

Forging the American Century
World War II and the Transformation of
U.S. Internationalism

Nijmegen, October 27-28

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Schedule

Conference Day 1: Thursday, October 27

- 11:45 lobby **Registration**
- 13:00 E2.53 **Formal Opening**
Prof. Dr. Olivier Hekster (Radboud University)
Mr. Adrian Pratt (U.S. Embassy)
- 13:30 E2.53 **Keynote Lecture**
REALIZING THE AMERICAN CENTURY: WORLD WAR II AS A
WATERSHED IN U.S. INTERNATIONALISM
Justin Hart (Texas Tech University)
- 14:30 E2.66 **Parallel workshop #1: Visions of Reconstruction**
Moderator: Laura Visser-Maessen (Radboud University)
- Aryans and Anglo-Saxons: Segregationist Visions of the
Postwar World
Maarten Zwiers (University of Groningen)
- “A grand opportunity”. American Protestants and the
Reconstruction of Europe, 1940-1960
Hans Krabbendam (Roosevelt Study Center)
- E2.16 **Parallel workshop #2: Alternative Diplomats**
Moderator: Mary McCay (Loyola University)
- Malcolm Cowley, “American Books Abroad” and *Perspectives*
USA: Forging the culture of the American Century
Hans Bak (Radboud University)

A Herald of the American Century: Philip Wylie's *Innocents Abroad*
Louis Mazzari (Bogazici University)

16:00 E2.66 **Coffee Break**

16:30 E2.66 **Parallel workshop #3: Shaping the International Environment**
Moderator: Markha Valenta (Radboud University)

Selling a New World Order: The United Nations Information Organization (UNIO) in WW II
Giles Scott-Smith (Leiden University)

Embodying the American Century: A Transnational Approach to the U.S. Military Presence in Europe from the End of WWII to the End of the Cold War.
Dario Fazzi (Roosevelt Study Center)

E2.16 **Parallel workshop #4: Identity and National Character**
Moderator: Iris Plessius (Radboud University)

National Character in the Americanist Century: Japanese antique, Neo-Melanesian modern, and our own bewildering country
George Blaustein (University of Amsterdam)

Early Cold War Ideology and Identity Transformations of Cultural Criticism in the United States after World War II
Daniela N. Naydeva (Sofia University)

18:00 E9.14 **Reception**

Conference Day 2: Friday, October 28

09:30 E2.53 **Keynote lecture**

THE FORCE OF AMERICAN MODERNITY: WWII AND THE
BIRTH OF A SOFT POWER SUPERPOWER

*David Ellwood (Johns Hopkins University, SAIS Europe,
Bologna)*

10:30 E2.66 **Coffee break**

11:00 E2.66 **Parallel workshop #5: Reagan's American Century**

Moderator: George Blaustein (University of Amsterdam)

Negotiations and Narcotics: Fears and anxieties in the
American Century

Beerd Beukenhorst (John F. Kennedy Institut)

Remembering and reinventing history – How President Reagan
publicly reflected upon and remembered the Second World
War

Jonathan Verwey (Independent)

E2.16 **Parallel workshop #6: Public Diplomacy in Europe**

Moderator: Hans Krabbendam (Roosevelt Study Center)

The Marshall Plan in the Netherlands: Cultural diplomacy and
Dutch national identity

Mathilda Roza (Radboud University)

River Barge Diplomacy: Marshall Plan exhibits in the
Netherlands, 1947-1953

Jorrit van den Berk (Radboud University)

Tradition under oath? Women cultural contacts and military
practices of US public diplomacy in France (1946 - 1960)

François Doppler-Speranza (Université de Strasbourg)

12:30	Refter	Lunch break
14:00	E2.16	Parallel workshop #7: Cultural Diplomacy: Community and Confrontation <i>Moderator: Lászlá Munteán (Radboud University)</i> “The Midwestern vibrant fist” of American Art: The Affective Community Forged by Georgia O’Keeffe <i>Cristiana Pagliarusco (Independent)</i> Advancing American Art and the Struggles of Cultural Diplomacy <i>Frank Mehring (Radboud University)</i>
15:30	E2.66	Coffee break
16:00	E2.53	Keynote lecture
—		FASCISM COMES TO AMERICA
17:00		<i>Bruce Kuklick (University of Pennsylvania)</i>
18:00	City center	Liberation Route Tour
—		Guided tour of monuments and sites of memory related to the (American) liberation of Nijmegen
19:30		
19:30	City center	Conference Dinner

