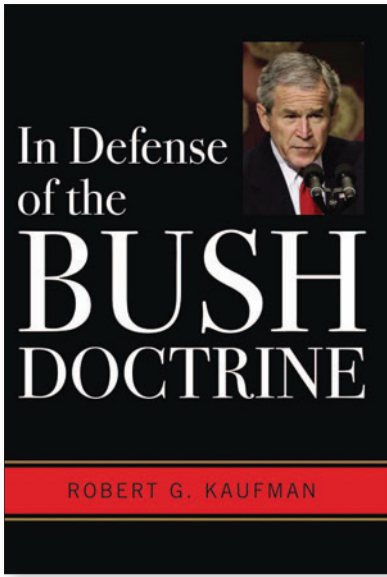
In the first new study of Watterson’s historical significance in more than fifty years, Daniel S. Margolies traces the development of Watterson’s political and economic positions and his transformation from a strident Confederate newspaper editor into an admirer of Lincoln, a powerful voice of sectional reconciliation, and the nation’s premier advocate of free trade. *Henry Watterson and the New South* provides the first study of Watterson’s unique attempt to guide regional and national discussions of foreign affairs. Margolies details Watterson’s quest to solve the sovereignty problems of the 1870s and to quell the economic and social upheavals of the 1890s through an expansive empire of free trade. Watterson’s political and editorial contemporaries variously advocated free silverism, protectionism, and isolationism, but he rejected their narrow focus and maintained that the best way to improve the South’s fortunes was to expand its economic activities to a truly global scale. Margolies’s groundbreaking analysis shows how Watterson’s command of the nation’s most divisive issues, his rhetorical zeal, and his willingness to stand against the tide of conventional wisdom made him a national icon.

Topics in Kentucky History series

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978-0-8131-2417-9 | Hardcover \$50.00





In Defense of the Bush Doctrine

Robert G. Kaufman

"In this excellent new book, Kaufman describes the Bush approach to foreign policy as the latest example of what he calls moral democratic realism, an approach he attributes to FDR, Truman, and Reagan as well."—*National Review*

The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, shattered the prevalent optimism in the United States that had blossomed during the tranquil and prosperous 1990s, when democracy seemed triumphant and catastrophic wars were a relic of the past. President George W. Bush responded with a bold and controversial grand strategy for waging a preemptive

Global War on Terror, which has ignited passionate debate about the purposes of American power and the nation's proper role in the world.

In Defense of the Bush Doctrine offers a vigorous argument for the principles of moral democratic realism that inspired the Bush administration's policy of regime change in Iraq. The Bush Doctrine rests on two main pillars—the inadequacy of deterrence and containment strategies when dealing with terrorists and rogue regimes, and the culture of tyranny in the Middle East, which spawns aggressive secular and religious despotisms.

Two key premises shape Kaufman's case for the Bush Doctrine's conformity with moral democratic realism. The first is the fundamental purpose of American foreign policy since its inception: to ensure the integrity and vitality of a free society "founded upon the dignity and worth of the individual." The second premise is that the cardinal virtue of prudence (the right reason about things to be done) must be the standard for determining the best practicable American grand strategy.

In Defense of the Bush Doctrine provides a broader historical context for the post-September 11 American foreign policy that will transform world politics well into the future. Kaufman connects the Bush Doctrine and current issues in American foreign policy, such as how the U.S. should deal with China, to the deeper tradition of American diplomacy. Drawing from positive lessons as well as cautionary tales from the past, Kaufman concludes that moral democratic realism offers the most compelling framework for American grand strategy, as it expands the democratic zone of peace and minimizes the number and gravity of threats the United States faces in the modern world.

2007 | 264 pp.

978-0-8131-2434-6 | Hardcover \$50.00

978-0-8131-9185-0 | Paperback \$24.95

Lincoln Gordon

Architect of Cold War Foreign Policy

Bruce L. R. Smith

“Readers will learn a great deal about an individual who was ‘present at the creation’ of the post-World War II world and who was a model public servant—ambassador, university president, and key governmental advisor.”—James M. McCormick, author of *American Foreign Policy and Process*

After World War II, American statesman and scholar Lincoln Gordon emerged as one of the key players in the reconstruction of Europe. During his long career, Gordon worked as an aide to National Security Adviser Averill Harriman in President Truman’s administration; for President John F. Kennedy as an author of the Alliance for Progress and as an adviser on Latin American policy; and for President Lyndon B. Johnson as assistant secretary of state. Gordon also served as the United States ambassador to Brazil under both Kennedy and Johnson. Outside the political sphere, he devoted his considerable talents to academia as a professor at Harvard University, as a scholar at the Brookings Institution, and as president at Johns Hopkins University.

