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INTERNATIONAL HISTORY POLITICS

An organized section of the American
Political Science Association (APSA)

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Message from the Chair

I am happy and proud to be the new Chair of our IHAP section. Thanks Peter Trubowitz, our outgoing Chair, for leaving our section in such excellent shape. I welcome and thank our new slate of leaders: Cecelia Lynch (Vice Chair), Jelena Subotic (Program Chair) and our new members of the Advisory Committee—Tanish Fazal, Staice Goddard and Miles Kahler—who join ongoing members Keith Darden, Victoria Tin-bor Hui and Beth Kier. Thanks as well to our ongoing leaders, David Edelstein (Secretary-Treasurer) and to James A. Morrison (Newsletter Editor) and to Joanne Yao (Assistant Editor) for your hard work on this newsletter.

This newsletter—planned under Peter Trubowitz’s leadership and organized by James A. Morrison—embraces a theme that is important and dear to my heart: the silencing of women in international history and politics. In this newsletter, Swati Srivastava notes that archives may systematically exclude and diminish the role that women played in history. She suggests remedies to counteract the bias that reliance on archives introduces. Glenda Sluga explains how focusing on the role of women, and thus bringing women into our historical accounts, will broaden our understanding of the past. Anwar Mhajane advocates bringing feminist thought into scholarly investigation of international history and politics, as a way of disrupting assumptions about human nature and rationality, and to inform a number of substantive debates. Catia Confortini discusses how women’s organizations have left an indelible mark on international politics. The contributions inspired me to add my own thoughts based on my participation in debates on women in the academy, and ongoing research on gender and status in American political science. My contribution includes data about women in political science and refers to ongoing and upcoming scholarship investigating publications and the presence of female authored scholarship on syllabi and in the academy more generally.

This newsletter also includes interviews with our 2015 section award winners. Please consider nominating your work, or recommending to the committee recent articles and books that you particularly appreciated for the section’s two awards described on p.18. The 2017 APSA conference theme of *The Quest for Legitimacy: Actors, Audiences and Aspirations* is a topic that many of us can speak to. If you have an idea for a theme panel, please let our program chair Jelena Subotic know. And remember to submit your own papers and panels to the conference so that we can remind political scientists of the importance of history and historical methods of analysis in understanding global politics today.

Message from the Chair Continued

We are interested in growing our membership in this section. We encourage you to share this newsletter with people you know who study international history and politics, and to encourage them to join our section.

I saved the best for last. For those of you who missed the news, I want to congratulate again and encourage you to read the award winning work of the 2016 IHAP section awards. There was some consensus among our two separate committees. Thanks to Henry Nau, Hyon Joo Yoo and Jeff Colgan for selecting the year's best article and to Jonathan Kirshner, Stacie Goddard and Eric Grynawski for selecting the year's best book. The winners are listed on p. 17.

Karen J. Alter
IHAP Chair

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Roundtable **Women in International History and Politics**

Introduction: The Voice of Women Scholars: Contributions and Recognition

By Karen J. Alter, Northwestern University

Research suggests that female scholars gravitate towards different topics, and that greater diversity of voices changes what is discussed in politics.¹ I would not have believed this to be the case when I was a young scholar. Like many young people today, I did not initially identify as a scholar of gender, or as a feminist. But I have come to see how paying attention to gender inflects a different sensibility. It is no accident that my book *The New Terrain of International Law* includes cases studies on rape in war, the liberation of a female slave, and gender equity in the military. My courses now include a focus on gender in development, and the question of whether putting women and children first is a helpful strategy in conflict.

I have become involved with endeavors spearheaded by a number of senior international history and politics scholars in our field, including Kristen

Monroe, Kathleen Thelen, Sara Mitchell, and Barbara Walter, to increase representation of women in American political science. My contribution to this newsletter brings to our membership the latest scholarship on gender in international relations and American political science.

A number of recent studies have taken stock of the absence of women in international relations. A 2008 study found that only 23% of international relations scholars are women. Only 17% of full professors in general—and 14% of full professors in IR—are women.² A 2013 study found a gender citation gap: “The data reveal that articles published by women in the top IR journals are cited less often than those written by men even after controlling for the age of publication, whether the author came from an R1 school, the topic under study, the quality of the publishing venue, the methodological and theoretical approach, and the author’s tenure status. Articles written by women are cited less often than articles coauthored with at least one man. They are also cited less often in seminal articles in the field.”³

These findings have spurred deeper introspection. The Monkey Cage held a [symposium](#) with contributions by a number of leading scholars of

² Maliniak et al. 2008

³ Daniel Maliniak, Ryan Powers & Barbara F. Walter, ‘The Gender Citation Gap in International Relations’, *International Organization*, Vol. 67, Issue 4 (2013): 914.

¹ Daniel Maliniak, Amy Oakes & Michael Tierney, ‘Women in International Relations’, *Politics & Gender*, Vol. 4, Issue 1 (2008): 122-144; this is also the premise of the [Op-Ed Project](#).

international relations and international history, including Barbara Walter, Sara Mitchell, Brett Ashley Leeds, Beth Simmons, and David Lake.

Informal remedies include a concerted effort by many IR scholars to increase the percent of female authors included on graduate IR Syllabi. A recent study found that 82% of readings in IR pro-seminars are by men.⁴ A slightly different version of this study, blogged about on the [Duck of Minerva](#), found that female faculty were more likely to include readings authored by women (29.5% of readings compared to 20.9% on syllabi of male instructors).

All members of our section are in a position to remedy these ills. I have been trying to increase the number of female authors I assign to graduate students. I wrote to my colleagues, and got their syllabi and ideas of readings I might assign, so that my last Grad IR theory course had 30% of the readings by female authors. The Consortium on Gender, Security & Human Rights provides another [resource for syllabi](#) we can draw from as we update our own teaching and scholarship.

Expanding my teaching, intentionally looking for the missing stories of women, and participating in debates about women in academia are my efforts to change. I will also ask Jelena Subotic, our section's Program Chair, to report the all-male-panel submissions, and I will report back in a subsequent newsletter. In case you need some tips of how to avoid this notorious posting on the '[all male panel](#)' Tumblr website, Foreign Policy published seven rules for [avoiding all male panels](#). Finally, we can encourage scholars to consult the website [#womensoknowstuff.com](#) to find female experts on a broad range of topics.

