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Everything began to unravel on October 5, 1986, when a Nicaraguan soldier downed an American plane carrying arms to “Contra” guerrillas, exposing a tightly held U.S. clandestine program. A month later, reports surfaced that Washington had been covertly selling arms to Iran (our sworn enemy and a state sponsor of terrorism), in exchange for help freeing hostages in Beirut. The profits, it turned out, were going to support the Contras, despite an explicit ban by Congress.

In the firestorm that erupted, shocking details emerged, raising the prospect of impeachment, and the American public confronted a scandal as momentous as it was confusing. At its center was President Ronald Reagan amid a swirl of questions about illegal wars, consorting with terrorists, and the abuse of presidential power.

Yet, despite the enormity of the issues, the affair dropped from the public radar due to media overkill, years of legal wrangling, and a vigorous campaign to forestall another Watergate. As a result, many Americans failed to grasp the scandal’s full import.

Through exhaustive use of declassified documents, previously unavailable investigative materials, and wide-ranging interviews, Malcolm Byrne places the events in their historical and political context (notably the Cold War and a sharp partisan domestic divide), he explores what made the affair possible and meticulously relates how it unfolded—including clarifying minor myths about cakes, keys, bibles, diversion memos, and shredding parties.

Iran-Contra demonstrates that the affair could not have occurred without awareness and approval at the very top of the U.S. government. Byrne reveals an unmistakable pattern of dubious behavior—including potentially illegal conduct by the president, vice president, the secretaries of state and defense, the CIA director and others—that formed the true core of the scandal.

Given the lack of meaningful consequences for those involved, the volume raises critical questions about the ability of our current system of checks and balances to address presidential abuses of power, and about the possibility of similar outbreaks in the future.

Malcolm Byrne is Deputy Director and Research Director at the National Security Archive. He is the coauthor of Becoming Enemies: U.S.-Iran Relations in the Iran-Iraq War, 1979–1988.
Holocaust versus Wehrmacht
How Hitler’s “Final Solution” Undermined the German War Effort

Yaron Pasher

In 1941, as Nazi Germany began its disastrous campaign against the Soviet Union, Hitler’s other campaign, to exterminate European Jewry, was also commencing in earnest. What began with organized executions carried out by the Einsatzgruppen evolved into systematic genocide, reaching its frenzied final moments just as the Wehrmacht was meeting defeat on the military front. These campaigns—and Germany’s failure—were inextricably linked, Yaron Pasher tells us in Holocaust versus Wehrmacht. Pasher argues, in fact, that the major share of the logistical problems faced by the Wehrmacht during World War II stemmed from Hitler’s obsession with securing the resources—especially from the Reichsbahn railway—needed to implement the “Final Solution.” To a degree never fully recognized or understood, Hitler’s anti-Semitic ideology was his war’s undoing.

Through four major Wehrmacht military campaigns—Moscow, Stalingrad, and Kursk in the east and Normandy in the west—Pasher explores this fatal contradiction in Hitler’s efforts to dominate the European continent. As Operation Typhoon, the sequel to the German invasion of the Soviet Union, got underway in November 1941, organized train transports began carrying Jews to the East—with the last trains taking Hungarian Jews to Auschwitz just as the Allies invaded Western Europe and moved inexorably to encircle the Third Reich. In these years, this book shows us, the trains transporting Jews could have carried men, machines, and fuel to depleted and trapped divisions in the Caucasus, and later, to the Western Front. As the Germans moved deeper into Soviet territory, they became increasingly dependent on train transport—which entailed converting Soviet railway line to German specifications; and yet, however successfully this conversion was completed, the trains that might run on these rails were working elsewhere in service of the Final Solution, leaving the Wehrmacht’s overextended armies without the resources to survive, let alone win, their final battles.

In the end, what Hitler called “the Jewish problem” was his downfall. In documenting the distribution of Germany’s resources and operational capabilities through four major campaigns, Holocaust versus Wehrmacht offers a clear picture of the Nazis’ military objectives as inseparable from—and finally, fatally susceptible to—Hitler’s and his henchmen’s other, ideological war to rid Europe of Jews.

Yaron Pasher is a postdoctoral fellow at the International Institute for Holocaust Research Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.
Carbon Nation
Fossil Fuels in the Making of American Culture

Bob Johnson

Fossil fuels power our cars, our food supply, our climate-controlled homes, our work, and our play. That much we know. What we understand less, and what this book makes clear, is how fossil fuels also condition Americans’ sensory lives, erotic experiences, and aesthetics; how they structure what we assume to be normal and healthy; and how they prop up a distinctly modern bargain with nature that allows populations and economies to grow wildly beyond the previously understood limits of the organic economy. Carbon Nation ranges across film and literary studies, journalism, politics, art history, and ecology, to chart the course by which prehistoric carbon calories influenced—in both conscious and unconscious ways—the modern American economy and body. This includes our ways of being, sensing, and knowing as different classes, races, sexes, and conditions learned to embrace, absorb, and navigate the material manifestations, cultural potentialities, and myriad costs of fossil fuels.

Combining historical ecology with cultural criticism, this book reveals the profound depths of our dependencies on carbon and the long repressed cultural history of our evasion and neglect of those dependencies. The ecological roots of modern America are introduced in the first half of the book with the revolution in material growth generated by the move from limited organic soil resources to subsoil energies. In the works of Eugene O’Neill, Upton Sinclair, Sherwood Anderson, and Stephen Crane, the author exposes how coal as a cultural object is used to suppress our dependencies, buried beneath modernist narratives of progress, consumption, and unbridled growth. In films like Charlie Chaplin’s Modern Times and George Stevens’s Giant we discover cinematic expressions of our deep-seated anxieties about living in a dizzying new world wrought by fossil fuels.

Any discussion of fossil fuels must go beyond energy policy and technology. As Bob Johnson reminds us, in provocative and powerful ways, what we take to be natural in the modern world is, in fact, historical, and our history and our culture have risen from this relatively recent embrace of the coal mine, the stoke hole, and the oil derrick.

Bob Johnson is associate professor of history and chair of the Department of Social Sciences at National University in San Diego.

“Johnson has crafted a unique and exciting interdisciplinary treatise on the concept of energy in American life that profoundly informs our understanding of the basic cultural patterns of twentieth-century living. His writing style is spry and intelligent, while his insights are provocative and terribly important and should inspire scholars in a number of fields.”