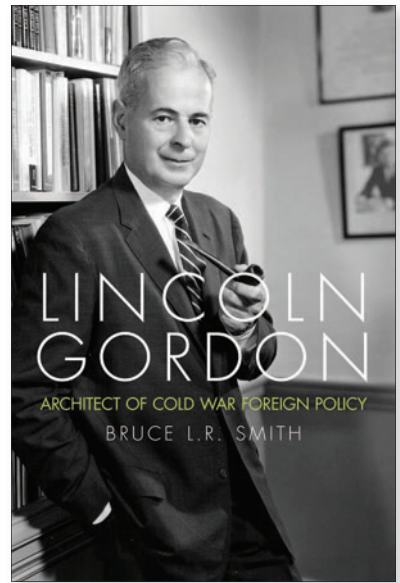
In this impressive biography, Bruce L. R. Smith examines Gordon’s substantial contributions to U.S. mobilization during the Second World War, Europe’s postwar economic recovery, the security framework for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and U.S. policy in Latin America. He also highlights the vital efforts of the advisers who helped Gordon plan NATO’s force expansion and implement America’s dominant foreign policy favoring free trade, free markets, and free political institutions.

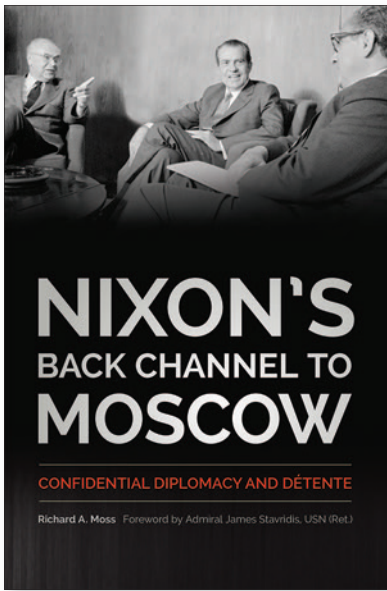
Smith, who worked with Gordon at the Brookings Institution, explores the statesman-scholar’s virtues as well as his flaws, and his study is strengthened by insights drawn from his personal connection to his subject. In many ways, Gordon’s life and career embodied Cold War America and the way in which the nation’s institutions evolved to manage the twentieth century’s vast changes. Smith adeptly shows how this “wise man” personified both America’s postwar optimism and as its dawning realization of its own fallibility during the Vietnam era.

Studies in Conflict, Diplomacy and Peace Series

2015 | 536 pp., 39 b/w photos

978-0-8131-5655-2 | Hardcover \$45.00





Nixon's Back Channel to Moscow

Confidential Diplomacy and Détente

Richard A. Moss

Foreword by Admiral James Stavridis, USN (Ret.)

"This narrative is often quite gripping, with wonderfully revealing quotations from the key actors. The author puts the reader on the shoulders of these men and their Soviet counterparts as they maneuver through three years of negotiations, posturing, and policy activities."—Jeremi Suri, author of *Liberty's Surest Guardian: American Nation-Building from the Founders to Obama*

Most Americans consider détente—the reduction of tensions between the United States and the Soviet

Union—to be among the Nixon administration's most significant foreign policy successes. The diplomatic back channel that national security advisor Henry Kissinger established with Soviet ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin became the most important method of achieving this thaw in the Cold War. Kissinger praised back channels for preventing leaks, streamlining communications, and circumventing what he perceived to be the US State Department's unresponsive and self-interested bureaucracy. Nixon and Kissinger's methods, however, were widely criticized by State Department officials left out of the loop and by an American press and public weary of executive branch prevarication and secrecy.

Richard A. Moss's penetrating study documents and analyzes US-Soviet back channels from Nixon's inauguration through what has widely been heralded as the apex of détente, the May 1972 Moscow Summit. He traces the evolution of confidential-channel diplomacy and examines major flashpoints, including the 1970 crisis over Cienfuegos, Cuba, the Strategic Arms Limitations Talks (SALT), US dealings with China, deescalating tensions in Berlin, and the Vietnam War. Moss argues that while the back channels improved US-Soviet relations in the short term, the Nixon-Kissinger methods provided a poor foundation for lasting policy.

Employing newly declassified documents, the complete record of the Kissinger-Dobrynin channel—jointly compiled, translated, annotated, and published by the US State Department and the Russian Foreign Ministry—as well as the Nixon tapes, Moss reveals the behind-the-scenes deliberations of Nixon, his advisers, and their Soviet counterparts.

Studies in Conflict, Diplomacy, and Peace Series

2017 | 418 pp., 20 b/w photos
978-0-8131-6787-9 | Hardcover \$45.00

North Korea and the World

Human Rights, Arms Control, and Strategies for Negotiation

Walter C. Clemens Jr.

"North Korea and the World is essential reading for those pondering the reasons for the endless frustrations of U.S.-DPRK relations. Clemens, relying on many decades of thoughtful reflection about the complexities of global diplomacy, especially U.S.-Soviet relations during the Cold War, has written a masterful study useful for policymakers, scholars, and laymen alike."—Journal of American-East Asian Relations

