



CHAIR'S REPORT

Report on the Tenth Annual Conference of the Transatlantic Studies Association, 11-15 July, 2011, Dundee West Park Conference Centre, University of Dundee

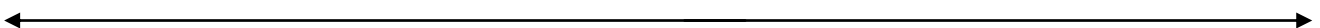


The conference had panels on transatlantic history, international relations and security studies; Canadian transatlantic relations; Anglo-American Relations; Literature and Culture; NATO; and Planning and the Environment. It was good to see that under the guidance of Connie Post and Louise Walsh that the Literature and Culture Panel continues to strengthen. Nested within the panels were several themes including papers on President Obama and Transatlantic Relations; Transatlantic centennials; Transatlantic Relations Diplomacy Statecraft and Culture in the Second World War 2; The Periphery Is the Centre: Transatlantic Engagement in International Crises Since the Cold War 1; Diplomats at War - The American Experience; and Transatlantic Relations and Energy. There was a roundtable on transatlantic relations and the Second World War involving among others Warren Kimball and our first speaker sponsored by the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations (SHAHR), Mark Stoler, and a workshop on Anglo-American Relations convened by Steve Marsh and Alan Dobson. The plenary lecture was by Sarah Meer from Cambridge. Over 120 delegates attended and over 100 academic papers were delivered.

Several papers have been submitted to the *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* for consideration for publication and there are plans for a special issue of the *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* drawn from papers given at the conference on transatlantic relations and the Second World War to be guest edited by Gavin Bailey and Tom Mills.

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The conference witnessed the third award of the Donald Watt prize for the best paper by an early career researcher in a closely contested competition with more entries than ever before. The award of £250 went to Douglas Snyder, University of Colorado at Buffalo.

The conference was appropriately successful for a tenth anniversary celebration and much gratitude is owed to Gavin Bailey, Philip Berry, and Dorine Boumans, who helped with its organisation. Successful bids were made to the US Embassy for financial support for the conference (£2,960) to cover expenses for Warren Kimball, conference stewards and miscellaneous administrative costs; and to the Dundee and Angus Convention Centre (£700) to provide an enhanced cultural perspective and help with administrative costs.

Ties were further strengthened with a strong presence from SHAFR, including Mark Stoler from Vermont University, who was funded under the new SHAFR three year scheme (with possibility of extension), which funds an annual visiting speaker from the US to attend the TSA. The TSA owes a considerable debt of gratitude to Jeff Engel for taking this initiative and pushing it forward with SHAFR and also to Simon Rofe, who has also been active in cultivating close relations with SHAFR. There were major developments on the Management Committee with David Ryan

and Tony McCulloch both standing down as respectively Vice Chair and Secretary and being replaced by Simon Rofe and Gaynor Johnson. David and Tony have both contributed hugely to the development and success of the TSA, and the association is deeply in their debt. Fortunately both have committed to continuing active support within the TSA. David will be hosting next year's conference in Cork and Tony is willing to continue to run the e-bulletin and oversee the Donald Watt prize. Simon and Gaynor are very welcome additions to the executive and will surely have a major impact over the coming years. The website www.transatlanticstudies.org goes from strength to strength under Mike Cullinane's able management, and it would be good if colleagues would either up-date or send in entries for the database. Future conference planning involves Cork for the eleventh annual conference in 2012 followed by Northumbria University in Newcastle-upon-Tyne in 2013, and a proposal has come in recently for us to return to Canterbury in 2014 – something to be discussed by the MC next July. For the more distant future there are various possibilities being explored including the Roosevelt Centre in Middelburg and Cardiff.

-Alan Dobson

Professor Alan Dobson: Chair TSA 16/09/09

Scottish Charity Regulator: TSA Charity Number SC039378





Editorial

Unified Protector? NATO's Libyan Intervention

On March 19, 2011 twenty French combat aircraft took off from bases in Nancy and Dijon to begin *Opération Harmattan*, the first airstrikes against targets near Benghazi in support of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1973 establishing a no-fly zone over Libya. Warships of the Royal Navy meanwhile began *Operation Ellamy* by firing Tomahawk cruise missiles against Libyan military facilities while others established a naval blockade of the Libyan coast; they were joined in the missile bombardment by warships of the United States Navy operating under the codename *Operation Odyssey Dawn*. These were later augmented by naval and air assets from Canada, Italy and other NATO states jointly under the authority of *Operation Unified Protector*.

First time in NATO's history the United States declined explicitly to assume the leadership role in joint operations. It is perhaps even more remarkable that the NATO intervention took place at all, as NATO is not a military formation in condition to assume burdens beyond those it currently shoulders. Americans in particular could be forgiven for wanting no part of the Libyan emergency in light of the strains the Afghan and Iraqi missions exert on a nation in economic straits. President Obama touched upon this point in a speech at the National Defense University on March 28, when he stressed the limitations of operations in Libya, specifically that there was a responsibility to prevent mass killing but that it did not extend to removing the Libyan dictator Muammar al-Gaddafi from power. "We went down that road in Iraq," he observed, "regime change there took eight years, thousands of American and Iraqi lives, and nearly \$1 trillion."

But there is more to the story. The president's caution is in part explained by the experience of his predecessors in twenty years of multilateral expeditionary operations with America's European allies. Since the administration of George H.W. Bush attempted to prod the Europeans into taking

the lead in the crisis management of the early stages of the disintegration of Yugoslavia in 1990-91, that experience has been one of frustration punctuated by a ragged rhythm of failures and partial successes. The main participants in NATO's Libya intervention can, by contrast, congratulate themselves on the outcome – to this point at least. The air campaign against Gaddafi's forces took great care that the nearly 8,000 strike sorties killed or injured as few civilians as possible and yet evolved into the air arm of a popular revolution to topple a tyrant. Hence, Obama's qualification of NATO involvement did not, as it turned out, compromise its odds of success.