Brian Black, author of Crude Reality: Petroleum in World History and Petrolia: The Landscape of America’s First Oil Boom

“Bob Johnson examines the shift away from renewable energy to fossil fuels during the century before the energy crisis of the 1970s, and he explores the ambivalent cultural consequences of that transformation, as Americans sought to ignore its environmental costs as they embraced a narrative of technological empowerment.”

David E. Nye, author of Technology Matters
Is there an American culture? Certainly, says James Morone. Americans are fighting over it now. They have been fighting over it since the first Puritan stepped ashore. Americans hate government (no national health insurance!) and call for more of it (lock ‘em up!). They prize democracy (power to the people) and scramble to restrict it (the electoral college in the 21st century?). They celebrate opportunity—but only for some (don’t let those people in!). Americans proclaim liberty then wrestle over which kind—positive (freedom from want) or negative (no new taxes!)?

In this volume Morone offers his own answer to the conundrum of American political culture: It is a perpetual work in progress. Immigrants arrive, excluded groups demand power, and each generation injects new ethnicities, races, religions, ideas, foods, entertainments, sins, and body types into the national mix. The challengers—the devils we know—keep inventing new answers to the nation’s fundamental question: Who are we?

Each essay in *The Devils We Know* takes up a different aspect of the creative conflicts that shape America. Ranging from Huck Finn to Obamacare, Morone explores the ways in which culture interacts with other forces—most notably the rules and organizations that channel collective choices. The battle to define the nation’s political culture spills over into every area of American life, but three are especially important: democracy, economics, and morals—each, in turn, complicated by race, race, race. Written over 25 years, these essays constitute a closely observed and deeply thoughtful vision of what America is—its ideas, images, rules, institutions, and culture clashes. Together, they explain just why America is the way it is. And what it might become.

James A. Morone is the John Hazen White Professor of Political Science and Public Policy at Brown University. His many books include *Hellfire Nation: The Politics of Sin in American History*, *The Democratic Wish*, *The Heart of Power: Health and Politics in the Oval Office* (with David Blumenthal), and *By the People: Debating American Government* (with Rogan Kersh).
Secrecy in the Sunshine Era
The Promise and Failures of U.S. Open Government Laws

Jason Ross Arnold

A series of laws passed in the 1970s promised the nation unprecedented transparency in government, a veritable “sunshine era.” Though citizens enjoyed a new arsenal of secrecy-busting tools, officials developed a handy set of workarounds, from overclassification to concealment, shredding, and burning. It is this dark side of the sunshine era that Jason Ross Arnold explores in the first comprehensive, comparative history of presidential resistance to the new legal regime, from Reagan-Bush to the first term of Obama-Biden.

After examining what makes a necessary and unnecessary secret, Arnold considers the causes of excessive secrecy, and why we observe variation across administrations. While some administrations deserve the scorn of critics for exceptional secrecy, the book shows excessive secrecy was a persistent problem well before 9/11, during Democratic and Republican administrations alike. Regardless of party, administrations have consistently worked to weaken the system’s legal foundations.

The book reveals episode after episode of evasive maneuvers, rule bending, clever rhetorical gambits, and downright defiance; an army of secrecy workers in a dizzying array of institutions labels all manner of documents “top secret,” while other government workers and agencies manage to suppress information with a “sensitive but unclassified” designation. For example, the health effects of Agent Orange and antibiotic-resistant bacteria leaking out of Midwestern hog farms are considered too “sensitive” for public consumption. These examples and many more document how vast the secrecy system has grown during the sunshine era.

Rife with stories of vital scientific evidence withheld, justice eluded, legalities circumvented, and the public interest flouted, Secrecy in the Sunshine Era reveals how our information society has been kept in the dark in too many ways and for too long.

Jason Ross Arnold is assistant professor of political science at Virginia Commonwealth University. He has previously published articles on public ignorance, corruption, and public opinion.

“Arnold’s powerful analysis of the unanticipated consequences of sunshine era legislation, from Reagan-Bush through Obama-Biden, is a must-read for anyone interested in current debates about transparency and accountability.”

Katherine Scott, Ph.D., author of Rein in the State: Civil Society and Congress in the Vietnam and Watergate Eras

“It’s high time a scholar of Jason Ross Arnold’s caliber peels back the excuses to reveal the excesses of secrecy. . . . I feel safe saying that national security would not suffer one bit if Arnold’s reasonable proposals were adopted.”

David C. Gompert, former Principal Deputy Director of National Intelligence

“I highly commend it to scholars, policy professionals, and citizens alike.”

Mark J. Rozell, author of Executive Privilege: Presidential Power, Secrecy, and Accountability

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NEW BOOKS
Let us hope that this book, poorly written and disjointed, but sincere, will help to clear up our relationship with our dear, dead friend Lee.” Thus concludes a largely forgotten manuscript appended to Volume XII of the House Select Committee on Assassinations. “Lee,” of course, was Lee Harvey Oswald, the man accused of having assassinated President John F. Kennedy in Dallas on November 22, 1963—and whose closest friend, many have argued, was Dallas resident George de Mohrenschildt.

For years following Kennedy’s assassination there were rumors and assumptions—some started by de Mohrenschildt himself—that this colorful, larger-than-life European émigré possessed a key to understanding Oswald’s alleged actions. The reflections presented here, recorded between 1969 and his death in 1977, was de Mohrenschildt’s attempt to recover the humanity of a friend he believed had been demonized as simply an “insane killer.” In a series of recollections about his brief friendship with Oswald and his wife Marina between the fall of 1962 and the spring of 1963, de Mohrenschildt recalls conversations about Lee’s time in Minsk, about political issues of the day, particularly Latin America, and the Oswalds’ turbulent and troubled marriage. He discusses the assassination and its aftermath, including his lengthy 1964 Warren Commission testimony, appearance on NBC television, and concludes with his own speculations about the possibility of a conspiracy to assassinate Kennedy and the question of Oswald’s involvement. Threaded throughout are de Mohrenschildt’s reflections on the corrosive effects of his friendship with the Oswalds on his and his wife Jeanne’s personal and professional lives, first in 1964 and then echoing right up to the completion of this manuscript in 1976.