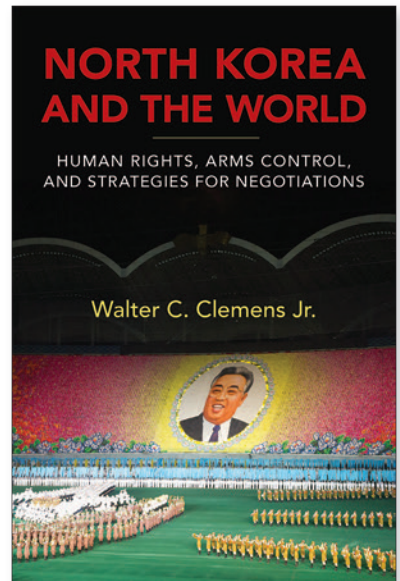
With nearly twenty-five million citizens, a secretive totalitarian dictatorship, and active nuclear and ballistic missile weapons programs, North Korea presents some of the world's most difficult foreign policy challenges. For decades, the United States and its partners have employed multiple strategies in an effort to prevent Pyongyang from acquiring weapons of mass destruction. Washington has moved from the Agreed Framework under President Bill Clinton to George W. Bush's denunciation of the regime as part of the "axis of evil" to a posture of "strategic patience" under Barack Obama. Given that a new president will soon occupy the White House, policy expert Walter C. Clemens Jr. argues that now is the time to reconsider US diplomatic efforts in North Korea.

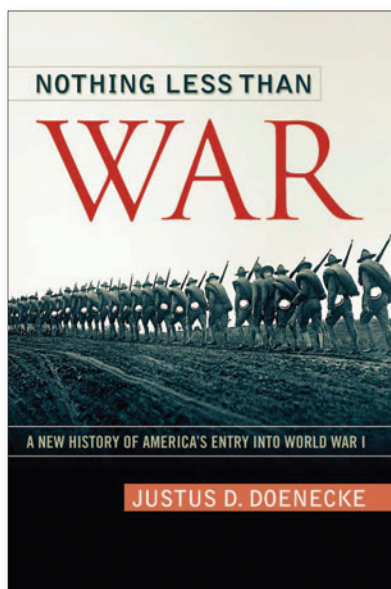
In *North Korea and the World*, Clemens poses the question, "Can, should, and must we negotiate with a regime we regard as evil?" Weighing the needs of all the stakeholders—including China, Japan, Russia, and South Korea—he concludes that the answer is yes. After assessing nine other policy options, he makes the case for engagement and negotiation with the regime. There still may be time to freeze or eliminate North Korea's weapons of mass destruction.

Grounded in philosophy and history, this volume offers a fresh road map for negotiators and outlines a grand bargain that balances both ethical and practical security concerns.

Asia in the New Millennium Series

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Nothing Less Than War

A New History of America's Entry into World War I

Justus D. Doenecke

"Nothing Less Than War combines careful attention to diplomacy with an excellent consideration of politics and public opinion. It is superb in detail, and even scholars well versed in the field will learn things they didn't know before."—John Milton Cooper Jr., author of Woodrow Wilson: A Biography

"Nothing Less Than War is the best short history of American neutrality currently available. It should stand for many years as the starting point for further research on the topic."—Journal of Military History

When war broke out in Europe in 1914, political leaders in the United States were swayed by popular opinion to remain neutral; yet less than three years later, the nation declared war on Germany. In *Nothing Less Than War: A New History of America's Entry into World War I*, Justus D. Doenecke examines the clash of opinions over the war during this transformative period and offers a fresh perspective on America's decision to enter World War I.

Doenecke reappraises the public and private diplomacy of President Woodrow Wilson and his closest advisors and explores in great depth the response of Congress to the war. He also investigates the debates that raged in the popular media and among citizen groups that sprang up across the country as the U.S. economy was threatened by European blockades and as Americans died on ships sunk by German U-boats.

The decision to engage in battle ultimately belonged to Wilson, but as Doenecke demonstrates, Wilson's choice was not made in isolation. *Nothing Less Than War* provides a comprehensive examination of America's internal political climate and its changing international role during the seminal period of 1914–1917.

Studies in Conflict, Diplomacy and Peace Series

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978-0-8131-3002-6 | Hardcover \$40.00

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Obama at War

Congress and the Imperial Presidency

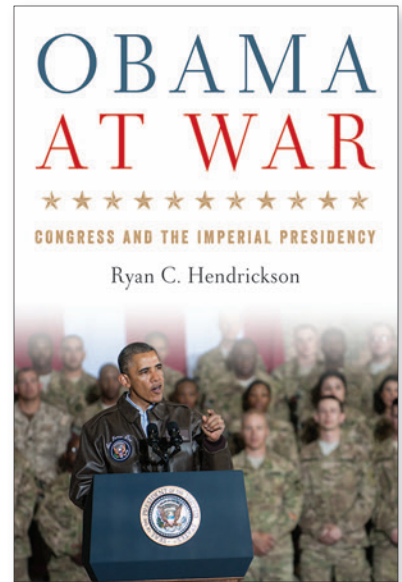
Ryan C. Hendrickson

"Ryan Hendrickson has once again written a perceptive analysis of the war power, explaining how this basic constitutional authority has shifted from Congress to the President and undermined the basic principle of republican government. A significant and effective contribution to our understanding, blessed with clear and direct writing."—Louis Fisher, author of *Presidential War Power*

During President Barack Obama's first term in office, the United States expanded its military presence in Afghanistan and increased drone missile strikes across Pakistan, Yemen, and Somalia. The administration also deployed the military to combat piracy in the Indian Ocean, engaged in a sustained bombing operation in Libya, and deployed U.S. Special Forces in Central Africa to capture or kill Joseph Kony. In these cases, President Obama decided to use force without congressional approval. Yet, this increased executive power has not been achieved simply by the presidential assertion of such powers. It has also been supported by a group of senators and representatives who, for political reasons that stem from constant campaigning, seek to avoid responsibility for military action abroad.