Unified Protector might become a model for future operations. But that is unlikely. The alliance is not a unified and robust coalition, and such unity as was achieved by *Unified Protector* was the product of a happy convergence of diverse national motivations upon the lowest common interpretation of the principle of the responsibility to protect. Of NATO's twenty-eight member states only half provided military assets for the operation and only eight participated in ground attack operations. Britain and France demonstrated commendable initiative in looking to the military option at the critical moment in the struggle between Gaddafi and the rebels, but they were unable independently to mount a comparatively small operation against a weak and incompetent adversary. Notable for its absence at all levels was Germany, whose government first abstained from UNSCR 1973 and then withheld practical support as the operation got underway.

From Washington's perspective Germany is merely the poster boy for a general European neglect of responsibility to NATO since the end of the Cold War, caused by declining national defense budgets and reflected in eroded capabilities. Robert Gates, Obama's outgoing secretary of defense, warned in the midst of the Libyan conflict that the shortcomings revealed by America's European allies risk consigning NATO to



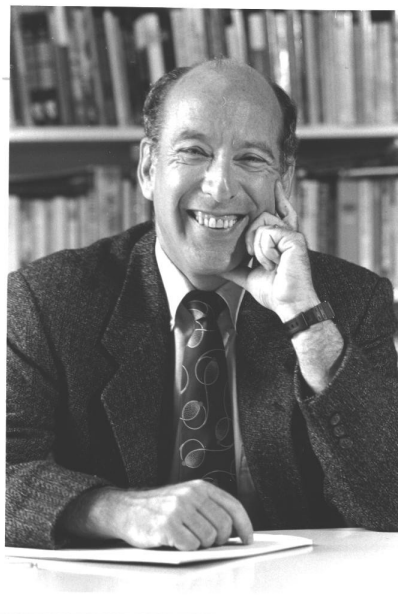
“collective military irrelevance.” The prosecution of *Unified Protector* made Gates’ case. It was ultimately dependent on American capabilities and coordination. Beyond the central role played by US forces in degrading Libyan the air force and air defense system in the opening phase of the operation, they also provided three quarters of the air-to-air refueling tankers required to maintain combat aircraft in the constant patrol of the no-fly zone. Although British and French aircraft supplied some of their own suppression-of-enemy-air- defense capacity, very few attack missions were flown without some form of American electronic warfare aircraft guiding their actions from a higher altitude. These efforts were complemented throughout by the presence of US satellites, unmanned aerial vehicles, and helicopters at every level,

literally, of reconnaissance throughout the campaign. With Obama, a president relatively disinterested in foreign policy in the best of times and now consumed by the problems of an economy in the worst of times, American frustration with NATO – not least of all in a decade of pale European presence in Afghanistan – reached a threshold for which qualified American participation in the Libya intervention is a clear expression. Future contingencies around Europe’s perimeter may not feature either an Anglo-French duet-of-the-willing or allies on the ground as courageous as the Libyans. In *Unified Protector* NATO deftly practiced the art of the possible. What is possible in the future has not been made more certain by the outcome.

Carl Hodge

Mark Stoler at Dundee

In early 2011 I accepted an invitation from Professor Alan P. Dobson of the University of Dundee to participate, as the first SHAFR-sponsored speaker, in the tenth annual meeting of the Transatlantic Studies Association (TSA) from July 11-14 in Dundee, Scotland. I was pleased and honored to do so, and in retrospect very happy that I did. I joined approximately 120 other scholars from a variety of disciplines--most notably but far from exclusively international history, international relations and security studies. They came from an even wider variety of countries, including not only the United Kingdom, Ireland, the United States and Canada but also Italy, Spain, Germany, France, the Netherlands, Turkey, Egypt and Hong Kong. The conference itself was very convivial as well as academically stimulating, with a series of meals and special events complementing the academic sessions.



My specific responsibilities as the first SHAFR-sponsored speaker were to comment in the opening plenary session on the papers of three young historians who focused on specific aspects Anglo-American transatlantic relations during World War II, and to present a paper of my own (on the impact George Marshall’s wartime experiences had on his transatlantic initiatives as secretary of state) at a separate session the following day on transatlantic diplomacy, statecraft and culture during the war. I also attended numerous other sessions, found all to be of very high quality, and enjoyed talking with numerous younger scholars as well as older colleagues and friends—some of whom were also SHAFR members. All in all I was deeply impressed by the TSA, so much so that I hope to attend future conferences. I am deeply grateful to SHAFR for sponsoring me, and to Alan Dobson for being such an exceptional host.



Panel Reports

1. Planning, Regeneration and the Environment in an Era of Retrenchment

Conveners: Tony Jackson, a.a.jackson@dundee.ac.uk
Deepak Gopinath, d.gopinath@dundee.ac.uk
Chair: William Lynch

The tenth TSA Conference was generally agreed to have been a success, as much for the conference networking and discussion of issues as for the individual papers and panels. So while reporting on the Planning, Regeneration and Environment (PRE) panel, the overall contribution of the conference in allowing colleagues from many disciplines and centres of learning from around the world to meet and network should not be overlooked. The plenary sessions, and the arrangements for the formal dinners, were exemplary, and feedback received from participants indicated their satisfaction with these arrangements.

