

The Journal of Cold War Studies

2007-2012

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Introduction

The *Journal of Cold War Studies* (JCWS), as the name suggests, is a journal that focuses on aspects of the Cold War hitherto uncovered in this particular field of academic research. Founded in 1999, the Journal has released only fourteen volumes since its foundation. Yet despite its relative infancy in comparison with other more revered journals, for example *International Security*, the JCWS possesses a reputable pedigree and has established itself as a leading publisher on matters regarding the Cold War.

The aim of this essay is to analyse the JCWS and everything that it encompasses, while at the same time highlighting issues and topics that recur throughout the Journal over a period of five years. In order to achieve this aim, the essay will be separated into five chapters or sections with each one addressing different aspects of the Journal and focusing on a different type of analysis to the previous chapters.

The first chapter provides an overview of the JCWS' editor, the Editorial Board and the general editorial procedures established by these individuals. It will chart whether there have been any changes to the Editorial Board over the last five years and the reasons for these changes. Due to available information on the Editorial Board, the information used in this analysis will begin from 2007 until 2012; whereas the rest of the analysis, such as the articles and their content, will begin from 2008. Moreover, this chapter will document and examine the countries in which the board members are employed, which nation most of the authors are based in and how this has varied with the changes made during the last five years of publication. Secondly we move onto the reputation of the JCWS; this is assessed by referring to various journal ranking systems such as the ISI Thomson-Reuters Web of Knowledge among others. We will examine how these various sites view the JCWS and the way in which they evaluate certain criteria such as its success, scope and impact. Due to the fact that the JCWS has only been in existence for fourteen years, I expect the Journal to make fewer appearances on the above mentioned lists. The third chapter marks the beginning of the quantitative analysis; this is where the essay starts examining the data I have compiled from articles contained in the JCWS. It must be noted that this study will focus specifically on the articles contained in the JCWS over the five most recently published volumes. Some attention will be attributed to other pieces of work contained in the Journal such as book reviews, discussions and commentaries. However, because of the variation in quantity between each issue, the analysis will be restricted, for example, to the amount of reviews there were and how this changed over each volume. Although this is not in conjunction with the main

aspiration of the review, it is nonetheless interesting to observe how the number of articles and reviews has fluctuated over the last five years.

The variables being assessed in the third chapter are the nationality of the author, the university or institute they are employed by, the decade or decades in question and finally the key subjects of the article (specifically two for each article). These key subjects will be grouped in distinctions of my own choosing, such as American Foreign Policy, Soviet Foreign Policy, the United Nations and Espionage. The examples provided are but a handful of the key subjects I will associate with each article in order to discover which nations and issues are the primary focus of the JCWS. This chapter will employ the use of graphs and tables to aid our overall understanding of the Journal. It will also facilitate examination of the relevance and importance of the information under question while analysing the findings and assessing what the recurring topics and debates are. Finally the fifth chapter is the conclusion, the point where we round off all of the remaining issues and discuss what the ramifications of the essays' findings are. The sixth chapter is in essence an addition to the rest of the essay, but is also directly related to the JCWS as I will choose the most interesting topic contained in the Journal and discuss it more in-depth.

The JCWS will almost certainly not rank very high, if at all on any of the journal ranking sites due to being what could be described as a relative newcomer in terms of academic journals. However, the fact that it is a lower ranked journal is fundamental to the hypothesis I plan to evaluate throughout this assignment. In October 2012, a student from the University of Groningen named Sabine Dankbaar wrote a comparative analysis on leading academic journals. She engaged with a long-standing perspective, originally formulated by Ole Weaver, which argues that top-ranked academic journals are dominated by Anglo-American scholars. This ranges from the authors, to the editors and the universities that all those concerned are all affiliated with. In addition to Weaver, Sabine also consulted the work of Ersel Aydlini and Julie Matthews, whereby they claim that 'the higher the prestige of the journal, the less likely the authors came from periphery countries'.¹ With that in mind, and acknowledging the fact that the JCWS is not one of the top-ranked journals by any stretch of the imagination, this seems like the opportune moment to assess the theory and test it against a lower-ranked journal. Therefore, this examination will be extended to the Editorial Board

¹Dankbaar, Sabine, *The American Monopoly in International Relations and History: A Comparative Analysis of Leading Academic Journals*, (University of Groningen, October 2012) P. 9

and the authors of the articles, with reference to the work of Aydlini and Matthews, in order to assess whether the JCWS either refutes or reinforces their theory.

Altogether the aspects of the essay discussed here are each essential to ensure an all-encompassing and thorough analysis of the Journal of Cold War Studies.

Editors and Editorial Procedures of the JCWS

As previously mentioned in the introduction, the JCWS is held in high esteem by the academic community. This is certainly because it is the brainchild of and published by two of the most prestigious universities in the United States. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) Press publishes the Journal on a four-yearly basis with a new release coming out over spring, summer, fall and winter. This has only been the *modus operandi* since 2002 as in the three years prior to then, the JCWS only released three issues a year. The institute that the Journal is most affiliated with is Harvard University; the connections between it and Harvard University are plentiful as many academics from Harvard contribute to the Journal in various ways. Perhaps the most obvious of these is that Professor Mark Kramer, a lecturer from Harvard University, is also Editor of the journal.

