# Annotating for Transparent Inquiry in Qualitative Research: Making Archival Documents Accessible

Joseph O'Mahoney Lecturer in Politics and International Relations University of Reading

- The problem
  - Archival documents inaccessible
- A solution (in general)
  - Annotation for Transparent Inquiry
- A solution (in particular)
  - My paper as example

- The US promised Russia that NATO would not expand after the Cold War and then it broke that promise.
- Is it true?

 The US promised Russia that NATO would not expand after the Cold War and then it broke that promise.

peatedly linked German reunification to a NATO non-expansion pledge.<sup>82</sup> On February 9, 1990, for example, Baker told Shevardnadze that the United States was seeking a reunified Germany that would remain "firmly anchored" in NATO, while promising "iron-clad guarantees that NATO's jurisdiction or forces would not move eastward."<sup>83</sup> Baker returned to these points in a meeting with Gorbachev and Shevardnadze later that day. In it, Baker acknowledged "the need for assurances to countries in the East" and pledged that "there would be no extension of NATO's jurisdiction for forces of NATO one inch to the east" if Germany reunified within NATO.<sup>84</sup> In this lat

- The US promised Russia that NATO would not expand after the Cold War and then it broke that promise.
- How do we know?

83. Memorandum of Conversation (hereafter Memcon), "Second One-on-One, the Secretary, Eduard Shevardnadze," February 9, 1990, box 38, Soviet Flashpoints, NSA.

- Political science research using primary source historical evidence
  - Sources inaccessible
  - Interpretation inscrutable
  - Context unknown

# A solution (in general)



## **QDR Blog**

Webinar: A Tale of Two Data Projects

Annotation for Transparent Inquiry (ATI)

**Engaging Complexity** 

Making Qualitative Research More Transparent

Introducing the New

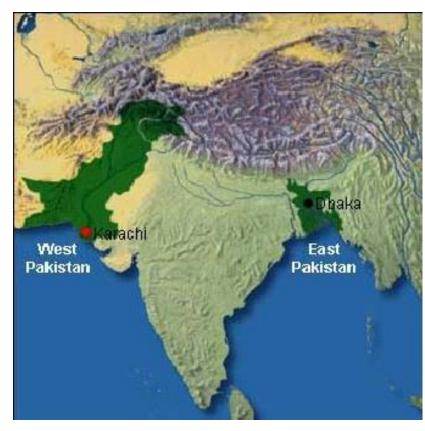
### MAKING QUALITATIVE RESEARCH MORE TRANSPARENT

### Announcing the Annotation for Transparent Inquiry (ATI) Initiative

We are excited to announce the first round of published projects from our Annotation for Transparent Inquiry (ATI) Initiative. ATI creates a digital overlay on top of articles generated through qualitative and multi-method research published on journal web pages. That overlay connects specific passages of text to author-generated annotations.

ATI's annotations include 'analytic notes' discussing data generation and analysis, excerpts from data sources, and links to those sources stored in trusted digital repositories. Readers are able to view annotations immediately alongside the main text, removing the need to jump to footnotes or separate appendices. Sharing the data sources via a secure repository ensures that they are findable, accessible, interoperable, reusable, and preserved for the long term, and that human participants are protected.

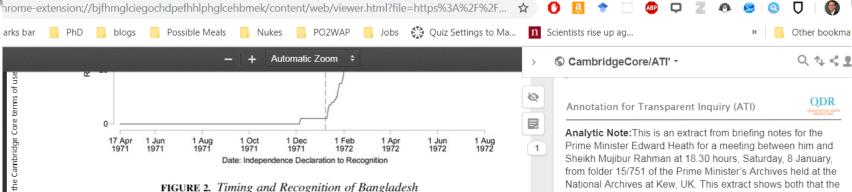
- ATI annotation of my paper
- Analysis of decisions to recognize Bangladesh
  - Model of how rhetoric and argumentation works in foreign policy
  - Used primary sources