The TSA PRE panel clashes, as in previous years, with a number of other major conferences in its discipline. This limits its capacity to attract a high number of participants. However, the two sessions delivered this year were in line with previous years, and the papers they contained were of a high standard (details, with abstracts, are offered in the attached annex). Along with contributions from Scotland and from Spain, the panel enjoyed a healthy international flavour, with papers from Venezuela and from India, as well as a paper reporting research from northern British Columbia. A number of these papers are already being considered for publication.

The specialist panel attracted contributions dealing both with current PRE issues and also with a congruent issue from the Roosevelt Era. Deepak Gopinath's paper tied in with the highly successful plenary session offered by Mike Galloway, the Head of Planning in the City of Dundee, who impressed all who listened to his address with the scale and

progress of the redevelopment of the Dundee Waterfront. Antonia Sagredo's paper on the New Deal Conservation Corps has added resonance given the recent riots in English cities. The other paper focused on the different forms of environmental governance being used to deliver climate change targets in jurisdictions in the USA and the EU, taking as exemplars the efforts in Scotland and the US Northwest.

The second session attracted contributions on development in three very different jurisdictions. Gilberto Buenaño offered a fascinating glimpse of the efforts of planners to create urban communities in Amazonian parts of Venezuela. Dr. Kumar reviewed recent development efforts in India following his country's efforts to bolster economic growth through deregulation whilst applying the precepts of sustainable development and environmental protection. Tony Jackson reported on collaborative research with Canadian colleagues undertaken within the University of Dundee's Town and Regional Planning discipline to identify ways of promoting more sustainable development through bottom-up spatial planning in northern British Columbia.

Hard copies of the papers delivered in the PRE panel were distributed at the conference, but anyone who did not obtain a copy and would like one should contact the authors directly by e-mail.

Tony Jackson
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August 2011
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“Some Transatlantic Responses to the Environment and Recession”

Antonia Sagredo

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Abstract:

This paper presents different American environmental problems and the responses that the past leaders and policy-makers have promoted to shape their environments. From colonial days, Americans had treated the continent as a land of inexhaustible resources. In the mid-nineteenth century, a few voices cried out against the reckless destruction. They pondered the responsibility of human beings to maintain the harmonies of nature and pleaded for classification and appropriate management of the vast federal lands. As the frontier receded into legend, growing concern produced legislation. Primarily to safeguard water and timber supplies, New York State set aside the *Adirondack Forest Preserve* in 1885, and in 1891, Congress provided for forest reserves (later called national forests). A dawning appreciation of natural scenery, on the other hand, led Congress in 1872 to create Yellowstone, the first national park.

The first important step by the federal government to conserve the nation's natural resources, particularly forest resources, occurred in 1891 with the passage of the *General Revision Act*. This legislative measure repealed the *Timber Cutting Act of 1878* and the *Preemption Act of 1841*, which had given individuals and business the opportunity to acquire prize timberland either free of charge or at a low price.

In 1897, President Grover Cleveland created thirteen new forest reserves, but still there

were no funds appropriated to manage these reserves. Congress did attach an amendment to the *Appropriation bill of 1897* that placed limits on the presidential authority to create forest reserves and altered the direction of the conservation movement away from preservation.

Around 1900 a movement took shape. As the rising Progressives regarded government as an instrument for various reforms, so conservationists demanded public action. A wise use of resources was a goal that distinguished them from others who valued nature in its pristine state. Preservationists and developers could cooperate, but on occasion latent disagreement burst into bitter controversy. Advocates of wise use captured national attention, with Theodore Roosevelt as their leader. As president, Theodore Roosevelt tripled the national forest system between 1901 and 1909.

During the 1930s the conservationism movement reached its zenith, with Franklin D. Roosevelt and his New Deal Era. In the 1932 presidential campaign, he demanded public projects on certain great rivers and promised to maintain federal sovereignty over the power resources of the nation. Indeed, when Roosevelt took office in 1933, the nation was faced with serious economic crisis. The President suggested a national restoration plan to put the unemployed to work, stimulate and reorganize the use of natural resources, and to preserve the environment. He was an amateur forester and outdoorsman, providing leadership and support to this movement.



“Re-branding of peripheral cities in times of recession: Is the branching of national art museums an effective strategy?”

Dr. Deepak Gopinath

Town and Regional Planning, School of the Environment, University of
Dundee

(d.gopinath@dundee.ac.uk)

(no abstract available)

“Fishing from the Same Pool: the Influence of Environ- mental Governance on Local Climate Change Actions in Scotland and the US Pacific Northwest”

Tony Jackson, Barbara Illsley & William Lynch

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University of Dundee

Abstract:

The impact of different models of environmental governance on the delivery of climate change action plans by the local government sector is examined through a comparison of contrasting systems of environmental governance in two transatlantic sub-national jurisdictions which have adopted stringent targets for reducing greenhouse gas emissions: Scotland and the Pacific Northwest region of the United States of America. The Scottish local government method of tackling climate change is a product of dirigiste top-down methods of environmental governance, through which central government sets targets and imposes statutory duties that apply equally to all local councils. Municipalities in the US Pacific Northwest have instead had to create a bottom-up multi-level system of environmental governance to compensate for the absence of a coherent federal mandate for tackling this issue. This has spawned an asymmetric response to climate change amongst US cities and counties, reflecting

different local circumstances and political preferences.