The Harvard University website provides a rather in-depth explanation of the Journal's contents, scope and ambitions. It reads as follows:

The *Journal of Cold War Studies* features peer-reviewed articles based on archival research in the former Communist world and in Western countries. Some articles offer re-evaluations of important historical events or themes, emphasizing the changes of interpretation necessitated by declassified documents and new first-hand accounts. Other articles seek to bring new evidence to bear on current theoretical debates. Many existing theories of international and domestic politics have relied on generalizations from the Cold War period, but until very recently the evidence for these generalizations was tenuous at best. Articles in the *Journal of Cold War Studies* use declassified materials and new memoirs from the former Eastern bloc and Western countries to illuminate and raise questions about numerous theoretical concerns, including theories of decision-making, deterrence, bureaucratic politics, institutional formation, bargaining, diplomacy, foreign policy conduct, and international relations. Drawing on the latest evidence, articles in the *Journal* subject these theories, and others, to rigorous empirical analysis.²

² Cold War Studies at Harvard University, <http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~hpews/journal.htm>, Accessed on March 16th 2013

In addition to this thorough account of the Journal and the articles it contains, the extract also states that ‘the Journal's Editorial Board consists of 32 distinguished political scientists, historians, and specialists on international relations’.³ These 32 distinguished academics are listed by name on the MIT Press Journals website alongside the institutes that they are employed by. What is evident after having looked at the Editorial Board is that there are actually 37 individual names listed on the MIT Press Journals website, not the 32 stated in the quotation from the Harvard University website.⁴ Moreover on the Harvard University website it clearly states that there are only 32 members on the Editorial Board, yet it lists 34 names.⁵ Due to the slight discrepancies on both the MIT Press and Harvard University websites, we will instead use the Editorial Board listed at the beginning of each issue by the JCWS. In addition to this we will also inspect the Editorial Board listed in 2007 and compare it to those listed in 2012 in order to highlight the changes made to the Editorial Board during this period of time.

One of the most noticeable aspects of the Editorial Board is that most of its members are associated with universities from the United States. On the list from 2007 23 out of the 34 members are employed by a university or institute from the US. Of the remaining 11 members seven are associated with a European university and four with a Russian institute or university. When these figures are changed into a percentage the scholars from American universities make up 68% of the Editorial Board. In contrast to this; the European contingent represents 20% and those from Russia count for a measly 12%. This reveals a distinct emphasis on editors based in the US with over two-thirds of the Editorial Board working within its borders. Not only does this show a preference towards Americans but also an emphasis on Western-based editors because there are no individuals situated in Africa, Asia, Australia or South America. Moreover of the 34 individuals listed on the 2007 journal only four (12%) are female; both of these points together illustrate a clear bias towards male, Western based editors.

By 2012 the Editorial Board had undergone a series of changes which, as explained by Editor Mark Kramer, was mainly because ‘three who were on it in 2007 have died’.⁶ From

³Ibid

⁴MIT Press Journals, <http://www.mitpressjournals.org/page/editorial/jcws>, Accessed on March 16th 2013

⁵Cold War Studies at Harvard University, <http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~hpcws/editorialboard.htm>, Accessed on March 16th 2013

⁶ Email from Mark Kramer, Editor of the JCWS, received on 10/03/2012

the members listed in 2007; Samuel P. Huntington, Ernest May and Robert C. Tucker have all passed away. All three of these men were from universities situated in the US so it will be interesting to see the impact this has on the Editorial Board's diversity. An alteration that will certainly have an impact on the variety of the Board's members is that the overall number of individuals has increased from 34, to 38. Those recently added to the Editorial Board are Jorge I. Dominguez, Stephen Kotkin, Robert Ross, Janos Rainer, Erik Kulavig, Vladimir Tiamaneanu and Marc Trachtenberg. Despite the seven recent additions to the Editorial Board, the US-dominance is still extremely prominent. Of these seven individuals, five of them are associated with a university from the US. However as the number of Editors has increased from 34 to 38, it has resulted in the percentage of Editors from the US falling from 68% to 63%. This has undoubtedly had a knock-on effect for the background of the remaining individuals; the Europeans presently sit on 26%, a significant increase from the 20% seen in 2007. While the Russian contingent, though still only represented by the same four scholars, has decreased to 11% from 12% in 2007 due to the overall increase of the Editorial Board's size. The same four female members have remained on the Editorial Board yet, in a similar situation to those from Russia, the overall increase in members has resulted in a decrease to only 10% of the Editorial Board. Having examined the results of this analysis from the last five years it becomes clear that the JCWS has reduced the dominance of US based scholars that was so evident in 2007. This has in turn culminated with a significant increase of 6% for individuals from a European nation. However the positive aspects cease at this point; the JCWS has failed to improve the diversity of its Editorial Board as all of its constituents are still either from the US, Europe and Russia. Moreover and, perhaps most importantly, the number of female Editors has actually decreased in percentage due to the general enlargement of the Editorial Board.

As we move away from the Editorial Board and its members focus is now placed on the specific editorial procedures of the JCWS. In order to discover the nature of JCWS' editorial policies I contacted the editor Mark Kramer. He informed me that 'some manuscripts (probably 30 percent) are rejected immediately, but most manuscripts are sent out for external review... we require at least two external reviewers and often as many as four or five for every manuscript'.⁷ This shows the distinct reviewing process of the JCWS as well as the lengths the Editorial Board goes to ensure that its articles are of the utmost quality. The Journal's system of editing and their focus on peer based reviewing is perhaps better

⁷Email from Mark Kramer, Editor of the JCWS, received on 21/02/2013

understood when you take into consideration that ‘the JCWS receives over 300 manuscripts a year, and we can accept no more than 25-30 of these’.⁸ The amount of articles that the JCWS receives means that the rate of acceptance ‘is around 8 percent’.⁹ Professor Kramer explicitly states that the benefit of a low acceptance rate is that ‘we have the leeway to reject a manuscript if it does not earn very positive reviews from all the external reviewers... however, in some instances; we do have authors revise a manuscript and resubmit it... It then goes out again for external review’.¹⁰

It is evident from these exchanges with Professor Kramer that the JCWS has adopted a very specific and thorough set of editorial procedures. These regulations can only serve the Journal positively by ensuring that the JCWS consistently maintains and improves the level of academia that it publishes. Perhaps the most interesting point that can be drawn from this section of the analysis is the fact that there is a very apparent US dominance with regards to the academic background of the Editorial Board. Although the central hypothesis of this essay is focussed on the articles it still applies to the Editorial Board and the nation or region that they reside. Given the severe lack of variance in this aspect of the JCWS, it will be intriguing to see if the same can be said for the articles.

Reputation and Ranking

The ranking of journals has become a controversial yet key issue in the sphere of academic publishing. Scholars within the global academic community are somewhat divided over the benefits; which has ultimately resulted in the formation of various ranking systems that each focus on different aspects of the journal in question. The evaluative tool most commonly employed by academic journals is the Impact Factor (IF). The IF is one of many systems of measurement that the world renowned ISI Thomson-Reuters Web of Knowledge, for example, uses to structure its set of rankings.