Keynote Lectures

(In order of appearance)

Realizing the American Century: World War II as a Watershed in U.S. Internationalism

Justin Hart

This lecture will reflect upon the ways that historians today approach the long-standing question of whether World War II constituted a “watershed” moment in U.S. foreign relations. Without disputing the idea of a “watershed,” this talk will range both backwards and forwards from the war years to explore continuities in the U.S. approach to the world throughout the Roosevelt and Truman administrations. Building on recent scholarship addressing what might be called “the New Deal in the world,” I will treat the globalization of the New Deal approach to governance as the key to the transformation of U.S. foreign relations that was cemented by the mid-20th century.

The Force of American Modernity: WWII and the Birth of a Soft Power Superpower

David Ellwood

No society better than America demonstrates that a soft-power superpower deploys a special ability to generate and deploy models of change and innovation, and to identify them as modernity. After WWII the Federal government itself best expressed this impulse with the Marshall Plan, an enduring myth. The project was based on deep wartime reflections which brought the US to try to revolutionise the world with trade liberalisation, international organisation and above all by raising living standards everywhere, i.e. development, growth. Outside this emergency phase, the force of America’s modernising example has been projected by its ideologies, icons, celebrities, products, media, slogans, and inventions. The rest, and Europe in particular, have experienced the American impulse to endless innovation with a wide variety of responses, ranging from enthusiastic embrace to violent backlash. The ‘American century’ can also be defined by the presence of US impulses in the politics of change everywhere in these decades.

Fascism comes to America

Bruce Kuklick

Throughout the twentieth century, American politicians, followed by novelists, Hollywood movie makers, and television producers have agonized about the terrifying menace fascism, and its ability to corrupt the United States constitutional republic, supposedly moderate, strong, and firm. US and European intellectuals have added conceptual frameworks to explain the jeopardy of Americans. There is supposed to be an antithesis between democratic and fascistic values. Yet many US nationals (and some Europeans) have believed that this horrible other imperils the United States, perhaps because the flame attracts the moth, or because Americans will effloresce into what they truly are, or because they allow themselves to become weak in the face of evil. Does the notion of fascism have any cognitive content at all? Is it not hopelessly tainted as an analytic tool because of the deep feelings that have been engendered by what happened in Italy and Germany in the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s? I examine these issues from the early part of the twentieth century up to the early part of the twenty-first, assisted by clips from several Hollywood movies.

Paper Abstracts

(By workshop)

Workshop #1

Visions of Reconstruction

Thursday, 14:30-16:00, Location: E2.66

“A grand opportunity”. American Protestants and the Reconstruction of Europe, 1940-1960

Hans Krabbendam

This paper explains how and why American Protestants hailed to Europe after World War II in an effort to strengthen the position of (Protestant) Christianity according to American concepts. It explains the origin of this drive, that began to

take shape during World War II. It shows how the transfer of religious ideas contributed to a comprehensive American package, but differed from economic practices, political concepts, military strategies, cultural expressions, and scientific ideas.

Yet, the results were less than satisfying as internal religious and external cultural qualities provoked mutual competition among American religious groups and resistance by Europeans. Europeans admired America's success in mobilizing its moral energy for effective world evangelism but were also suspicious about American domination. Despite these obstacles it is fair to say that American religion added important glue for the global presence of America.