The strengths and limitations of both approaches are explored, drawing on case studies from Portland in Oregon and Fife in Scotland. This leads us to conclude that the Scottish approach to tackling climate change offers its local councils a more consistent policy framework, in which they can focus their efforts on specific measures to reduce greenhouse gas emissions without undue concerns about free-rider effects from non-participating councils, and without having to dress up their climate change policies to convince local businesses and residents that these will leave local competitiveness unaffected. In generating an asymmetrical uptake of climate change measures by its municipalities, the US approach demonstrates an expedient response to the lack of federal action on climate change, but leaves the domestic US market exposed to the same risks of carbon leakage that the US sought to avoid in global markets during negotiations over the Kyoto Protocol.



Open session for other Planning, Regeneration and the Environment topics

“Endogenous development in the Northern Plains Region of Venezuela”

Dr Gilberto Buenaño

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Abstract:

The Northern Plain Region is a portion of the Venezuelan Territory, which, together with another three regions (Orinoco-Apure River Basin, Northern Coastal and Occidental) corresponds to the official territorial development policy. This policy, among other attributes, incorporates territorial decision-making into the direct action of the public functioning. Through this territorial policy it is intended to reduce territorial disparities, reflected mainly in the location of population and economic activities in a very small portion of the Venezuelan territory, consequently abandoning the rest of the country and its potential for sustainable endogenous development.

The Northern Plains Region of Venezuela is characterized by a series of social, economic, geographical, geological, soil, water and ecologic conditions which allowed us to establish clearly that this is a territory with ideal conditions for the location of population and economic activities. Accordingly, the Northern Plains Region of Venezuela may become a territory for the sustainable endogenous development.

This paper refers to three fundamental topics: how to build territories; the meaning of sustainable endogenous development; and how to address the Northern Plains Region towards the achievement of this model of development.



“Creating integrated land use planning in northern British Columbia: how vulnerable communities responded to gaps in official spaces of governance by establishing more sustainable innovative local responses”

Barbara Illsley & Tony Jackson, School of the Environment, University of Dundee, Scotland, UK

John Curry, School of Environmental Planning, University of Northern British Columbia

Eric Rapaport, School of Planning, Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada

Abstract:

This paper reports on recent field research exploring the nature of land use planning applied to the system of governance operating in two small communities in northern British Columbia. A series of interviews with stakeholders sought to establish the extent to which recent reforms in the management of Crown Lands had enabled these communities to integrate land uses between municipal private holdings, the Agricultural Land Reserve operated by the Provincial Government and the vast holdings of Crown Lands surrounding such settlements. Integrated land use planning is central to the promotion of sustainable small rural communities, allowing them to shift away from dependence on unsustainable extractive development strategies.

Each of these two communities, Smithers and Tumbler Ridge, have experienced major restructuring of their economic bases as a re-

sult of rationalisation of provincial government and changes in world commodity markets. Elsewhere in northern British Columbia the dependent nature of staples-driven employment has resulted in similar communities suffering major job losses and decline when such top-down changes occur.

In Smithers and Tumbler Ridge, the resilience of local responses to economic adversity can be traced to the presence of ample stocks of human capital willing to take initiatives for the wellbeing of their own community when formal systems of governance prove inadequate to the challenges. Local people wanted their communities to survive and were prepared to do what was necessary to achieve this. Their experiences offer a pointer to the importance of soft forms of governance at local level in providing an effective counterpart to the harder, more formal and less flexible, forms of governance from above.



“Changing Scenarios of Indian Urban Environment in the Era of Economic Reforms and in the Context of Global Environmental Concerns”

R Shankar

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Abstract:

Significant changes have been observed in Indian development scenario since 1991, when economic reforms were introduced. The paper addresses various complex urban issues associated with the present pattern of urban growth through a review of urban development of select metropolitan cities of India which have experienced the impacts of the LPG (Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization) process. The implications of such growth patterns of India are projected and the impacts analyzed. In the concluding part, the authors call for an integrated approach to urban development and suggest an alternative sustainable urban development pattern for future Indian cities.

2. Report of the panel on: Transatlantic Centennials

Conveners:

Michael Cullinane, michael.cullinane@northumbria.ac.uk

Serge Ricard, Sorbonne Nouvelle Paris-III.

Serge.Ricard@univ-paris3.fr

The two presentations exhibited how centennial hindsight can illustrate new avenues of interpreting the past. Michael's paper examined the erection of public memorials in London and Washington, D.C. as a means of Britons and Americans extending diplomatic comity and the Anglo-American relationship in turbulent times. The statues were part of a centennial celebration of the 1814 Treaty of Ghent, which marked what

commemorators called 100 Year of Peace among English-Speaking Peoples. Serge's paper explained how the edited *Companion to Theodore Roosevelt* – edited by Serge – is a centennial view of the 26th President that contributes in new ways to the understanding of TR. The *Companion* will be published by Wiley-Blackwell and available from September, 2011 (<http://eu.wiley.com/WileyCDA/WileyTitle/productCd-144433140X.html>).



3. Report of the panel on: Diplomats at War: The American Experience

Convener:

J. Simon Rofe, jsimonrofe@le.ac.uk

With a geographic spread from Western Europe, through Africa to South East Asia and the Caribbean; and a temporal spread from 1812 to 1989 with numerous stops along the way, three panels of papers (totalling 11) under the theme of 'Diplomats at War: the American Experience', were convened at the TSA conference in Dundee July 2012. This number of papers is testament to the continuing interest in the area of study.

The theme has a deliberately broad understanding of 'diplomats' and 'war' to reflect the subject matter expertise of the contributors. The contributors, who themselves came from as far afield as Lisbon, Texas, Colorado, Ontario and Hong Kong, addressed issues pertaining to the effectiveness of their chosen emissary across a number of areas. For example questions that were considered included:

How did the envoy manage bilateral relations between his home government and that of the country in which he was based? (eg. aggressively, discretely, reservedly, etc.)