The IF is discovered by ‘dividing the number of citations to articles published in the 2 previous years by the total number of articles published in that journal during those 2 years’.¹¹ However there are some who staunchly criticise the widespread use of IF in the ranking of academic journals. In his work *On the pitfalls of journal ranking by Impact Factor*, Anders

⁸Ibid

⁹Ibid

¹⁰Ibid

¹¹ Linde, Anders, ‘Editorial: On the pitfalls of journal ranking by Impact Factor’, *European Journal of Oral Sciences*, (1998) P. 525

Linde states that 'citations to individual articles in a journal in fact form a very skewed distribution... it has been calculated that, in general, 15% of the journal articles account for 15% of the citations'.¹² This clearly highlights the pitfalls associated with the parameters set out by the IF and why it is a highly contentious issue.

In a similar sense to the ranking of journals, there have been systems developed to assess the reach and success of individual scholars. Programmes that have been created for this purpose, such as Publish or Perish, evaluate the amount of citations for articles written by an author and also the citations for all of the articles they have published. We will not be engaging with this programme because it is of little use to the research question, but it is still important to mention it in relation to the various forms of ranking that occur throughout academia.

Among the many ranking lists available online, it is essential to evaluate a specific amount so that we can determine how highly the JCWS is ranked, or if it is on the list at all. Analysing the differences between these lists, or whether the JCWS is mentioned on any lists at all, is vital to this study as it reveals how using various forms of measurement produce contrasting results. The sites that will be utilised in this study are the previously mentioned ISI Thomson-Reuters Web of Knowledge, the University of Washington's History and IR lists, the Scimago Journal and Country Rank and finally the European Union History List (European Science Foundation), otherwise known as the European Reference Index for the Humanities.

Having examined the lists mentioned above, it becomes clear that there are some very illuminating results worth commenting on. As I predicted earlier in the introduction, and perhaps unsurprisingly given the relative infancy of the JCWS, it is only listed on one of the ranking sites. The ISI Thomson Web of Knowledge, the University of Washington's lists for History and IR and the Scimago Journal and Country Rank fail to include the JCWS in their rankings. The European Reference Index for the Humanities (ERIH) is the only one out of those listed above that includes the JCWS in its ranking system. It is unclear why this is the case, but it almost certainly has something to do with the founding sentiments of the organisation that propagates the EUHL, the European Science Foundation. On their official website the ESF state that 'the European Reference Index for the Humanities (ERIH) is the only reference index created and developed by European researchers both for their own

¹² Ibid, pp. 526

purposes and in order to present their on-going research achievements systematically to the rest of the world'.¹³ With this in mind the ERIH goes on to explain that it examines a 'vast range of world-class research published by humanities researchers in the European languages'.¹⁴ This corresponds directly with what we are investigating because despite the JCWS being printed exclusively in English, the content it contains is truly international. This is evident because articles published by the JCWS over the last five years, as we will see later on in this essay, engage with topics that are centred around nation states that were on the periphery of the Cold War such as Denmark and Chile.

The JCWS is catalogued as a History based publication and is ranked as an INT2 ranked journal by the ERIH. It is important to note that the JCWS is categorised as an INT2 journal in both the 2007 and 2011 round of rankings. The ERIH website defines an INT2 journal as 'international publications with significant visibility and influence in the various research domains in different countries', as opposed to INT1 journals which are considered 'international publications with high visibility and influence among researchers in the various research domains in different countries, regularly cited all over the world'.¹⁵ This proves that despite the fact that the Journal has a fairly widespread scope and addresses issues that are still relevant to the current political climate, its young age in comparison to more well-established journals is vital to its omission from the rest of the ranking sites. It seems that the reason why the ERIH list incorporates the JCWS is because it is specifically focussed on journals that embrace a truly international perspective, something that is expressed in the extract from the Harvard University website further back in this essay. It is vital to note that due to the significant European presence in the Editorial Board, the content of the articles and the authors who actually write the articles; it is of little surprise that the ESF has included the JCWS in its set of analyses.

The fact that the Journal is not included on the other lists at all is in itself extremely significant. It shows that the JCWS has not yet reached the sufficient level needed to penetrate the clique of American based ranking sites, as so far only a European based ranking site has taken the time to assess it in any sort of detail.

¹³ European Science Foundation, 'European Reference Index for the Humanities (ERIH)', <http://www.esf.org/research-areas/humanities/erih-european-reference-index-for-the-humanities.html>, accessed on March 29th 2013

¹⁴ Ibid

¹⁵ ERIH Foreward, 'Important Information', <http://www.esf.org/research-areas/humanities/erih-european-reference-index-for-the-humanities/erih-foreword.html>, accessed on 29th March 2013