Deftly edited and annotated by Michael Rinella, whose introduction also supplies critical background information and context, this once unwieldy, grammatically quirky, and eccentrically organized text can now be seen for the valuable biographical, social, and historical document it actually is.

George de Mohrenschildt was born in 1911 in the present-day Republic of Belarus, and immigrated to the United States in 1938, sixteen years after his family escaped to Poland from the Soviet Union. Fluent in several languages and already well-educated, he received a master’s degree in petroleum geology from the University of Texas at Austin, in 1945. In 1952, he moved to Dallas, where he lived—with a few years’ sojourn in Haiti—until 1977, when, shortly after learning that a congressional committee investigating the assassinations of the 1960s wanted him to testify, he took his own life.

Michael A. Rinella is senior acquisitions editor at State University of New York Press.
Sergei Bondarchuk’s *War and Peace*, one of the world’s greatest film epics, originated as a consequence of the Cold War. Conceived as a response to King Vidor’s *War and Peace*, Bondarchuk’s surpassed that film in every way, giving the USSR one small victory in the cultural Cold War for hearts and minds. This book, taking up Bondarchuk’s masterpiece as a Cold War film, an epic, a literary adaptation, a historical drama, and a rival to Vidor’s Hollywood version, recovers—and expands—a lost chapter in the cultural and political history of the twentieth century.

Like many great works of literature, Tolstoy’s epic tale proved a major challenge to filmmakers. After several early efforts to capture the story’s grandeur, it was not until 1956 that King Vidor dared to bring *War and Peace* to the big screen. American critics were lukewarm about the film, but it was shown in the Soviet Union to popular acclaim. This book tells the story of how the Soviet government, military, and culture ministry—all eager to reclaim this Russian masterpiece from their Cold War enemies—pulled together to make Bondarchuk’s *War and Peace* possible. Bondarchuk, an actor who had directed only one film, was an unlikely choice for director, and yet he produced one of the great works of Soviet cinema, a worthy homage to Tolstoy’s masterpiece—an achievement only sweetened when Russia’s Cold War adversary recognized it with the Academy Award’s Oscar for Best Foreign Language Film of 1968.

Denise Youngblood examines the film as an epic (and at seven hours long, released in four parts, at a cost of nearly $700,000,000 in today’s dollars, it was certainly that), a literary adaptation, a complex reflection on history, and a significant artifact of the cultural Cold War between the US and the USSR. From its various angles, the book shows us Bondarchuk’s extraordinary film in its many dimensions—aesthetic, political, and historical—even as it reveals what the film tells us about how Soviet patriotism and historical memory were constructed during the Cold War.

Denise J. Youngblood is professor of history at the University of Vermont. Her many books include *Russian War Films: On the Cinema Front, 1914–2005*, and, with Tony Shaw, *Cinematic Cold War: The American and Soviet Struggle for Hearts and Minds*, both published by Kansas.

“As Youngblood argues in her engrossing book, Sergei Bondarchuk’s film adaptation should be considered an epic, one that captures many important aspects of Soviet culture in the 1960s.”

Stephen M. Norris, author of *Blockbuster History in the New Russia: Movies, Memory, and Patriotism*

“A tour de force . . . Every class in film studies, Russian literature, and Cold War history will greatly benefit from this book.”

Anna Lawton, author of *Before the Fall: Soviet Cinema in the Gorbachev Years*

“A highly informative and engaging book that will appeal to film buffs, Tolstoy aficionados, and scholars alike.”

Andrew D. Kaufman, author of *Give War and Peace a Chance: Tolstoyan Wisdom for Troubled Times*
“Barber’s provocative
Constitutional Failure makes
us confront the fact that the
American Constitution might be failing. Yet in taking this
prospect seriously Barber helps us think more clearly
about what it means for the Constitution to succeed. In
doing so, he also reveals that the best defenders of
the Constitution are those who are willing to take its
shortcomings seriously.”

George Thomas, author of The Madisonian Constitution

“A meditative essay on the
possibility that the Consti-
tution is in fact a failure.
Barber’s surface pessimism
conceals a much deeper
optimism about the
possibility of a revitalized
constitutionalism that would
produce citizens devoted to
ensuring that our represen-
tatives actually seek to
advance the Constitution’s
deepest values.”

Mark Tushnet, author of The
New Constitutional Order

Americans err in thinking that while
their politics may be ailing, their
Constitution is fine. Sick politics is a
sure sign of constitutional failure. This is
Sotirios Barber’s message in Constitutional
Failure. Public attitudes fostered by a
consumer culture, constitution worship,
the lack of a trusted leadership community,
and academic historicism and value
skepticism—these, this book tells us in
clear and bracing terms, are at the root of
our political dysfunction.

Barber characterizes the Constitution as
a plan of government—a set of means to
public purposes like national security and
prosperity. He argues that if the government
is failing, it’s fair to conclude that the plan
is failing and that laws that are supposed to
serve as means can’t in reason continue to
bind when they no longer work. He argues
further that constitutional success depends
ultimately on a stratum of diverse and
self-critical citizens, who see each other as
moral equals and parts of one national
community. These citizens, with the
politicians among them, would be good-
faith contestants regarding the meaning of
the common good and the most effective
means to secure it. In this way—showing
how the success of a constitutional democ-
Very now is more a matter of political attitudes
than of institutional performance—Barber’s
book upends the conventional understand-
ing of constitutional failure. In Barber’s
analysis, the apparent stability of formal
constitutional institutions—usually
interpreted as evidence of constitutional
health—may actually indicate the defining
element of constitutional failure: a mentally
inert citizenry no longer capable of constitu-
tional reflection and reform.

At once concise and thorough in its
analysis of the concept of constitutional
failure and its accounts of a “healthy
politics,” the corrosive impact of Madisonian
checks and balances (as a substitute for
trust-worthy leadership), and the outlook
for meaningful reform, this book offers a
carefully reasoned and provocative assess-
ment of the viability of constitutional
governance in the United States.