Did the key political figures in the country in which he resided respect and involve him, or was he marginalised and bypassed? Why was this the case?

What control, if any, did he have over military attaches or representatives?

Was the envoy able to maintain his authority in the face of visits by special advisers or rep-

resentatives from their home country?

If his posting saw him based within or directly adjacent to a theatre of operations, how did he manage the relationship with the military?

Did he have an impact with regard to the direction of wartime policy both in terms of his own government and/or that of the host state?

* The gender bias in the language of these questions is conscious, as none of the diplomats in the study challenged the stereotype of "our Man in ...".

Answers to questions such as these provide substantive analysis to the panels overarching aim to address the question of "how does military conflict impact on the diplomatic envoy?" or, put another way, 'to what extent does war characterise the envoy's experience?' Many of the papers presented will appear in the forthcoming publication **J. Simon Rofe & Andrew Stewart (eds.), *Diplomats at War: The American Experience***, (Republic of Letters, 2011).

My heartfelt thanks goes to all the contributors of course (listed below), and also those who attended and provided such stimulating questions to the contributors. Both made my task as chair straightforward and enjoyable. I invite contributions in this field to the panel for next year in Cork.



4. Report of the panel on: Transatlantic Relations, Diplomacy, Statecraft and Culture in the Second World War

Conveners:

Gavin Bailey, g.j.bailey@dundee.ac.uk

The panel on Transatlantic Relations, Diplomacy, Statecraft and Culture in the Second World War was a success, beginning with the roundtable discussion featuring Mark Stoler, Warren Kimball, Gavin Bailey, Andy Buchanan and Tom Mills. This gave an opportunity for new revisionist perspectives on Anglo-American diplomacy during the Second World War from younger scholars to be addressed by authoritative figures before a large audience. Subsequent panels featured

thirteen papers on a variety of topics, covering several aspects of wartime diplomacy and statecraft, supply diplomacy, Anglo-American strategic relations and cultural diplomacy. These attracted consistent interest and audience discussion throughout the conference. A special edition of the Journal of Transatlantic Studies is planned to capitalise on the success of the panel, under the editorship of panel organisers Gavin Bailey and Tom Mills.

5. Report of the panels on: Economics

Conveners:

Fiona Venn, vennf@essex.ac.uk

Joe McKinney, Joe_Mckinney@baylor.edu

Panel One

Robert Howes, King's College London, gave a paper entitled "The Brazilian Commercial Mission to the United Kingdom in 1919 and its Legacy." After the disruptive impact on international trade of the First World War, Brazil was keen to restore its international economic position. With considerable Anglo-American rivalry in Latin America, the British were keen

to foster trade relations with Brazil, even though there was a much greater demand for Brazilian goods in the US than the UK. As this paper explained, the Brazilian commercial mission to Britain in 1919 had short-lived, and ultimately meager results in terms of Anglo-Brazilian economic relations. However, it encouraged greater contact between leading economic figures in Brazil, and promoted ideas of economic planning and industrial growth.



The two remaining papers in the panel were contemporary rather than historical in focus. In his paper, "An Exploratory Study on EU and US Free Trade Agreements." Johan Adrinensen of the Institute for International and European Policy reported on a work in progress. Data collection is still taking place, but the focus of the research is on the causes and consequences of the recent proliferation of preferential trade agreements, with particular reference to Chile and Korea. The data collected so far shows that in both case studies, there are different implementation periods for the US and the EU, varying between various products. Further work remains to be done on the causes and effects of these differences.

In the final paper, Ruxandra Pavelchievici, of the University of Nice-Sophia Antipolis, spoke on "Transatlantic Cooperation: A Monetary and Financial Perspective." The paper explored Transatlantic co-operation in the aftermath of the recent economic crisis, and ex-

plains the fluctuation in that relationship. In terms of monetary policy, the period 2008-9 provided a golden age of Transatlantic co-operation, but from 2009 onwards, there was growing divergence, throwing into question the future of monetary co-operation. The paper explored various explanations for the divergence, including differences in business cycles, but suggested that the lack of co-operation posed a danger for global adjustment in meeting the challenge of newly emerging economies such as that of China. In exploring co-operation in financial regulation, the paper concluded that risk-taking was not as valued in the EU, and financial regulation tended to remain primarily domestic, although there have been attempts at global co-operation. The growing role of the EU, and its own regulatory powers, and the increasing inter-dependence of world economies have meant that US interests were less prevalent. Instead, there has been growing movement in the US towards the EU model. The papers were followed by a lovely discussion.

Panel Two: Transatlantic Relations and Energy

In this panel, all three papers focused on Anglo-American relations and oil in the first half of the twentieth century. Peter Hugill, of Texas A&M University, delivered a paper on "We Fight for Oil: American and British Perceptions of the Potential Middle Eastern Oil Spigot after World War One." In 1928 Ludwell Denny's *We Fight for Oil* argued that America and Britain were, in their struggle to control the world-economy after the Treaty of Versailles of 1919, focused increasingly on the Middle Eastern "oil spigot." Without clear understanding of reservoir capacity or salt dome geology, and given the primitive recovery techniques of the 1920s, America feared the depletion of its domestic supplies in the 1920s and began to look abroad for new resources. By the early 1920s Britain believed there was abundant potential oil in Iran and Iraq and that it would be able to control both Iranian and Iraqi resources. America struggled desperately to gain some control of the oil potential of Iraq in the mid-1920s on the basis of its (claimed) pre-war Ottoman concessions.

