

**SHAFR 2025  
Draft Program**

**Thursday, June 26**

**10:00am–4:00pm Registration**

**10:00am–5:00pm Book Exhibit**

**9:30am–11:00am Past Presidents Brunch**

**10:00am–11:00am International Members Coffee Klatch**

**11:00am–12:30pm Session I**

**Panel 1: International History in the Middle East and the Middle East in International History**

Chair: Melvyn Leffler, University of Virginia

Or Rabinowitz, Hebrew University

Protecting the Nuclear Monopoly: The Evolution of Israel's Counter-proliferation Policy

Samuel Helfont, The Naval War College

Development of a Middle Eastern Way of Statecraft

Brandon Friedman, Tel Aviv University

U.S.-Saudi Relations, 1973–2024: An Applied History

Comment: Peter Hahn, The Ohio State University

**Panel 2: Roundtable: U.S. Foreign Policy and the Undermining of Democracy**

Chair: Kimber Quinney, California State University, San Marcos

Betsy Archelus, Brown University

Alan McPherson, Temple University

Ben Arthur Thomason, Bowling Green State University

**Panel 3: Foreign Policy, Humanitarianism, and the American Century**

Chair and Comment: Julia Irwin, Louisiana State University

Emmanuel Destenay, Sorbonne University

Schooling the World: Foreign Children, Humanitarianism, and the Americanization of the World

Branden Little, Weber State University

Herbert Hoover, Henry Luce, and the Humanitarian Foundations of the “American Century,” 1940–46

Michael McGuire, Mount Saint Mary College

Harmful Humanitarians: American Aid Workers, “Inhumane” Activity, and Foreign Relations in the Great War Era, 1917–1922.

Lauren Turek, Trinity College

Appealing to “The Great Plight of the Children” in Foreign Aid Spending Debates

**Panel 4: Roundtable: In Living Color: How Scholars of Mixed-Descent Expand Our Understanding of History**

Chair: Christy Pichichero, George Mason University

Michelle Moyd, Michigan State University

Sabrina Thomas, Texas Tech University

Cameron Zinsou, US Army and Command and General Staff College

Ashleigh Williams, George Mason University

**Panel 5: Belonging not Excluded: National, International and Transnational Women Diplomacy through War and Peace during the 20th Century**

Chair and Comment: Ilaria Scaglia, Aston University

Crystal Brandenburgh, Carnegie Mellon University

Domestic Diplomacy: How Former Suffragists Turned Foreign Policy into a Woman’s Job

Diana Cucuz, Toronto Metropolitan University

Female Hostesses in the Heart of Moscow: Selling Citizen Diplomacy and Consumer Culture to Russian Women through the American National Exhibition, 1959

Camelia Lenart, State University of New York at Albany

Belonging, Mending and Expanding Black Cultural Diplomacy beyond the Iron Curtain: Judith Jamison’s Tour to Romania in 1977

**Panel 6: Roundtable: What do Children Know About Empire?: International Children and Youths as Historical Actors in U.S. Foreign Relations**

Chair: Brian Rouleau, Texas A&M University

Robert Diaz, University of Michigan

Olivia Anne M. Habana, Ateneo de Manila University

Eleanor Eriko Lenoe, Rutgers University

Molly Thacker, Georgetown University and Wakefield High School

**Panel 7: Soil, Sovereignty, and Security: Exploring Environmental Histories of U.S. Empire**

Chair: Frank Gerits, Utrecht University

Kristin Oberiano, Wesleyan University

The Genre of the Environmental Survey

Dante LaRiccia, Yale University

Oil, Empire, and Anti-Colonial Environmentalism between Puerto Rico and Palau

Ian Seavey, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley

Commonwealth of Calamity: Hurricane Santa Clara and the Cold War Politics of Disaster in Puerto Rico

Comment: Dario Fazzi, Leiden University

### **Panel 8: Global Asias and U.S. Foreign Relations**

Chair: Hannah Kim, University of Delaware

Madeline Hsu, University of Maryland

Meredith Oyen, University of Maryland, Baltimore County

Mark Tseng-Putterman, University of Pennsylvania

Reanne Zheng, University of Illinois

### **Panel 9: The Ford Foundation and the Cold War: A Roundtable on Methodological Approaches**

Chair: Gregory F. Domber, California Polytechnic State University

Timothy Barney, University of Richmond

The Discourse of Human Rights and the Ford Foundation's Reach into Cold War Central and Eastern Europe

Nicole Sackley, University of Richmond

Mapping the Ford Foundation's Grantmaking in Eastern and Central Europe, 1952–1994

Mark Sidel, University of Wisconsin-Madison

The Ford Foundation in South Vietnam, 1958–1975

### **Panel 10: SHAFR Beyond the Anglosphere**

*Co-sponsored by Modern North American History Seminar of Sciences Po Paris and Roosevelt Institute for American Studies, Netherlands*

Chair: Mario Del Pero, Sciences Po Paris

Participants TBD

Zoom Session

### **12:50pm–2:20pm Session II**

### **Panel 11: Roundtable: Administering America's Empire: The Bureaucracy of Global Power**

Chair: Holger Droessler, Worcester Polytechnic Institute

Alvita Akiboh, Yale University

Allison Powers Useche, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Jessica Wang, University of British Columbia

Kristen Iemma, Max Planck Institute for the History of Science

**Panel 12: Thirty Years after Dayton: The History and Legacy of 1990s Interventionism in the Yugoslav Wars**

Chair and Comment: Mary Elizabeth Walters, Air Command and Staff College

Jonathan Esty, Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies

Crossing the Unilateralist Rubicon? The Kosovo War, Sino-Russian Opposition, and the Return of Great Power Competition

Charles D. Laubach, The Ohio State University

Showing Resolve: The Use of NATO Air Power in Safe Area Goražde, April 1994

Drew Brozovich, Southern Methodist University

Navigating the Storm: The Croatian Offensive's Role in Clinton's 1995 Endgame Strategy

**Panel 13: Imperial Horizons: Law, Sovereignty, and Territoriality in the Antebellum U.S. Global Empire, 1819–1861**

Chair and Comment: Gautham Rao, American University

Roger Bailey, The Citadel

"The Appearance of a Recognition": US Naval Intervention in Liberia, 1819–1861

Claire Wolnisty, Austin College

Texas Trade: The International Trade in Enslaved Persons in the Early Nineteenth-Century Western Hemisphere