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Aryans and Anglo-Saxons: Segregationist Visions of the Postwar World

Maarten Zwiers

Segregationist politicians from the U.S. South had a profound impact on policy design concerning the direct aftermath of World War II. They played key roles in devising plans for the reconstruction of Germany, the Marshall Plan, and the drafting of displaced persons legislation. My paper discusses how Jim Crow ideology calibrated the global and domestic order that emerged from the ashes of World War II. Southern conservatives dealt with national and foreign issues from a regional perspective, which was based on the protection of agricultural interests and a nascent military-industrial complex, but above all, on the defense of white supremacy. My paper concentrates on the idea of Germany in the southern imagination, related to the position of this country in the early Cold War. In general, southern politicians followed a lenient course toward Germany after the country's defeat in World War II, for various reasons. The shared experience of postwar reconstruction, containment of communism, and feelings of kinship between the Germanic people and the Anglo-Saxons of the U.S. South were some of the motives why white southerners did not endorse punitive measures against the former enemy. "The foreign policy of the segregationists was never elaborate or comprehensive," historian Thomas Noer claimed. He thought segregationists were more interested in domestic race relations than in international issues and that they exerted no significant influence on foreign affairs. My hypothesis is different. For white southerners, an obvious connection existed between the local and the global, which strongly reverberated in the formation of U.S. foreign and domestic policy in the postwar world. The rebuilding of Germany and the fugitive question were shaped on the basis of a Jim Crow blueprint.

Workshop #2

Alternative Diplomats

Thursday, 14:30-16:00, Location: E2.16

Malcolm Cowley, “American Books Abroad” and *Perspectives USA*: Forging the culture of the American Century

Hans Bak (Radboud University)

In the 1940s and 1950s critic and literary historian Malcolm Cowley (1898-1989) was instrumental in shaping an American literary canon which could serve, in Tremaine McDowell’s phrase, for “region, nation, world.” In critical reappraisals of “classic” American writers (Frost, James) as well as, most visibly and influentially, pioneering studies of the modern writers of his own “lost generation” (Viking Portables on Hemingway and Faulkner) Cowley helped to shape and define the contours and nature of an American canon which could *both* give expression to a specific national character and unique, exceptional American values, *and* be a blueprint for a future world order. In my paper I want to demonstrate that Cowley’s efforts, informed by a cosmopolitan ideal of international modernism as well as personal distrust of the nationalist ethos marking the US in the early Cold War years, seamlessly fitted into US cultural diplomacy under Truman and Eisenhower. Against the background of Cowley’s post-1942 retreat from radical politics and his subsequent commitment to forging an American cultural canon, I want to consider in particular two of Cowley’s critical efforts in the light of the “cultural cold war” (Frances Saunders): first, his contribution “American Books Abroad,” the concluding chapter to Robert Spiller’s *Literary History of the United States* (1948), a vast symposium intended to both legitimize the enhanced international standing of the literature and culture of the new world power and to underwrite symbolically America’s status as bulwark of the free democratic west against the communist East. Secondly, I want to consider and evaluate Cowley’s participation (as editor) in *Perspectives USA*, a quarterly launched by James Laughlin and funded by the Ford Foundation, which was envisioned as a corrective to a widespread European perception of American culture as imperialist and steeped in mass entertainment and shallow commercialism, and which aimed to promote a view of American

culture as at least as highbrow and distinguished as the best of Europe – and an effective beacon of individual freedom against totalitarian communism.

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A Herald of the American Century: Philip Wylie's *Innocents Abroad*

Louis Mazzari

At the start of the American Century, Philip Wylie was among the most prominent of the free world's ancillary diplomats—a well-read columnist and often-scathing social critic, a novelist, Hollywood screenwriter, political columnist, and well-loved storyteller for popular magazines, as well as, improbably, a contributor to the *Journal of Nuclear Physics*. Trained in physics, Wylie also wrote for the military and held a top-security clearance through the height of the Cold War. Well-known and respected in his time, largely forgotten afterwards, Wylie's work was democratic advocacy conducted through books and newspapers and scholarly journals, through Hollywood movies and radio plays. America's rise to global power drove Wylie to investigate, through the widest variety of media, that power's "new connections with the world."