In this revealing book, Ryan C. Hendrickson examines President Obama's use of force in his first term with four major case studies. He demonstrates that, much like his predecessors, Obama has protected the executive branch's right not only to command, but also to determine when and where American forces are deployed. He also considers the voting records of Democrat John Kerry and Republican John McCain in the Senate, detailing how both men have played leading roles in empowering the commander-in-chief while limiting Congress's influence on military decision-making.

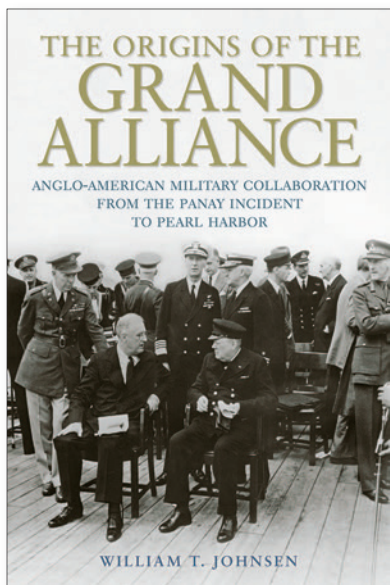
Obama at War establishes that the imperial presidency poses significant foreign policy risks, and concludes with possible solutions to restore a more meaningful balance of power. The first book on the constitutional and political relationship between President Obama and the U.S. Congress and the use of military force, this timely reassessment of war powers provides a lucid examination of executive privilege and legislative deference in the modern American republic.



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The Origins of the Grand Alliance

*Anglo-American Military Collaboration
from the Panay Incident to Pearl Harbor*

William T. Johnsen

*“An uncommonly astute study of the most vital American partnership of the 20th century, *The Origins of the Grand Alliance* is also the intimate portrait of a great geopolitical marriage.”—Rick Atkinson, author of *An Army at Dawn**

On December 12, 1937, Japanese aircraft sank the American gunboat *Panay*, which was anchored in the Yangtze River outside Nanjing, China. Although the Japanese apologized, the attack turned American public opinion against Japan, and President Roosevelt

dispatched Captain Royal Ingersoll to London to begin conversations with the British admiralty about Japanese aggression in the Far East. While few Americans remember the Panay Incident, it established the first links in the chain of Anglo-American military collaboration that eventually triumphed in World War II.

In *The Origins of the Grand Alliance*, William T. Johnsen provides the first comprehensive analysis of military collaboration between the United States and Great Britain before the Second World War. He sets the stage by examining Anglo-French and Anglo-American coalition military planning from 1900 through World War I and the interwar years. Johnsen also considers the formulation of policy and grand strategy, operational planning, and the creation of the command structure and channels of communication. He addresses vitally important logistical and materiel issues, particularly the difficulties of war production.

Military conflicts in the early twenty-first century continue to underscore the increasing importance of coalition warfare for historian and soldier alike. Drawn from extensive sources and private papers held in the United Kingdom, Canada, and the United States, Johnsen's exhaustively researched study refutes the idea that America was the naive junior partner in the coalition and casts new light on the US-UK “special relationship.”

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Peacemakers

American Leadership and the End of Genocide in the Balkans

James W. Pardew

“Ambassador Pardew’s memoir is a fascinating narrative and an important assessment of humanitarian intervention. Its recommendations on activist diplomacy, the relationship of force and diplomacy, and the importance of European stability for US foreign policy are a valuable guide for public officials and international citizens today.”—David L. Anderson, California State University, Monterey Bay

The wars that accompanied the breakup of Yugoslavia in the 1990s were the deadliest European conflicts since World War II. The violence escalated to the point of genocide when, over the course of ten days in July 1995, Serbian troops under the command of General Ratko Mladic murdered 8,000 unarmed men and boys who had sought refuge at a UN safe-haven in Srebrenica. Shocked, the United States quickly launched a diplomatic intervention supported by military force that ultimately brought peace to the new nations created when Yugoslavia disintegrated.

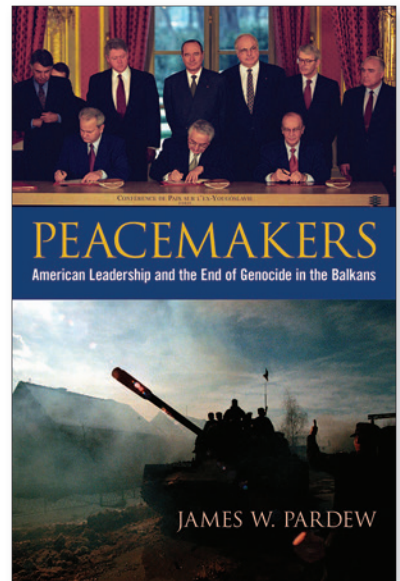
Peacemakers is the first inclusive history of the successful multilateral intervention in the Balkans from 1995–2008 by an official directly involved in the diplomatic and military responses to the crises. A deadly accident near Sarajevo in 1995 thrust James Pardew into the center of efforts to stop the fighting in Bosnia. In a detailed narrative, he shows how Richard Holbrooke and the US envoys who followed him helped to stop or prevent vicious wars in Bosnia, Croatia, Kosovo, and Macedonia. Pardew describes the human drama of diplomacy and war, illuminating the motives, character, talents, and weaknesses of the national leaders involved.

