

## Culture and International History

**Explorations in Culture and International History Series**

*General Editors:* Jessica C.E. Gienow-Hecht and Frank Schumacher

**Culture and International History**

*Edited by* Jessica C E. Gienow-Hecht and Frank Schumacher

# CULTURE AND INTERNATIONAL HISTORY

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Edited by  
Jessica C E. Gienow-Hecht and  
Frank Schumacher



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## EDITORS' PREFACE

This book collects examples from the research of a new, post-1968 generation of historians on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean who have begun to redefine the field of international history with a particular eye on culture as a variable and a methodology. The idea for this project grew out of a conference on "Culture and International Relations" at the Center for U.S. Studies (Stiftung Leucorea, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg) in December 1999. This volume represents the first of a series dedicated to explorations in culture and international history, which seeks to present individual examples emerging from a new and dynamic field of scholarship.

The editors are grateful to all authors for submitting and revising their essays in time; to the Stifterverband für die Deutsche Wissenschaft for a generous conference grant; and to the Stiftung Leucorea for welcoming us in its historical halls dating back to the sixteenth century and for sponsoring the production of this book. Many thanks to Marion and Vivian Berghahn, and Berghahn Books for their candid criticism, unfailing encouragement, continuous interest in transatlantic relations, and for being such good sports. A hearty thank you to our copyeditor, Sue Sakai whose attention to detail impressed all of us, and to Heiko Hecht who helped us to format the original manuscript. Finally, *herzlichen Dank* to Gudrun Calow for her administrative assistance in the early stages of this project.

Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht and Frank Schumacher  
October 2002

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*To our children*

*Part I*

# METHODOLOGY





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# INTRODUCTION

## On the Division of Knowledge and the Community of Thought: Culture and International History\*

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*Jessica C.E. Gienow-Hecht*

This collection of essays seeks to broaden the study of international history: its individual contributors retrace the merger between international history and cultural studies (both in terms of theory and methodology) within and outside of the United States. In particular, this volume addresses three premises: first, we wish to facilitate the exchange among international scholars who are interested in cultural approaches. Many of the recent U.S. publications extolling conceptually and empirically interesting and cutting-edge reflections have focused on the post-World War II period (notably the Cold War) and on research along the North-South axis rather than schools and thoughts emerging on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean.<sup>1</sup> Our collection presents sample topics and sources from the early modern period to the present; it also retraces recent research trends and debates within Europe (notably Germany, France, and Great Britain) and between European and American scholars over the future of international history.

What makes these debates and the resulting research so interesting is the breadth of perspective. U.S. historians of American foreign relations, Thomas Paterson tells us, “are curious primarily about the impact at home and abroad of American foreign policies.... They attempt to explain what, if anything, is peculiarly *American* about U.S. behavior in the international system.”<sup>2</sup> As a result, U.S. historians of foreign relations tend to perceive the world in the same fashion as the very actors they study: a world of “us” versus “them,” with the United States as the centerpiece of the international cosmos. Most authors in this book, in contrast, show us how to decenter diplomatic history while at the same time integrating the cultural approach into the study of foreign relations.

Second, this book introduces readers to a new generation and its unique conception emerging in the field of culture and international history. When historians of

foreign relations began to investigate the issue of culture and diplomacy during the Cold War, they originally focused their research on culture as an underlying force of diplomacy, an instrument of state policy ("cultural diplomacy"), as well as perceptions and misperceptions. Notably during the last decade of the Cold War, culture increasingly developed into an all-inclusive category replacing the term and the meaning of ideology. "Culture" seemed to offer historians as well as scholars in neighboring fields such as anthropology and cultural studies a path out of the dead-end Marxist analysis of economic domination. For example, in the *Yale Review* of 1992, philosopher Richard Rorty called upon his fellow "Western leftists" to dismiss "radical criticism of existing institutions" and be "reformist rather than radical." He urged his colleagues to find an "idea" that would "irradiate the imagination of the intellectual left."<sup>3</sup>

Since the 1990s, a new generation of younger scholars on both sides of the Atlantic has assumed a much more pragmatic and less ideologically driven approach to the study of culture and international history. Many of these younger scholars were originally trained in neighboring fields such as social history, cultural studies, and anthropology; more than a few spent part of their formative years outside of the country where they were born. They have expanded the meaning of culture to include social affinities, comparative analysis, cultural conceptions, psychological influences, local traditions, and unspoken assumptions. This volume seeks to introduce some of the leaders of this generation emerging in Europe and the United States.