Sotirios A. Barber is professor of political
science at the University of Notre Dame. He is the author of several books including
Welfare and Constitution, On What the
Constitution Means, and The Fallacies of
States’ Rights.
**Chief Executive to Chief Justice**

Taft betwixt the White House and Supreme Court

Lewis L. Gould

As our 27th president from 1909 to 1913, and then as chief justice of the Supreme Court from 1921 to 1930, William Howard Taft was the only man ever to lead two of America’s three governing branches. But between these two well-documented periods in office, there lies an eight-year patch of largely unexplored political wilderness. It was during this time, after all, that Taft somehow managed to rise from his ignominious defeat by both Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt in the 1912 election to achieve his lifelong goal of becoming chief justice. In the first in-depth look at this period in Taft’s singular career, eminent presidential historian Lewis L. Gould reveals how a man often derided for his lack of political acumen made his way through the hazards of Republican affairs to gain his objective.

In the years between the presidency and the Supreme Court Taft was, as one commentator observed, “the greatest of globe trotters for humanity.” Gould tracks him as he crisscrosses the country from 1913 through the summer of 1921, the inveterate traveler reinventing himself as an elder Republican statesman with no visible political ambition beyond informing and serving the public. Taft was, however, working the long game, serving on the National War Labor Board, fighting for the League of Nations, teaching law and constitutional history at Yale, making up his differences with Roosevelt, all the while negotiating the Republican Party’s antipathy and his own intense dislike of Woodrow Wilson, whose wartime policies and battle for the league he was bound to support. Throughout, his judicial ambition shaped his actions, with surprising adroitness.

This account of Taft’s journey from the White House to the Supreme Court fills a large gap in our understanding of an important American politician and jurist. It also discloses how intricate and complicated public affairs had become during the era of World War I and its aftermath, an era in which William Howard Taft, as a shrewd commentator on the political scene, a resourceful practitioner of party politics, and a man of consummate ambition, made a significant and lasting mark.

**Lewis L. Gould** is visiting distinguished professor, Monmouth College, Monmouth, Illinois. He is the author of *Edith Kermit Roosevelt: Creating the Modern First Lady*, also from Kansas.

“Lew Gould has long been an indispensable guide to the presidency, particularly during the McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, Taft and Wilson eras. In this engaging and engrossing book, Gould tells the story of how Taft satisfied his deepest ambition and became chief justice of the United States.”

**Laura Kalman**, Professor of History, University of California, Santa Barbara

“No one knows more than Lew Gould about the modern American presidency. With remarkable clarity and insight, Gould shows how ex-presidents, even when not holding high political office, can, and have, made important contributions to the nation’s history. A ‘must read.’”

**Burton I. Kaufman**, author of *The Post-Presidency from Washington to Clinton*

www.kansaspress.ku.edu
“One of the nation’s leading Civil War historians, Tim Smith has produced what may be his best work yet. This volume is the definitive book on the critical battle of Shiloh. Its stirring prose and exhaustive research will stir the historical imagination of scholars and the general public both.”

JOHN F. MARZALEK, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE ULYSSES S. GRANT ASSOCIATION’S ULYSSES S. GRANT PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AT MISSISSIPPI STATE UNIVERSITY

“Well written, highly readable, and a great improvement over previous studies, this is easily the most comprehensive account yet written of the Battle of Shiloh, and it’s hard to imagine it being superseded within the next several decades. Indeed, this may still be the definitive account when the battle’s bicentennial rolls around.”

STEVEN E. WOODWORTH, AUTHOR OF SHILOH: CONFEDERATE HIGH TIDE IN THE HEARTLAND

“A critical moment in the Civil War, the Battle of Shiloh has been the subject of many books. However, none has told the story of Shiloh as Timothy Smith does in this volume, the first comprehensive history of the two-day battle in April 1862—a battle so fluid and confusing that its true nature has eluded a clear narrative telling until now.

Unfolding over April 6th and 7th, the Battle of Shiloh produced the most sprawling and bloody field of combat since the Napoleonic wars, with an outcome that set the Confederacy on the road to defeat. Contrary to previous histories, Smith tells us, the battle was not won or lost on the first day, but rather in the decision-making of the night that followed and in the next day’s fighting. Devoting unprecedented attention to the details of that second day, his book shows how the Union’s triumph was far less assured, and much harder to achieve, than has been acknowledged. Smith also employs a new organizational strategy to clarify the action. By breaking his analysis of both days’ fighting into separate phases and sectors, he makes it much easier to grasp what was happening in each combat zone, why it unfolded as it did, and how it related to the broader tactical and operational context of the entire battle.

The battlefield’s diverse and challenging terrain also comes in for new scrutiny. Through detailed attention to the terrain’s major features—most still visible at the Shiloh National Military Park—Smith is able to track their specific and considerable influence on the actions, and their consequences, over those forty-eight hours. The experience of the soldiers finally finds its place here too, as Smith lets us hear, as never before, the voices of the common man, whether combatant or local civilian, caught up in a historic battle for their lives, their land, their honor, and their homes.

“We must this day conquer or perish,” Confederate General Albert Sidney Johnston declared on the morning of April 6, 1862. His words proved prophetic, and might serve as an epitaph for the larger war, as we see fully for the first time in this unparalleled and surely definitive history of the Battle of Shiloh.

TIMOTHY B. SMITH served as a park ranger at Shiloh National Military Park for six years and now teaches history at the University of Tennessee at Martin. He is the author of eleven books about the Civil War, including CORINTH: SIEGE, BATTLE, OCCUPATION (also from Kansas), which won the Fletcher Pratt Award and McLemore Prize.
Doughboys on the Great War
How American Soldiers Viewed Their Military Experience
Edward A. Gutiérrez

“It is impossible to reproduce the state of mind of the men who waged war in 1917 and 1918,” Edward Coffman wrote in The War to End All Wars. In Doughboys on the Great War the voices of thousands of servicemen say otherwise. The majority of soldiers from the American Expeditionary Forces returned from Europe in 1919. Where many were simply asked for basic data, veterans from four states—Utah, Minnesota, Connecticut, and Virginia—were given questionnaires soliciting additional information and “remarks.” Drawing on these questionnaires, completed while memories were still fresh, this book presents a chorus of soldiers’ voices speaking directly of the expectations, motivations, and experiences as infantrymen on the Western Front in World War I.