I have also been motivated to conduct a long delayed, but soon to be finished study on status and gender parity in American political science—my first

⁴ Jeff D. Colgan, 'Where is International Relation Going? Evidence from Graduate Training', *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 60, Issue 3 (2016): 486-98.

wholly quantitative piece of research.⁵ My research team scraped Wikipedia's entries of American Political Scientists, and we created a status data set of editorial boards, leadership in APSA and ISA, and membership in honor societies. We will compare the Wikipedia and status data set to a baseline dataset of academics at 237 research oriented universities to look for the missing women. We are investigating the hypothesis that institutions with accountable leaders better balance gender representation than organizations that rely on a decentralized anarchic selection process, such as Wikipedia and our academy of sciences. We will also draw on Teele and Thelen's data on women publishing in top journals to explore Sheryl Sandberg's thesis that women who "lean in" are rewarded.⁶

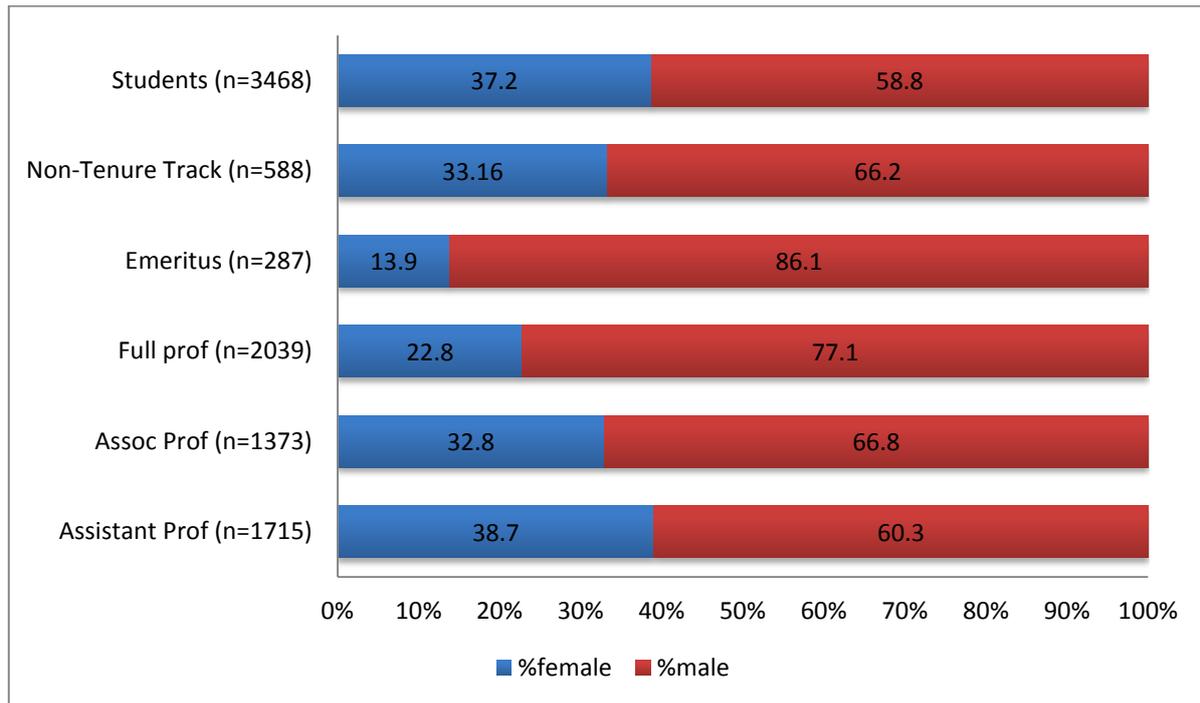
The findings are not yet ready to share—but below is a chart based on aggregated data provided to me by APSA. This gives you a snapshot of our profession, at least as it is defined by membership in APSA. In 2014, 31% of APSA members were women. The breakdown by category was as shown in the graph at the end of this introduction.

The APSA data does not reveal this, but the number of women receiving PhDs has already reached parity, although the parity varies by discipline and subfield. Qualitative methods, however, in particular attract women. Because women are still vastly underrepresented in the academy, change will only come when both men and women change. The contributors to this newsletter provide many helpful suggestions about how we as scholars can work to write women back into the history of international relations. I thank Peter, James, Joanne, and the contributors to this forum for focusing on this important issue.

⁵ Karen J. Alter, Jean Clipperton, Emily Schraudenbach, Vijay Siddappa Murganoor, and Laura Rozier, manuscript in progress.

⁶ Sheryl Sandberg, *Lean In: Women, Work, and the Will to Lead* (Alfred A. Knopf, 2013); Dawn Langan Teele and Kathleen Thelen, 'Gender in the Journals: Publication Patterns in Political Science', *PS: Political Science and Politics* (2017).

Gender Breakdown of APSA membership by rank (2014, N = 5108)



When the Archives are Silent: Implications of Biases in Archival Research for Representing Women in International History

By Swati Srivastava, Northwestern University

Archives are not neutral repositories of data. They are curated collections reflecting the purposes of their curators and commissioners. State archives prioritize collecting and preserving records based on successful government actions, often privileging military and economic matters. Within these collections, the records of elite white men are disproportionately represented as official sources for history.

When scholars of international history use archival material, they duplicate and amplify these biases. It is therefore no surprise that women are poorly represented in most accounts of international history. Indeed, “because the archival record is incomplete, historical research is often messy, unwieldy, unexpected, and ultimately is always constructed by the historian’s selections, omissions, and biases.”¹ Overcoming these biases takes conscious effort on

¹ Katherine E. Tirabassi, “Journeying into the Archives: Exploring the Pragmatics of Archival Research,” In: A. Ramsey, W. Sharer, B. L’Eplattenier, and L. Mastrangelo, eds., *Working in the Archives: Practical Research Methods for Rhetoric and Composition* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2010): 175.

behalf of researchers to actively circumvent the limitations of state archives and create space for women and other underrepresented subjects.

In this brief essay, I outline some biases against women in archival research and offer strategies to address these biases.

Biases against Women in Archives

Archival researchers acknowledge bias in archives as a general condition of curating historical material² with implications for race,³ gender,⁴ and colonial histories.⁵ Many observe that “decreasing financial support for archives means that administrators,

² F. Gerald Ham, “The Archival Edge,” *American Archivist*, Vol. 38, Issue 1 (1975): 5-13; Alexis E. Ramsey, Wendy B. Sharer, Barbara L’Eplattenier, and Lisa S. Mastrangelo, eds., *Working in the Archives: Practical Research Methods for Rhetoric and Composition* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2010).

³ Anthony W. Dunbar, “Introducing Critical Race Theory to Archival Discourse: Getting the Conversation Started,” *Archival Science*, Vol. 6, Issue 1 (2006): 109-129.

⁴ Helen M. Buss and Marlene Kader, eds., *Working in Women’s Archives: Researching Women’s Private Literature and Archival Documents* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2000).

⁵ Stephanie Decker, “The Silence of the Archives: Business History, Post-colonialism, and Archival Ethnography,” *Management and Organizational History*, Vol. 8, Issue 2 (2013): 155-173.

always engaged in a juggling act, must necessarily prioritize acquisitions and processing according to institutional guidelines and perceived degrees of significance.”⁶ From this necessity to prioritize, however, “social assumptions that construct priorities often exclude women’s documents.”⁷ The biases mean that even when women appear in state archives, they “are generally one-dimensional, often reduc[ed] to statistics, appearing as problems, occupations, rigid ethnic or faith-based identities which minimize or ignore complexity and deny them their own voice.”⁸ International Relations (IR) scholars recognize source biases in archival data;⁹ however, they do not address the implications for poorly representing women in international history.

“...biases mean that even when women appear in state archives, they ‘are generally one-dimensional, often reduc[ed] to statistics, appearing as problems, occupations, rigid ethnic or faith-based identities which minimize or ignore complexity and deny them their own voice.’ ”

Perhaps women are excluded from international history because they were not involved in important political actions like military campaigns or setting tariff rates. However, this raises two issues. First, how do we know women were not involved? Second, if women were not involved in these types of politics, how else were they politically important?

First, omitting records that document the role of women in events of political importance could be a result of poor record keeping and/or willful

⁶ Carole Gerson, “Locating Female Subjects in the Archives,” In: H. Bus and M. Kadar, eds., *Working in Women’s Archives: Researching Women’s Private Literature and Archival Documents* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2000): 10.