Third, the authors represented in this book wish to strengthen the links between "culture and international history" for classroom teaching on the graduate and undergraduate level. Consequently, this volume is designed for both students and scholars of international history. Serving as a forum for those engaged or interested in this new cross-disciplinary field, this book enables students and scholars/teachers to keep up with methodological innovation and research trends emerging in Europe and the United States. This introduction will survey the preceding methodological debates in the history of foreign relations and explain the theoretical significance of the individual essays.

\* \* \*

During the World Exhibition in St. Louis in the summer of 1904, hundreds of European, American, and Asian academics from fields as diverse as history, astronomy, and psychology met at the Congress of Arts and Sciences to discuss the relation of the sciences to each other and the unity of human thought. "[E]ach of the 128 sections or addresses was to be on the relation of that particular branch of science to other branches," one observer noted in his closing report, "but in most cases the speaker, after making a few condescendingly complimentary remarks about other divisions of human knowledge, plunged enthusiastically and deeply into the exposition of his own special contribution to pending problems."<sup>4</sup>

The Congress of Arts and Sciences provides an excellent example of the way that even scholars who recognize the conceptual challenge of an increasingly inter-

connected world, and who are determined to approach their work in an interdisciplinary and universal fashion, often remain entrenched in national, local, and ego-centric patterns of thought. While few of us today remember that one hundred years ago, universalists such as Max Weber and Georg Simmel envisioned the twentieth century as an era of unification of the sciences and humanities, we are painfully aware of the failure of their vision: even scholars whose work specifically focuses on the study and history of international relations often limit their exchange of theoretical ideas to precisely those geographical borders that they seek to transcend in their research; and in their discussions of international problems, they communicate predominantly with their national peers. Charles Maier's much-debated 1980 article "Marking Time," and the ensuing debates still provoke U.S. diplomatic historians whom Maier accused of self-inflicted marginalization, unimaginative research agendas, and a total lack of communication with other fields and foreign scholars.<sup>5</sup>

And yet, the environment beyond academia has changed dramatically since the Congress of Arts and Sciences in 1904. Mass tourism, the transportation revolution, satellite television, video-phones, e-mail and the Internet—in short, the revolution of transportation, communication, and information—have given us access to minds and markets far away. We are living today in an increasingly interconnected world, a world in which scholars, politicians and intellectuals fret over the extent and impact of "globalization" (though no one seems to be sure what, exactly, the term implies).<sup>6</sup> The current political debates over such issues as world courts, international terrorism, labor migration, pollution, the spread of diseases, and the global impact of popular culture—in short, the relevance of the present has inspired scholars around the globe to look at international history in new ways and to perceive connections in the past that they did not see before.

These changes have affected our understanding of international history as well. Originating in the British school after 1918, international history traditionally encompassed the study of the relations between governments. Since then, the field has changed dramatically, both in its breadth and its scope of topics. Today, international history is marked by, first, a profound pluralism; second, a growing awareness that the state is only one out of many principal agencies in the international arena; and, third, the attempt to write supranational history without necessarily taking up the perspective of a particular nation. In the past ten years, scholars have paid an increasing amount of attention to private actors and groups who operate within and outside of the governmental bureaucracy. Thus, twenty-first-century international history recognizes that these groups endow and enhance the making of a global political, economic, cultural, and social order, the study of which is at the center of international history.

Until the early 1970s, in the United States the field of diplomatic history remained characterized by a division into "realists" such as Hans Morgenthau (who advocated clear-cut studies of the policy-making process at the top level) and "revisionists" such as Walter Lafeber (who stressed domestic influences on the foreign policy-making process).<sup>7</sup> But since Maier's essay, and even before his piece was pub-

lished, scholars interested in foreign relations produced countless essays and presentations proposing or rejecting new methods of analyzing foreign relations. Historians such as Kristin L. Hoganson and Elaine Tyler May have retraced the rhetoric of gender, masculinity and the American family in diplomatic affairs.<sup>8</sup> Penny van Eschen, Gerald Horne, and Jon Rosenberg have pointed to the interplay between African American civil rights groups and international relations.<sup>9</sup> Michael Hunt and Odd Arne Westad have stressed the crucial role of ideology in the political decision making-process.<sup>10</sup> Morrell Heald, Herbert Schiller, and others have investigated the nexus between media corporations, journalists, and U.S. policy,<sup>11</sup> while Ralph Levering and Melvin Small have analyzed the influence of domestic public opinion on foreign policy perceptions.<sup>12</sup> Bill Walker and Bill McAllister study international cooperation over drug trade and prevention.<sup>13</sup> Andrew Rotter has introduced us to the power of religious ideas in Asian and American politics.<sup>14</sup> Sound, film and music has been at the heart of a few brand-new investigations.<sup>15</sup> And a host of scholars have looked at the role of science, scientific development and academia in the context of the Cold War.<sup>16</sup> Likewise, the power of NGOs (nongovernmental organizations) and private individuals as actors in "international relations" such as tourism<sup>17</sup> or environmentalism<sup>18</sup> has recently come under investigation.<sup>19</sup>