What was it like to kill or maim German soldiers? To see friends killed or maimed by the enemy? To return home after experiencing such violence? Again and again, soldiers wrestle with questions like these, putting into words what only they can tell. They also reflect on why they volunteered, why they fought, what their training was, and how ill-prepared they were for what they found overseas. They describe how they interacted with the civilian populations in England and France, how they saw the rewards and frustrations of occupation duty when they desperately wanted to go home, and—perhaps most significantly—what it all added up to in the end. Together their responses create a vivid and nuanced group portrait of the soldiers who fought with the American Expeditionary Forces on the battlefields of Aisne-Marne, Argonne Forest, Belleau Wood, Chateau-Thierry, the Marne, Metz, Meuse-Argonne, St. Mihiel, Sedan, and Verdun during the First World War.

The picture that emerges is often at odds with the popular notion of the disillusioned doughboy. Though hardened and harrowed by combat, the veteran heard here is for the most part proud of his service, service undertaken for duty, honor, and country. In short, a hundred years later, the doughboy once more speaks in his own true voice.

Edward A. Gutiérrez received his PhD from Ohio State University and is a lecturer at the University of Hartford in West Hartford, Connecticut. The recipient of a Harry Frank Guggenheim research grant, his work has appeared in A Concise Companion to the Meuse-Argonne, Russia at War: From the Mongol Conquest to Afghanistan, Chechnya, and Beyond; and Germany at War: 400 Years of Military History, among other volumes.

“Gutiérrez’s scholarship reflects a deep knowledge of the historical period. Anyone seeking to better understand the soldiers of the AEF will find this book invaluable.”

STEVEN TROUT, EDITOR OF SCARLET FIELDS: THE COMBAT MEMOIR OF A WORLD WAR I MEDAL OF HONOR HERO

“Gutiérrez’s book rests on thorough research in masses of hitherto-ignored primary sources, and presents a compelling narrative of the experiences of American soldiers. Finally, the doughboys have a historian able to tell their story in all of its many dimensions.”

EDWARD G. LENGEN, AUTHOR OF TO CONQUER HELL: THE MEUSE-ARGONNE, 1918

“Of interest to anyone who wants to know more about the First World War, American history, and the experience of veterans.”

MICHAEL NEIBERG, AUTHOR OF DANCE OF THE FURIES: EUROPE AND THE OUTBREAK OF WORLD WAR I

www.kansaspress.ku.edu
“This book will make an important contribution to both childhood studies and the emerging social history of the Soviet war effort.”

OLGA KUCHERENKO, author of Little Soldiers: How Soviet Children Went to War, 1941–1945

“Ample documenting children’s contributions to the war effort, deGraffenried never loses sight of the suffering and hardship that defined the children’s war.”

LISA A. KIRSCHENBAUM, author of Revolutionizing Childhood in Soviet Russia, 1917–1932

“A thoroughly researched, vivid account of how Soviet children experienced the trials and horrors of the ‘Great Patriotic War’.”

CATRIONA KELLY, author of Children’s World: Growing Up in Russia, 1891–1991

“During the Soviet Union’s Great Patriotic War, from 1941 to 1945, as many as 24 million of its citizens died. 14 million were children ages fourteen or younger. And for those who survived, the suffering was far from over. The prewar Stalinist vision of a “happy childhood” nurtured by a paternal, loving state had given way, out of necessity. What replaced it—the dictate that children be prepared to sacrifice everything, including childhood itself—created a generation all too familiar with deprivation, violence, and death. The experience of these children, and the role of the state in shaping their narrative, are the subject of this book, which fills in a critical but neglected chapter in the Soviet story and in the history of World War II.

In Sacrificing Childhood, Julie deGraffenried chronicles the lives of the Soviet wartime children and the uses to which they were put—not just as combatants or workers in factories and collective farms, but also as fodder for propaganda, their plight a proof of the enemy’s depredations. Not all Soviet children lived through the war in the same way; but in the circumstances of a child in occupied Belarus or in the Leningrad blockade, a young deportee in Siberia or evacuee in Uzbekistan, deGraffenried finds common threads that distinguish the child’s experience of war from the adult’s. The state’s expectations, however, were the same for all children, as we see here in children’s mass media and literature and the communications of party organizations and institutions, most notably the Young Pioneers, whose relentless wartime activities made them ideal for the purposes of propaganda.

The first in-depth study of where Soviet children fit into the history of the war, Sacrificing Childhood also offers an unprecedented view of the state’s changing expectations for its children, and how this figured in the nature and direction of post-war Soviet society.

Julie K. deGraffenried is assistant professor in the Department of History at Baylor University.

NOVEMBER
264 pages, 26 photographs, 6 x 9
Modern War Studies
Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-2002-9, $34.95(s)
In the narrative of D-Day the Canadians figure chiefly—if at all—as an ineffective force bungling their part in the early phase of Operation Overlord. The reality is quite another story. As both the Allies and the Germans knew, only Germany’s Panzers could crush Overlord in its tracks. The Canadians’ job was to stop the Panzers—which, as this book finally makes clear, is precisely what they did. Rescuing from obscurity one of the least understood and most important chapters in the history of D-Day, Stopping the Panzers is the first full account of how the Allies planned for and met the Panzer threat to Operation Overlord. As such, this book marks nothing less than a paradigm shift in our understanding of the Normandy campaign.

Beginning with the Allied planning for Operation Overlord in 1943, historian Marc Milner tracks changing and expanding assessments of the Panzer threat, and the preparations of the men and units tasked with handling that threat. Featured in this was the 3rd Canadian Division, which, treated so dismissively by history, was actually the most powerful Allied formation to land on D-Day, with a full armored brigade and nearly 300 artillery and antitank guns under its command. Milner describes how, over four days of intense and often brutal battle, the Canadians fought to a literal standstill the 1st SS Panzer Corps—which included the Wehrmacht’s 21st Panzer Division; its vaunted elite Panzer Lehr Division; and the rabidly zealous 12th SS Hitler Youth Panzer Division, whose murder of 157 Canadian POWs accounted for nearly a quarter of Canadian fatalities during the fighting.

Stopping the Panzers sets this murderous battle within the wider context of the Overlord assault, offering a perspective that challenges the conventional wisdom about Allied and German combat efficiency, and leads to one of the freshest assessments of the D-Day landings and their pre-attack planning in more than a decade.