Relative transatlantic peace was finally restored with the Achnacarry agreement of 1928.

The paper presented by Fiona Venn, from the University of Essex, entitled "Anglo-American Rivalry for Arabian Peninsula Oil: The Case of Bahrain." focused on the late 1920s, and considered the significance of the Bahrain concession, awarded ultimately to a subsidiary of the Standard Oil Company of California, in the face of considerable reluctance of many departments within the British Government. The involvement of the US company, the first American involvement in the Arabian Peninsula, but rapidly followed by the Kuwaiti and Saudi concessions, was made possible by Foreign Office insistence. The Foreign Office deemed control over the potential oil of Arabia as less important than US friendship, in a period of strained Anglo-American relations.



Simon Davis, of the British Community College, City University of New York, spoke on "Petroleum Derivatives? Nation-Building and Anglo-American Relations in Iran, 1941-1977." This paper challenged current assumptions about Anglo-American relations in Iran during and shortly after the Second World War, and their implications for subsequent transitions from British to American paramountcy in the Persian Gulf. Far from repre-

senting an 'Anglo-American Middle East' forged out of anti-Soviet interest, the paper argued that US policy in the Persian Gulf was formatively shaped in contradistinction to British imperialism there. If faced with a choice between British and Iranian affinity, the US invariably trimmed to the latter. There was a lively discussion after the papers, with many questions relevant to two or more of the panel members.

6. Report on the panel on: English Culture in Transatlantic Perspective, 1850-1939

Conveners: **Connie Post** and **Louise Walsh**
Chair: Sylvia Ellis

Tanja Bueltmann, tanja.bueltmann@northumbria.ac.uk
Joe Hardwick, joseph.hardwick@northumbria.ac.uk
Donald MacRaid, don.macraird@northumbria.ac.uk
Monika Smialkowska, monika.smialkowska@northumbria.ac.uk

These four presentations represent the early results of an AHRC-funded research project on the English Diaspora in the North America. All the papers shed light on English ethnicity abroad: Bueltmann examined associational cultures and return visits to England; MacRaid looked at the celebration of royal jubilees by the English in America; Joe Hardwick discussed the transatlantic ecclesiastical networks in Upper Canada; and Smialkowska showed how 'Englishness' in America was expressed via celebrations of William Shake-

speare and Queen Elizabeth I. The papers provoked a number of questions and the debate that followed demonstrated how English culture in North America has been understudied in the context of migration studies but also how the Anglo-Saxon rapprochement can only be fully understood through an engagement with issues of ethnic identity as well as traditional political and diplomatic relations between Britain and the United States/Canada.



CALLS FOR PAPERS

Understanding Canada: Canadian Studies International Research Linkages Project

The aim of the project is to analyse the identity negotiations of Portuguese-Canadians and their sense of belonging and civic engagement within the frameworks of multicultural Canada and modern Portugal, in order to better understand and ensure their greater inclusion in both Canadian and Portuguese societies.

Project Goals:

To debate the positioning(s) of Portuguese-Canadian descendants in Canada.

To explore situations relevant to Portuguese-Canadian descendent returnees in Portugal.

To exchange information and disseminate research gathered by the work of participating research teams in Portugal and Canada.

To promote transnational research concerning Portuguese-Canadian immigrant descendants, both in Canada and in Portugal.

To establish a research network of excellence dealing with Portuguese-Canadian transnational and diasporic issues.

Project activities:

The realisation of two workshops/seminars to be organised at CEMRI – Universidade Aberta, Lisbon and York University, Toronto, on the following dates:

Universidade Aberta – June, 27, 2011

York University – October 11 & 12, 2011

Discussion of future research and collaboration, particularly the establishment and formalisation of links between CEMRI (Lisbon), York University (Toronto), and Mount Saint Vincent University (Halifax).

Publishing the seminar proceedings into a journal volume or edited book

Initiating the creation of a Portuguese-Canadian Diasporic and Transnational Studies Network.

Initiating the creation of a Canadian Studies Association in Portugal.

Creating and strengthening links with existing Portuguese-Canadian Studies Programs such as the ones at York University, University of Toronto, University of Ottawa, among others.

Initiating the development of one or more proposals, for a larger funded study, to be submitted to institutions, such as the Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia (FCT), Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Instituto Camões, Azorean Regional Government, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) and CERIS – Joint Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Settlement.



In summary, the Canadian Studies International Research Linkages Project will enable the participants to meet in two seminars with the aim of disseminating common research, work toward the creation of a larger funded study (or studies) as well as enable initial discussions towards future linkages, which includes the creation of a research

network of excellence dealing with Portuguese-Canadian transnational and diasporic issues.

Project Leaders:

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Symposium: "Ranking American Presidents"

<http://www.northumbria.ac.uk/sd/academic/sass/about/humanities/history/research/groups/ushistory/events/?view=Standard>

February 23, 2012. Northumbria University, Department of Humanities, Newcastle upon Tyne, UK.

Americans love to rank things. In business there is the Fortune 500; in crime the FBI's Most Wanted; and David Letterman made his name by composing a daily Top Ten List. It is no surprise that presidents are treated to the same scrutiny. For the very first time in 2010, UK scholars of American history have composed their own rankings organized by Professor Iwan Morgan (Institute for the Study of the America's). Northumbria University is hosting a symposium to further dissect these rankings and discuss the legacy of America's presidents.