In the mid-1930s, Wylie and his brother traveled to the Soviet Union from a skeptical interest in Communism. At the end of their trip, his brother was found dead at their hotel, and Wylie would always believe he had been murdered by Stalin for their criticism. Twenty years later, across the gulf of World War II, Wylie took upon himself the task of circling the globe to assess the state of the struggle between the Communist and the free worlds through talks and observations in a dozen Asian and Middle Eastern nations. Published in 1957, that assessment, titled *Innocents Abroad*, took up crucial questions about the American Century. How was Americanism faring in its first years as world policeman? How did America appear to nations with far-different political traditions and for whom the Soviet Union was making a big play?

At a time before worldwide media, Wylie's vivid dispatches to the Cold War home-front formed a fascinating medium of unofficial Cold-War diplomacy and engagement. Wylie examined, in *Innocents Abroad*, as he did in many other venues at the start of the American Century, "the ways in which peoples throughout the world," in the words of the conference prospectus, "have resisted, negotiated, or welcomed the American presence."

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Workshop #3

Shaping the International Environment

Thursday, 16:30-18:00, Location: E2.66

Selling a New World Order: The United Nations Information Organization (UNIO) in WW II

Giles Scott-Smith

The UN Information Organization (UNIO) holds the distinction of being the first international agency of the UN network and the first to hold the United Nations label. Its origins reflect the multilateral enterprise of the UNO, there being a two-track development via its main offices in New York and London which eventually coincided at the end of World War II. The UN itself dates the UNIO's origins back to the Inter-Allied Information Committee and Center (IAIC) in New York in September 1940, an initiative of the British government, and the first director of the Center, Michael Huxley, described its purpose as "the issuance of information in the interests of the Allied cause." In terms of audience, the United States was therefore the main target. Still officially neutral for the first 15 months of the Committee's existence, the stance of US public opinion was obviously vital for British war aims, and every effort needed to be made to secure widespread support. Those nations operating information services in the United States could join the Committee, and it was only in July 1942, following the formation of the Office of War Information (OWI) that June, that the United States itself became a member. In November 1942, ten months after the Declaration of United Nations, the New York Information Center became the United Nations Information Office overseen by an Information Board, and all signatories of the Declaration were then invited to join. By January 1945 an official resolution provider for the "formal constitution" of the United Nations Information Organization (UNIO), with offices in New York and Washington, D.C. The UNIO therefore preceded the other UN agencies such as the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) and the United Nations Relief and Reconstruction Administrator (UNRRA), both dating from 1943.

This paper examines the institutional development and information output of the UNIO and its predecessor, the IAIC. During the war the office made a notable shift from focusing on winning the war to preparing for the peace – becoming a public opinion 'pathfinder' for the future, post-war United Nations. A mistrust of behind-the-scenes scheming and the failure of post-World War I designs for peace caused widespread hope that the United Nations would bring something more lasting. The Office's remit for action was therefore anything that emphasized allied unity,

mutual aid and interests, and “the importance of cooperation and joint action for winning not only the war, but also the peace.” Promoting the outlook of multilateral planning boards and institutions displaying a common cause became a priority in order to demonstrate the changing nature of international relations thanks to the nascent UN system.

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Embodying the American Century: A Transnational Approach to the U.S. Military Presence in Europe from the End of WWII to the End of the Cold War.

Dario Fazzi

Outposts of empire or ultimate beacons of freedom? Scholars have interpreted the U.S. global web of military bases both the ways. In Europe, in particular, U.S. military deployment has been quite exceptional: since the end of WWII, American bases have mushroomed and grown steadily all over the continent. At the end of the cold war, before the U.S. launched a considerable reorganization plan known as Base Realignment and Closure (BRAC), there still were more than 300,000 U.S. military personnel deployed over more than a dozen European countries.

U.S. bases in Europe were originally meant to liberate the Old Continent from totalitarianism, protect it from the rise of Communism, and secure its full democratic development. At the same time, however, they projected and embodied the American century idea in Europe: in fact, they have constantly disseminated the American way of life in a number of ways, by bringing in fresh money, creating new jobs, building infrastructures, and installing new cultural habits and artifacts. Once in Europe, American soldiers and their families have actively reshaped the whole socio-economic structure of their surroundings.