Marc Milner is professor of history and Director of the Brigadier Milton F. Gregg, VC, Centre for the Study of War and Society at the University of New Brunswick. He is best known for his books on naval history, including North Atlantic Run, The U-Boot Hunters, and Canada’s Navy: The First Century. His 2003 book Battle of the Atlantic won the C. P. Stacey Prize for the best book in military history in Canada. An article based on the material in Stopping the Panzers was awarded the 2010 Moncado Prize given by the Society of Military History for the best article in The Journal of Military History.

“Milner places the Canadians right at the heart of the Overlord narrative, where Allied planners intended them to be: in the center of the line; astride the most vulnerable terrain; equipped to shoot up the German counterattack. As Milner shows in this deeply researched and gripping narrative, that was precisely what they did.”

ROBERT M. CITINO, AUTHOR OF THE WEHRMACHT RETREATS: FIGHTING A LOST WAR, 1943

“The book’s many strengths are the broad, deep documentation of both sides of the fight; the gift for combat narrative; and the author’s intimate familiarity with the ground on which the battle was fought.”

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9 maps, 6 ⅛ x 9⅛
Modern War Studies
Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-2003-6, $34.95(s)

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“Carl Cohen was an eyewitness and key participant in the debates over racial preferences in college admissions for nearly 40 years. I know of no other source that is comparable.”

**Peter Wood**, President of National Association of Scholars

“Carl Cohen’s memoir is fascinating and important on two counts: one, as an insider account of a pair of the most important civil rights cases in our generation; and second, as the story of a liberal professor caught, by commitment to his principles, in the vortex of unrelenting political correctness at an otherwise great university.”

**Richard Sander**, author of *Mismatch: How Affirmative Action Hurts Students It’s Intended to Help, and Why Universities Won’t Admit It*

**A Conflict of Principles**

The Battle over Affirmative Action at the University of Michigan

Carl Cohen

“No state . . . shall deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.” So says the Equal Protection Clause of the U.S. Constitution, a document held dear by Carl Cohen, a longtime champion of civil rights. So when Cohen discovered, after encountering some resistance, how the University of Michigan, in its admirable wish to increase minority enrollment, was actually practicing a form of racial discrimination—calling it “affirmative action”—he found himself at odds with his longtime allies and colleagues in an effort to defend the equal treatment of the races at his university. In *A Conflict of Principles* Cohen tells the story of what happened at Michigan, how racial preferences were devised and implemented there, and what was at stake in the heated and divisive controversy that ensued. He gives voice to the judicious and seldom heard liberal argument against affirmative action in college admission policies.

In the early 1970s, as a member of the Board of Directors of the American Civil Liberties Union, Cohen vigorously supported programs devised to encourage the recruitment of minorities in colleges, and in private employment. But some of these efforts gave deliberate preference to blacks and Hispanics seeking university admission, and this Cohen recognized as a form of racism, however well-meaning. In his book he recounts the fortunes of contested affirmative action programs as they made their way through the legal system to the Supreme Court, beginning with *DeFunis v. Odegaard* (1974) at the University of Washington Law School, then *Bakke v. Regents of the University of California* (1978) at the Medical School on the UC Davis campus, and culminating at the University of Michigan in the landmark cases of *Grutter v. Bollinger* and *Gratz v. Bollinger* (2003). He recounts his role in the initiation of the Michigan cases, explaining the many arguments against racial preferences in college admissions. He presents a principled case for the resultant amendment to the Michigan constitution which prohibited preference by race in public employment, contracting, and education.

An eminently readable personal, consistently fair-minded account of the principles and politics that come into play in the struggles over affirmative action, *A Conflict of Principles* is a deeply thoughtful and thought-provoking contribution to our national conversation about race.

Carl Cohen is professor of philosophy at the University of Michigan and the author of *Affirmative Action and Racial Preference*.
In 1958 Mildred Jeter and Richard Loving, two young lovers from Caroline County, Virginia, got married. Soon they were hauled out of their bedroom in the middle of the night and taken to jail. Their crime? Loving was white, Jeter was not, and in Virginia—as in twenty-three other states then—interracial marriage was illegal. Their experience reflected that of countless couples across America since colonial times. And in challenging the laws against their marriage, the Lovings closed the book on that very long chapter in the nation’s history. Race, Sex, and the Freedom to Marry tells the story of this couple and the case that forever changed the law of race and marriage in America.

The story of the Lovings and the case they took to the Supreme Court involved a community, an extended family, and in particular five main characters—the couple, two young attorneys, and a crusty local judge who twice presided over their case—as well as such key dimensions of political and cultural life as race, gender, religion, law, identity, and family. In Race, Sex, and the Freedom to Marry, Peter Wallenstein brings these characters and their legal travails to life, and situates them within the wider context—even at the center—of American history. Along the way, he untangles the arbitrary distinctions that long sorted out Americans by racial identity—distinctions that changed over time, varied across space, and could extend the reach of criminal law into the most remote community. In light of the related legal arguments and historical development, moreover, Wallenstein compares interracial and same-sex marriage.

A fair amount is known about the saga of the Lovings and the historic court decision that permitted them to be married and remain free. And some of what is known, Wallenstein tells us, is actually true. A detailed, in-depth account of the case, as compelling for its legal and historical insights as for its human drama, this book at long last clarifies the events and the personalities that reconfigured race, marriage, and law in America.

Peter Wallenstein is professor of history at Virginia Tech. He is the author of many books including Cradle of America: A History of Virginia, also from Kansas.

“A superb work by a proven scholar tracks the intertwining histories of race, gender, law, and religion; it masterfully revisions America’s past and presents through the window of the Loving story, a saga of race and marriage.”

Arica L. Coleman, author of That the Blood Stay Pure: African Americans, Native Americans and the Predicament of Race and Identity in Virginia

“Placing the Loving drama in historical context, Wallenstein masterfully guides the reader through the Lovings’ state and federal court battle. Further, he examines how same-sex couples use the Loving precedent to afford them the right to marry as well. A readable, detailed, and valuable addition to the Loving history.”

Charles Robinson, Vice Chancellor, University of Arkansas
Constitutional Conflicts between Congress and the President
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Over three decades after its initial publication, Louis Fisher's durable classic remains at the head of its class—a book that Congressional Quarterly called “as close to being indispensable as anything published in this field.” This newly revised sixth edition emphatically reinforces that sterling reputation.