## The Role of Troop Withdrawal

After Sheikh Mujib was released from captivity in West Pakistan, he traveled to London where, in a meeting on 8 January 1972, the British government impressed upon him the importance of Indian troop withdrawal for the recognition of Bangladesh.<sup>77</sup> However, the connection between these two things was not immediately apparent. For example, UK Ambassador to Turkey Roderick Sarell reported that the senior members of the Turkish foreign policy establishment had agreed to not recognize Bangladesh only after the Indian troop presence in Bangladesh was pre-

77. Notes on Heath-Mujib Meeting, 8 January 1972, PREM 15/751.
78. Cable from Sarell, 25 January 1972, UK National Archives, Foreign and FCO 37/1020.



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upon him the importance of Indian troop withdrawal for the recognition of Bangladesh.<sup>77</sup> However, the connection between these two things was not immediately apparent. For example, UK Ambassador to Turkey Roderick Sarell reported that the senior members of the Turkish foreign policy establishment had agreed to not recognize Bangladesh only after the Indian troop presence in Bangladesh was presented to them as an issue and a barrier to recognition.<sup>78</sup> Similarly, the Sri Lankan (Ceylonese) government asked "whether Mujib has stated publicly that Mrs Gandhi has agreed to withdraw Indian forces on his request," but only after having it explained to them that withdrawal was relevant to recognition.<sup>79</sup> Mujib and members of the Indian government insisted that Indian troops were in Bangladesh only at the request of the Bangladeshi administration and Gandhi and Mujib jointly declared on 8 February 1972 that India would withdraw all its troops from Bangladesh by 25 March.<sup>80</sup> Mujib in fact declared that all troops were withdrawn on 13 March.<sup>81</sup>

77. Notes on Heath-Mujib Meeting, 8 January 1972, PREM 15/751.

 Cable from Sarell, 25 January 1972, UK National Archives, Foreign and Commonwealth Offices, FCO 37/1020.

79. Cable from Mackintosh, 25 January 1972, FCO 37/1020.

 "Firm Stand Taken by Mujib in Talks: Bangladesh Shows Desire to Cut Loose From India," New York Times, 9 February 1972, 9.

 "India's Soldiers Quit Bangladesh: Ceremonies in Dacca Mark Pullout After Three Months," New York Times, 13 March 1972, 7. Prime Minister Edward Heath for a meeting between him and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman at 18.30 hours, Saturday, 8 January, from folder 15/751 of the Prime Minister's Archives held at the National Archives at Kew, UK. This extract shows both that the Prime Minister was advised to explicitly link recognition and the presence of the Indian Army in Bangladesh and also that Mujib likely was aware of this linkage due to an informal meeting with his representative 2 days before the meeting with the Prime Minister.

**Source Excerpt:** Mujib will press for early recognition by HMG. The British Government accepts the fact of Bangladesh. However, given the continuing role of the Indian Army our criteria for recognition are not yet satisfied. We must also look to our relations with the Government in Islamabad. So far only the Governments of India and Bhuttan [sic] have accorded recognition and we will wish to act with others. However, we do not wish to delay too long and in the meantime the Bangladesh Government should exercise patience in their interest as well as ours. These points have already been made by the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary at an informal discreet meeting on 6 January with Mr Justice Choudhury, the Bangladesh representative in London who has since left for Dacca.

#### Data Source: https://data.gdr.syr.edu/file.xhtml?fileId=2558

Full Citation: Edward Heath, British Prime Minister (1970-1974), extract from briefing notes for the Prime Minister Edward Heath for a meeting between him and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman at 18.30 hours, 8 January 1972. Folder 15/751, of the Prime Minister's Archives held at the National Archives at Kew, UK.