Michael Verney, Drury University

Cartographic Conflict: The US North Pacific Exploring Expedition, International Law, and Territorial Conflict in Japan, 1853–1855

**Panel 14: Transnational Contestations Linking Palestine, Israel, and the USA since 1947**

Chair and Comment: Karine Walter, Georgetown University School of Foreign Service, Qatar

Geoffrey Levin, Emory University

A Voice from Palestine in America: Fayez Sayegh and Arab Public Diplomacy, 1948–1980

Arash Azizi, Boston University

Iran's Israel Debate and US-Iranian Relations, 1947–1979

Doug Rossinow, Metro State University

Phases of Hasbara: U.S. Zionists Argue Israel's Cause, 1948–1995  
Marjorie Feld, Babson College  
“True Jewish Opinion”: Jewish Dissent on American Zionism, 1948–1983

**Panel 15: Languages, Literacy, and American Power in the Twentieth Century**

Chair and Comment: David Engerman, Yale University

Valeska Huber, University of Vienna  
Teaching the World to Read: Frank C. Laubach and the Each One Teach One Method

Diana Lemberg, University of St. Andrews  
The Imperial Multilingualism of Global English

Rachel Applebaum, Tufts University  
Cold War in the Classroom: English and Russian Language Teachers in Asian and African Schools

**Panel 16: Pasts, Presents, and Futures of Gender History at SHAFR: A Roundtable**

Chair: Keisha N. Blain, Brown University

Adriane Lentz-Smith, Duke University  
Michele L. Louro, Salem State University  
Heather Salter, Northeastern University  
Kelly J. Shannon, George Washington University

**Panel 17: Hidden Histories: Unauthorized Migrations from Europe to the United States in the Twentieth Century**

Chair and Comment: S. Deborah Kang, University of Virginia

E. Kyle Romero, University of North Florida  
Finding the “Most Desirable” Refugee: Russian Refugees in Constantinople and American Humanitarian Migration Networks

Carly Goodman, Rutgers University-Camden  
Irish Immigrants in the 1980s: Immigration Narratives, Whiteness, and Diversity

Ashley Johnson Bavery, Eastern Michigan University  
From Lebanon to Mexico to the Industrial United States: Transnational Muslim Migration Across North America

**Panel 18: Greening the Atom: Global Nuclear History and the Environment**

Chair and Comment: Toshihiro Higuchi, Georgetown University

Victor McFarland, University of Missouri  
Nuclear Fracking and the Cold War

Jennifer Eaglin, The Ohio State University  
Environmental Concerns and the Brazil-German Nuclear Agreement of 1975

Joseph Bohling, Portland State University

France's Nuclear Wager: Reshaping Energy Markets in an Age of Non-Proliferation,  
1975–1981

**Panel 19: Roundtable: Higher-Ed and the Battle against DEI**

*Sponsored by SHAFR Committee on Access, Representation, and Equity (CARE)*

Chair: Sabrina Thomas, Texas Tech University

Karen Miller, LaGuardia Community College

Marc Reyes, University of Connecticut

Christopher McKnight Nichols, The Ohio State University

Chris Fischer, The College of New Jersey

**2:35pm–4:05pm Session III**

**Panel 20: Council on Foreign Relations-SHAFR Best/Worst Foreign Relations  
Decisions in U.S. History**

*Sponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations*

Chairs: Christopher McKnight Nichols, The Ohio State University and James Lindsay,  
Council on Foreign Relations

Members of the Advisory Board TBD

**Panel 21: Economists as Diplomats**

Chair and Comment: Marc-William Palen, University of Exeter

Sergio Infante, Yale University

“The Cinderella of Underdevelopment”: How the Informal Sector Changed  
Development Thinking

Alessandro Iandolo, University College London

The Soviet State as a “Liberal Subject” in World Trade

Christy Thornton, New York University

“International Murder Foundation”: Protest and Reaction at the IMF and World Bank  
in the 1980s

**Panel 22: Cold War Ideals and U.S. Foreign Relations in Latin America: Human Rights,  
Youth Movements, and Religion**

Chair and Comment: Andrew J. Kirkendall, Texas A&M University

Aitor Valdesogo-Álvarez, University of Notre Dame

From Mississippi to Buenos Aires: Patricia Derian and Carter's Human Rights  
Foreign Policy

Victoria Basulto, University of Notre Dame

A Youth in Crisis: the U.S. and Mexican Right-Wing Youth Movements in the Wake of the Tlatelolco and Corpus Christi Massacres (1968–1971)  
Isabella Villarinho Pereyra, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro  
Family Rosary Crusade and the U.S. Against Communism in Brazil (1962–1964)

**Panel 23: Artificial Intelligence (AI) and the Teaching of U.S. Foreign Relations**

*Sponsored by SHAFR's Teaching Committee*

Chair: Molly Wood, Wittenberg University

Manna Duah, North Carolina Central University

Justin Hart, Texas Tech University

Matthew Masur, St. Anselm College

Kelly McFarland, Georgetown University

Comment: Brian Etheridge, Kennesaw State University

**Panel 24: Alternative Projects of Power in the Late Cold War**

Chair: Sarah Snyder, American University

Comment: Stephen Macekura, Indiana University Bloomington

Emma Orchardson, University of Warwick

“An insignificant ally”: Malawi-US partnership in the Cold War

Audrius Rickus, University of Virginia

The French Quest for a Politicized International Monetary System, 1973–1976

Lucas de Souza Martins, Temple University

Emerging Sovereignties: The U.S. Response to Colombia's 1991 Extradition Ban and Regional Trends at the End of the Cold War

**Panel 25: Pulling in the Colossus: New Perspectives on U.S. Intervention in Latin America**

Chair: Thomas Field, Embry Riddle Aeronautical University

Aaron Coy Moulton, Stephen F. Austin State University

“Don't Worry, They're Still 90 Miles Away:” The US Far Right, Cuban Exiles, and the Monroe Doctrine

Glenn J. Dorn, Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University

“Short Tether” or “Walk Together:” Anaconda, Kennecott, the State Department, and the Chilean Nuevo Trato, 1953–1955