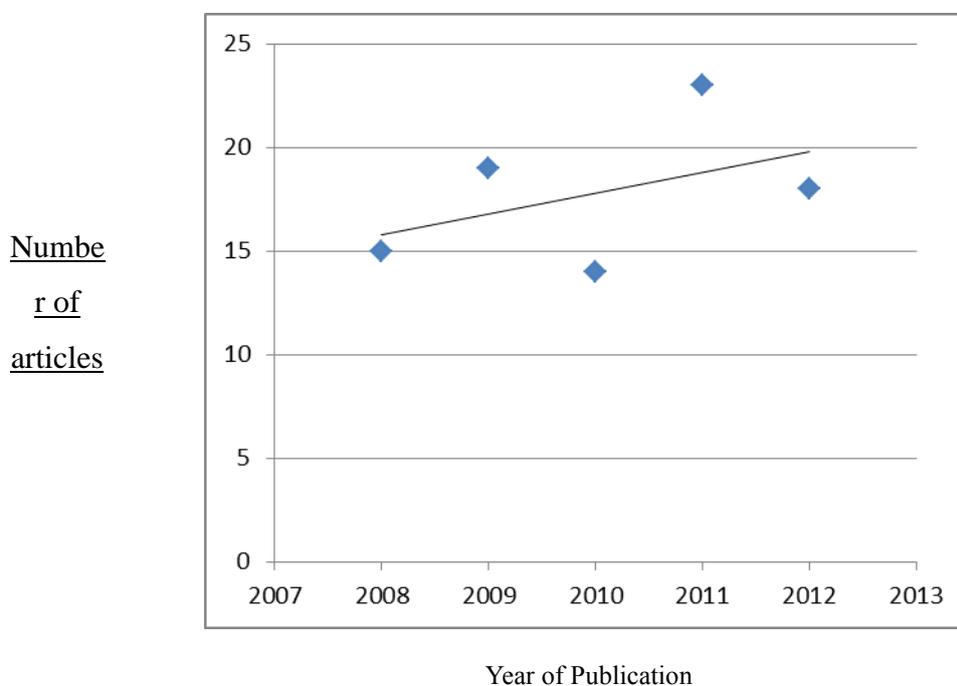
Content of the Journal

This section of the essay will, as explained in the introduction, signal the beginning of our assessment of the articles and other pieces of work published by the JCWS over the last five years. There are many different types of manuscript published in the JCWS between 2008 and 2012; these include articles, reviews, review essays, review forums, exchanges, forums and commentaries. Only the articles, review and reviews essays will come under inspection due to the fact that the rest are rarely published by the Journal and therefore not considered important enough to contribute to the analysis. Accordingly this chapter will contain a large amount of graphs and charts in order to properly establish whether there is an Anglo-American dominance in the work published by the JCWS.

Articles

We begin by analysing the amount of articles published by the JCWS and how this has fluctuated over the last five years. Using the data collected on the JCWS, this following chart has been created:

A graph to show the number of articles published by the JCWS



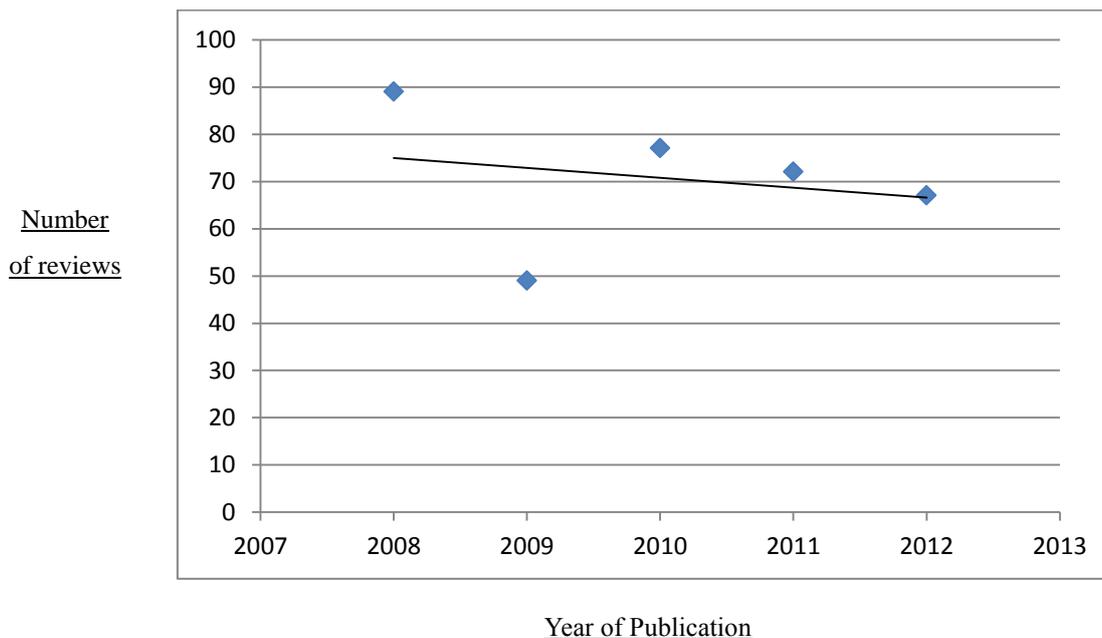
As you can see from the chart above, the number of articles published each year by the JCWS varies significantly. The overall total of articles published by the JCWS from 2008 to 2012 is 89, which works out at an average of 17.8 articles a year. What is visible from the chart is that

despite the desultory nature of the articles published by the Journal, they are still increasing in amount on a consistent basis.

Reviews

Although it was explicitly stated that the reviews will not be a fundamental part of this examination, it is necessary to assess to what extent the amount of reviews has fluctuated over the last five years and their relationship to the number of articles. It is important to note that the analysis in this section also includes review essays and other manuscripts described as a review, such as review forums. This subsequent chart is the result of an examination on the reviews from 2008 to 2012:

A graph to show the number of reviews published by the JCWS



In the same way that the articles vary in quantity year on year, it is clear from the above graph that the number of reviews does as well. There seems to be no obvious relationship between the two sets of results, suggesting that the number of articles published in a certain year has no or a limited influence on the number of reviews published in that same year. This can also be said for the reviews and their impact on the number of articles as both are a key component of the Journal. What does become apparent to our analysis is that the number of reviews published by the JCWS each year is slowly decreasing. The total number of reviews