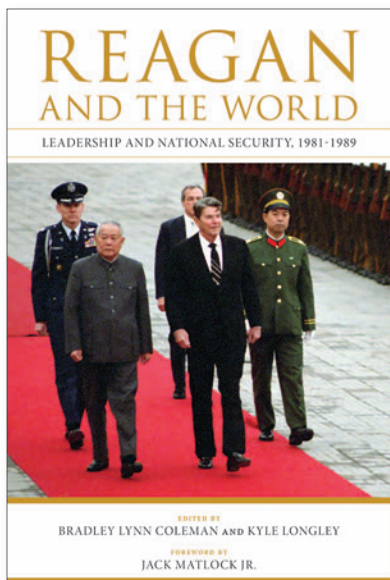
Pardew demonstrates that the use of US power to relieve human suffering is a natural fit with American values. *Peacemakers* serves as a potent reminder that American leadership and multilateral cooperation are often critical to resolving international crises.

Studies in Conflict, Diplomacy, and Peace Series

AVAILABLE JANUARY 2018 | 370 pp., 32 b/w photos, 6 maps

978-0-8131-7435-8 | Hardcover \$39.95





Reagan and the World

*Leadership and National Security,
1981–1989*

Edited by Bradley Lynn Coleman
and Kyle Longley

“Reagan and the World is filled with lessons for current and future leaders. Its authors help us understand how the past shapes the world today, including the intricate US relationship with Russia.”—Admiral James G. Stavridis, U.S. Navy (ret.), former Supreme Allied Commander, NATO

Throughout his presidency, Ronald Reagan sought “peace through strength” during an era of historic change. In the decades since, pundits and scholars

have argued over the president’s legacy: some consider Reagan a charismatic and consummate leader who renewed American strength and defeated communism. To others he was an ambitious and dangerous warmonger whose presidency was plagued with mismanagement, misconduct, and foreign policy failures. The recent declassification of Reagan administration records and the availability of new Soviet documents has created an opportunity for more nuanced, complex, and compelling analyses of this pivotal period in international affairs.

In *Reagan and the World*, leading scholars and national security professionals offer fresh interpretations of the fortieth president’s influence on American foreign policy. This collection addresses Reagan’s management of the US national security establishment as well as the influence of Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger and others in the administration and Congress. The contributors present in-depth explorations of US-Soviet relations and American policy toward Asia, Latin America, Europe, and the Middle East. This balanced and sophisticated examination reveals the complexity of Reagan’s foreign policy, clarifies the importance of other international actors of the period, and provides new perspectives on the final decade of the Cold War.

Studies in Conflict, Diplomacy, and Peace Series

2017 | 336 pp., 8 b/w photos
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Replacing France

The Origins of American Intervention in Vietnam

Kathryn C. Statler

“One comes away from this book deeply impressed by Statler’s research and her ability to piece together a complicated narrative from many hundreds of documents.”—*American Historical Review*

Using recently released archival materials from the United States and Europe, *Replacing France: The Origins of American Intervention in Vietnam* explains how and why the United States came to assume control as the dominant western power in Vietnam during the 1950s.

Acting on their conviction that American methods had a better chance of building a stable, non-communist South Vietnamese nation, Eisenhower administration officials systematically ejected French military, economic, political, bureaucratic, and cultural institutions from Vietnam.

Kathryn C. Statler examines diplomatic maneuvers in Paris, Washington, London, and Saigon to detail how Western alliance members sought to transform South Vietnam into a modern, westernized, and democratically but ultimately failed to counter the Communist threat. Abetted by South Vietnamese Prime Minister Ngo Dinh Diem, Americans in Washington, D.C., and Saigon undermined their French counterparts at every turn, resulting in the disappearance of a French presence by the time Kennedy assumed office.

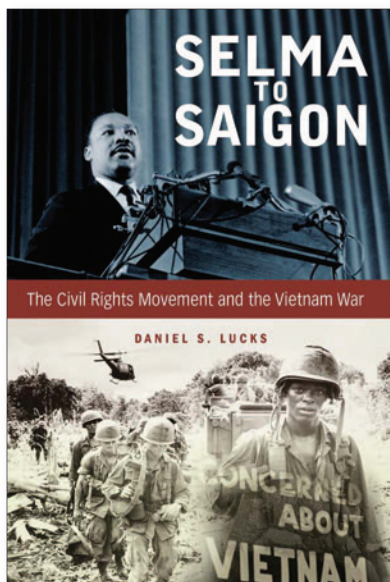
Although the United States ultimately replaced France in South Vietnam, efforts to build South Vietnam into a nation failed. Instead, it became a dependent client state that was unable to withstand increasing Communist aggression from the North. *Replacing France* is a fundamental reassessment of the origins of U.S. involvement in Vietnam that explains how Franco-American conflict led the United States to pursue a unilateral and ultimately imperialist policy in Vietnam.