⁷ Helen M. Buss, “Introduction,” In: H. Bus and M. Kadar, eds., *Working in Women’s Archives: Researching Women’s Private Literature and Archival Documents* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2000): 2.

⁸ Andrew Flinn, “Community Histories, Community Archives: Some Opportunities and Challenges,” *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, Vol. 28, Issue 2 (2007): 151-176, at p. 160.

⁹ For instance, see Cameron G. Thies, “A Pragmatic Guide to Qualitative Historical Analysis in the Study of International Relations,” *International Studies Perspectives*, Vol. 3, Issue 4 (2002): 351-372, at p. 356.

obfuscation. For instance, when researching the founding of Amnesty International, I examined the meeting minutes of Amnesty’s executive council and oral history interviews at the International Institute of Social History.¹⁰ From these records, I found no indication that women were involved significantly in the early movement. However, upon inspecting correspondence of the founder, Peter Benenson, it became clear that some women had a large role to play in shaping the message and organizational structure of Amnesty International. Correspondence files, however, are often the most difficult to work with and in this case amounted to non-itemized miscellaneous papers in a box. Indeed, it is not uncommon to find women’s contributions and papers in collections about men. In this, “researchers quickly learn that serendipity plays a major role in locating their subject’s correspondence or manuscripts within collections of other people’s papers.”¹¹ Moreover, even when papers are catalogued under women’s names, researchers may encounter problems because women’s names may change from marriage. These problems are only in reference to poor record keeping; it is just as likely that women were purposefully left off the historical record.

Second, the absence of women is a broader reflection of what counts as “political importance.” The implicit bias against women as apolitical plays out the traditional gendered dynamics of public and private spheres, where men participate in politics as public subjects and women recede from politics as private subjects. These divisions manifest in what state archives catalogue as “politics,” which results in deciding what constitutes legitimate political subjects. When researching the early history of the English East India Company (1650-1780) at the British Library, I found that women were mostly neglected from the Company’s political records (with the exception of Queen Elizabeth I, who set up the first public charter). However, broadening my lens to overseas governance, it became evident that some English women were key in influencing and enforcing social norms in Bengal. In addition, Company widows pushed for reforms in inheritance benefits that changed compensation structures. These women were not present at the Company’s board meetings nor did they author any publications or petitions. Yet their actions left an indelible mark on British politics. The implicit bias against women

¹⁰ Incidentally, the International Institute of Social History maintains one of the most comprehensive online libraries of women’s history collections and records, available at: <http://www.iisg.nl/w3vlwomenshistory/>.

¹¹ Gerson 2000: 12.

as apolitical is a more serious challenge to IR researchers than missing or incomplete records since it means that international political history faces a unique challenge from archival research that other kinds of history do not. However, the dearth of resources to address this problem in IR suggests the biases against women in international history will endure.

Strategies to Address Biases

Archives limit our access to what can be studied historically. If we aim to expand our histories, we must begin by expanding our archives. One way of expanding archives is through overcoming biases in the source material. Four strategies may help in this endeavor:

1. *Acknowledge the problem*

At a bare minimum, acknowledging biases in archival material should be a standard disclaimer in studies on international history. The disclaimer is important because it flags the issue for other scholars to beware of duplicating the biases and to wrestle with the problem in their research.

2. *Diversify the records*

Researchers should ratchet up their standard triangulation of different records and take on the role of a detective. It is not enough to search for women in official catalogues and search aids. Instead, “when searching archives for records of women, seek the personal and professional records of male relatives, especially fathers (if the subject’s birth name is known) and husbands. [...] Worth first-hand attention are collections containing un-itemized correspondence.”¹² Even if researchers do not have specific women in mind, diversifying records

¹² Gerson 2000: 17.

Not so Invisible: Women in International History *By Glenda Sluga, University of Sydney*

We have had nearly half a century of persistent and often profound scholarly reflection on the invisibility of women in International History and Politics—as the subjects of research and writing, and even as researchers and writers. In the 1980s, Joan Scott famously argued that the history of “High Politics” was proving most resistant to the study of women, and to the gender analysis that would help us understand the political predominance of men.

beyond official files enables a broader representation of political voices and actions.

3. *Diversify the archive*

Researchers should also go beyond national and state archives, where the biases against women are most acute. Private archives are paying special attention to representation, as are municipal and county archives in local libraries, museums, and regional institutions. Also, “in 2004, the [Archives Task Force] reported on the recent growth of community archives as an important development, stemming ‘from a desire by individuals and groups to record and share culturally diverse experiences and stories.’”¹³ Moreover, traveling to private and local archives is often less expensive, and the archivists are typically more available for assistance.

4. *Broaden politics*

Finally, if we are serious about addressing the underrepresentation of women in international political history, we must engage in conversations that broaden our conceptualization of politics. It means reconciling the domestic and international, and the public and private, as some feminist IR scholars have long advocated.

¹³ Flinn 2007: 155.

These days, historiographies of politics and ideas are still the most resistant to the study of women—despite abundant published reflections on the history of women in the development of IR and the influence of gender in the conceptualization and forms of international politics.¹

¹ See for example, Glenda Sluga and Carolyn James, “Introduction: The Long International History of Women and Diplomacy”, *Women, Diplomacy and International Politics since 1500* (2014); and Glenda Sluga, “Add Women and Stir: Gender and the History of International Politics,” *Humanities Australia*, Vol. 5 (2015): 65-72, available at

In my own field, it is much easier to encounter women—and to argue for seeing them—in part because the new international history is all about the importance of seeing beyond states and across them. In the same disciplinary setting, the study of the history of liberal internationalism is recovering an extensive documentary record of women's involvement in the practice and conceptualization of international politics, reaching back into the nineteenth century: from the imprint of women's organization and agitation in the British abolition and European humanitarian movements to the self-consciously international sociability of the 1899 and 1907 Hague peace congresses at the century's imperial apogee.

When it comes to the specifically *international* characteristics of the twentieth century it *should* be all but impossible to ignore women actors and feminism—although many historians have, and still do. In the twenty-first century, neither women nor their feminist motivations are always on view in the big picture of the international (or intellectual) past.² Yet when we add them, we find a new scale against which to measure the dimensions of democratic ambitions and change.³

Adding women (and stirring them back into the big historical picture) underlines the significance through the twentieth century of international institutions as sites of political negotiation and petitioning—in effect, as the locus of a political, quasi-public, international sphere. As importantly, it is a perspective that leads us to the mid as well as high-level intellectual history of feminism, to the ideologies of popular social movements as well as elites, and to non-Europeans and colonials as well as the “West”.

In the early twentieth century, women engaged with institution- and law-based internationalism as a political and social ideal, and saw this engagement as a path to achieving their feminist aims, sometimes secular, sometimes religious. These women contributed to new analyses and interpretations of

<http://www.historyandpolicy.org/dialogues/discussions/women-peace-and-transnational-activism-a-century-on>. There is almost as much overwhelming (and depressing) evidence of the uneven citation of women's research in contrast to men.

² For my critique, see

<http://www.historyworkshop.org.uk/roundtable-governing-the-world-by-mark-mazower/> cf. Glenda Sluga, *Internationalism in the Age of Internationalism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).