Victoria Saeki-Serna, Georgetown University

The Gringo's Growing Fear: The United States and the 1968 Mexican Student Movement

José De Gracia, University of Pittsburgh

“We Do Not Blame Washington but the Government of the Canal Zone”: Anti-Imperialism and the Anti-Fascist Struggle in World War II Panama

Comment: Alan McPherson, Temple University

**Panel 26: Liberal Imperialism and Its Discontents**

Chair and Comment: Anne Foster, Indiana State University

Patrick Chung, University of Maryland

Production, Consumption, and the U.S. Empire of Standards

Yumi Lee, Villanova University

Hardly War: Liberal Empire and Conquest in Cold War Asia

Karen Miller, LaGuardia Community College

Liberal Imperialism and Internal Migration in the Philippines

Naoko Shibusawa, Brown University

Fundamentalists, Terrorists, Bandits: Troublemakers of Empires

**Panel 27: Reflections on Historiographies of Nuclear Things on the 80th Anniversary of the Atomic Bombings**

Chair: Jayita Sarkar, University of Glasgow

Toshiro Higuchi, Georgetown University

The Nuclear Anthropocene

Ann-Sophie Levidis, Australian National University

Indigenous Quest for Statehood, Sovereignty, and Environmental Justice in the Atomic Pacific

Elisabeth Röhrlich, University of Vienna

Science Diplomacy in the Nuclear Age

Sonja Schmid, Virginia Tech

Writing the Boundary: On the Historiography of the Civilian/Military Nuclear Divide

**Panel 28: From Cold War Liberalism to the Post-Cold War Consensus**

Chair and Comment: Christopher R. W. Dietrich, Fordham University

Daniel Bessner, University of Washington

Power in a Time of Emergency Cold War Liberalism in Historical Perspective

Laila Ballout, Wichita State University,

Daniel Patrick Moynihan and the Development of the Post-Cold War Order

Alistair Hobson, Mississippi State University

The George Shultz Consensus

**6:00pm–9:00pm Keynote Address (Maggie Blackhawk) and Welcome Reception at The Spy Museum**



## Friday, June 27

**8:00am–5:00pm Registration**

**8:00am–5:00pm Book Exhibits**

**7:30am–8:30am *Diplomatic History* Board Meeting**

**8:30am–10:00am Session IV**

**Panel 29: Workshop: Multi-Pathways Careers Mentorship**

**Panel 30: New Approaches to Emotions in International and Global History**

Chair: Andrew Rotter, Colgate University

Ilaria Scaglia, Aston University

Between the Emotional and the Moral: Copying Documents Across Borders, 1860s–1970s

Candace Sobers, Carleton University

“A world that is not what it should be”: Disappointment and Decolonization in Africa, 1950–1960

Daniel Manulak, University of Toronto

Students Against Apartheid: Moral Emotions and Transnational Student Anti-Apartheid Activism, 1977–1986

Comment: Frank Costigliola, University of Connecticut

**Panel 31: Roundtable: Rhodesia’s Unilateral Declaration of Independence: A 60th Anniversary Assessment**

Chair: Carl P. Watts, Air University

Josiah Brownell, The Pratt Institute

Christopher R. W. Dietrich, Fordham University

Eddie Michel, The University of Pretoria

R. Joseph Parrott, The Ohio State University

**Panel 32: Sovereignty, Humanitarianism, and Diplomacy: U.S.-Baltic Relations after World War I**

Chair and Comment: Gregg French, University of Windsor

Piotr Szlaużys, Independent Researcher

Securing Sovereignty: Lithuania’s Path to U.S. Recognition on July 28, 1922

Andrew Huebner, University of North Texas Wooten

Double-Sided: The American Relief Operations in Lithuania, 1919–1921  
Marika Selga, University of Latvia  
Establishing Legal Bases for Cooperation: Challenges and Achievements, the  
Example of the US-Latvia Relations in the 1920s

**Panel 33: Spinning the World: The Public Relations Industry and US Cold War Foreign Relations**

Chair and Comment: Justin Hart, Texas Tech University

Andrew Johnstone, University of Leicester

Promoting the World to America: Hill and Knowlton in the Early Cold War

Alex Marino, United States Army War College

Synergizing Business and Politics: James P. Selva and Cold War Public Relations  
for Foreign Clients

Kelsey Zavelo, Duke University

Lobbying the Corporation: South African Public Diplomacy, U.S. Public Relations,  
and the Making of the Pro-South African Business Front

**Panel 34: Poisoned Memories: 100 Year Anniversary of the 1925 Geneva Protocol**

Chair and Comment: Thomas Faith, Office of the Historian

Aurore Kamichett, University of Montréal

Perception of US Chemical Warfare in French Interwar Newspapers

Christophe Lafaye, University of Burgundy

The limits of the Geneva Protocol: the example of France's chemical war in Algeria  
(1956–1962)

Asher Orkaby, Harvard University

Violating a Taboo: Egypt, Iraq, and Syria

**Panel 35: WTF Moments in 20th and 21st Century Research: Gripes, Complaints, and Possible Paths Forward**

Chair: Samantha Taylor, Johns Hopkins University

Marjorie Galelli, Kansas State University

Sam Helfont, U.S. Naval War College

Julie Prieto, U.S. Department of State

Kate Tietzen-Wisdom, U.S. Army Center of Military History

**Panel 36: Policing Social "Evil": Vice and Morality in U.S. Empire**

Chair and Comment: Justin Jackson, Bard College at Simon's Rock University

Graydon Dennison, College of Charleston

Wicked Patriots: Vice and Anti-Yankee Resistance in Occupied Panama, 1912–1927

Eva Payne, University of Mississippi

Prostitution Policy Experiments in the U.S.-Occupied Caribbean  
Micah Wright, University of Wisconsin-Whitewater  
Responses to Anti-Vice Campaigns under U.S. Occupation, 1912–1924

**Panel 37: Roundtable: Capitalist Circuits in the Postwar Pacific: New Historical Perspectives**

Chair: Patrick Chung, University of Maryland  
Comment: Colleen Woods, University of Maryland

Wen-Qing Ngoei, Singapore Management University  
Jennifer Miller, Dartmouth College  
Zach Fredman, Duke Kunshan University

**Panel 38: Lightning Round**

Chair: TBD

Antonio Carlos Lessa, University of Brasilia  
Contested Modernity: The U.S.-Brazil Conflict over Economic Nationalism and  
Technology Policy, 1975–1995

Andrew Kishuni, Johns Hopkins University  
The Fifth Horseman: Interwar Politics, Secret Diplomacy, and the Origins of  
Chemical and Biological Weapons Policy in the U.S.