Under the influence of cultural studies, scholars of U.S. foreign relations have explored cultural perceptions, global culture systems, and cultural theory.<sup>20</sup> The cultural approach, as Akira Iriye explains, "examines international affairs in terms of dreams, aspirations, and other manifestations of human consciousness." Culture in this context assumes a rather broad definition, encompassing "the sharing and transmitting of consciousness within and across national boundaries ... the creation and communication of memory, ideology, emotions, life styles, scholarly and artistic works, and other symbols." In other words, culture affects nations and global systems as much as, if not more than, power and economic interests.<sup>21</sup> A volume of essays titled *Close Encounters of Empire*, for example, reviews U.S.-Latin American cultural interactions ranging from marriage and food to the visual arts and film.<sup>22</sup>

The debate over "new directions" in the study of diplomacy is by no means peculiar to the United States. Outside of America, too, scholars are testing innovative methods and theories to renarrate the study of international history. The variety of ways in which scholars are pondering over these issues in different countries and the sheer isolation of each national debate, are noteworthy.

The American debate over "new concepts" of foreign relations, reflects the peculiarities of U.S. academia. The "scientification" of political science alienated and segregated diplomatic historians from their colleagues who focused their work on contemporary affairs.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, U.S. scholars pick their specialty very early on in their careers and will often stick not only with this field but even more so, with a specific range of topics (e.g., "The Cold War" or "Twentieth-Century Diplomacy") for the rest of their professional lives. The formal compartmentalization of the field has made it more difficult for U.S. diplomatic historians to venture into neighboring fields and the expansion into cultural studies has taken its toll in the

form of countless debates, roundtables, and essays, often inspiring but sometimes also downright hostile.<sup>24</sup>

The expansion of the field of international history has taken a different direction in Europe than in the United States, partly due to the different structure of the university. Unlike in America, German history departments, for example, offer no specific jobs for diplomatic historians. Universities will narrow a job description at best to something like “modern history,” and occasionally add a desirable specification or region. The lack of compartmentalization allows scholars to switch fields freely.<sup>25</sup> While struggling with problems of their own—including interdepartmental hostilities, lack of recognition, and a profound alienation from their peers in other fields—British, French, and German historians all have encountered fewer problems when crisscrossing professional boundaries; provided they wanted to do so.

British historians of international history have also felt less compelled to divorce their interests from other fields. Indeed, the study of “international history” originated in the British school after World War I, where it initially denoted exclusively the relations between nations and their governments, notably the question of how to secure international peace. Pioneers like Arnold Toynbee, Charles Webster, A.J.P. Taylor, W.N. Medlicott and James Joll (holders of the chair for international history at the London School of Economics) contributed significantly to the expansion of the field, and the idea to research and teach history without a national perspective. More than anyone else, Joll drew attention to conflict mechanisms outside of the diplomatic spectrum. For example, in *The Origins of the First World War*, now a standard assignment in upper division history courses, he emphasized those events in the summer of 1914 that originated not only in political but also cultural, social, and economic tensions.<sup>26</sup>

Already in the 1950s and 1960s, the English school of international relations as exemplified by E.H. Carr developed a number of conceptual approaches for the analysis of the “international society” based on national and cultural factors. Herbert Butterfield and Martin Wight injected concepts of Christian morality, political theory, and the philosophy of history into the analysis of power and states.<sup>27</sup> Although these analyses still centered upon the state, their methodological innovation made it easier for the next generation to turn to altogether new concepts. Thus, Christopher Thorne’s *Allies of a Kind: The United States, Britain and the War against Japan, 1941-1945* stressed the cultural differences between sociopolitical systems in those countries that contributed to the decision-making process in the Far East, and the resulting inability of politicians to understand and judge one another.<sup>28</sup>