2007 | 392 pp., map

978-0-8131-2440-7 | Hardcover \$60.00

978-0-8131-9330-4 | Paperback \$30.00





Selma to Saigon

*The Civil Rights Movement
and the Vietnam War*

Daniel S. Lucks

"Daniel S. Lucks's comprehensive and compelling book carefully examines how the U.S. war in Vietnam affected the course of the civil rights struggle. [...] [F]or students of these critical social movements and for those seeking to understand the complex political and ideological currents that buoy and sink struggles for social change, *Selma to Saigon* is an outstanding and welcome resource."—*Journal of American History*

The civil rights and anti-Vietnam War movements were the two greatest protests of twentieth-century America. The dramatic escalation of U.S. involvement in Vietnam in 1965 took precedence over civil rights legislation, which had dominated White House and congressional attention during the first half of the decade. The two issues became intertwined on January 6, 1966, when the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) became the first civil rights organization to formally oppose the war, protesting the injustice of drafting African Americans to fight for the freedom of the South Vietnamese people when they were still denied basic freedoms at home.

Selma to Saigon explores the impact of the Vietnam War on the national civil rights movement. Before the war gained widespread attention, the New Left, the SNCC, and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) worked together to create a biracial alliance with the potential to make significant political and social gains in Washington. Contention over the war, however, exacerbated preexisting generational and ideological tensions that undermined the coalition, and Lucks analyzes the causes and consequences of this disintegration.

This powerful narrative illuminates the effects of the Vietnam War on the lives of leaders such as Whitney Young Jr., Stokely Carmichael, Roy Wilkins, Bayard Rustin, and Martin Luther King Jr., as well as other activists who faced the threat of the military draft along with race-related discrimination and violence. Providing new insights into the evolution of the civil rights movement, this book fills a significant gap in the literature about one of the most tumultuous periods in American history.

Civil Rights and the Struggle for Black Equality in the Twentieth Century Series

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So Much to Lose

John F. Kennedy and American Policy in Laos

William J. Rust

*"So Much to Lose is a fine book and a worthy sequel to Rust's previous work. This diplomatic history brings the story together in a way that advances the record on United States activities in the land of a million elephants. He lays down the panorama of U.S.-influenced events very well, and so illuminates John Kennedy's meanderings on Laos policy in a way that goes beyond the 1962 Geneva agreements to show the re-ignition of the Laotian war the following year."—John Prados, author of *Vietnam: A History of an Unwinnable War, 1945–1975**

Before U.S. combat units were deployed to Vietnam, presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy strove to defeat a communist-led insurgency in Laos. This impoverished, landlocked Southeast Asian kingdom was geopolitically significant because it bordered more powerful communist and anticommunist nations. The Ho Chi Minh Trail, which traversed the country, was also a critical route for North Vietnamese infiltration into South Vietnam.

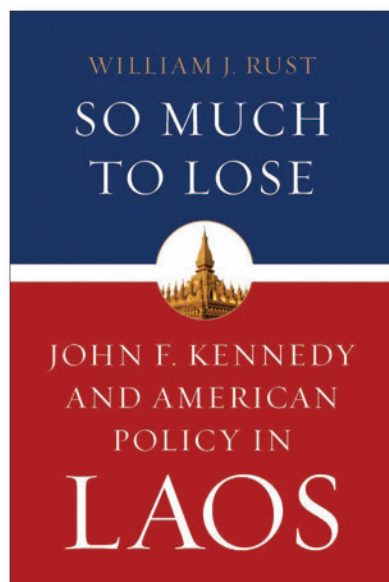
In *So Much to Lose: John F. Kennedy and American Policy in Laos*, William J. Rust continues his definitive examination of U.S.-Lao relations during the Cold War, providing an extensive analysis of their impact on US policy decisions in Vietnam. He discusses the diplomacy, intelligence operations, and military actions that led to the Declaration on the Neutrality of Laos, signed in Geneva in 1962, which met President John F. Kennedy's immediate goal of preventing a communist victory in the country without committing American combat troops. Rust also examines the rapid breakdown of these accords, the U.S. administration's response to their collapse, and the consequences of that response.

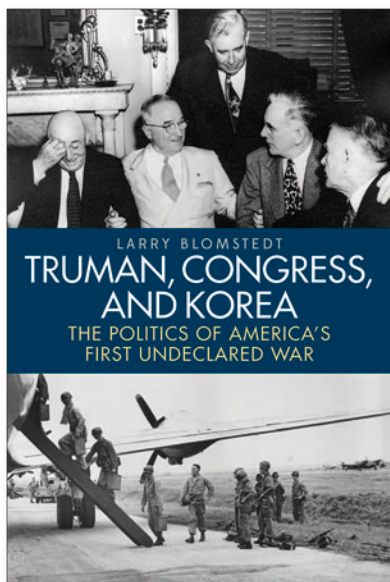
At the time of Kennedy's assassination in 1963, U.S. policy in Laos was confused and contradictory, and Lyndon B. Johnson inherited not only an incoherent strategy, but also military plans for taking the war to North Vietnam. By assessing the complex political landscape of Laos within the larger context of the Cold War, this book offers fresh insights into American foreign policy decisions that still resonate today.