Conor D. Hodges, Yale University  
Arresting Decolonization: Narcotics, Illicit Finance, and Military Basing in the Cold  
War West Indies

Bastiaan Bouwman, Utrecht University  
Rights and Reconciliation: Christian Humanitarianism, Human Rights, and  
Expellees in Postwar West Germany

**10:15am–11:45am Session V**

**Panel 39: Roundtable: Multi-Pathways Careers Mentorship**

Chair: Christopher McKnight Nichols, Ohio State University

James Goldgeier, American University  
James Lindsay, Council on Foreign Relations  
James Graham Wilson, U.S. Department of State  
Christopher Shell, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace  
Tanvi Madan, Brookings Institution

**Panel 40: Empire's Unnoticed Agents: Individuals, Institutions, and Power in U.S.-  
Caribbean Relations, 1869–1940**

Chair and Comment: Jason Parker, Texas A&M University

Sabrina Waite, Texas A&M University

The Prized Plum: African American Diplomats in Haiti, 1869–1914

Rosie Click, Georgetown University

Educating Empire: Cuban and Puerto Rican Teachers and the Response to US  
Imperial Rule, 1898–1902

Zachary Logsdon, Purdue University

Janus Faces of Empire: Civil Society Institutions in the American Colonial State in  
Puerto Rico, 1910–1940

**Panel 41: War, Finance, and Infrastructure in the Nineteenth-Century Gulf Caribbean**

Chair: Kristin L. Hoganson, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

María Angela Díaz, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

What Comes After Southern Empire: The Gulf South and the Transnational  
Dimensions Reconstruction

Jessica Lepler, University of New Hampshire

From “The Visionary and the Ass” to “Canal Dreamers”: Writing the History of the  
1820s Quest for an Interoceanic Canal

Kyle Jackson, University of California, Berkeley

The Louisiana Tehuantepec Company: Debt, Diplomacy, and the Infrastructure of  
Expansion

Comment: Amy S. Greenberg, Penn State University

**Panel 42: Visiting Vietnam: The Politics and Diplomacy of Cold War Travel**

Chair and Comment: David L. Anderson, California State University, Monterey Bay

Alex Ferguson, University of Sheffield

Cold War Junketeers: VIP Visitors, Operation Eggshell, and the Franco-American  
Alliance in Vietnam, 1950–54

Lori Maguire, University de Reims Champagne Ardennes

French Visitors to North Vietnam, August 1954–July 1964

Pierre Asselin, San Diego State University

Uncle Ho’s Guests: Wartime US Visitors and the Origins of Vietnam War Orthodoxy

**Panel 43: Selling Germany to "the American." Tourism Diplomacy and Transatlantic  
Relations in the (long) 20th Century**

Chair: Heather L. Dichter, De Montfort University

Mathias Haeussler, University of Regensburg

“Even the Town Sewer Beautiful!” Imperial Germany’s Ill-Fated Quest for Tourists,  
Dollars, and Recognition

Robert Priest, Royal Holloway University of London

The Oberammergau Passion Players and the Parameters of German-American

Reconciliation, 1922–34  
Aimée Plukker, Cornell University  
Freedom, Friendship, and Capitalist Circulation: Advertising Berlin during the Cold War

Comment: William G. Gray, Purdue University

**Panel 44: Roundtable: Integrating Peace and Justice Values in the Writing and Teaching of U.S. Foreign Policy**

*Sponsored by the Peace History Society*

Chair and Comment: Steven J. Brady, George Washington University

Roger Peace, Independent Scholar

U.S. Foreign Policy History & Resource Guide: Writing methodology

Virginia Williams, Winthrop University

Teaching International Relations and Foreign Policy Analysis in Difficult Times

Sahr Conway-Lanz, Swarthmore College

The Swarthmore College Peace Collection and Critical Perspectives on U.S. Foreign Policy

**Panel 45: Unilateralism, Multilateralism, and Non-Intervention in US-Latin American Relations**

Chair: Renata Keller, University of Nevada, Reno

Juan Pablo Scarfi, The Catholic University of Chile

Revolutionizing Non-intervention: US Unilateral Interventionism and the Reconstruction of the Principle of Non-intervention in the Americas at the time of the Mexican Revolution

Allison Powers, University of Wisconsin, Madison

Meanings of Non-Intervention in the Era of the Pan-American Conferences

Benjamin Coates, Wake Forest University

The Cuba Embargo and the Making of Unilateral Sanctions

Comment: Rebecca Herman, University of California, Berkeley

**Panel 46: The Environment and Worldmaking: How Histories of the Environment Can Help Us Understand the History of International Relations**

Chair: Stephen Macekura, Indiana University

Frank Gerits, Utrecht University

Extinction is only coming for Some of Us: How Anticolonial Ideologies framed the Human Environment in the Global North and South (1970s–1980s)

Ruth Morgan, The Australian National University

Rising Seas, Rising Islands: Climate diplomacy at the end of the Cold War

Boyd Ruamcharoen, Massachusetts Institute of Technology  
Weathering Decolonization: Toward a History of Tropical Futures and Tropical  
Internationalisms

Comment: Gretchen Heefner, Northeastern University

**Panel 47: Military Power in Twentieth Century East Asia**

Chair and Comment: Zach Fredman, Duke Kunshan University

Shang (Kaho) Yasuda, University of Pennsylvania

Navigating Overlapping Imperial Spaces: Taiwanese Military Veterans and the U.S.  
Empire, 1930s–1970s

Se Young Jang, University of Vienna

The First North Korean Nuclear Crisis: Quadrilateral Diplomacy between the Two  
Koreas, the IAEA, and the United States