³ Glenda Sluga, “Women, Feminisms and Internationalism,” In: Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin, eds., *Internationalisms: A Twentieth Century History* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

the significance of internationalism. They organized summer schools throughout Europe on international questions. They recommended texts by women. They nurtured a view of International Relations that by the 1930s was superseded by self-identified realists who hardened the study of International Relations into a masculine discipline—channeled through the Royal Institute of International Affairs and the Geneva Graduate Institute of International Studies. Just as earlier women's efforts to influence the peace of 1919 on behalf of women's self-determination were excised from the historical record that exclusively privileged national self-determination, women's texts and their preferred subject areas were habitually eliminated from the intellectual itineraries of international studies.⁴

“...women's texts and their preferred subject areas were habitually eliminated from the intellectual itineraries of international studies.”

Yet women published on internationalism in a range of contexts, *vedi* Florence Stawell's *The Growth of International Thought* (1928), the first book to use that term. Born in Melbourne, Stawell was a classicist based in England who had come under the influence of that other Australian Gilbert Murray at Oxford and, through that network, the League of Nations Union.⁵

On the other side of the Atlantic, Edith Wynner's *Searchlight on Plans for Peace* (1944) intended to record for posterity the “historical parade” that demonstrated “the tragic futility of dreams and actions designed for mankind's peace and security as long as might supersedes right,” and positioned “the creation of world government” as “the central problem of our time.”

By the early 1950s, the Cold War contributed to the rewriting of the political tradition of internationalism, with Wynner a witness to the process. In 1953, Harold Stassen, a former

⁴ I make this argument more fully in “Gender”, In: Patrick Finney, ed., *Palgrave Advances in International History* (London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

⁵ See the discussion with David Armitage in “Turning International: Foundations of Modern International Thought and New Paradigms for Intellectual History,” *History of European Ideas*, Vol. 41, Issue 1 (2015): 103-115.

Minnesota governor and delegate to the San Francisco conference that had decided the UN Charter in 1945, denied in a US court of law ever having advocated a world police force or world government (despite substantial evidence to the contrary), he also extinguished the history of women's agency and feminist ambitions.

At the risk of continuing a longer tradition of separating out the female agents and feminist objectives from history, it is worth remembering the ways in which women, the "woman question" and feminism shaped twentieth-century international thinking and internationalism. Decade after decade, men and women brought gender norms to international thought and international bodies. Conversely, women placed their faith in twentieth

Women in International Relations: From the Margins to the Center?

By Anwar Mahjane, University of Cincinnati

As a woman of color PhD candidate from outside the US in a US Political Science department who holds an MA in Women's Studies through which I studied with a feminist International Relations (IR) scholar, I have always struggled with the fact that our syllabi for core courses in Political Science, such as Introduction to International Relations and International Security, lacked works produced by women scholars. When feminist standpoints on International Relations are mentioned in these classes, if at all, they are mentioned as a passing remark. On multiple occasions, I have found myself forced to defend feminism as a legitimate theory of IR and politics more generally with significant contributions to the field. Regularly, when talking about my interest in applying a gender lens to IR research, some colleagues from my department and at conferences question the importance of such a lens and its relevance to the field of IR. My experience seems to be a very common experience among feminist scholars and others who attempt to apply a gender-lens to their study of IR and other subfields of Political Science. As Anne Tickner explained almost two decades ago, "feminist approaches appear to be atheoretical-merely criticism, devoid of potential for fruitful empirical research"¹ to those who fail to understand them despite by then a large body of feminist IR scholarship, a lively section devoted to feminist IR

¹ Anne Tickner, "You just don't understand: troubled engagements between feminists and IR theorists," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 41, Issue 4 (1997): 612.

century international institutions and practices, and international laws, in the interests of improving their own (sometimes conflicting) status within nations, empires, colonies, as well as peace and humanitarianism.

Recovering the diversity of women and their political ambitions reminds us that the twentieth-century history of feminism was as much about internationalism as imperialism and nationalism. For that same reason, internationalism has a central place in the long, gendered, and national histories of democracy and modernity.

in the International Studies Association, and a well-respected feminist IR journal having been launched. Scholars from the more traditional schools of IR ((neo)realism, (neo)liberalism, structuralism) and even more recent ones (such as constructivism) have assumed that "one can study the course of relations between states without reference to questions of gender."² For instance, when Kenneth Waltz in an interview with the *Review of International Studies* was asked "what is the feminist contribution to IR theory?" he responded that "feminists offer not a new and revised theory of international political theory but a sometimes interesting interpretation of what goes on internationally."³ Unfortunately, Waltz's late 1990s statement still reflects a lingering common belief among some IR scholars that feminist contributions to the field are marginal.⁴

My experiences with this lingering marginality made me interested in seeking answers to the following questions: Why, when we think about the history of international politics, we mostly think of great white men? Why have women been 'hidden' in IR until recently? And why is the work of feminist IR scholars still devalued in some quarters of the field? Tickner has argued that the exclusion of women in IR could be attributed to the attempt of US IR scholars in the post-World War II period to adopt a more scientific methodology. This contrasts with feminist perspectives that "demonstrate a preference

² Fred Halliday, "Hidden from international relations: women and the international arena," In: F Halliday, ed., *Rethinking International Relations* (London, UK: Macmillan Education UK, 1994): 420.

³ Fred Halliday and Justin Rosenberg, "Interview with Ken Waltz conducted by Fred Halliday and Justin Rosenberg," *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 24, Issue 03 (1998): 386.

⁴ Marysia Zalewski, "Where is Woman in International Relations? 'To Return as a Woman and Be Heard'," *Millennium - Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 27, Issue 4 (1998): 858.

for more humanistically oriented methodologies.”⁵ The ontology of the dominant Realist school of International Relations which views the international system as comprised of unitary states functioning in an asocial, anarchical international setting, offers little entry points for feminist theories.⁶ To counter this seemingly gender-neutral (and people-less) imaginary of the international system, early feminist IR scholarship focused on “how military conflict and the behavior of states in the international system are constructed through, or embedded in, unequal gendered structural relations and how these affect the life chances of individuals, particularly women.”⁷ Given that such scholarship reflects a normative orientation towards gender and social justice, this is in conflict with traditionalists in the field who are desperately attempting to resemble the natural sciences. An additional explanation for why women are ‘hidden’ from IR, according to Halliday, is institutional inertia. As he observed over two decades ago, “as long as a virtually complete silence on the issue exists those concerned with it are either discouraged from working on it, or choose to do so in extra-academic contexts or within other, more receptive, academic disciplines.”⁸ Things have been changing since then given the rise of substantial bodies of work in the areas of feminist security studies and feminist global political economy as well as the inclusion of feminist perspectives in a range of IR introductory and advanced texts.⁹ Even in my own department, there are now enough feminist professors such as Dr. Anne Runyan to enable the creation of a Feminist Comparative and International Politics concentration just launched at the University of Cincinnati. This concentration enables critical reflection on, for example, who and what is (in)secured by dominant approaches to international security? What are the relationships between inequalities of all forms and the global political economy? What are the relationships between human rights and human security?

Still the problem of women’s exclusion from IR goes further and deeper, making such programs within Political Science undergraduate and graduate programs, and a critical mass of feminist professors

⁵ Tickner 1997: 615.

⁶ Tickner 1997: 616.

⁷ Tickner 1997: 616.

⁸ Halliday 1994: 419.