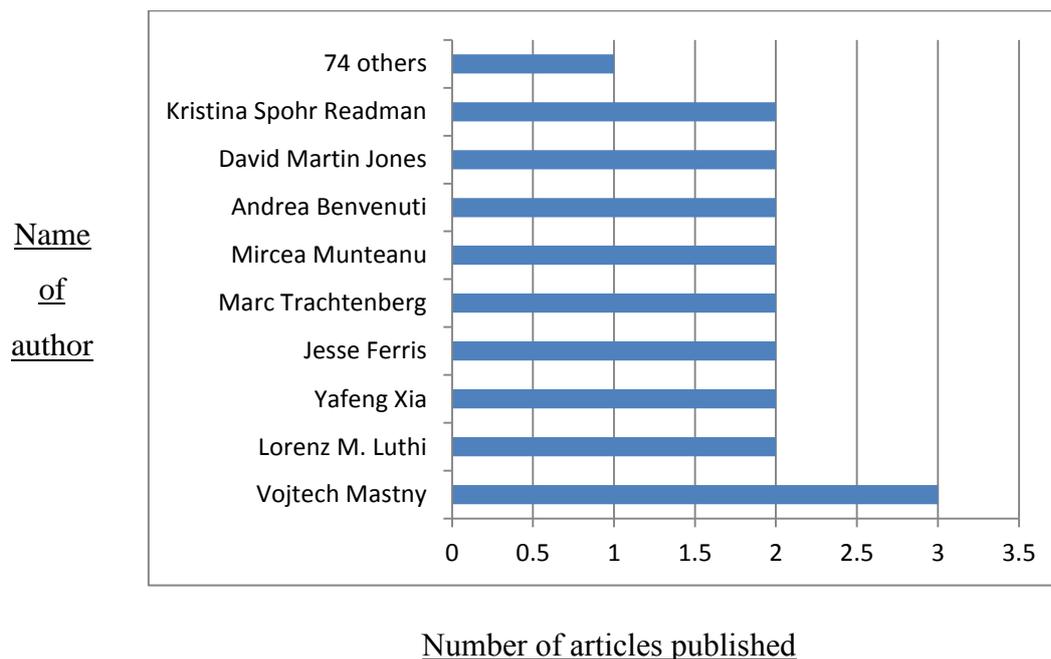
published between 2008 and 2012 is 354, which means that the average number released each year is 70.8. This signifies that on average each year, 3.97 reviews are published for every 1 article.

One factor that might have had an influence on the somewhat irregular number of articles and reviews published by the JCWS is the occurrence of special issues. Occasionally one issue will be focused on a particular topic and will have multiple articles, reviews and debates discussing the subject in detail. Yet there is only one special issue over the past five years and that was the Summer 2009 issue. The only thing close to a special issue aside from this release is in the Summer 2008 issue and the Spring 2012 issue, where there are subsections on the economic dimensions of the Cold War and the events of 1968 in the Soviet Bloc and the West respectively. Therefore special issues are relatively inconsequential to the general content of the JCWS as over the previous five years' worth of publishing there has only been one special issue.

Analysis

Now that the articles and reviews have been analysed with regards to their amount, attention can be switched to the issues more directly related to the hypothesis of this essay. First, using the table compiled on the articles contained in the JCWS, we will assess the geography of the authors in the published articles, their country of birth and whether the authors most frequently used by the Journal are American. This is fundamental in ascertaining to what extent there is an American hegemony in the Journal of Cold War Studies and it is critical to point out that this is only the nation the author was born in, not the country they are associated with academically. In addition to this, the birth country of an author is only included in the analysis so long as it can be verified. The graph provided below is an analysis of the authors most frequently published in the JCWS since 2008:

A graph to show the authors with the most articles published in the JCWS over the last five years



Probably the first thing that becomes clear after looking at this graph is the wide variety of authors published in the JCWS over the last five years. All in all there have been 83 authors published during this period of time, however, when we refer back to the number of articles there have been 87, so you may ask how can there be authors with multiple publications yet a discrepancy in the results? This is because a number of articles have two authors and in turn

has influenced the results seen in the graph above. After establishing which authors have had their work published the most, we will now examine the country they were born in:

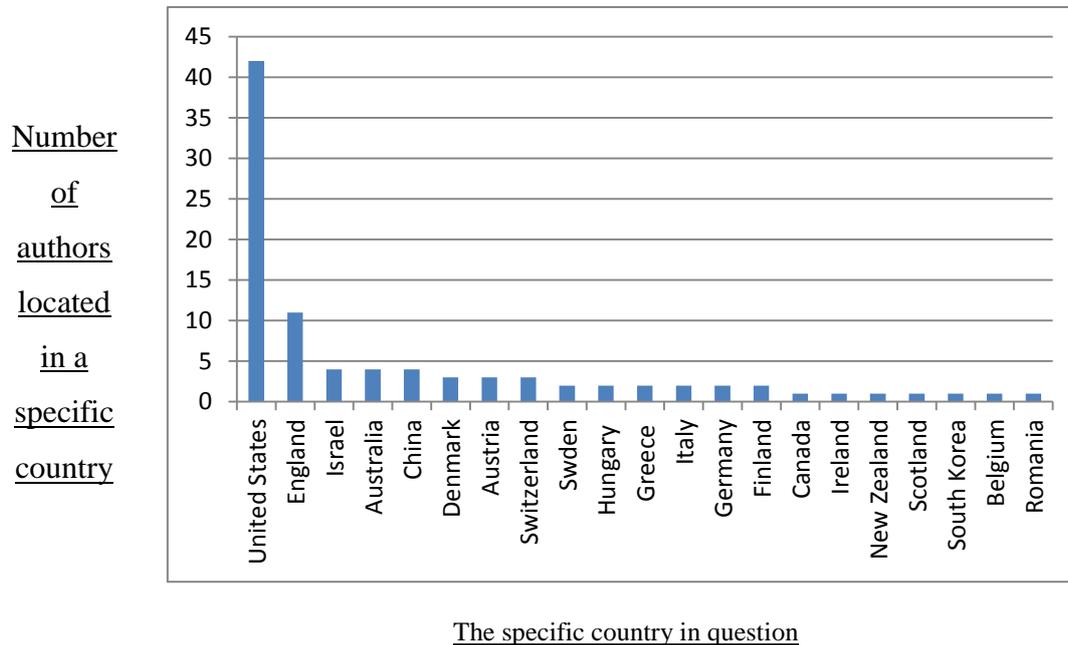
Vojtech Mastny	Czechoslovakia
Lorenz M. Luthi	Switzerland
Yafeng Xia	China
Jesse Ferris	Israel
Marc Trachtenberg	United States
Mircea Munteanu	Romania
Andrea Benvenuti	Italy
David Martin Jones	England
Kristina Spohr Readman	England

Perhaps the most important point to be made from the resulting table is that only one of the nine most published authors is from the United States. The scholar that is from the US, Marc Trachtenberg, is actually on the JCWS' Editorial Board. The diversity of the most published authors seems to strengthen the argument that the JCWS is a truly international journal. Even though Sabine Dankbaar states that 'the university scholars are associated with provides the strongest measure' of Anglo-American dominance, it is still interesting to see which countries the most frequently used authors are from and how it corresponds with the aims of this essay.¹⁶