Esther Hu, Boston University/Harvard University

“Soong Mayling, Public Diplomacy, and US-China Relations, 1937–1945

**12:00pm–1:45pm Bernath Lecture (Elisabeth Leake) and Awards**

**2:00pm–3:30pm Session VI**

**Panel 48: Roundtable: Discussion with Series Editors of “SHAFR Books”**

**Chair:** Mitch Lerner, Ohio State University

Benjamin Coates, Wake Forest University

Cornell’s U.S. in World series

Christopher Dietrich, Fordham University

Penn’s Power, Politics, and the World series

Julia Irwin, Louisiana State University

UNC’s InterConnections series

Ryan Irwin, SUNY Albany

Cambridge’s Studies in U.S. Foreign Relations series

Heather Salter, Northeastern University

Cambridge’s Global & International History series

Jay Sexton, University of Missouri

Columbia’s Global America series

**Panel 49: Traditional Military Archives and the Crossover with SHAFR**

*Sponsored by the Society for Military History*

Chair: Kyle Longley, Chapman University

TBD

**Panel 50: Roundtable: New Perspectives on Organized Labor and U.S. Foreign Policy**

*Sponsored by Labor and Working-Class History Association*

Chair: Tejasvi Nagaraja, Cornell University

Sean Raming, University of Notre Dame

Salem Elzway, University of Southern California

Reynolds Nelson Hahamovich, University of Michigan

**Panel 51: Development and the Politics of Sovereignty, Memory, and Human Rights in the Global South**

Chair: Christy Thornton, New York University

Richard Balzano, Simmons University

Charlie Wilson's Other War: Brokering Aid for Oil in the Guatemalan Genocide

Varsha Venkatasubramanian, University of California Berkeley

Dammed and the Damned: The Fight over the Narmada River and the Impact on US-Indo Relations

Ryan Glauser, University of Michigan

Development as Erasure: Reconstruction of the Niger River Delta, the UN, and Nigeria, 1970–1972

**Panel 52: Transnational Activism and the Meaning, Politics, and Power of Knowledge**

Chair: Penny M. Von Eschen, University of Virginia

Megan Black, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

The Global Life of Anti-Mining Literature

Kathryn Fapp, University of Oxford

From the Wide Shores of the Pacific: Women's Suffrage Worldmaking and Pacific Internationalisms, 1927-1928

Mora McLean, George Washington University

K-12 African Studies: Challenging What it Meant to 'Know About Africa' and Why it Mattered

Comment: Jeannette Eileen Jones, University of Nebraska- Lincoln

**Panel 53: Considering Workers and Their Agency: An Approach to Labor and American Foreign Relations in the Twentieth Century**

Chair and Comment: Tejasvi Nagaraja, Cornell University

Mark Petersen, University of Dallas

Keeping the Lights On: Labor in the Pan American Union in a Precarious Era, 1910–23

Dexter Fergie, University of British Columbia

Labor: A Useful Category of Analysis of Intergovernmental Organizations

Jill Jensen, University of Redlands

Women and Work in US Aid: Twenty Years of Women-in-Development Policies,  
1973–1993

**Panel 54: International Credit, Banking and Commerce: Spanish-American Relations,  
Transnational Networks and the American Century (1930–1960)**

Chair and Comment: Eric Rutkow, University of Central Florida

José A. Montero, Universidad Complutense de Madrid,

Monetary Policy and Transnational Financial Networks: Continuities and  
Discontinuities in Spanish Attempts to Stabilize the Peseta

Pablo León-Aguinaga, Instituto de Historia, CSIC

A Special Relationship: The ‘Dollar-Peseta Program’ and Spanish-American  
Relations (1940s–1960)

Enrique Faes, Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia

The Rivara Case: Capital Flight, Swiss Banking, and the Failure of Spanish Monetary  
Controls in the 1950s

**Panel 55: The Security Sphere and American Society: Service, Security,  
Accountability, and the Public**

Chair and Comment: Mary L. Dudziak, Emory University

Hélène Solot, Université de Paris Nanterre

“A national disgrace?” AWOL and Desertion in the Early Cold War

Kaeten Mistry, University of East Anglia

The Tragedy of Secrecy Reform: Accountability and the Growth of State Secrets

Shaul Mitelpunkt, University of York

At Ease: How Americans Embraced Freedom from Military Service

**Panel 56: Worldwide Right: Transnational Right-Wing Movements, Networks, and  
Ideas from Postwar to Today**

Chair and Comment: Faith Lazar, Yale University

Joel Cabrita, Stanford University

Secret Missions: Evangelical American Missionaries and the CIA's "Secret War" in  
Laos

Nayanika Ghosh, Harvard University

Sociobiology and the Far Right: Race, Science, and Politics in the U.S. and Europe,  
1977–1984

Lotta Mayer, Heidelberg University, and Markus Lang, Heidelberg University

Reinventing Nazism: German-U.S. Connections from Postwar to Present

**3:45pm–5:15pm Session VII**



**Panel 57: Footholds of U.S. Hegemony in Cold War Asia**

Chair and Comment: Colleen Woods, University of Maryland College Park

Minseok Jang, University at Albany

An Air Force Test Range in the Mudflats: Bombs, Wastes, and Roar, 1951–2004

Syrus Solo Jin, University of Chicago

“How to Get Along with People”: Interpersonal Footholds and the Training of US Military Advisors

Michael Masatsugu, Towson University

Buddhism and American Religious “Footholds” in South Asia, 1948–1955

**Panel 58: Roundtable: From War to Intervention in the 20th Century**

*Sponsored by the Society for Military History*

Chair: Lydia Walker, The Ohio State University

Tarak Barkawi, Johns Hopkins University

Brian Drohan, United States Military Academy

Mary Dudziak, Emory University

Tejasvi Nagaraja, Cornell University

**Panel 59: FILM: Soundtrack to a Coup d'Etat (2024)**

*Sponsored by African American Intellectual History Society (AAIHS)*

*Comment: Kevin Gaines, University of Virginia*

*Run time 2 hour 30 mins: 30 min discussion at beginning;*

*film screened at 4:15pm, ends at 6:45-7:00 pm*

**Panel 60: Revisiting Race, Gender, and Religion in Wars during the Long Twentieth Century: Culture and U.S. Empire**

*Sponsored by Historians of the Twentieth Century United States (HOTCUS)*

Chair: Elizabeth Ingleson, London School of Economics

Fabian Hilfrich, University of Edinburgh

To Annex or Not to Annex: Anti-Imperialists and the Role of Racism in Debating the Philippines