⁹ e.g. Laura Sjoberg, *Gender and International Security: Feminist Perspectives* (New York: Routledge, 2010); V. Spike Peterson, “Transgressing Boundaries: Theories of Knowledge, Gender and International Relations,” *Millennium – Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 21, Issue 2 (1992): 183-183; Anne Sisson Runyan and V. Spike Peterson, *Global Gender Issues in the New Millennium* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2014).

in them, still rare. Despite many decades of feminist political theory (and centuries of feminist thought), it remains difficult to fundamentally disturb the core historical assumptions made by political theorists regarding human nature, rationality, and the family and its relation to societies and politics. Historically, “men have been seen as the knowers; what has counted as legitimate knowledge, in both the natural and social sciences, has generally been knowledge based on the lives of men in the public sphere.”¹⁰ As Gillian Youngs notes, “At least since Aristotle, the codification of man as “master” [subject] and woman as “matter” [object] has powerfully naturalized/ de-politicized man’s exploitation of women, other men, and nature.”¹¹ Moreover, human nature as defined by philosophers such as Aristotle, Aquinas, Machiavelli, Locke, Rousseau, Hegel, and

“Despite many decades of feminist political theory (and centuries of feminist thought), it remains difficult to fundamentally disturb the core historical assumptions made by political theorists regarding human nature, rationality, and the family and its relation to societies and politics.”

others, refers only to male human nature.¹² Therefore, all the rights and desires attributed to human nature did not apply to women. This according to Okin led to the persistent trend in the study of politics “to make allegedly general statements as if the human race were not divided into two sexes, and then either to ignore the female sex altogether, or proceed to discuss it in terms not at all consistent with the assertions that have been made about ‘man’ and ‘humanity’.”¹³ Of course, now we know there are more than two sexes and genders, but the (white, Western) male norm persists.

Another key reason women have been missing from IR until recently is the public-private divide and the

¹⁰ Tickner 1997: 621.

¹¹ Gillian Youngs, “Feminist International Relations: a contradiction in terms? Or: why women and gender are essential to understanding the world ‘we’ live in,” *International Affairs*, Vol. 80, Issue 1 (2004): 81.

¹² Susan Moller Okin, *Women in Western Political Thought* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979): 5.

¹³ Okin 1979: 7.

privileging of the public over the private. The private sphere, which mainly refers to the household and family life, is imagined as separate from the public sphere of politics and work. The assignment of biological sexes to these realms creates “the perception of women as primarily suited to fulfil special ‘female’ functions within the home, and consequently to the justification of the monopoly by men of the whole outside world.”¹⁴ This dichotomy between public and private spheres fortified by the seventeenth century scientific revolution has resulted in the “gendering of political agency and influence in profound ways. This is a problem when we think of internal state politics but it is amplified in international relations, the so-called realm of high politics, where women have had least presence and direct impact.”¹⁵ As Okin proposes, political theorists perceive private sphere “relationships—no matter how much power or authority they involve—as being outside the sphere of the political.”¹⁶ What we now know is that the personal is political and

¹⁴ Okin 1979: 275.

¹⁵ Youngs 2004: 83.

¹⁶ Okin 1979: 281.

Strange Bedfellows: Women in International Governance

By Catia C. Confortini, Wellesley College

Since before winning the right to vote, women have fought for inclusion in international politics. They have done so particularly in the processes and institutions of global governance as they emerged in the wake of World War I. Their demands explicitly and fundamentally represented a challenge to power politics, as they were always tied to the quest for the creation of a more just and peaceful world order. Yet women also struggled with the question of why inclusion was important. Was it because women had something unique to contribute to the cause of peace or was it, rather, a matter of rights and justice?

One argument posited that women, by virtue of their nature or socialization as mothers and nurturers, had an affinity and preference for peace. This position has often been labeled essentialist, because it relies on arguments about presumed women’s essential characteristics and viewpoints. A different basis for women’s inclusion in international political institutions relied on notions of justice and rights. Women, as full human beings, in all their differences, were entitled to political rights on an equal footing as men and had equally valuable contributions to make to the cause of peace. Since

“the personal is international.”¹⁷ Countless empirical studies have shown how “women’s work” shores up militarism and militarization, global capitalism, neocolonialism, and global warming, but also how women’s movements have countered these gendered (and raced, classed, and sexualized) international systems of power.

In conclusion, if we want women and their work to be valued in IR, we need to continue to challenge and change the very core constructions of political philosophy. As Spike Peterson and Anne Runyan state, “women/femininity cannot simply be added to constructions that are constituted as masculine: the public sphere, rationality, political identity, objectivity, ‘economic man’.”¹⁸ A transformation in the construction of these theses is needed in order to fully include women in IR.

¹⁷ Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*, 2nd Edition (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2014).

¹⁸ Peterson and Runyan 2014: 77.

peace was only meaningful in the presence of justice, broadly conceived, there could be no peace without gender justice.

These two positions have always co-existed side-by-side, and have been in productive tension within the women’s movement, which has debated both the political implications and the strategic value of relying on gender stereotypes to advance political arguments. On the one hand, rights-based arguments may find little resonance or political uptake in a world that takes gender differences for granted. On the other hand, anti-essentialist feminists have claimed that associating women with peace would have the effect to devalue both women and peace, leaving gender subordination and the war system intact. Furthermore, the essentialist argument falsely homogenizes women’s experiences and disregards their agency in war and peace.

Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), the longest-operating international women’s peace organization, has embodied both women’s efforts toward inclusion in global governance and the ideological tensions over the reasons for doing so. Born in 1915, when women from the suffrage, social work and socialist movements, met in The Hague in an effort to stop World War I, WILPF immediately embarked on what it saw as the twin goals of peace and women’s substantive participation in world politics. At the

end of the war, and despite their objections to both the terms of the peace treaty and the covenant of the League of Nations, as internationalists, WILPF women supported the creation of the League. In the interwar period, WILPF's struggles for disarmament, the peaceful resolution of conflicts, national self-determination and a new world order based on the "ministration to human needs"¹ rested as well on demands for the equal representation of women inside the League. When women of WILPF intervened on policy questions, they did so in their capacity as women, who also happened to believe that the creation of a peaceful and just international system was both an imperative and possible.

"...women peace activists have made the case for a different kind of international politics, one willing to sacrifice ideological purity or power in order to amplify the complexities and varieties of lived experiences of politics, war and peace."

And yet WILPFers articulated both essentialist and rights-based rationales for their demands. For example, Anita Augspurg who had in earlier years argued for women's political emancipation based on equal human rights,² in 1924 attributed the causes of war to the "destructive tendencies in the masculine mentality," which could only be remedied to by women's "inner devotion to the right." Hence the construction of a new international order and new international institutions, had to bring "into equilibrium ... the influence of men and women."³

At around the same time, instead, Catherine Marshall was not content to have women represented in the League of Nations, just for the sake of a nominal diversity. Neither was she content to have token women consulted to "ascertain 'The Woman's' view."⁴ Marshall claimed that women's

inclusion at all decision-making levels of the League of Nations should happen not as a matter of concession or political expediency, but as a matter of right and in order to represent the diversity of human experiences.

These two competing rationales co-existed in productive tension as WILPF engaged in political initiatives, alone or in coalitions with other women's organizations, on a number of issues, including disarmament, forced labor, migration, minorities, arbitration, political economy and other matters. At the outbreak of World War II, WILPF's strongest divide, and one that almost obliterated the organization, was between absolute pacifists and those who, reluctantly, supported the war effort against fascism. Their feminist disagreements were lived contentiously but not in fatal opposition to each other, except for a brief moment.