With that in mind the spotlight now shifts to institutes and universities with whom the authors are affiliated with and the country in which they are situated. As Sabine rightly says, analysing the academic institute the scholars published in the JCWS are associated with is the best way to assess if there is a prolific Western dominance in the Journal. On the next page is a graph revealing the extent of the Anglo-American dominance with regards to the universities or institutes most commonly associated with the Journal's authors:

¹⁶Dankbaar, *The American Monopoly in International Relations and History*, P. 10

A graph to show the location of universities or institutes affiliated with authors published in the JCWS



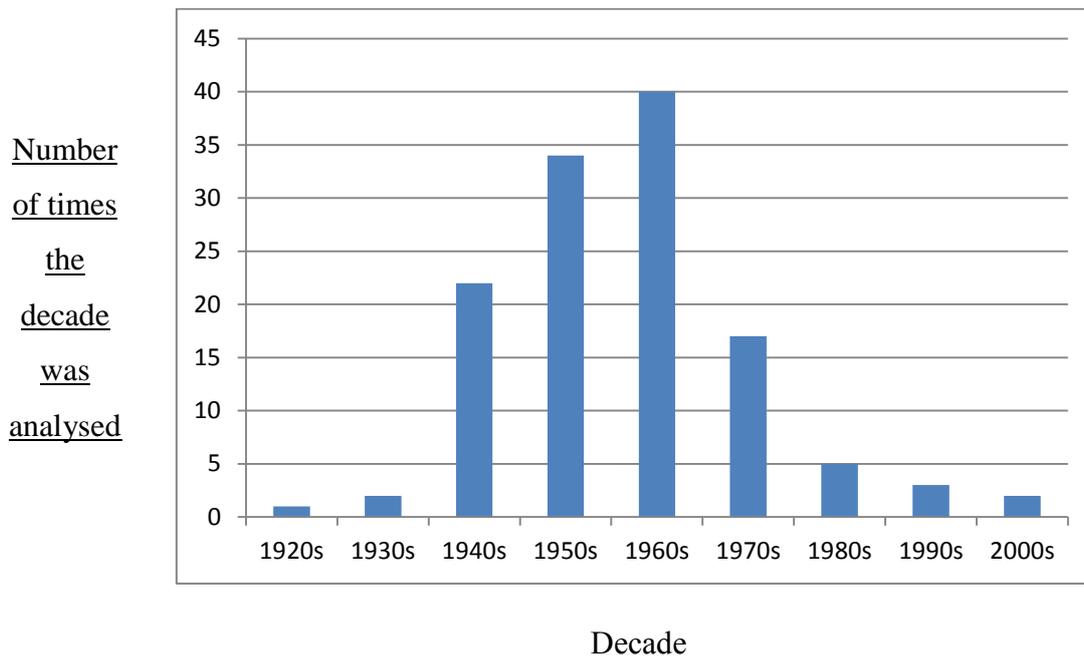
With one glance at this graph it is elementary to think that there is an overwhelming emphasis on US based academic institutes. Despite the fact that this is true to a certain extent, when compared to the Anglo-American dominance of higher ranked journals the emphasis on Western based authors seems insignificant. Sabine reveals in her essay how 'an overwhelming majority of the articles in American journals was written by authors with an American background', and her results showed that 'the percentages ranged from *International Security* with 90 percent to *Human Rights Quarterly* with 68 percent'.¹⁷ In contrast to more well-established and higher ranked journals such as *International Security*, the presence of Anglo-American based authors in the JCWS stands at a mere 57 percent. The remaining 33 percent is made up of many European nations but most importantly countries outside of the Western world such as South Korea, China, New Zealand and Israel. Somewhat surprisingly, considering the Russian presence on the Editorial Board, there are no authors connected to any Russian universities or academic institutes. Nonetheless, there is still a sizable contingent of non-western located authors who also supports the argument that the JCWS can be classed as a Journal with an international scope and perspective.

As focus shifts away from the authors we turn our attention towards the content of the JCWS and more specifically the time period most regularly under inspection throughout the

¹⁷Ibid, P. 10

last five years of publication. Because the Cold War evolved over time and circumstances were constantly changing it is crucial to analyse which decade is most commonly in question. By doing this we can ascertain which issues and events are considered most significant by the scholars in the Cold War field of academia. On occasion some of the articles address multiple decades; however this doesn't have any negative ramifications for the results of our findings. The ensuing graph is a compilation of this data:

A graph to show the decade most often discussed in the JCWS

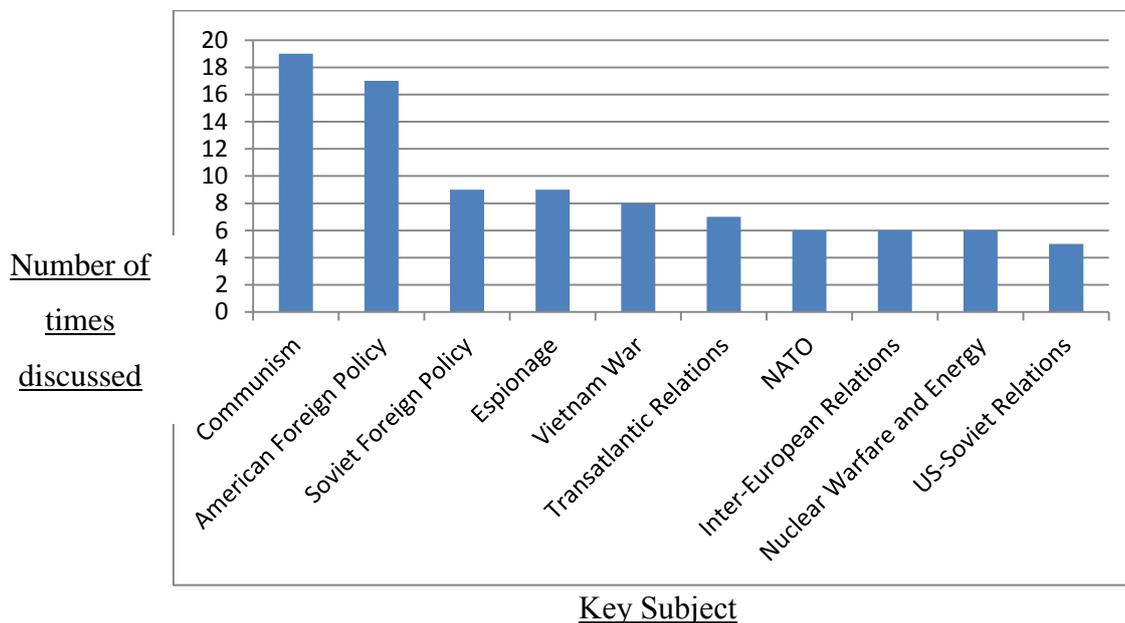


Looking at the graph there are some significant findings worthy of note. The 1960s are, as expected, the decade most often under investigation in the JCWS. This is almost certainly due to the multitude of events that took place during this time such as the Cuban Missile Crisis and the Vietnam War. Coming in a close second are the 1950s; during which large scale conflicts like the Korean War occurred. Astonishingly enough the 1970s and 1980s have barely featured in the JCWS during the last five years, suggesting that the field of Cold War history has put significant focus on re-analysing events of the 1940s, 50s, 60s.

Last, but by no means least in our analysis comes the key subjects most commonly investigated by the JCWS between 2008 and 2012. It is of critical importance to our understanding of the Journal's focus that we analyse the subjects discussed in the JCWS to see whether it focuses more on subjects concerning the US or is truly international in its analysis. In order to achieve this, each article published during this period will be associated

with two key subjects based on their focus. These key subjects will be framed within pre-designated categories, allowing us to identify the themes and topics that have been discussed most throughout the last five years of publication. Categories such as the Vietnam War and NATO, for example, are relatively self-explanatory; any article related to either of these categories will subsequently have it listed as key subject. Yet other categories, such as Communism, require more detailed explanation. An article is not labeled with Communism as a key subject if it simply involves the Soviet Union or China, for example. This category is focused on Communism from an ideological perspective, therefore any article discussing the differences between Soviet and Chinese forms of Communism will be listed in this category. Some of these categories, like American Foreign Policy and US-Soviet Relations, will naturally overlap with each other. As each article is designated with two key subjects, it ensures that the categories are as accurate as possible and represent the specific focus of every article. For academic reasons only the top ten subjects will be included in the assessment. The relationship between these criteria will be shown in the graph below:

A graph to show the key subjects analysed in the JCWS and their frequency



The most striking impression you get after examining the graph above is that there is a significant emphasis on the United States and the Soviet Union. Both of these states are prominent in the categories Communism, American Foreign Policy, Soviet Foreign Policy, Espionage, Vietnam War, Transatlantic Relations, NATO, Nuclear Warfare and Energy and US-Soviet Relations. Yet as both of these countries were the main actors in the Cold War, this is to be expected to some degree. Although categories such as Communism also include

states such as China, North Korea, South Korea North Vietnam and South Vietnam while the Inter-European Relations category includes analysis of many other European nations such as Finland, Romania and Hungary. This suggests that although the subjects most commonly assessed in the JCWS center on the US and the Soviet Union, the relationship between these two states is rarely addressed and the focus is more on their liaisons with other, smaller nations.

Conclusion

Following this in-depth appraisal of the JCWS, several key conclusions can be drawn that help us understand the true nature of the Journal and its inner-workings. The JCWS is an historical journal that also adopts an interdisciplinary focus from time to time depending on the topic under investigation. By using recently released archival sources, the JCWS ensures that all its manuscripts offer a re-evaluation of key issues and events that occurred before, during and after the Cold War.

As with any academic journal the JCWS is not without bias or favouritisms. It is clear from our analysis of the Editorial Board that there is a significant American dominance in this section of the Journal. However, this is overshadowed by the fact that the usual Anglo-American dominance of US based journals is less prevalent in the JCWS. With only 57 percent of the authors coming from institutes or universities in the US and England, it represents a greater diversity in the geographical location of the Journal's authors. This is quite possibly the most significant attribute of the journal and it supports the argument provided by Sabine Dankbaar in her work previously cited in this essay. Using the JCWS as an example we could hypothesise the lower a journal is ranked, the greater probability it will adopt a more international approach. It is disappointing the JCWS didn't take the opportunity to diversify the Editorial Board following the demise of some its members. Moreover it seldom includes any African or Latin American Cold War history, yet this remains something to improve on in the future.

Because of its emphasis on cutting-edge historical research, the JCWS ensures that it is on the frontline of investigation into the Cold War. As a fledging historian specialising in aspects of the Cold War, the JCWS offers me indispensable knowledge of how the field of Cold War history constantly changes in relation to the release of governmental documentation. The JCWS is possibly the best academic publication on the Cold War and this opinion is shared by many within the academic community. The highly regarded journal *Foreign Policy* stated



in its 2009 Summer issue that 'the *Journal of Cold War Studies* promises to be a leading forum for path-breaking archival research', and 'the journal fills an important void for historians and political scientists studying the Cold War'.¹⁸

Altogether the *Journal of Cold War Studies* is an exemplary publication which despite retaining several biases towards Anglo-American history and its scholars, strives to attain an international characteristic. This is most pertinent because the Cold War was in its nature a truly global phenomenon, so it is only fitting that an investigative journal takes on a more international perspective.

¹⁸Cold War Studies at Harvard University, <http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~hpcws/editorialboard.htm>, accessed on April 4th 2013

The dynamic duo: Who out of Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger was most decisive in shaping US policy towards Salvador Allende and Chile from 1970 to 1973?