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Annotation for Transparent Inquiry (ATI)

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Analytic Note: This is an extract from briefing notes for the Prime Minister Edward Heath for a meeting between him and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman at 18.30 hours, Saturday, 8 January, from folder 15/751 of the Prime Minister's Archives held at the National Archives at Kew, UK. This extract shows both that the Prime Minister was advised to explicitly link recognition and the presence of the Indian Army in Bangladesh and also that Mujib likely was aware of this linkage due to an informal meeting with his representative 2 days before the meeting with the Prime Minister.

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2. The Prime Minister might cover the following topics:a. RECOGNITION

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### TABLE 2. Conditioning Recognition on Indian Troop Withdrawal

State	Stated reason(s)	Stated condition	Reference
Argentina	Other	Withdrawal	FCO 37/1020
Australia	Control of territory, Self-determination	Statement	PREM 15/751; FCO 37/1023
Belgium	Non-aggression	-	S/PV. 1607: 222
Burundi	Non-aggression	-	S/PV. 1621: 56
Canada	Control of territory	Statement	FCO 37/1020
Ceylon / Sri Lanka	Non-aggression	Statement	FCO 37/1020; FCO 37/1023
China	Non-aggression	Withdrawal	FRUS 69-76 XI: 274
Cyprus	Control of territory, Self-determination	Agreement	FCO 37/1020
France	Control of territory	Agreement	FCO 37/1019
Indonesia	Non-aggression, Control of territory	Statement	FCO 37/1020; FCO 37/1025
Ireland	-	-	FCO 37/1020
Italy	-	Statement	FCO 37/1023
Japan	-	-	FCO 37/1024
Malawi	Control of territory, Self-determination	Statement	FCO 37/1025
Malaysia	Non-aggression, Control of territory	Statement	FCO 37/1023
Mexico	Non-aggression, Self-determination	Withdrawal	FCO 37/1020
Nigeria	Other (secessionism)	Withdrawal	FCO 37/1024
Philippines	Other (secessionism)	Withdrawal	FCO 37/1023
Senegal	Control of territory	-	FCO 37/1020
Sierra Leone	-	Withdrawal	FCO 37/1025
Somalia	Non-aggression	-	S/PV. 1606: 240
Syria	-	-	S/PV. 1606: 374
Turkey	Control of territory	Withdrawal	FCO 37/1020
UK	Control of territory, Self-determination	Agreement	FCO 37/1020; PREM 15/75
US	Non-aggression, Other	Withdrawal	FRUS 69-76 XI:315
USSR	-	Statement	FCO 37/902

Notes: FCO: UK Foreign and Commonwealth Offices Archives; S/PV: United Nations Security Council Official Record; PREM: UK Premiers Archives; FRUS: Foreign Relations of the United States series.