At WILPF's first congress after the war, held in Luxembourg in 1946, the women framed their first debate about the need and rationale for a women's organization around essentialist and rights-based arguments. J. Repelaer van Driel of the Dutch section claimed that if peace efforts were associated to women, men would "raise their shoulders and judge those groups and their efforts as 'really feminine,' 'sentimental' or 'out of touch with reality.'"⁵ Mildred Scott Olmsted from the US, instead, convinced her fellow WILPFers of the need for a women's peace organization, using maternalist and essentialist rhetoric.⁶ That WILPFers voted to continue the organization was not an indication that these tensions had disappeared, however.

As one of the first non-government organizations to be granted consultative status with United Nations' ECOSOC—a status that it has maintained to this day—WILPF continued its participation in women's joint initiatives on a multitude of issues. Starting in the 1970s, WILPF attended all the UN women's conferences, insisting on a peace platform that was sometimes resisted by other organizations but not exclusively on anti-essentialist grounds. The efforts of women's coalitions to push institutions of global governance to include women in their ranks and in formal peace processes, and to recognize women's roles and diversity of needs and vulnerabilities in violent conflict and in peacebuilding culminated with United Nations Security Council Resolution

¹ Jane Addams, quoted in: Gertrude Bussey and Margaret Tims, *Pioneers for Peace: Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1915-1965* (London, UK: WILPF British Section, 1980): 73.

² Amira Gelblum, "Ideological Crossroads: Feminism, Pacifism, and Socialism," in: B. Melman, ed., *Borderlines: Genders and Identities in War and Peace, 1870-1930* (New York and London: Routledge, 1998): 307-328.

³ Cited in Bussey and Tims 1980: 47.

⁴ Bussey and Tims 1980: 75.

⁵ Quoted in Catia C. Confortini, *Intelligent Compassion: Feminist Critical Methodology in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom* (New York and London: Oxford University Press, 2012): 42.

⁶ Confortini 2012: 42-43.

(UNSCR) 1325, and a series of subsequent resolutions, all centered on women, war, and peace processes. In a sense, what came to be known as the “Women, Peace and Security Agenda” of the UN, though a milestone for the women’s peace movement, did not resolve the tensions that permeated women’s debates on peace through the 20th and into the 21st century. In fact, feminist critiques of the agenda still revolve around these tensions: with a focus on women as either victims or peacemakers, rather than on gender relations of power, the resolutions fail to challenge a gender regime that is at the root of both women’s subordination and wars.

And, yet, UNSCR 1325 is also “the product of and the armature for a massive mobilization of women’s political energies.”⁷ Working with and through the tensions between essentialist and rights-based arguments, women peace activists have made the case for a different kind of international politics, one willing to sacrifice ideological purity or power in order to amplify the complexities and varieties of lived experiences of politics, war and peace.

⁷ Carol Cohn, “Feminist Peacemaking,” *Women’s Review of Books*, Vol. 21, Issue 5 (2004): 8.

Interviews of IHAP Award Winners 2015

Eric Grynawski's book *Constructive Illusions: Misperceiving the Origins of International Cooperation* won the IHAP Best Book Award. He received his PhD in Political Science from Ohio State and is currently Assistant Professor of Political Science and International Affairs at George Washington University.



1. How did you become interested in the intersection between international history and politics? How did you become interested in your particular project?

Answering this question needs some context. *Constructive Illusions* began as a second year seminar paper, turned dissertation, turned book. The central theoretical claims remained the same throughout. IR scholars tend to assume that misperception drives conflict and explore pathways from specific kinds of misperception to war or the breakdown of regimes and institutions. Yet, misperception is likely very common in international politics, even in cases where there is peace and robust cooperation. My hunch was that misperception might ameliorate conflict, by allowing states to overlook conflicts of interest or ideological disagreements. I thought (and still think) that this has very significant implications for thinking about shared ideas or intersubjectivity and its role in theories of international politics.

The turn to international history came from grappling with the question about how to test the theoretical claims. The seminar paper that was the nucleus of the book had no empirical evidence. If I recall, the empirical illustrations referenced British, French and German views about the EMU, building on Thomas Risse's work. It took more than a year to figure out that the work needed to be historical, longer to focus on détente, and then some time to figure out the best approach to primary source evidence. I was fortunate that there was high-quality secondary source literature. The work slowly became more historical as I realized that the even the best secondary literature never asked the questions I wanted to ask. Therefore, I needed to produce

original evidence, which in turn meant engagement with international history.

2. How did you navigate the tension between detailed historical research and macro theoretical claims; between contingency and generalizability?

I want to focus on the question of generalizability. There are different strategies. I focused on an important case. My work was on the ways in which misperceptions can encourage cooperation. I chose a case where the conventional wisdom posits that misperception often undoes cooperation, specifically arms control in the cold war. Work on arms control, from Schelling forward, emphasized the importance of trust, information, and communication. It was therefore an appropriate venue to test the inverse argument, which is that sometimes cooperation is premised on illusions mutual understanding. If one can show that our theoretical claims are wrong in the "paradigmatic" cases, then it should cast doubt on other cases as well.

I want to add that I often question the role of generalizability in qualitative work in general, and work at the intersection of political science and history in particular. Generalizability is of course useful. Yet, one wonders whether a book about the origins of the European Union, the start of the cold war, or the role of the East India Company really needs to be generalizable to be a great book. The literature on qualitative methods I worry often does not highlight the value of different kinds of qualitative work. The way I think about the role of qualitative, historical work is whether the central claims travel. When I read a book on cases outside of my area, do I learn something new? It might be substantive (new cases or evidence), lead me to question things I formerly took for granted, a new method I might employ in my own work, a new theoretical conclusion that may affect my areas of interest, or a book that is simply cool for some other reason. This work is important if it informs future work, even if the causal claims are not generalizable.

3. What was the most challenging aspect of working with the historical material?

I was simply unprepared for the fact that the work would be time intensive and all-consuming. When doing any detailed historical work, one really becomes immersed in the politics and the period that one is studying. My son was born while writing the book. I would often park him in his swing next to my desk, and he would fall asleep listening to the

Nixon tapes. Whenever I took a break, I lost the thread of the negotiations, so I needed to do it daily for a year or more. From my experience, it is like entering another world for eight or more hours a day for several years. And, my research wasn't even the kind of immersive work that many others do! I wasn't prepared for this.

The other challenge was the basic logic of archival work. Learning to handle evidence is so different from the way that most methods texts describe the process. Most of the qualitative methods books I consulted I found inadequately prepared me for handling primary sources.

Take for example the current debates about transparency or archival methods, published in a recent *Security Studies* forum for example. Sometimes these debates emphasize “smoking gun” quotations or tests. If there are smoking guns in the historical record, I have never seen one, ever. Take the example of Kissinger's views about Anti-Ballistic Missile systems. The idea that quotations are evidence strikes me as fundamentally wrong. It is very easy to find quotations from Kissinger that describe the dangers of Anti-Ballistic Missile systems; it is also easy to find quotations where he dismisses those dangers. Which represented Kissinger's views? Did his views change over time? Was he presenting his ideas strategically?