Much of the more recent work focuses on European integration, the cultural dimensions of the Cold War, secret services, and the CIA’s impact on cultural programs around the World. For example, Hugh Wilford has assessed the impact of British intellectuals on the Cold War. Toby Thacker has looked at Allied music programs in postwar Germany. Nathan Abrams has singled out Arthur Miller’s role in the postwar era, and Helen Laville has investigated the role of women’s peace organizations between 1945 and 1955.<sup>29</sup> A “cultural wave,” which Kathleen Burk recently postulated for the field in Britain, has evidently manifested itself.<sup>30</sup>

The French school of international history—a field existing in France since the 1870s—has been continually marked by its surrounding academic culture as well as its solid origins in diplomatic history. Most important, diplomatic and international history has never played a major role in French historiography. While the social historians of the Annales school has always viewed international history with suspicion if not antipathy, the so-called Nouvelle Histoire has simply left it by the wayside. Furthermore, the classics have consistently played a prominent role in international history; the French state continues to form its centerpiece; and realism as well as the rejection of any abstract analysis, has marked the history of international relations until the 1970s, if not until today.<sup>31</sup>

Nonetheless, individual historians repeatedly attempted to expand this “national doctrine”: Pierre Renouvin’s development of a theory of “*forces profondes*”—that is, long-term dynamics—in diplomatic history after 1945 certainly drew its inspiration from the Annales school. Renouvin is also typically credited with the effort to expand diplomatic history into international history.<sup>32</sup>

Yet it is likely that no one did more for the development of culture and international relations in French historiography than Jean-Baptiste Duroselle, next to Renouvin the second founder of a French school of international history. Duroselle was the first historian who systematically included in the discipline aspects such as political administration, the centrality of the decision-making process, and the interplay between strategy as well as cultural diplomacy. His journal *Relations internationales* (founded with Jacques Freymond in 1974) was one of the first publications that explicitly stressed public opinion, immigration and culture and developed a vision of both trans- and international history.<sup>33</sup>

Duroselle also had a profound influence on the intensive debate on European integration and cultural transfer that eventually sparked a new interest in the transmission of ideas. Thus, Michel Espagne and Michel Werner looked at French-German relations in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, while Fernand L’Hullier and Jean-Claude Delbreil analyzed the Franco-German rapport in the interwar period.<sup>34</sup> In general, since the 1970s the study of Franco-German official as well as non-governmental cultural relations has inspired the research agenda of countless European scholars, notably in Germany and France.<sup>35</sup> Joachim Scholtyseck’s biographical work on the German industrialist Robert Bosch underscores the informal search for a European economic union in the 1920s, while Dietmar Hüser, looking at collective biographies, cultural assumptions, and domestic pressures, has recently ventured a structural history of French foreign policy in 1945.<sup>36</sup>

As much as individual French scholars of diplomatic relations have plunged into cultural questions, as much they fear those new trends as a caveat. In a recent article, Georges-Henri Soutou, unquestionably one of the great diplomatic historians in France, warned that area studies as well as the research on European integration threatened to devour or annex international history along with its traditional emphasis on the state, its reluctance to study multilateral relations, and its emphasis on archival research.<sup>37</sup> Unless diplomatic historians warmed up to concepts like the

European concert or the multilateral order of the Cold War, Soutou seemed to imply, French diplomatic historians ran the risk of being even more marginalized than in other countries.

The German case is perhaps the most complex if not confusing one. Based on the nineteenth-century historian Leopold von Ranke's credo of the "primacy of foreign policy," some German historians, like their colleagues in neighboring countries, traditionally respected the study of foreign relations as the key paradigm to the understanding of political history. They have typically downplayed theory and have insisted on the uniqueness of the diplomatic process as the foremost explanatory variable for the analysis of history. While there is no unchallenged continuity since the nineteenth century, Ranke's paradigm saw a powerful revival in the 1970s. The proponents of German diplomatic history, such as Klaus Hildebrand, and Andreas Hillgruber, typically focused on the elite decision making level, extracted from sources in the archives of foreign offices throughout the western hemisphere.<sup>38</sup>

Triggered by the rise of social and structural history in the late 1960s and 1970s, however, the writing of diplomatic history—notably the "primacy of foreign policy"—came under sharp attack, and with it, all of political historiography. Individual diplomatic historians such as Karl-Dietrich Bracher and Hans-Peter Schwarz paid attention to the interplay of foreign and domestic affairs; their central paradigm remained the state's interest in international relations.<sup>39</sup> In contrast, social historians such as Jürgen Kocka and Hans-Ulrich Wehler argued that the study of foreign relations needed to be subordinated to the analysis of domestic interest groups and social trends—an argument already raised by Eckart Kehr in the 1930s. The advocates of the new German social history, in the Bielefeld school, consequently focused all research on the analysis of internal, or at best, comparative structures,<sup>40</sup> positing their interest explicitly outside of the realm of foreign relations. Thus, the fundamental historiographical and methodological controversy in Germany was one between several fields of history, not one within the field of diplomatic history proper.