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example, Australia's justification of its decision to recognize that "there was no doubt of the breadth and depth of the s Mujib's Government enjoyed among the people of Bangla De TABLE 2. Conditioning Recognition on Indian Troop Withdra State Stated reason(s) Stated condition Argentina Other Withdrawal Australia Control of territory, Self-determination Statement Belgium Non-aggression – Burundi Non-aggression – Canada Control of territory Statement Ceylon / Sri Lanka Non-aggression Statement China Non-aggression Withdrawal	support which Sheikh           esh."91           awal           Reference           PREM 15/751; FCO 37/1023           S/PV. 1607: 222           S/PV. 1621: 56           FCO 37/1020		recognition, on the basis of normal criteria and law and and that the Foreign Minister had publicly linked that to issue of control of territory and "independence" so pose also self-determination as well. <b>Source Excerpt:</b> Canadians agree that recognition is inevitable and desirable and they too would prefer to re- with other like-minded governments. But they believe to be premature in relation to normal criteria for recognition long as law and order is manifestly dependent on prese Indian troops. Before release of Mujib they had had in to recognition in three to six months time on assumption to
that "there was no doubt of the breadth and depth of the s Mujib's Government enjoyed among the people of Bangla De <b>TABLE 2.</b> Conditioning Recognition on Indian Troop Withdra State Stated reason(s) Stated condition Argentina Other Withdrawal Australia Control of territory, Self-determination Statement Belgium Non-aggression – Burundi Non-aggression – Canada Control of territory Statement Ceylon / Sri Lanka Non-aggression Statement	support which Sheikh           esh."91           awal           Reference           PREM 15/751; FCO 37/1023           S/PV. 1607: 222           S/PV. 1621: 56           FCO 37/1020		issue of control of territory and "independence" so pose also self-determination as well. <b>Source Excerpt:</b> Canadians agree that recognition is inevitable and desirable and they too would prefer to re- with other like-minded governments. But they believe to be premature in relation to normal criteria for recognition long as law and order is manifestly dependent on prese Indian troops. Before release of Mujib they had had in to
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TABLE 2. Conditioning Recognition on Indian Troop Withdra         State       Stated reason(s)       Stated condition         Argentina       Other       Withdrawal         Australia       Control of territory, Self-determination       Statement         Belgium       Non-aggression       -         Burundi       Non-aggression       -         Canada       Control of territory       Statement         Ceylon / Sri Lanka       Non-aggression       Statement	Reference FCO 37/1020 PREM 15/751; FCO 37/1023 S/PV. 1607: 222 S/PV. 1621: 56 FCO 37/1020	7	inevitable and desirable and they too would prefer to re- with other like-minded governments. But they believe ti be premature in relation to normal criteria for recognitic long as law and order is manifestly dependent on prese Indian troops. Before release of Mujib they had had in t
TABLE 2. Conditioning Recognition on Indian Troop Withdra         State       Stated reason(s)       Stated condition         Argentina       Other       Withdrawal         Australia       Control of territory, Self-determination       Statement         Belgium       Non-aggression       -         Canada       Control of territory       Statement         Canada       Control of territory       Statement         Ceylon / Sri Lanka       Non-aggression       Statement	Reference FCO 37/1020 PREM 15/751; FCO 37/1023 S/PV. 1607: 222 S/PV. 1621: 56 FCO 37/1020		with other like-minded governments. But they believe ti be premature in relation to normal criteria for recognitic long as law and order is manifestly dependent on prese Indian troops. Before release of Mujib they had had in
State         Stated reason(s)         Stated condition           Argentina         Other         Withdrawal           Australia         Control of territory, Self-determination         Statement           Belgium         Non-aggression         -           Burundi         Non-aggression         -           Canada         Control of territory         Statement           Ceylon / Sri Lanka         Non-aggression         Statement	<i>Reference</i> <b>FCO 37/1020</b> PREM 15/751; FCO 37/1023 S/PV. 1607: 222 S/PV. 1621: 56 FCO 37/1020		be premature in relation to normal criteria for recognitic long as law and order is manifestly dependent on prese Indian troops. Before release of Mujib they had had in r