I worry that the conversations today about what constitutes “data” may reinforce the desire for quick and easy answers in the historical record, preventing scholars from really engaging in complex historiographical debates. Our disciplinary conversations imply that if one can provide a picture of a document with a quotation, then one has “replicated” the “analysis.” This in turn implies that historical research is simply assembling snappy quotes. Historically informed research should aim for more. Short article lengths also prevent one from taking seriously historical controversy. Tight word limits reinforce the need for quick, decisive evidence, creating work that, from my perspective, evacuates some of the distinctive value of international history in political science.

Sometimes I think it would be better if we barred the use of snappy quotes for a year to force ourselves to engage more complicated historiographical debates and to think rigorously about different ways to present qualitative evidence. At least I struggled with how to present the evidence in a clear, direct way, while handling rival interpretations of the same material. I didn't expect these problems when first

getting into the book because political scientists seem to take for granted that there is an easy way to do this.

4. What was the most unexpected thing you found in conducting your historical research?

When writing *Constructive Illusions*, I was surprised by how much I liked doing original, primary source research. Even though one is sitting alone, on a porch, in an office, or at an archives, there is a daily drama as one comes to grips with the material that is hard to explain. It also reinforced to me that political scientists need substantive knowledge to do work well. Our classes on methods and theory are wonderful. Yet, one worries that our graduate students are frequently surprised when they transition from classwork to dissertation work about the complexity of international history. At least I was surprised. I am not sure how to incorporate coursework addressing substantive topics earlier or whether it even should be incorporated, but it strikes me as fundamental to the enterprise of explanation to know quite a bit about the kind of things that need to be explained.

5. What advice would you offer to more junior scholars interested in working at the intersection of international history and politics? (Consider, for instance, the best advice you received in the past or the advice you wish you might have received).

The best advice I received was to dive into the empirical work early in the project. Once one decides to work on a historical case and begins to read the historical record—meeting minutes, listening to tapes, reading memoirs and biographies, newspaper accounts and so on—one can quickly discover that the most well-formed theories and carefully crafted observable implications are inappropriate. Whenever I do historical work, the first pass through the archival record shows me that my initial approach is wrong. It's humbling. So one needs to dive in early so that one can get a feel for what kinds of records might be useful, where they are, and what surprising kinds of evidence you might find.

Nicholas L. Miller's article "The Secret Success of Nonproliferation Sanctions" published in *International Organizations* in 2014 won the IHAP Best Article Award. Nicholas received his PhD in Political Science from MIT and is currently the Frank Stanton Assistant Professor of Nuclear Security and Policy at Brown University.



1. How did you become interested in the intersection between international history and politics? How did you become interested in your particular project?

I was interested in history and foreign policy from a very young age. I spent a lot of time as a teenager reading historical fiction and Cold War memoirs. When I was in college, this naturally led me to take a lot of classes on history and international relations. I ended up writing a senior thesis on US nonproliferation policy, which involved a fair amount of documentary research using the *Foreign Relations of the United States* volumes and the *National Security Archive*. This experience solidified for me that I was passionate about historical research. When I was in graduate school, I returned to the same topic in a much more theoretical and analytically rigorous fashion, which ultimately led to the article/dissertation project.

I was drawn to the topic of US nonproliferation policy for a number of reasons: (1) it was highly policy relevant, given ongoing efforts to halt or reverse North Korean or Iranian programs, (2) there were great historical works by people like Frank Gavin and Hal Brands but very little systematic social science that attempted to analyze US policy, (3) there was a huge amount of fascinating declassified information available for study, and (4) the topic speaks to important theoretical questions in international relations on issues such as coercive diplomacy and the relative impact of domestic vs. international factors in shaping foreign policy. Likely because of these reasons, I was by no means the only person digging into this topic. In the past few years, there have been a number of excellent works that cut into this topic from various angles, including research by Gene Gerzhoy, Andrew Coe, Jane Vaynman, Or Rabinowitz, and Frank Gavin.

2. How did you navigate the tension between detailed historical research and macro theoretical claims; between contingency and generalizability?

It's always a challenge to find the proper balance between generalization/abstraction and the complexity and richness that is inherent in actual historical events. My approach to this is to be sensitive to the fact that the opportunities and constraints facing states in international politics have changed over time and to explicitly theorize about these differences, placing them front and center in my research rather than treating them as a nuisance or part of the "error term." For example, the article (and the broader project it comes out of) focuses on how US nonproliferation policy has changed over time, and how this has changed the balance of incentives and constraints facing states that may have nuclear ambitions.

Specifically, a major turning point occurred in the late 1970s, when the Indian nuclear test led the United States to adopt much firmer nonproliferation policies, which were written into US legislation through the Symington and Glenn Amendments to the US Foreign Assistance Act and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Act. Collectively, this raft of legislation mandated cut-offs in economic aid, military aid, and peaceful nuclear exports to countries that did not comply with US nonproliferation dictates, meaning that nuclear aspirants would have to choose between the arduous and risky path to a nuclear arsenal and continued US economic and military support. As a result of these policies, I argue that countries dependent on the United States have been deterred from pursuing nuclear weapons since the late 1970s. While it is impossible to pinpoint precisely which countries would have pursued nuclear weapons in the absence of these policies, there are some plausible candidates with strong technological capabilities and threatening security environments, for example South Korea, Turkey, Egypt, Taiwan, and Japan. Consistent with the idea that states dependent on Washington have been deterred, since the late 1970s only countries that do not rely on US support have initiated nuclear weapons programs: namely Iran, Iraq, North Korea, and Syria. This stands in stark contrast to the period prior to the late 1970s, when many US friends and allies pursued nuclear weapons despite reliance on the United States, for example Britain, France, Pakistan, Australia, South Korea, and Taiwan.

3. What was the most challenging aspect of working with the historical material?

Much of my research is about the diplomatic interactions between the United States and countries that are seeking to develop nuclear weapons. While there is enough declassified material on the American side for me to be relatively confident about what was driving US behavior and what policy tools US policymakers utilized, it is usually much more difficult to get a handle on what was driving decision makers on the other side of the table. In addition to my own language limitations, there is often a paucity of declassified material, both due to the high degree of secrecy regarding nuclear weapons programs and differences in national policies regarding declassification.

For instance, one of the cases I look at in the article and book project is Taiwan. Because of a lack of declassified sources, there is still a significant amount of uncertainty with respect to the internal dynamics and strategy driving the Taiwanese nuclear program in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, and scholars disagree about the motivations behind and the intensity with which Taiwan sought nuclear weapons. While this problem is not fully surmountable without more information about Taiwanese decision-making, I believe the best approach available is to triangulate among secondary sources on Taiwan and US declassified material, which sometimes includes information from sources within the Taiwanese government. Given the inherent limitations of this strategy, we should always be willing to change our conclusions in response to new evidence that may emerge.