In the 1980s and 1990s, a new generation of scholars interested in international relations has instigated a paradigm shift by turning to altogether new analytical concepts such as social influences, transnational affairs, and psychological factors.<sup>41</sup> In Germany, Gilbert Zieburg, for example, has suggested to integrate sociological methodologies into the study of international relations.<sup>42</sup> Volker Rittberger's *Theorie der Internationalen Beziehungen*, offers a variety of theoretical approaches for the study of international relations, thus highlighting the frustration over the deadlocked theoretical situation in the field.<sup>43</sup> In the same vein, several recent conferences in the Federal Republic have featured panels on new methodologies in diplomatic history.<sup>44</sup>

While displaying less radicalism than their U.S. peers display, these authors have grappled with similar questions. Most important, they, too, worry about how to integrate new methodological trends into their research without disrupting the field. They stress concepts of ethnicity, transnationalism, peace, environmentalism, and above all, the interplay between domestic affairs and foreign policy. At the same time, their writings for the most part continue to accentuate the state as the central analyt-



ical variable, unquestionably because the state plays a much more ubiquitous and incontrovertible role in European society. To many scholars in Europe, the government and the state remains at the center of international relations, a tradition that may be partly explained by the fact that modern historiography developed in the nineteenth century, not only in conjunction with but also as a science dedicated to the rise of the nation-state.

The historiography on colonialism and the European powers coupled with the rise of the "Neue Kulturgeschichte"<sup>45</sup> all have contributed to an intensified interest in the significance of culture in foreign relations beyond the state. As early as 1976, Urs Bitterli argued in *Die "Wilden" und die "Zivilisierten"* that besides encompassing power politics, "colonial history ... is also the history of the encounter of people with very different cultures and ways of lives, of the inner tensions that this encounter evoked, and the attempts to intellectually overcome these tensions."<sup>46</sup> Similarly, Jürgen Osterhammel writes about the "disenchantment" of Asia in European eyes during the eighteenth century. Hermann Joseph Hiery's edited volume on the "German Pacific" highlights the long-term cultural consequences of the Second Empire's interaction with native populations and other colonial powers in Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia.<sup>47</sup> Johannes Paulmann's study of "monarchical visits" illuminates the significance of pompous "symbolic action" in European politics between the ancien régime and World War I, and Christiane Eisenberg emphasizes the political significance of British sports among the German bourgeoisie before World War II.<sup>48</sup>

In 1996, Wilfried Loth, Anselm Doering-Manteuffel, Jost Dülffer, and Jürgen Osterhammel inaugurated a series titled *Studien zur Internationalen Geschichte*, which specifically concentrates on the theoretical analysis of formal and informal relations between states and societies.<sup>49</sup> Klaus Mühlhahn, for example, examines minutely the bi-national social and cultural contacts and clashes in the German colony of Kiautschou in China. Madeleine Herren wanders through the "backdoors of power" in Switzerland, Belgium, and the United States, where she discovers an intricate network of private transnational contacts beneath the structures of formal diplomacy since 1865.<sup>50</sup>

The most recent volume, *Internationale Geschichte*, may be regarded as a German counterpart to Michael Hogan and Thomas Paterson's *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations*. This book reviews recent topics, results, and perspectives in search of new paradigms for the study of diplomatic and NGO relations. World systems, the interplay of society and the state, perceptions, mentalities, peace research, the environment, the tension between the local, regional, and national, space and historical geography, cultural methodology, and an examination of the tension between plurality of cultures and globalization represent some of the foci of this survey.<sup>51</sup>

There remains no doubt that the growing interest in an expansion of the field exists in the United States and Europe, as the German example as well as selected samples from France and Great Britain have shown. There are even a number of similarities between the two. On both continents, the debate focuses on whether or not to admit more theory, whether or not the historiography of foreign relations is marked



by the “uniqueness” of the foreign policy-making process at the top level, and whether or not foreign relations should be analyzed structurally, that is with a special emphasis on social groups and phenomena located outside of the files of the Foreign Office and Record Group 59. And on both continents, culture has emerged as an attractive new variable in the study of foreign relations.