Featured speakers include:

Professor Iwan Morgan (Institute for the Study of the Americas)

Professor John Dumbrell (Durham University)

Dr. Niall Palmer (Brunel University)

Professor David Haglund (Queen's University – Ontario)

Proposals for individual papers or complete sessions (up to four papers) should include a 250-word abstract for each presenter. Submissions should be made via email to michael.cullinane@northumbria.ac.uk The deadline for submissions is November 25, 2011.



CALL FOR PAPERS FOR SYMPOSIUM

Identity, Civic Engagement, Multiculturalism and Transnationalism: Portuguese-Canadian Immigrant Descendants in Canada

October 11th and 12th, 2011 - York University, Toronto, Canada

Canadians of Portuguese descent number approximately 1.3% of the total population (or 412,000 people) and comprise one of the largest minority groups in Canada. Yet, after over 50 years of official immigration to this country, this community continues to be largely marginal to the mainstream of Canadian life in economic, educational, political and cultural terms. Others, on the other hand, have returned to Portugal, to begin lives in what is, to many, a foreign nation. Given the importance of this community, as well as the onset of greater economic and academic linkages between Canada and Portugal, the time is right for initiatives that explore the positioning(s) and ambiguities of Luso-Canadian descendants in both countries. This symposium will address these ambiguities, as they relate to Portuguese-Canadian descendants.

The organizing committee is seeking *workshop papers* and *roundtable presentations* on Identity, Civic Engagement and Multiculturalism, as these apply to the descendants of Portuguese-Canadian Immigrants in Canada and Portugal. Four central areas will be examined:

1. How do Portuguese-Canadian descendants relate to the notions of being Portuguese, Canadian, Azorean and/or Québécois?
2. What factors contribute to the process of identity negotiation and/or the strength of a hyphenated identity?
3. How does multiculturalism contribute to Portuguese-Canadians' sense of citizenship and civic participation both within the ethnic community, as well as the various levels of government?
4. How do the roles played by these actors, their sense of belonging, civic engagement and national or ethnic visibility tactics, contribute to the construction of 'the self' and the Portuguese-Canadian community?
5. How do negotiations via transnational contacts, network construction and maintenance – both with and within the two countries and cultures - contribute to the defining 'who these actors are, where they are'?

Other themes related to education, citizenship, identity and belonging of the "1.5", second and third generations of Portuguese-Canadians in Canada will also be considered.

A 300 word abstract, in MS Word or RTF format, should be submitted by Friday, July 15, 2011. Please use plain text, Times New Roman font, size 12. Avoid using footnotes, special formatting, characters, or emphases, such as bold, italics or underline. E-mail subject-lines should be entitled: *Identity, Civic Engagement and Multiculturalism: Portuguese-Canadian Immigrant Descendants in Canada*. Please indicate if you are proposing a *workshop paper*, or a *roundtable presentation*. The first are formal papers to be presented in workshop panels, the second are shorter reflection papers (maximum 10 minutes), designed to promote discussion on specific topics, in informal roundtables. Abstracts must contain the following information in the order below:

1. author(s)
2. affiliation
3. email address
4. title of abstract
5. body of abstract
6. if proposal is for *workshop paper* or for *roundtable presentation*

Please direct your submissions to Professor Rob Kenedy (rkenedy@yorku.ca), who shall acknowledge receipt of all proposals. If you do not receive a reply within a week, please contact Professor Kenedy to confirm receipt of your submission. We look forward to receiving your abstracts.

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The American exception and British foreign policy

'International law, the American exception and British centre-left foreign policies before and after the Iraq War' is the third project in my American exception series. It will run from 1st September 2011 to 31 August 2012 and it is funded by a [British Academy Mid-Career Fellowship](#).

Abstract

What should the United Kingdom do when the United States either challenges or violates international norms? This question lay behind the controversy surrounding New Labour's support for the US war against Iraq and it is likely to challenge future UK policymakers. Blair argued that the moral case for regime change made support for the US 'obvious' from a centre-left perspective. This research programme examines whether this is the case. It uses an interpretivist-qualitative method to analyse foreign policy discourse on the centre-left of British politics after the Cold War. The hypothesis is that Blair was wrong to describe regime change as an 'obvious' policy preference, but that he was a 'norm entrepreneur' within centre left politics. The programme also draws on normative international relations theory to address two questions: should a perceived moral imperative to support US military action override the UK's need for a legal mandate when the Security Council opposes that action? And should the UK abandon its commitment to be bound by the strongest legal argument if opposing the US harms the national interest?

Introduction

In March 2002 Tony Blair wrote that the case for war to overthrow Saddam Hussein was 'obvious' from a centre-left perspective. This was because the centre-left is 'a political philosophy that does care about other nations – Kosovo, Afghanistan, Sierra Leone – and is prepared to change regimes on the merits, [it] should be gung-ho on Saddam.' This memo, which was made available by the Iraq Inquiry, is remarkable because it illustrates Blair's support for the US before a legal man-

date had been secured at the UN. Furthermore, it ignores contradictory positions that can also be described as 'obvious' from a centre-left perspective. These include a suspicion of US power, particularly in the hands of conservatives, and an insistence that military action be consistent with international law and international opinion. These alternative views informed opposition to the war in 2003 and they persist to this day, as evidenced by David Miliband's rejection of his brother's admission that the war was a mistake. Indeed, with the pro-UN Liberal Democrats joining the traditionally 'Atlanticist' Conservative party in government, centre-left thinking has clearly entered a period of reflection. To inform that debate, this research programme asks two questions: what exactly is the 'obvious' centre-left position on the use of force? What should the UK do when the US engages in conduct that either challenges or violates international norms?