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Truman, Congress, and Korea

The Politics of America's First Undeclared War

Larry Blomstedt

"Truman, Congress, and Korea serves as a critical read not only for Korean War history, but also for U.S. Cold War history."—Journal of American-East Asian Relations

Three days after North Korean premier Kim Il Sung launched a massive military invasion of South Korea on June 24, 1950, President Harry S. Truman responded, dispatching air and naval support to South Korea. Initially, Congress cheered his swift action; but, when China entered the war to aid North Korea, the president and many legislators became

concerned that the conflict would escalate into another world war, and the United States agreed to a truce in 1953. The lack of a decisive victory caused the Korean War to quickly recede from public attention. However, its impact on subsequent American foreign policy was profound.

In *Truman, Congress, and Korea: The Politics of America's First Undeclared War*, Larry Blomstedt provides the first in-depth domestic political history of the conflict, from the initial military mobilization, to Congress's failed attempts to broker a cease-fire, to the political fallout in the 1952 election. During the war, President Truman faced challenges from both Democratic and Republican legislators, whose initial support quickly collapsed into bitter and often public infighting. For his part, Truman dedicated inadequate attention to relationships on Capitol Hill early in his term and also declined to require a formal declaration of war from Congress, advancing the shift toward greater executive power in foreign policy.

The Korean conflict ended the brief period of bipartisanship in foreign policy that began during World War II. It also introduced Americans to the concept of limited war, which contrasted sharply with the practice of requiring unconditional surrenders in previous conflicts. Blomstedt's study explores the changes wrought during this critical period and the ways in which the war influenced US international relations and military interventions during the Cold War and beyond.

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US Presidential Elections and Foreign Policy

Candidates, Campaigns, and Global Politics from FDR to Bill Clinton

Edited by Andrew Johnstone and Andrew Priest

“This book is part of an important trend in examining the connection between domestic policies and foreign policy. Its chapters will have enduring relevance.” —Elizabeth N. Saunders, author of *Leaders at War: How Presidents Shape Military Interventions*

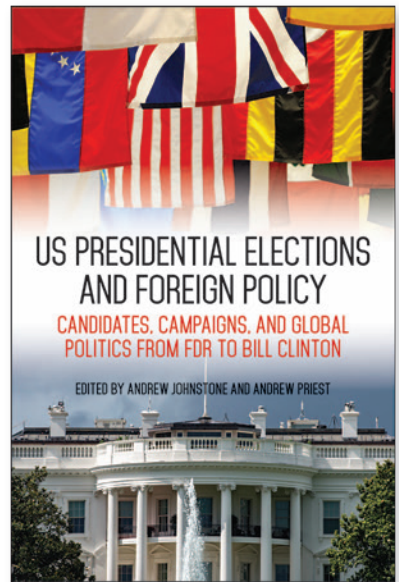
While domestic issues loom large in voters’ minds during American presidential elections, matters of foreign policy have consistently shaped candidates and their campaigns. From the start of World War II through the collapse of the Soviet Union, presidential hopefuls needed to be perceived as credible global leaders in order to win elections—regardless of the situation at home—and voter behavior depended heavily on whether the nation was at war or peace. Yet there is little written about the importance of foreign policy in US presidential elections or the impact of electoral issues on the formation of foreign policy.

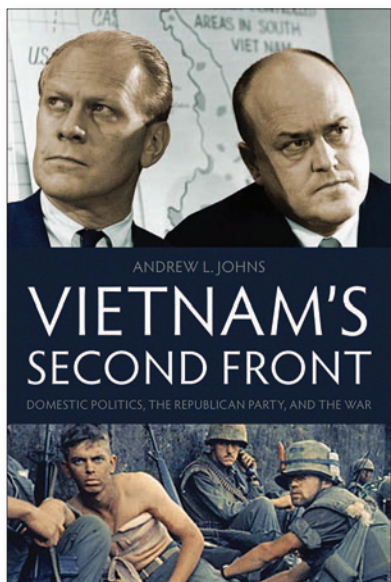
In *US Presidential Elections and Foreign Policy*, a team of international scholars examines how the relationship between foreign policy and electoral politics evolved through the latter half of the twentieth century. Covering all presidential elections from 1940 to 1992—from debates over American entry into World War II to the aftermath of the Cold War—the contributors correct the conventional wisdom that domestic issues and the economy are always definitive. Together they demonstrate that, while international concerns were more important in some campaigns than others, foreign policy always matters and is often decisive. This illuminating commentary fills a significant gap in the literature on presidential and electoral politics, emphasizing that candidates’ positions on global issues have a palpable impact on American foreign policy.