However, to this date the debate around culture in international history suffers from two shortcomings. First, it is a highly nationalized debate within individual countries but not in the international arena where it belongs. Second, historians and publishers have made few efforts to introduce students to the debate at large and encourage them to develop their own positions in the field. Apart from a few introductory essays we now find in some textbooks,<sup>52</sup> there is no cohesive effort to make this discussion part of our teaching curriculum.

This volume aims to address both issues—by presenting the work of scholars working on both sides of the Atlantic; by reflecting a debate on the pros and cons of the various approaches; and by specifically addressing college students. Part I provides a methodological introduction, explores the cultural underpinnings of foreign policy, and the role of culture in international affairs through an examination of one specific case. In “The Power of Culture,” Beate Jahn points to the dichotomy of culture and nature, both of which have been intrinsic parts in international history but also in international relations theory long before the debate over the admissibility of culture as a methodological concept began. Looking at the Spanish encounter with the Amerindian world, she retraces how early explorers and scientists sought to conciliate this experience with their idea of a universal state of nature by invoking cultural development as a peculiarity, a mechanism that Jahn likens to the contemporary efforts of injecting culture into the history of international relations to allow for diversity in the context of generalization.

In Part II, contributors analyze culture as a tool of foreign policy. They demonstrate how culture was instrumentalized for diplomatic goals and purposes in different historical periods and world regions. Wolfram Kaiser studies the cultural images and strategies that European, American, and Asian countries chose to represent themselves and their colonies in the global environment of world exhibitions during the nineteenth century. He stresses the political meaning but also the limitations of such events, which were influenced to no small degree by NGOs and commercial entrepreneurs whose interest did not necessarily comport with those of their governments. Comparing the Philippine-American War and the Vietnam War, Fabian Hilfrich shows how gendered rhetorical devices, and in particular the appeal to masculinity, played a vital part in the strategy of the interventionists. To obscure the rational arguments against war, both Theodore Roosevelt and Lyndon B. Johnson feminized their respective critics at home, and they were also intent on proving their nation’s masculinity abroad. Laura Belmonte turns our attention to U.S. cultural policy and perceptions. She retraces the United States’ propaganda program with a particular eye on the portrayal of the typical American couple. Employing notions of gender and the family, U.S. propagandists found ways to discredit communism, an

effort that may tell us more about a particular elite's preferred version of American culture than about the reality of American life.<sup>53</sup>

Part III of this volume seeks to expand the state-centered view and traces informal cultural relations among nations and peoples. This exploration of transnational cultural interaction focuses on the role of philanthropists and intellectuals. Oliver Schmidt explores the motivations of Cold War U.S. philanthropists who invested in the international traffic of students, as well as the historical significance of U.S. non-governmentally directed educational exchange programs after 1945. Acting complementarily to the action of policymakers, Schmidt writes, these activities nonetheless developed a dynamic on their own and beyond the control of the very political actors who once helped trigger their implementation in the formation of a transatlantic identity. Private operations geared toward international interaction are also the focus of Guido Müller's analysis, which scrutinizes the Franco-German friendship movement during the interwar years. Though many of the individuals involved in transnational contacts were right-wing anti-American intellectuals and businessmen with clear nationalist interests, their European vision foreshadowed the integration of the European Community, as it emerged twenty years later.<sup>54</sup>

The following two essays by Philipp Gassert and Alexander Schmidt-Gernig in Part Three take us up to the most recent history. Studying cross-cultural flows of leftist ideas across the Atlantic since the 1930s, Gassert cautions us to label the 1960s as an era of radical student internationalism. Though the German student revolt in 1968 clearly benefited from a vibrant influx of foreign ideas, it remained unilateral, as few or no ideas boomeranged back across the Atlantic. Alexander Schmidt-Gernig looks at the recent "scientification" of the future, which led to the emergence of a new paradigm called "cybernetics," designed to bridge the communication gap among nations around the world. Transdisciplinary international conferences, topics, and journals created a network of forecasting and prediction that affected the making of national and international policy and, on a more utopian level, revived the vision of a globally integrated world.

As all of these essays demonstrate, the strength of the cultural approach to international history is its ability to place a narrow range of ideas and individuals in a broader context and to point to the significance of the many different varieties of the term "culture" that researchers may employ for their analysis. Accordingly, the authors have chosen to investigate culture either as an analysis of content, thus considering the intellectual and cultural content of transnational ideas, institutions, and individuals (e.g., Schmidt and Jahn). Or they have preferred to consider culture as an "architectural design," that is, an institution or a milieu (e.g., Hilfrich, Schmidt-Gernig, and Müller). We present these choices as different options for research and discussion, and leave it up to the commentators and, ultimately, the readers to decide which model they deem most useful.