Fisher dissects the crucial constitutional disputes between the executive and legislative branches of government from the Constitutional Convention through President Clinton's impeachment battles to the recent controversies over President Bush's conduct as commander in chief. He ventures beyond traditional discussions of Supreme Court decisions to examine the day-to-day working relationships between the president and Congress.

By analyzing a mixture of judicial pronouncements, executive acts, and legislative debates, Fisher pinpoints the critical areas of legislative-executive tension: appointment powers, investigatory powers, legislative and executive vetoes, the budgetary process, and war powers. He then examines these areas of tension within a concrete political and historical context.

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By Order of the President
The Use and Abuse of Executive Direct Action
Second Edition, Revised and Expanded
Phillip J. Cooper

Scholars and citizens alike have endlessly debated the proper limits of presidential action within our democracy. In this revised and expanded edition, noted scholar Phillip Cooper offers a cogent guide to these powers and shows how presidents from George Washington to Barack Obama have used and abused them in trying to realize their visions for the nation.

As Cooper reveals, there has been virtually no significant policy area or level of government left untouched by the application of these presidential “power tools.” Whether seeking to regulate the economy, committing troops to battle without a congressional declaration of war, or blocking commercial access to federal lands, presidents have wielded these powers to achieve their goals, often in ways that seem to fly in the face of true representative government. Cooper defines the different forms these powers take—executive orders, presidential memoranda, proclamations, national security directives, and signing statements—demonstrates their uses, critiques their strengths and dangers, and shows how they have changed over time.

Examples of executive action include, Washington’s “Neutrality Proclamation”; Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation; the more than 1,700 executive orders issued by Woodrow Wilson in World War I; FDR’s order to incarcerate Japanese Americans during World War II; Truman’s orders to desegregate the military; Eisenhower’s numerous national security directives; and JFK’s order to control racial violence in Alabama.

As Cooper demonstrates, each successive administration finds new ways of using these tools to achieve policy goals—especially those they are unlikely to accomplish with the help of Congress.

A key feature of the second edition are case studies on the post-9/11 evolution of presidential direct action in ways that have drawn little public attention. It clarifies the factors that make these policy tools so attractive to presidents and the consequences that can flow from their use and abuse in a post-9/11 environment. There is an important new chapter on “executive agreements” which, though they are not treaties within the meaning of the U.S. Constitution and not subject to Senate ratification, appear in many respects to be rapidly replacing treaties as instruments of foreign policy.

Phillip J. Cooper is Professor, School of Government - Urban & Public Affairs, Portland State University. He is the author of Battles on the Bench: Conflict Inside the Supreme Court (Kansas).
“This volume has a special importance as the current conservative Supreme Court continues to struggle with defining state police powers in regard to newly arrived and illegal immigrants. This brief but pithy volume reinforces an often forgotten distinction between the antebellum Constitution and the “new” Constitution of post-1870 America.”

**Herbert A. Johnson**, author of *Gibbons v. Osgood: John Marshall, Steamboats, and the Commerce Clause*

“In his comprehensive treatment of the Passenger Cases, Tony Allan Freyer deftly situates the decision at the intersection of the political and legal disputes over slavery, immigration, and federal power.”

**Earl Maltz**, author of *Dred Scott and the Politics of Slavery*

**The Passenger Cases and the Commerce Clause**

Tony Allan Freyer

In 1849 Chief Justice Taney’s Court delivered a 5-4 decision on the legal status of immigrants and free blacks under the federal commerce power. The closely divided decision, further emphasized by the fact there were eight opinions, played a part in the increasingly contested politics over growing immigration and the controversies about fugitive slaves and the western expansion of slavery that resulted in the Compromise of 1850.

In the decades after the Civil War federal regulation of immigration almost entirely displaced the role of the states. Yet, over a century later, Justice Scalia in *Arizona v. US* appealed to the era when states exercised greater control over who they allowed to cross their borders; a dissent which has returned the Passenger Cases to the contemporary relevance. The Passenger Cases provide a counter-history that allowed the Court to affirm federal supremacy and state-federal cooperation in *Arizona I* (2011) and *II* (2012).

In *The Passenger Cases and the Commerce Clause* Tony Allan Freyer focuses on the antebellum Supreme Court’s role prescribing state-federal regulation of immigrants, the movement of free blacks within the United States. The divided opinions in the Passenger Cases also influenced the immigrant and slavery crises which disrupted the balance between free and slave-labor states, culminating in the Civil War. The states did indeed enact laws enabling exclusion of undesirable white immigrants and free blacks.

The 5-4 division of the Court anticipated the better known, but even more divisive, views of the Justices in the *Dred Scott* case (1857). And in considering the post-Reconstruction evolution of new standards by which to judge immigration issues, the Passenger Cases revealed the continuing controversy over how to treat those who wish to come to our country, even as federal law came to dominate the regulation of immigration. These issues continued to complicate immigration law as much today as they did more than a century and a half ago. The persistence of these problems suggested that a “decent respect to the opinions of mankind” continued to demand a coherent, humane, and more consistent immigration policy.

Tony Allan Freyer is University Research Professor of History and Law, Emeritus at the University of Alabama. He is the author of *Little Rock on Trial: Cooper v. Aaron and School Segregation*, and served as a consultant on that subject for the documentary *Eyes on the Prize*.
How can the United States create the political will to address our major urban problems—poverty, unemployment, crime, traffic congestion, toxic pollution, education, energy consumption, and housing, among others? That’s the basic question addressed by the new edition of this award-winning book. Thoroughly revised and updated for its third edition, *Place Matters* examines the major trends and problems shaping our cities and suburbs, explores a range of policy solutions to address them, and looks closely at the potential political coalitions needed to put the country’s “urban crisis” back on the public agenda.

The problem of rising inequality is at the center of *Place Matters*. During the past several decades, the standard of living for the American middle class has stagnated, the number of poor people has reached its highest level since the 1960s, and the super-rich have dramatically increased their share of the nation’s wealth and income. At the same time, Americans have grown further apart in terms of where they live, work, and play. This trend—economic segregation—no longer simply reflects the racial segregation between white suburbs and minority cities. In cities and suburbs alike, poor, middle class, and wealthy Americans now live in separate geographic spaces.