Caleb Woodall, University of Cambridge

Man Enough: Patriotism, Pacifist Masculinities, and the Critique of Martial Manliness in World War II America

Emma Long, University of East Anglia

Evangelicals, Missionaries, and the International Dimension of the Religious Liberty Debate in the Early Cold War

Comment: Kristin Hoganson, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

**Panel 61: Coercion, Capital, and Security: Negotiating U.S.-Latin American Relations in the 1960s**

Chair: Aileen Teague, Texas A&M University

Anthony Guerrero, Temple University

Memory of the Intervention: 1965–1975

Dana Mendes, United States Military Academy

“Uno Para Todos y Todos Para Uno”: Security Cooperation and the Inter-American System in the 1960s

Hugo Harvey-Valdés, University of Las Américas

Between Principles and Pragmatism: Latin America’s Dilemma Facing U.S. Coercion on the IAPF

Spencer Tompkins, Fordham University

Privatizing Empire: Financing US Industrial Power in Brazil, 1964–1975

**Panel 62: The Cold War’s Impact on the U.S. South**

*Sponsored by the Southern Historical Association*

Chair: Amy L. Sayward, Middle Tennessee State University

Leah Vallely, Calhoun Community College

The Cold War Transformation of Huntsville, Alabama

Jennifer Ross-Nazzal, NASA

Robert R. Gilruth: The Space Race and the American South

Ben Montoya, Schreiner University

“Total Loss, Honorable Defeat:” The American South, Vietnamese Americans, and the Memory of the Vietnam War

Andrew McKeivitt, Louisiana Tech University

Dr. Grady's American Crusade: The Cold War Origins of Gun Rights Radicalism

Comment: Joseph A. Fry, University of Nevada, Las Vegas

**Panel 63: Curing the World: American Medical Diplomacy in the mid-Twentieth Century**

Chair: Megan Black, MIT

Amanda McVety, Miami University

U.S. Medical Intelligence in WWII

Karine Walther, Georgetown School of Foreign Service, Qatar

The American Clinic: Medical Diplomacy and Saudi Oil, 1945–1949

Julia Irwin, Louisiana State University

The New Great White Fleet: Hospital Ships and U.S. Humanitarian Power in the Cold War Era

Comment: Emily Conroy-Krutz, Michigan State University

**Panel 64: Roundtable: U.S. Encounters with the Holocaust**

*Sponsored by the Jack, Joseph and Morton Mandel Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies*

Chair: Kaete O'Connell, Yale University

Brian Crim, University of Lynchburg

Patricia Kollander, Florida Atlantic University

Anne Rothfeld, Mandel Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies

Adam Seipp, Texas A&M University

**Panel 65: Native Nations and Foreign Relations from the Early Republic through the Civil War**

Chair: Elspeth Martini, Montclair State University

Elana Krischer, Marist College

From Defeated Peoples to Sovereign Nation: Remaking Seneca Land Sovereignty after the American Revolution

Zach Conn, Southern Methodist University

The Choctaw and Osage Nations as International Actors Before and After the Louisiana Purchase

Alexandra Stern, The City University of New York, CUNY

Natural Allies in War: Indigenous-Confederate Foreign Relations

**5:30pm–7:00pm Plenary: The Day After: Historians' Perspectives on Recent Conflicts**

*Sponsored by University of Texas at Austin's Clement Center for National Security*

Aaron O'Connell, University of Austin at Texas

TBD

## **Saturday, June 28**

**8:00am–2:00pm Registration**

**8:00am–2:00pm Book Exhibit**

**8:00am–8:30am Women in SHAFR Breakfast**

**8:30am–10:00am Session VIII**

**Panel 66: Roundtable: Worldmaking After Catastrophe: Intimate Histories of the Postwar**

Chair: Jennifer Miller, Dartmouth University

Sheyda Jahanbani, University of Kansas

Madelyn Lugli, Harvard University

David Milne, University of East Anglia  
Sarah Snyder, American University

**Panel 67: Foreign Influences on Radical Americans on the Right and Left**

Chair and Comment: Judy Tzu-Chun Wu, University of California, Irvine

Seth Kershner, University of Massachusetts, Amherst  
Reading Fanon at Fort Leavenworth: Radical Self-Education and Study Groups in  
U.S. Military Prisons

Pete Millwood, University of Melbourne

“Death to Teng Hsiao-ping! Long Live Revolution!”: American Maoists after Mao

Keith Riley, Rutgers University-Camden

Peace or Solidarity?: The Politics of U.S.-Nicaragua Sister Cities During the Contra  
War

Faith Lazar, Yale University

From Covert Wars to Domestic Militias: The Legacy of Contragate on the 1990s  
Patriot Movement

**Panel 68: Jimmy Carter and American Global Power**

Chair and Comment: Jonathan R. Hunt, U.S. Naval War College

Rob Rakove, Stanford University

The Uses of Drought: Aid, Advising, and the Afghan Famine

Sheng Peng, Harvard Kennedy School

Global Response to Carter’s China Policy: Unheeded Warnings from Moscow to  
Washington

Cindy May, University of Cambridge

The Role of the Invasion of Afghanistan and Reputation in President Carter's  
Handling of the Iran Hostage Crisis: Prioritizing International over Domestic Factors

**Panel 69: Fishbowl: *The Global Cold War at 20***

Chair: Hao Chen, Dartmouth College

Jeffrey James Byrne, University of British Columbia

Vivien Chang, Dartmouth College

Mattias Fibiger, Harvard Business School

Tanya Harmer, London School of Economics

Elisabeth Leake, Tufts University

Mattie Webb, Yale University

**Panel 70: Entangled Empire: New Perspectives on American Soldiers and Military  
Bases in Post-1945 Europe**

Chair and Comment: Petra Goedde, Temple University

François Doppler-Speranza, Université de Lorraine and Dario Fazzi, Leiden University  
Empire by Negotiation: Normalizing the U.S. Military Presence in Western Europe,  
1950-2003