Part IV collects the findings and arguments of the previous chapters to define a road map for further scholarly inquiry. A group of commentators survey the preceding essays, place them into a larger research context, and address the question, Where

do we go from here? Speaking from an outside perspective, social historian Volker Depkat critically assesses the debate over the new diplomatic history and the potential of culture for the study of international history. While Depkat questions historians' ability to insert culture into the study of grand policy without risking to distortion of the field, he also offers a number of ways in which cultural studies may complement the study of foreign relations. Marc Frey and Eckart Conze then comment on those essays focusing on the state as a central actor in the interplay of cultural transfer in the international system, while Seth Fein and Scott Lucas examine those contributions dedicated to nonstate cultural interaction. Based on their own experiences in the field, they are certainly not united in their plea for the necessity of culture in international history; rather, they offer criticism and cautious advice to readers interested in this field. Like the authors in the preceding parts of this book, the individual commentators, too, choose different analytical strategies and occasionally even differ with each other. Again, we offer this discussion as a point of departure for future readers interested in this field.

The last part of this volume offers a variety of sources along with individual comments designed to demonstrate how students can look at primary documents through a cultural gaze and what type of conclusions they may be able to reach. Carrying the debate into the seventeenth century, Volker Depkat examines the ideas on political culture and diplomacy of Frederick III, Elector of Brandenburg. The wording of this translated document may sound somewhat unwieldy to the untrained ear; yet its "otherness" and strength is that it shows the potential of the culturalist debate for early modern diplomatic history.

The following sources, all stem from the nineteenth and twentieth century. Wolfram Kaiser analyzes a British cartoon from the mid nineteenth century. Fabian Hilfrich introduces us to a newspaper article explicating the multifaceted connections between race(ism) and imperialism. Scott Lucas elaborates on a document pertaining to the history of the International Harvard Summer School designed to disguise the CIA's attempt to disseminate cultural propaganda during the Cold War. Thomas Reuther analyzes a newspaper article from 1948 reflecting on the cultural future of Germany and looks at the original author's larger significance. Alexander Schmidt-Gernig presents an excerpt from Johan Galtung's 1967 prediction of the cultural dimensions of the future of the international system. Finally, Marie Thorsten's compilation of webpages designed for the dot-org generation takes us up to the present.

Thorsten's reflections on the future of nongovernmental networks may well inspire us to ponder the future of the history of international relations itself. Thorsten shows how in the twenty-first century an abundance of providers immerse themselves in a cultural race to influence the *weltanschauung* of children around the world. While sober policymakers are still entrenched in a thought pattern framed by national borders, toddlers and teenagers are creating transnational global communities of cultural exchange and communication. In a similar vein, many historians of international relations have urged their peers to transcend the meaning of political boundaries and take a closer look at emerging supranational communities holding political power.<sup>55</sup>

While the majority of essays in this reader concentrate on the nineteenth and twentieth century, they point to sources, questions, periods, and fields well beyond their own scope. Regardless of their individual concepts, these authors share a common conviction that one cannot get to significant questions without knocking down the walls of the ghetto that has traditionally limited the field of foreign relations. What matters is not the designated field historians of foreign relations are working in, but the questions that they ask. For example, the culturalist state concepts elaborated in Part II may appeal particularly to the political scientist while anthropologists and sociologists might be intrigued by the nongovernmental transmissions described in Part III.

As paradigms, theories, and approaches multiply, the writing of a synthesis becomes increasingly difficult, if not unlikely.<sup>56</sup> Instead of pondering the question what kind of inquiries and sources diplomatic history should include, scholars of foreign relations need to realize that professional identities are subject to change. Christopher Endy's recent attempt to "sell" tourism as part of the history of U.S. foreign relations has struck many diplomatic historians as most inappropriate because tourism arguably did not influence turn-of-the century U.S. diplomacy.<sup>57</sup> These criticisms are vital and need to be discussed. Nonetheless, the discussion should focus on whether Endy made a convincing argument and not whether his essay constitutes "authentic" diplomatic history. Questions about cultural transmission, transnational NGOs, the gender gaze in international trade, or the clash of value systems in a global environment, just like the debates over the end of the Cold War are facing historians today not because scholars invented these problems but because they are part of the catalogue of questions by which people—and not only scholars—are trying to make sense of the world we live in.