The authors have updated the case studies and examples used to illustrate the book’s key themes, incorporated the latest Census data, and drawn on exit polls and other data to examine the voting patterns and outcomes of the 2012 elections. They have expanded their discussion of how American cities are influenced by and influence global economic and social forces and how American cities compare with their counterparts in other parts of the world. And they draw upon the latest research and case studies not only to examine the negative impacts of income inequality and economic segregation but also to assess the efforts that civic and community groups, unions, business, and government are making to tackle them.

*Place Matters* is Dr. E.P. Clapp Distinguished Professor of Politics and chair of the Urban and Environmental Policy Department at Occidental College. *John Mollenkopf* is Distinguished Professor of Political Science and Sociology and director of the Center for Urban Research at CUNY Graduate Center. *Todd Swanstrom* is Des Lee Endowed Professor of Community Collaboration and Public Policy Administration at University of Missouri–St. Louis.

Winner of the Michael Harrington Award

“Notable for its accessibility and clarity, *Place Matters* is also a compelling narrative, demonstrating collective and wide-ranging knowledge of the American city.”

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“The authors have uncovered a vast array of important empirical questions that should inform the urban research community and urban planners.”

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“For anyone concerned about the future of America’s cities.”

**U.S. Mayor**
Cradle of America
A History of Virginia
Second Edition, Revised

Peter Wallenstein

As the site of the first permanent English settlement in North America, the birthplace of a presidential dynasty, and the gateway to western growth in the nation’s early years, Virginia can rightfully be called the “cradle of America.” Peter Wallenstein traces major themes across four centuries in a brisk narrative that recalls the people and events that have shaped the Old Dominion. The second edition is updated with new material throughout, including a new chapter on Virginia and world affairs from the Korean War through 9/11 and beyond, and an expanded bibliography.

Historical accounts of Virginia have often emphasized harmony and tradition, but Wallenstein focuses on the impact of conflict and change. From the beginning, Virginians have debated and challenged each other’s visions of Virginia, and Wallenstein shows how these differences have influenced its sometimes turbulent development. Casting an eye on blacks as well as whites, and on people from both east and west of the Blue Ridge Mountains, he traces such key themes as political power, racial identity, and education.

Bringing to bear his long experience teaching Virginia history, Wallenstein takes readers back, even before Jamestown, to the Elizabethan settlers at Roanoke Island and the inhabitants they encountered, as well as to Virginia’s leaders of the American Revolution. He chronicles the state’s dramatic journey through the Civil War era, a time that revealed how the nation’s evolution sometimes took shape in opposition to the vision of many leading Virginians. He also examines the impact of the civil rights movement and considers controversies that accompany Virginia into its fifth century.

The text is copiously illustrated to depict not only such iconic figures as Pocahontas, George Washington, and Robert E. Lee, but also such other prominent native Virginians as Edgar Allan Poe, Carter G. Woodson, and Patsy Cline. Sidebars throughout the book offer further insight, while maps and appendices of reference data make the volume a complete resource on Virginia’s history.

Peter Wallenstein is professor of history at Virginia Tech. His books include Blue Laws and Black Codes: Conflict, Courts, and Change in Twentieth-Century Virginia.
The Religious Beliefs of America’s Founders
Reason, Revelation, and Revolution
Gregg L. Frazer

“Sophisticated probing bypasses the simplistic contemporary polarization of secular vs. Christian just as it claims the founders did.”
—American History magazine

“A consistently interesting study. . . . Despite some reservations, I would say Frazer has developed a compelling explanation for how and why the Founding generation approached church-state relations in the way they did.”
—Voice of Reason: The Journal of Americans for Religious Liberty

“Frazer argues that the key founders valued religion not for any truths delivered by divine revelation or as a means to salvation but because of its “laudable effects,” which included providing a foundation for public morality. In summary, Frazer has skillfully marshaled a considerable amount of evidence in support of his new category of revolutionary-era religious belief and added more fuel to an already intense discourse. Highly recommended.”
—Choice

“Sophisticated, well-documented, and forcefully argued. Extreme partisans who champion ‘Christian America’ or complete secularism will not like this book, but all other readers should come away much better informed about the past and also much better situated to adjudicate religious-political debates today.”—Mark Noll, author of God and Race in American Politics: A Short History

Gregg L. Frazer is professor of history and political studies at The Master's College in Santa Clarita, California.

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“Harris has done something new in Lincoln and Civil War studies. . . . His probing work brings the border states back to center stage and demonstrates how and why Lincoln mastered the art of balancing competing interests without yielding on the essential priority—an insightful lesson on leadership that speaks to our own day. Highly recommended.”—Library Journal (starred review)

“An important and impressive new study. . . . As I finished reading this outstanding study, I was reminded of Frederick Douglass’ ultimate assessment of Lincoln. Viewed from the genuine abolition ground, Mr. Lincoln seemed tardy, cold, dull, and indifferent, Douglass wrote in the last of his autobiographies, but measuring him by the sentiment of his country, a sentiment he was bound as a statesman to consult, he was swift, zealous, radical, and determined. Professor Harris has given us a remarkable picture of Lincoln’s leadership in this well-written, exhaustively researched, and handsomely produced volume.”—Charles B. Dew, Civil War Book Review

William C. Harris is professor emeritus of history at North Carolina State University and recipient of the Lincoln Diploma of Honor.

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Published in association with the National World War I Museum at Liberty Memorial

Steven Trout chairs the English Department at the University of South Alabama in Mobile. His most recent book is On the Battlefield of Memory: The First World War and American Remembrance, 1919–1941.

AUGUST | MILITARY HISTORY
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Glenn E. Torrey is professor of history emeritus at Emporia State University and author of Henri Mathias Berthelot: Soldier of France, Defender of Romania; Romania and World War I: A Collection of Studies; and The Revolutionary Russian Army and Romania, 1917.

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Troy J. Sacquety is a historian with the United States Army Special Operations Command. He previously worked for the CIA and has been the historian for the OSS Detachment 101 Association for many years.

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Allan A. Ryan clerked for Supreme Court Justice Byron R. White, was a U.S. Marine Corps judge advocate, and teaches the law of war at Boston College Law School and Harvard University. For additional information on Yamashita’s Ghost, see www.yamashitasghost.com.

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Tony Shaw is professor of contemporary history at the University of Hertfordshire and author of *Hollywood’s Cold War.* Denise J. Youngblood is professor of Russian history at the University of Vermont and author of *Bondarchuk’s War and Peace.*

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