4. What was the most unexpected thing you found in conducting your historical research?

Although it's more related to the broader dissertation/book project than to this specific article, I was surprised at how much pressure the United States put on Israel to halt its nuclear weapons program in the 1960s. I was aware of much of this from Avner Cohen's great book, *Israel and the Bomb*, but my research into other cases made clear how strong US pressure was in a comparative sense. US threats to abandon Israel were actually more explicit than were threats against other US allies like Pakistan, Taiwan, South Korea, or West Germany. In these latter cases, threats would often be communicated by mid-level officials and/or would be indirect in the sense that diplomats would often warn that Congress would demand sanctions (as

opposed to action being driven by the executive branch). In the Israel case, by contrast, Secretary of State Dean Rusk bluntly told an Israeli diplomat in 1966, "[I]f Israel is holding open the nuclear option, it should forget US support. We would not be with you" (Telegram from the Department of State to the Embassy in Israel, July 28, 1966, FRUS 1964–1968, Vol. 18, p. 623). Finding this degree of directness and harshness was surprising since there is a common belief that the United States "looked the other way" with respect to Israel's nuclear program in the 1960s. This mistaken belief is probably driven by what happened later: in 1969, Nixon agreed to stop pressing Israel over its nuclear program if it would agree to keep its arsenal secret and untested, and Israel and the United States subsequently entered into a much closer security relationship.

While US threats proved ineffective in halting Israel's weapons program in the 1960s, I believe that this has more to do with the lack of US leverage over Israel at the time given that Washington would not provide a formal security guarantee and had only recently begun to sell Israel substantial amounts of weaponry.

5. What advice would you offer to more junior scholars interested in working at the intersection of international history and politics? (Consider, for instance, the best advice you received in the past or the advice you wish you might have received).

Particularly for those interested in US foreign policy, my advice is simple: take advantage of the massive amount of declassified documents available online through the *Foreign Relations of the United States*, the *National Security Archive*, the *Cold War International History Project*, and the *Declassified Documents Reference System*, among other resources. Graduate students and scholars who are historically oriented are surely already using these resources, in addition to physical archives. However, my sense is that there are a large number of more quantitatively and theoretically oriented scholars who are either unaware of these resources or are intimidated by documentary research. It amazes me how many articles/books rely so heavily on secondary sources, when the primary sources are often literally at the author's fingertips. In addition to adding valuable richness to our scholarship, consulting archival sources sensitizes us to the complexity of international politics and allows us to more directly assess whether policymakers talk and behave in the ways our theories predict.

This year's IHAP award winners are as follows:

The 2016 Best Article in International History and Politics

Andrew Phillips and Jason Sharman "Explaining Durable Diversity in International Systems: State, Company, and Empire in the Indian Ocean," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 59, Issue 3 (2015): 436-448.

Honorable mention:

Michael Beckley, "The Myth of Entangling Alliances: Reassessing the Security Risks of U.S. Defense Pacts," *International Security*, Vol. 39, Issue 4 (Spring 2015): 7-48.

The 2016 Robert L. Jervis and Paul W. Schroeder Best Book Award (Joint Winners)

Andrew Phillips and Jason Sharman

International Order in Diversity: War, Trade and Rule in the Indian Ocean (Cambridge University Press, 2016).

Ronald Krebs

Narrative and the Making of U.S. National Security (Cambridge University Press, 2015).

Call for 2017 Section Prize nominations:

Outstanding Article Award in International History and Politics

The Outstanding Article Award in International History and Politics recognizes exceptional peer-reviewed journal articles representing the mission of the International History and Politics Section of the American Political Science Association, including innovative work that brings new light to events and processes in international politics, encourages interdisciplinary conversations between political scientists and historians, and advances historiographical methods. The Outstanding Article Award is given to a published article that appeared in print in the calendar year preceding the APSA meeting at which the award is presented. It may be granted to an article that is single- or co-authored. The year of final journal publication, as detailed by print citation, establishes eligibility.

Nomination Instructions: Nominations including a brief description of the significance of the article and a digital copy of the article should be sent to all Award Committee members before the annual deadline.

Deadline for nominations: January 31, 2017

Award Committee:

Daryl Press, Chair
Dartmouth College
daryl.press@dartmouth.edu

Fiona Adams
University of London, SOAS
fa33@soas.ac.uk

Ryan Griffiths
University of Sydney
ryan.griffiths@sydney.edu.au

Robert L. Jervis and Paul W. Schroeder Best Book Award

The Robert L. Jervis and Paul Schroeder Best Book Award for the best book on International History and Politics. This award may be granted to a single-authored or multi-authored book, or to an edited volume. The award will be given to works published in the calendar year prior to the year of the APSA meeting at which the award is presented. The copyright date of a book will establish the relevant year. Hence, books with a 2016 copyright date will be eligible for the award presented at the 2017 APSA meeting. To be considered for the award, nominations must be received by January 31, 2017.

Nomination Instructions: Nominations for the Jervis-Schroeder Book award (including three copies of cover letters and books) should be sent directly to the Award Committee Members.

Deadline for nominations: January 31, 2017

Award Committee:

Lise Howard, Chair
Department of Government
Georgetown University
37th and O Streets NW
Washington, DC 20057
lmh2@georgetown.edu

Brian Burgoon / AISSR
University of Amsterdam
Political Science
Room B.8.05
PO Box 15718
1001 NE Amsterdam
Netherlands
b.m.burgoon@uva.nl

Ian Chong
National University of Singapore
10 Kent Ridge Crescent
Singapore 119260
polcji@nus.edu.sg

Upcoming Events and Workshops

NOVEMBER 2016

(NPSA) Northeastern Political Science Association
Annual Meeting
*November 10th-11th: Omni Parker House
Boston, Massachusetts, USA*
[More Information](#)

Georgia Political Science Association Annual
Conference 2016
*November 10th-12th: Hilton Garden Inn
Savannah, Georgia, USA*
[More Information](#)

ISA Midwest Annual Conference 2016
*November 18th-19th: The Hilton at the Ballpark
St. Louis, Missouri, USA*
[More Information](#)

5th EISA Exploratory Symposia
*November 2nd-5th: Rapallo, Italy
Rapallo, Italy*
[More Information](#)

JANUARY 2017

American Politics Group Annual Meeting
Change and Continuity in US Politics
*January 5th-7th: University of Leicester
Leicester, United Kingdom*
[More Information](#)

10th Annual Conference on the Political Economy of
International Organizations
*January 12th-14th: University of Bern
Bern, Switzerland*
[More Information](#)

FEBRUARY 2017

14th Annual Teaching and Learning Conference
The 21st Century Classroom: Creating an Engaging
Environment for All Students
*February 10th-12th: The Westin Long Beach
Long Beach, California, USA*
[More Information](#)

ISA 58th Annual Convention 2017
Understanding Change in World Politics
*February 22nd-25th: Hilton Baltimore
Baltimore, Maryland, USA*
[More Information](#)

MARCH 2017

International Symposium: US-Russian Relations in
Global Context
*March 16th- 17th: Kennesaw State University
Kennesaw, Georgia, USA*
[More Information](#)

Society for Applied Anthropology 77th Annual
Meeting: Trails, Traditions and New Directions
*March 28th-April 1st: La Fonda on the Plaza Hotel
Santa Fe, New Mexico, USA*
[More Information](#)

APRIL 2017

MPSA 75th Annual Conference
April 6th-9th: Palmer House Hilton
Chicago, IL, USA
[More Information](#)

Political Studies Association 2017 Conference
Politics in Interesting Times
*April 10th-12th: University of Strathclyde
Glasgow, United Kingdom*
[More Information](#)

Southwestern Social Science Association Annual
Meeting: Social Science and Social Change
*April 12th-15th: Hyatt Regency
Austin, Texas, USA*
[More Information](#)

(UAA) 47th Annual Conference of the Urban
Affairs Association
*April 19th-22nd: Hyatt Regency Minneapolis Hotel
Minneapolis, Minnesota, USA*
[More Information](#)