As mentioned in the preceding section, this short examination will assess a particular topic that is discussed at some point during the last five years of publication by the JCWS. This section will analyse who out of Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger had greater influence in the American policy to economically and politically displace Salvador Allende during his time as president of Chile. This topic, not this specific issue, has been recurrent in a number of issues published by the JCWS and it is something I have written on before yet not in as much detail. This subject was first printed in the Summer 2010 issue when Kristian Gustafson, a scholar who holds a notoriously critical view of American policy in Chile, reviewed the book 'Nixon, Kissinger, and Allende: U.S. Involvement in the 1973 Coup in Chile' by Lubna Qureshi. Since then the JCWS has published an exchange between the two academics; at first Qureshi responded to Gustafson's review negatively, to which Gustafson replied in defence of his critical approach towards her work. Neither of them has addressed the issue in discussion here however it is definitely worth-while to assess whether American policy towards Chile from 1970 to 1973 was shaped more by Nixon or by Kissinger.

Due to the release of primary documentation revealing the content of discussions between President Nixon, Henry Kissinger and a host of others involved at the decision-making level of US politics, there is a substantial amount of sources that shed light on this controversial point in American history. First of all it is necessary to provide a brief explanation of the United States' policy towards Chile during this time. After this has been established we will look at the documentation that shows how instrumental President Nixon was in the formation of the aggressive policy undertaken by the Nixon government. In contrast to this perspective we will analyse how much of an impact Henry Kissinger had and try to conclude, if possible, which one out of the two played the greater role in creating this policy.

In the Chilean presidential election that occurred on the 4th of September 1970, renowned Marxist Salvador Allende won with 36% of the vote. However he did not achieve an overall majority and consequently was not officially elected as President of Chile until the Chilean Congress had voted to support his election, which they did on the 4th of November. High-ranking officials in the Nixon administration were furious that they had seemingly allowed Allende to succeed in the election and in response embarked on a policy of political

and economic destabilisation that would culminate with a military coup on September 11th, 1973.

Eleven days after Allende had won the election on the 15th of September 1970, President Nixon instructed CIA Director Richard Helms to prevent the Chilean congress from instating Allende as president by antagonising a military coup. This was supposed to be led by generals in the Chilean military who shared the same sentiments as the US, and the eventual aim was to banish Allende from the Chilean political arena.¹⁹ Also in this meeting, Richard Helms notes down President Nixon saying things like 'make the economy scream'.²⁰ This not only shows Nixon's desire to remove Allende from power, but also how central he was at the decision-making level and that he was the decisive factor in its conception. His conviction and dedication to this approach is also reflected in the National Security Council meeting on the 6th of November 1970, during which Nixon stated that Allende 'is not going to change; only self-interest will affect him'.²¹ The reason why these sentiments are reflected in the statements highlighted above is because during Allende's presidency the Nixon administration restricted loans from institutions such as the IMF and the World Bank, ultimately leaving the Allende government bankrupt by the time of the 1973 coup. Therefore when Nixon says only self-interest will affect him and to make the economy scream, it is pretty clear that this statement is a pre-cursor to the future policy undertaken by the Nixon administration to disrupt Chile financially.

Despite the overwhelming evidence in favour of Nixon as the most influential factor in the Chilean policy, there are a fair amount of sources that suggest otherwise. One of these is the secret memorandum Henry Kissinger sent to Nixon a day before the National Security Council meeting on October 6th 1970. It is important to note that this meeting happened at a point when US policy towards Chile was still in a formative stage and Allende was yet to be announced as president. Henry Kissinger's rhetoric in this document clearly discloses how strongly he believed an aggressive policy was needed against Allende. The opening paragraph in this document contains sentences spoken directly to President Nixon, such as 'the election of Allende... poses for us one of the most serious challenges ever faced in this hemisphere', 'your decision as to what to do about it may be the most historic and difficult

¹⁹Sigmund, Paul E., *United States policy in Latin America: a quarter century of crisis and challenge, 1961-1986* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988) P. 171

²⁰Memorandum of Conversation at NSC meeting 97 (Chile), November 6th, 1970, P. 5 :

<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/news/20001113/701106.pdf>

²¹Ibid

foreign affairs decision you will have to make this year’, and that this decision influences ‘our relations with the USSR... they will even affect our own conception of what our role in the world is’.²² By including key issues such as US relations with the USSR, Henry Kissinger knew that the President would listen to his advice and treat Allende as a serious and grave threat to American security. Robert Dallek writes that ‘exaggerated fears of Allende’s capacity to undermine U.S. security in the hemisphere speaks poorly of the Nixon-Kissinger judgement’.²³ However the renowned British political commentator Christopher Hitchens best predicts the reason why Kissinger took such a strong stance on Chile, citing that he ‘took seriously this chance to impress his boss’.²⁴ This claim is supported by the language Kissinger used when discussing Chile with President Nixon and as Dallek argues, Kissinger severely overestimated the threat Allende and Chile presented US hegemony in the region.

It is quite difficult to determine who out of Nixon and Kissinger had the greater influence in the creation and maintenance of US policy towards Salvador Allende. The documentation that shows Henry Kissinger harassing Nixon to maintain a combative approach towards Allende is vital because it can be argued that without such a strong supporter of the policy to remove Allende as his National Security Advisor, President Nixon may not have adopted such a policy. This altogether suggests that if there were any doubts in Nixon's mind regarding the adoption of an outwardly hostile policy towards Allende, Kissinger surely banished them with his explicit belief that Allende was a serious danger to the United States. In contrast to this President Nixon clearly possessed a fierce determination to remove Allende from office which is perhaps most evident during his meeting with Richard Helms on the 15th of September 1970. Moreover it can be claimed that while Kissinger stressed to Nixon how important this issue was, it was Nixon who determined which course of action to take. So in that sense, it was the President who was more involved in the decision to stifle Chile economically. Either way both Nixon and Kissinger clearly had an unerring eagerness to relieve Allende of his presidential duties in the hope of preserving the United States’ unchallenged dominance in Latin America, and were each guilty of grossly overestimating the threat he posed.

²²Memorandum for the President from Henry Kissinger, November 5th 1970:
<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB110/chile02.pdf>

²³Dallek, Robert, *Nixon and Kissinger*, (New York: Harper Collins, 2007) P. 621

²⁴Hitchens, Christopher, *The Trial of Henry Kissinger*, (London: Verso Publishers, 2001) P. 56

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