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Argentina     Other     Withdrawal       Australia     Control of territory, Self-determination     Statement       Belgium     Non-aggression     -       Burundi     Non-aggression     -       Canada     Control of territory     Statement       Ceylon / Sri Lanka     Non-aggression     Statement	FCO 37/1020 PREM 15/751; FCO 37/1023 S/PV. 1607: 222 S/PV. 1621: 56 FCO 37/1020		long as law and order is manifestly dependent on prese Indian troops. Before release of Mujib they had had in t
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Argentina     Other     Withdrawal       Australia     Control of territory, Self-determination     Statement       Belgium     Non-aggression     -       Burundi     Non-aggression     -       Canada     Control of territory     Statement       Ceylon / Sri Lanka     Non-aggression     Statement	FCO 37/1020 PREM 15/751; FCO 37/1023 S/PV. 1607: 222 S/PV. 1621: 56 FCO 37/1020		
Australia         Control of territory, Self-determination         Statement           Belgium         Non-aggression         -           Burundi         Non-aggression         -           Canada         Control of territory         Statement           Ceylon / Sri Lanka         Non-aggression         Statement	PREM 15/751; FCO 37/1023 S/PV. 1607: 222 S/PV. 1621: 56 FCO 37/1020		
Australia         Control of territory, Self-determination         Statement           Belgium         Non-aggression         -           Burundi         Non-aggression         -           Canada         Control of territory         Statement           Ceylon / Sri Lanka         Non-aggression         Statement	PREM 15/751; FCO 37/1023 S/PV. 1607: 222 S/PV. 1621: 56 FCO 37/1020		
Australia     Control of territory, Self-determination     Statement       Belgium     Non-aggression     -       Burundi     Non-aggression     -       Canada     Control of territory     Statement       Ceylon / Sri Lanka     Non-aggression     Statement	S/PV. 1607: 222 S/PV. 1621: 56 FCO 37/1020		
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Ceylon / Sri Lanka Non-aggression Statement			
China Non-aggression Withdrawal	FCO 37/1020; FCO 37/1023		QDR 18
	FRUS 69-76 XI: 274		
Cyprus Control of territory, Self-determination Agreement France Control of territory Agreement	FCO 37/1020 FCO 37/1019		LambridgeCore/ATI
Indonesia Non-aggression, Control of territory Statement	FCO 37/1020; FCO 37/1025		O 37/1023
Ireland – – –	FCO 37/1020		0.51/1025
Italy – Statement	FCO 37/1023		
Japan – –	FCO 37/1024	18	Annotation for Transparent Inquiry (ATI)
Malawi Control of territory, Self-determination Statement	FCO 37/1025	10	Annotation for transparent inquiry (ATI)
Malaysia Non-aggression, Control of territory Statement	FCO 37/1023	Show	w 18 annotations
Mexico Non-aggression, Self-determination Withdrawal	FCO 37/1020		rmany to mode: This is a telegram of 28 January 1972 f
Nigeria Other (secessionism) Withdrawal Philippines Other (secessionism) Withdrawal	FCO 37/1024 FCO 37/1023		Peter A. Wilde, UK Deputy High Commissioner to Ceyl
Philippines Other (secessionism) Withdrawal Senegal Control of territory –	FCO 37/1025		the FCO in London, from folder 37/1023 of the Foreign
Sierra Leone – Withdrawal	FCO 37/1025		Commonwealth Office's Archives at Kew, UK. This exc
Somalia Non-aggression –	S/PV. 1606: 240		summarizes a conversation between Gunasingham, th
Syria – –	S/PV. 1606: 374		director of the Ceylonese Asia section of the Departme
Turkey Control of territory Withdrawal	FCO 37/1020		
UK Control of territory, Self-determination Agreement	FCO 37/1020; PREM 15/751		External Affairs, and the UK Head of Chancery in the U
US Non-aggression, Other Withdrawal	FRUS 69-76 XI:315		Embassy to Ceylon. This is evidence that a key decision
USSR – Statement	FCO 37/902		maker explicitly used India's aggression as a reason no
			recognize, or to delay recognition of, Bangladesh. The
Notes: FCO: UK Foreign and Commonwealth Offices Archives; S/PV: United Nations St PREM: UK Premiers Archives; FRUS: Foreign Relations of the United States series.	ecurity Council Official Record;		this information was given at a party and not as an offic
FREM. UK FICHIERS ARCHIVES; FRUS: FOREign Relations of the United States series.			could mean that this was more genuine feelings reveal

- Annotation for Transparent Inquiry
  - Online tool increasing transparency of archival research
  - Makes qualitative research more reproducible
  - Allows original data to be more accessible

We understand the need for assurances to the countries in the East. If we maintain a presence in a Germany that is a part of NATO, there would be no extension of NATO's jurisdiction for forces of NATO one inch to the east. At the