Our call for internationalization should thus not be misinterpreted as an appeal for disunity. Instead, with this reader we would like to encourage scholars and students to pay attention to the disputes outside of their fields and embark on a transnational dialogue. While European and American scholars occasionally compare each other's discoveries in remote archives around the world, they have never communicated their methodological anxieties to one another. European scholars and students would profit a great deal from participating in the imaginative and innovative discussion in the United States. Their U.S. counterparts, in turn, might wish to consider a less compartmentalized attitude when it comes to crossing disciplinary boundaries and methodologies without questioning one's professional identity. The issue at stake is not merely whether or not to look at gender or how to avoid the Eurocentric standpoint. Rather, inspired by global events, the concern over the definition of foreign relations has already become an international issue in and of itself and it has all the potential to grow into a global debate, in the course of which we can all learn from each other. We are, it seems, finally able to accomplish what the organizers of the 1904 Congress of Arts and Sciences in St. Louis once had in mind—to demonstrate some of the common interests scholars and students from various fields and countries can cherish and share.

## Notes

- \* Many thanks to Ernest May, Akira Iriye, David Armitage, David Engermann, Jon Rosenberg, Donna Gabaccia, Jona Hansen, Volker Berghahn, the two anonymous reviewers for Berghahn Books, and all the authors in this volume for their candid criticism and their time.
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2. Thomas G. Paterson, "Defining and Doing the History of American Foreign Relations: A Primer," in *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations*, ed. Michael Hogan and Thomas Paterson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 36-37.
3. Richard Rorty, "The Intellectuals at the End of Socialism," *Yale Review* 80 (1992): 1-16.
4. Quoted in George Haines and Frederick H. Jackson, "A Neglected Landmark in the History of Ideas," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 34 (1947): 216-217.
5. Charles S. Maier, "Marking Time: The Historiography of International Relations," in *The Past before Us: Contemporary Historical Writing in the United States*, ed. Michael Kammen (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1980), 355-382; "Responses to Charles S. Maier, 'Marking Time: The Historiography of International Relations,'" *Diplomatic History* 5 (fall 1981): 353-382; Robert J. McMahon, "The Study of American Foreign Relations: National History or International History?" in *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations*, ed. Hogan and Paterson, 11-23.
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15. Elizabeth Jannik, "Music in Cold War Berlin: German Tradition and Allied Occupation, 1945-1951" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., 2001); David Monod, "Disguise, Containment and the Porgy and Bess Revival of 1952-56," *Journal of American Studies* 35 (August 2001): 275-312; Jessica C E. Gienow-Hecht, "Trumpeting Down the Walls of Jericho: Art, Music, and Emotion in German-American Relations, 1870-1920" *Journal of Social History* 26 (March 2003), forthcoming.
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19. Melvyn P. Leffler, "New Approaches, Old Interrogations, and Prospective Reconfigurations," *Diplomatic History* 19 (Spring 1995): 173-196; Emily S. Rosenberg, "Revisiting Dollar Diplomacy: Narratives of Money and Manliness," *Diplomatic History* 22 (spring 1998): 155-176; "It May Be Chiefly about 'Dead White Males,' but Diplomatic History Is Still Important," letters to the editor, *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 29 October 1999, B3, B14; Robert Buzzanco, "What Happened to the New Left? Toward a Radical Reading of U.S. Foreign Relations," *Diplomatic History* 23 (fall 1999): 575-607. Curiously, this debate had much less of an effect on U.S. scholars working on European diplomatic relations where the primacy of foreign relations has inspired such renowned historians as Felix Gilbert and Gerhard L. Weinberg.
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24. This compartmentalization is currently under review. Under the auspices of the Organization of American Historians (OAH), in 1997, Thomas Bender from New York University initiated a project titled "Internationalizing the Study of American History," designed to expand if not abandon the U.S.-centric viewpoint of American history. The "La Pietra Report" and the annual reports of the La Pietra conferences on internationalizing the study of American history are available on the OAH web site and at [www.nyu.edu/gsas/dept/icas](http://www.nyu.edu/gsas/dept/icas).
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32. Pierre Renouvin and Jean-Baptiste Duroselle, *Introduction à l'histoire des relations internationales* (Paris: Librairie A. Colin, 1964).
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*Les catholiques français et les tentatives de rapprochement franco-allemand 1920-1933* (Metz: S.M.E.I., 1972).

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