The programme of research is divided into two projects. The first examines how this policy divergence evolved by focusing on post-Cold War attitudes. Humanitarian crises clearly influenced Blair and others on the centre-left. The question to answer is how the moral imperative to act related to the legal imperative to engage in, and respect the outcome of, international public deliberation or multilateralism. This is important because it tests Blair's assumption that the case for war was 'obvious' from a centre-left perspective. Using an interpretivist-qualitative method, I am analysing discourse within the Labour and Liberal Democrat parties, centre-left think-tanks such as the Fabian Society and the Foreign Policy Centre, and the centre-left press, such as *New Statesman*, *Guardian*, and *Independent*. These views are also being mapped on to elite opinion within the legal community. This is important, because it helps explain how divisions within centre-left politics found expression in what is still seen as an arcane debate on the Iraq War's legality. The hypothesis is that Blair was wrong to describe regime change by military force as an 'obvious' policy preference, but that he was a 'norm entrepreneur' within centre-left politics.



The second project draws on normative IR theory to develop a framework that can guide the UK's American policy. It addresses two questions: firstly, should a perceived moral imperative to support military action by the US override the UK's need for a legal mandate when the Security Council refuses to support such action? Blair's insistence that he 'did the right thing' by removing Saddam, and that the French threat to veto military action was 'unreasonable', suggests that it does. The project is exploring the implications of this for the constitution of international society and it is aiming to identify substantive and procedural criteria that can properly define when a permanent member's veto is unreasonable. Secondly, should the UK abandon its commitment to be bound by the strongest international legal argument if opposing the US harms the national interest? The concept of 'good international citizenship' insists that a state must respect international law except where that policy threatens 'vital' national in-

terests. Preserving 'the special relationship' is often portrayed in these terms and this can easily lead to servile Atlanticism and an unwarranted rejection of international law. The project asks how alternative conceptions of 'the special relationship' might provide the UK with greater scope to square its commitment to international law and its national interests. It does this by recalling that the republican ideas of public deliberation and the rule of law are at the heart of the Jeffersonian and Wilsonian traditions (see Dan Deudney's 2008 book *Bounding Power*); and that a UK defence of international law that appeals to these values, in these terms, is less likely to suffer costs that are harmful to the national interest.

- Jason Ralph, University of Leeds

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Journal of Transatlantic Studies Annual Report, 2011

The *JTS* is now well-established as the leading outlet for publications on transatlantic studies. Since 2002 it has achieved international profile. It is now published quarterly and subscriptions for TSA members have been held to a very reasonable sum of £50. Please note that if you do not receive a subscription through your fees for the TSA annual conference you can still receive the preferential rate if you are a member of the TSA. Standard TSA membership fee is £20. I would like to invite all with high quality work on transatlantic relations to submit to the *JTS* and to urge other colleagues to do likewise.

I would appeal to everyone to ask their institutional libraries to subscribe: subscription forms are available from the Routledge display stand or for an order form go to <http://www.dundee.ac.uk/iteas/journal.htm>

In the last twelve months, we have received approximately 47 manuscripts (2010: 40; 2009: 34), including those for special issues. 11 were rejected or returned as currently defective in terms of length, style or inadequate transatlantic content for the *JTS* (2010: 6; 2009: 8), 11 continue under review (2010: 8; 2009: 3) and 25 have been accepted for publication or have been published (2010: 6; 2009: 23). Most, if not all, submissions were referred with detailed referees' comments for revision and it has been this very constructive feed-back from referees that has led both to the publication success rate and contributed to the high quality of publications. Turn-around time for successful submissions from receipt to publication varies between 12-18

months.

I am grateful to Michael Cullinane who has made an important contribution as Book Review Editor. We aim to have a short book review section in each of the standard issues and also if possible with themed special and guest edited issues. Any candidates for review should go directly to Michael.

We now have an impressive pool of referees to call upon and this expands each year (please see below). They have ensured that all submissions are anonymously refereed by at least two referees. In rare cases where there are radical differences in the assessment of a manuscript it is sent to a third referee, usually a senior member of the editorial board. It should be said that the website data base of transatlantic scholars

(www.transatlanticstudies.com) and the details of their research interests is an invaluable resource for identifying likely referees.

While our audience broadens and manuscripts now come in throughout the year, the annual conference still generates most of them.

In addition to the regular issues since last July there have been two special issues, one guest-edited by David Haglund '*What President for Transatlantica?*' and Simon Rofe '*Isolationism and Internationalism in Transatlantic Affairs*'. The other two issues since the last report were standard issues. This is now quite a well-established pattern, namely two standard and two special issues a year.



In the summer of 2011 the special dated since August 2009 when the issue guest edited by Annick Cizel *JTS* was on a sharp upward trajectory and Christian Nuenlist, which is noteworthy. It had 36 institutional subscriptions, about 80 personal subscriptions, about 80 personal subscriptions and 752 on-line sales agreements. On-line quarterly usage had risen from 100 in the second quarter of 2008 to about 390 full-text downloads in the first quarter of 2009. Editor is currently pursuing them for more up-to-date figures scheduled.

Circulation: Routledge have not up-

APD/Editor/6/07/11

The Editor would like to express his thanks to referees for their unfailing conscientious and constructive assessments of articles submitted to the *JTS*. This has been much appreciated by authors, even when judgments have been negative.

REFEREES FOR THE *JTS* 2002 – 2011

** indicates refereeing done this year

Lloyd Ambrosius	Lloyd Gardner	John MacDonald**	Jose Rodrigues
Ekavi Athanassopoulou	David George	Hector Mackenzie	Robert Rogowsky
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Floribert Baudet**	Terrence Guay	Steve Marsh**	Stephane Roussel
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