Eirini Karamouzi, The American College of Greece and University of Sheffield  
“A Nation at War:” The Greeks and the American Bases in the Late Cold War

Michael B. Limmer, University of Missouri  
American Soldiers and Americanization in Postwar Italy

**Panel 71: Roundtable: The Family & the World**

*Sponsored by British Association for Nineteenth Century Historians*

Chair: Jay Sexton, University of Missouri

David Sim, University College London  
Abby Mullen, United States Naval Academy  
Zeynep Gursel, Rutgers University  
Nora Lessersohn, Georgetown University

**Panel 72: Twentieth-Century Transnational Religious Activism**

Chair and Comment: Lauren Turek, Trinity University

Debbie Sharnak, Rowan University  
The Anti-Defamation League, Jewish Activism, and Argentina’s Political Prisoners  
Brian Mueller, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee  
A Shield of Love: Witness for Peace, Christian Nonviolence, and Reagan’s  
Undeclared War on Nicaragua  
Alexandra Southgate, Temple University  
Pilgrimages for Peace: Transnational Quaker Activism and the Religious Roots on  
Non-Violent Direct Action

**Panel 73: Roundtable: U.S. and Indochina During the Vietnam War Era**

Chair: Amanda Demmer, Virginia Tech University

Zachary Tayler, Ohio University  
Robert Green, Ohio University  
Addison Jensen, Montana State University, Bozeman  
Gabrielle Westcott, University of Connecticut

**Panel 74: Roundtable: Becoming a Moral Force: Peacekeeping, Gender, and Martial Identities in the Shadow of Suez**

Chair: Brian Drohan, West Point, US Military Academy

Margot Tudor, City St George’s, University of London  
Ruth Lawlor, Cornell University  
Nathan Citino, Rice University

Swapna Kona Nayudu, Yale-NUS College

**10:15am–11:45am Session IX**

**Panel 75: Moving Parts: Transnational Histories of Industry and Technology**

*Co-sponsored by the Business History Conference and the Society for the History of Technology*

Chair: Mary X. Mitchell, New Jersey Institute of Technology

Sarah Nelson, Leiden University

Purchasing Power: The Chamber of Commerce & American Corporate Power in Global Telecom Governance

Jayita Sarkar, University of Glasgow

An Anti-Decolonization Bloc: Rössing in Apartheid Namibia

Jessica Levy, Purchase College, SUNY

General Motors Kenya, Automation, and the 1970s U.S. Scramble for Africa

Comment: Bradley Simpson, University of Connecticut

**Panel 76: Fishbowl: The Future of *FRUS* is You: Pedagogical and Methodological Applications of the *Foreign Relations of the United States Series***

*Sponsored by SHAFR's Teaching Committee*

Chair: Chris Hulshof, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Kathryn David, Office of the Historian at the U.S. Department of State

Adam Howard, Office of the Historian at the U.S. Department of State

Brad Morith, Office of the Historian at the U.S. Department of State

Jason Parker, Texas A&M University

Amanda Ross, Office of the Historian at the U.S. Department of State

**Panel 77: The Law of the Sea: Sovereignty and Diplomacy in the Johnson, Carter, and Reagan Administrations**

Chair and Comment: Sarah Nelson, Leiden University

Michael Stevenson, Lakehead University

“A Yen to Yank Uncle Sam’s Bear””: The Law of the Sea and US-Canada Relations during the Johnson Administration, 1963–1969

Kathryn C. Lavelle, Case Western Reserve University

The Beginning of the End and the End of the Beginning: Climate, the Arctic, and UNCLOS in the Carter and Reagan Administrations

Grace Easterly, University of Connecticut

“Policeman of the Seas””: The 1979 Freedom of Navigation Program and International Law

**Panel 78: A Conversation About the Kennedy Center: Art, Memory, and Politics**

Stephen Kieran, FIAA, Founding Principal, KieranTimberlake  
Fredrik Logevall, Harvard University  
Deborah F. Rutter, former President, John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts  
Scott Sandage, Carnegie Mellon University  
Penny Von Eschen, University of Virginia

**Panel 79: Empire, Security, and Militarism in the ‘Final Frontier’**

Chair and Comment: Aaron M. Bateman, George Washington University

Andrew J. Ross, Georgetown University  
    Making the American Orbit: Missile and Satellite Tracking Stations and the  
    Transformation of Global Power  
Rebecca Charbonneau, The American Institute of Physics  
    Fighting Interference: The Intersection of Astronomy and Security in Early VLBI  
Haris A. Durrani, Princeton University  
    “Orchestrating” Spectrum: Cuba, Communications Satellites, and U.S. Empire,  
    1963  
Stephen Buono, University of Chicago  
    “A Fearful Shot in the Dark”: Nuclear Weapons and the Birth of the Space  
    Environment

**Panel 80: The Outsourced Style of U.S. Military Empire**

Chair: Rebecca Herman, UC Berkeley

AJ Murphy, Brandeis University  
    Economies of Empire: Debating the U.S. Military’s Employment of Foreign National  
    Civilians in the Cold War  
Jonathan Ng, Dartmouth College  
    Outsourcing the Costs of Empire: The Arms Trade and US Grand Strategy, 1969–  
    1988  
Zaynab Quadri, Yale University  
    Revolutions in Military Affairs: Private Military Contracting in the 20th Century

Comment: Syrus Solo Jin, University of Chicago

**Panel 81: International Affairs: US Histories of Skepticism, Opportunism, and Ambiguity at the Limits of the Nation, 1930s–1990s**

Chair and Comment: E. Kyle Romeo, University of North Florida

Andrei Mamolea, Boston University  
    The Truth about Neutralism in the 1930s and 1940s

Kaitlin Findlay, Cornell University

On the Threshold of the Nation: The Politics and Consequences of International Law  
in the Incarceration of Japanese Americans, WWII

Sarah R. Meiners, Cornell University

Guam is Not Guantánamo: Negotiating Refugee Rights in an Unincorporated  
Territory

**Panel 82: The End of the Second World War and the Reshaping of American  
Immigration Policy**

Chair: S. Deborah Kang, University of Virginia

Rebecca Erbelding, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

The Fort Ontario Refugees and the Question of Citizenship and Status, 1944–1946

Victoria Gonzalez Maltes, École des hautes études en sciences sociales

“Healthy, muscular laborers”: The Making of the Desirable Refugee in the U.S.  
Displaced Persons Program