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Vietnam's Second Front

Domestic Politics, the Republican Party, and the War

Andrew L. Johns

"[A] splendid, deeply researched account of the war and its partisan components. It is a powerful reminder that politics do not stop at the water's edge."

—*American Historical Review*

The Vietnam War has been analyzed, dissected, and debated from multiple perspectives for decades, but domestic considerations—such as partisan politics and election-year maneuvering—are often overlooked as determining factors in the evolution and outcome of America's longest war.

In *Vietnam's Second Front: Domestic Politics, the Republican Party, and the War*, Andrew L. Johns assesses the influence of the Republican Party—its congressional leadership, politicians, grassroots organizations, and the Nixon administration—on the escalation, prosecution, and resolution of the Vietnam War. This groundbreaking work also sheds new light on the relationship between Congress and the imperial presidency as they struggled for control over U.S. foreign policy.

Beginning his analysis in 1961 and continuing through the Paris Peace Accords of 1973, Johns argues that the Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon administrations failed to achieve victory on both fronts of the Vietnam War—military and political—because of their preoccupation with domestic politics. Johns details the machinations and political dexterity required of all three presidents and of members of Congress to maneuver between the countervailing forces of escalation and negotiation, offering a provocative account of the ramifications of their decisions. With clear, incisive prose and extensive archival research, Johns's analysis covers the broad range of the Republican Party's impact on the Vietnam War, offers a compelling reassessment of responsibility for the conflict, and challenges assumptions about the roles of Congress and the president in U.S. foreign relations.

2010 | 444 pp., illus.

978-0-8131-2572-5 | Hardcover \$50.00

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The War That Never Ends

New Perspectives on the Vietnam War

Edited by David L. Anderson and John Ernst

"A terrific volume. Anderson and Ernst have assembled a stellar cast of contributors to provide fresh perspectives. The result is a stimulating and authoritative set of essays."—Fredrik Logevall, coauthor of *The First Vietnam War: Colonial Conflict and Cold*

More than three decades after the final withdrawal of American troops from Southeast Asia, the legacy of the Vietnam War continues to influence political, military, and cultural discourse. Journalists, politicians, scholars, pundits, and others have used the conflict to analyze each of America's subsequent military engagements. Many Americans have observed that Vietnam-era terms such as "cut and run," "quagmire," and "hearts and minds" are ubiquitous once again as comparisons between U.S. involvement in Iraq and in Vietnam seem increasingly appropriate. Because of its persistent significance, the Vietnam War era continues to inspire vibrant historical inquiry.

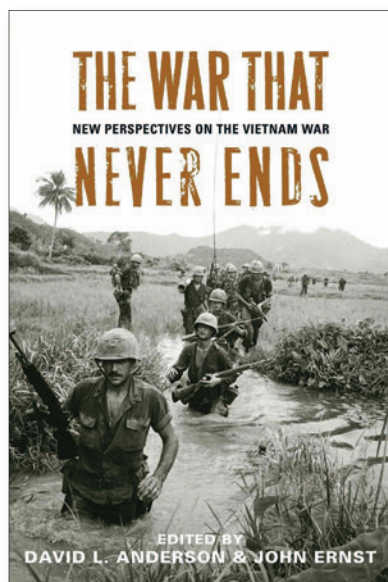
The eminent scholars featured in *The War That Never Ends* offer fresh and insightful perspectives on the continuing relevance of the Vietnam War, from the homefront to "humping in the boonies," and from the great halls of political authority to the gritty hotbeds of oppositional activism. The contributors assert that the Vietnam War is central to understanding the politics of the Cold War, the social movements of the late twentieth century, the lasting effects of colonialism, the current direction of American foreign policy, and the ongoing economic development in Southeast Asia.

The seventeen essays break new ground on questions relating to gender, religion, ideology, strategy, and public opinion, and the book gives equal emphasis to Vietnamese and American perspectives on the grueling conflict. The contributors examine such phenomena as the role of women in revolutionary organizations, the peace movements inspired by Buddhism, and Ho Chi Minh's successful adaptation of Marxism to local cultures. *The War That Never Ends* sheds new light on the evolving historical meanings of the Vietnam War, its enduring influence, and its potential to influence future political and military decision-making, in times of peace as well as war.

2007 | 376 pp., 35 photos, map

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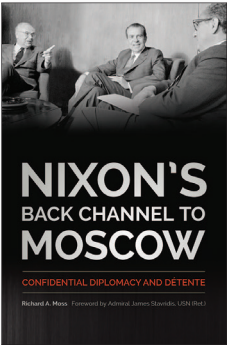
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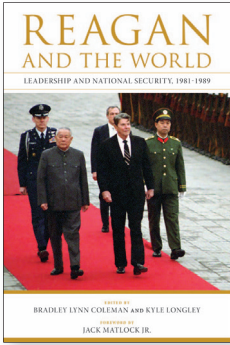
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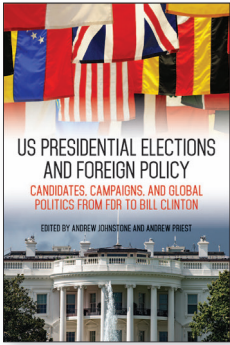
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PAGE 22



PAGE 28



PAGE 33