Samantha Lanevi, University of Cambridge

From Enemy to “American” Wife: German and Japanese War Brides

**Panel 83: The Rise and Fall of the Homosexuality Exclusion Policy in the U.S. Military**

Chair and Comment: Jaqueline Whitt, U.S. Department of State/U.S. Army War College

Kellie Wilson-Buford, Arkansas State University

Managing the “Menace” of Homosexuality: The U.S. Army and the Baker Street Vice  
Scandal of 1918

Natalie Shibley, Yale University

The Vietnam War and the Homosexuality Ban in the U.S. Military

David Fitzgerald, University College Cork

The Campaign for Military Service and the Making of Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell

**12:00pm-1:45pm Presidential Address (Melani McAlister) and Awards Luncheon**

**2:00pm-3:30pm Session X**

**Panel 84: Fishbowl: Thinking Otherwise: How Walter LaFeber Explained the History of  
U.S. Foreign Relations**

*Sponsored by Cornell University Press*

Chair: Frank Costigliola, University of Connecticut

Susan A. Brewer, University of Wisconsin, Stevens Point

Anne Foster, Indiana State University

Richard Immerman, Temple University

Doug Little, Clark University

Lorena Oropeza, University of California, Berkeley



Jessica Wang, University of British Columbia

**Panel 85: The Chip War with China and the Consolidation of U.S. Global Economic Power**

Chair: Austin Cooper, Purdue University

Cyrus Mody, Maastricht University

A Seat at the High-Tech Table but Not at the UN: Semiconductor Manufacturing and Ambiguous Sovereignty

John Krige, Georgia Tech

Weaponizing Export Controls Extraterritorially to Build a U.S. Empire by Regulation

Tracy Gronewold

Extending Regulatory Requirements into Settlement Agreements and License Conditions with Major Technology Companies: Two Case Studies

Comment: Mary X. Mitchell, NJIT-Rutgers Newark

**Panel 86: Roundtable: Evaluating the Global War on Terror**

Chair: Aaron O'Connell, University of Texas at Austin

Carter Malkasian, Naval Postgraduate School

Jason Dempsey, Center for Veteran Transition and Integration at Columbia University

Joe Stieb, U.S. Naval War College

Zaynab Quadri, Yale University

**Panel 87: Manifesting Destinies: Americans' Global Reach in an Age of Expansion**

Chair and Comment: Kate M. Burlingham, California State University, Fullerton

Andrew W. Bell, Oberlin College

"They Belonged of Right to Us": John Lloyd Stephens and the Transimperial Scramble for Antiquities

Kate M. Burlingham, California State University, Fullerton

Héli Chatelain and Early 19th Century US Relations with Angola

Anelise Hanson Shrouf, Bates College

"Bread in return for cannon balls! Is this not good for evil!": The Irish Famine, the Mexican-American War and American Imperialism

Jamila Moore-Pewu, University of Maryland, College Park

Between Limits and Liminality: Liberia, the United States, and the Paradox of Black Freedom in the 19th Century Atlantic World

**Panel 88: Pericentrism in the Middle East**

Chair: Paul Thomas Chamberlin, Columbia University

Nada Al-Jamal, Texas A&M University

When the Carrot Fails: Management and Mismanagement of Regional Actors in the Arab-Israeli Wars, 1967–1973

Benjamin V. Allison, University of Texas at Austin, and Carl W. Forsberg, USAF Air War College

An International History of the 1979 Yemeni War

Daniel Chardell, Yale University

To See a World (Order) in a Grain of Sand: The Struggle for Kuwait, 1990–1992

Comment: Nathan Citino, Rice University

**Panel 89: Between War and Peace: Toward New Histories of International Security since the Transnational Turn**

Chair and Comment: William I. Hitchcock, University of Virginia

Elena Kempf, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Idle Guns: The Forgotten History of Pre-1914 Weapons Prohibitions

Jonathan R. Hunt, U.S. Naval War College

Embattled Water: How the Pacific War Re-forged America's Oceanic Protectorate

Austin Cooper, Purdue University

Peace Walkers: Antinuclear Activism and the Broken Geographies of Nuclear (In)security

**Panel 90: Oil, Dollars, and Atoms. How the 1973 Oil Crisis Reshaped the Political, Commercial, and Financial Relations between the Middle East and the West**

Chair: Or Rabinowitz, Hebrew University & Stanford University

Marino Auffant, Atlantic Council's Scowcroft Center for Strategy and Security

Oil for Atoms: The Energy Crisis, Petrodollars, and the Proliferation of Nuclear Technology in the 1970s

Leopoldo Nuti & Giordana Pulcini, University of Roma Tre

Playing with (Nuclear) Fire? Nuclear Relations between Iraq and Italy in the Wake of the 1973 Oil Crisis

Duccio Basosi, Ca' Foscari University of Venice

Petrodollars and Power: Saudi Investments and the Shaping of US Influence in the 1970s

**Panel 91: Americans Abroad: What the Biographical Lens Reveals about Citizenship Rights in a Global Context**

*Sponsored by SMU's Center for Presidential History*

Chair: Thomas Knock, Southern Methodist University

Rashida Shafiq, Southern Methodist University

From Toledo to Tamil Nadu: Gloria Steinem, India, and the Cold War, 1957-1959

Matthew Shannon, Emory and Henry University

Global Citizen or Diplomat in Robes? Justice William O. Douglas and the Politics of International Travel

Hannah Stamler, Independent Scholar, Yale University

Phyllis Michaux, the American Association of European Wives, and the Rights of Binational Families in Postwar Europe

Comment: Petra Goedde, Temple University

**Panel 92: Roundtable: Reconceptualizing Exceptionalism: Teaching and Learning about American Foreign Relations at Canadian Universities**

Chair: Carol Chin, University of Toronto

Gregg French, University of Windsor

Candace Sobers, Carleton University

Thomas Larkin, University of Prince Edward Island

Sarah Jane Corke, University of New Brunswick

**3:30pm-4:30pm LaFeber Closing Reception**

**5:00pm-6:30pm Graduate Student Social**