Accordingly, how is it possible to assess the overall impact that American bases have had in Europe over the course of more than half a century? My ongoing research project aims at replying to this broad question and my proposed essay wants to explain how. The main objective is to broaden the existing literature by offering an analysis that is deeply embedded in such recent historiographical trends as spatial humanities and transnational history.

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Workshop #4

Identity and National Character

Thursday, 16:30-18:00, Location: E2.16

National Character in the Americanist Century: Japanese antique, Neo-Melanesian modern, and our own bewildering country

George Blaustein

This paper is about “national character” during and after World War II. It also proposes an “Americanist century” that stands in curious tension with Henry Luce’s “American Century.” The war was the pivot of both. The war made national character an applied science, of a kind, with its own scientific arcana and jargon. Scientific and para-scientific vocabularies undergirded paradigmatic studies of the authoritarian personality, UNESCO’s Tensions Project, and the postwar reeducations of Germany and Japan. Margaret Mead, who wrote the first anthropological account of the United States in 1942, is a central figure in this history. She was the Henry Luce of anthropology. But national characterology was also an art. The anthropologist learned the supposedly untranslatable terms of other cultures, celebrating human variety along the way, but then offered the satisfaction of translation anyhow. This paper’s real subject is national character as narrative and ideology. To that end, I will mine some far-flung examples from the 1940s and 1950s, all of which reflect American character’s imprint on the world. “American character” depended on international projections—and that could include projection in the psychoanalytic sense, for this tendency could be conscious or unconscious, cosmopolitan or neurotic, tender or hostile, wishfulfilling or self-hating. Some examples: Ruth Benedict’s famous remote-ethnography of Japan is a parable of American power and its limits. Mead’s more obscure postwar travelogue to a suddenly-modern island of New Guinea is a sermon about a Polynesian city upon a hill. Lastly, David Riesman’s *The Lonely Crowd*, though cleverly disguised as sociology, is a novel of manners and a frontier tale. It closed one frontier of national character but opened another.

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Early Cold War Ideology and Identity Transformations of Cultural Criticism in the United States after World War II

Daniela N. Naydeva

The proposed paper will discuss the influence of the transformed geopolitical realities after World War II and early Cold War ideology on the production, development and practice of cultural criticism in the United States. Employing the publications of Partisan Review, Commentary and National Review in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, a connection between the ideological functions and textual representations of the national and the political in cultural criticism will be established. More precisely, I will analyze the simplification of cultural constructions and arguments, the reformulations of the cultural discourse of danger and the repetition of symbols gradually losing depth and meaning, as well as the preeminence of the political over the cultural. In addition, conceptual variations of nationalism/Americanism as an argumentative and transformative device in Cold War ideology will be discussed. In conclusion, I will try to explain the motivation behind some major Commentary and Partisan Review authors' transformation from liberal cultural critics into either conservative public intellectuals with militant ideological preoccupation in the "land of the free" (e.g., Norman Podhoretz, Irving Kristol) or somewhat reluctant cold warriors, who stayed in the Left, but turned to a staunch anti-Stalinist position (e.g., Nathan Glazer, Sidney Hook), all of whom nevertheless became major contributors in the construction and representation of American cultural identity both domestically and internationally during the course of the Cold War.

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Workshop #5

Reagan's American Century

Friday, 14:00-15:30, Location: E2.66

Negotiations and Narcotics: Fears and anxieties in the American Century

Beerd Beukenhorst

Since the beginning of the 20th century, the United States played a leading role in the struggle to control the manufacturing and trade of substances classified as narcotics. With tools like diplomacy, the creation of international legal structures, and covert action, the U.S.-led War on Drugs grew into a global affair from the late

1970s onwards. American officials quoted concerns about public health, morality, and security as driving motivations for waging this war, yet it has been fraught with paradoxes since its inception. Particularly challenged were core ideological elements of the American Century like free trade - in attempting to control the production and trade of narcotics from mostly non-western countries -, and individual autonomy - in regulating the free choice of individuals in using substances classified as illegal. But also the claim on a higher morality was undermined by, for instance, CIA involvement in narcotics trade around the globe and the racist and imperialist features of the War on Drugs.

The case of Surinam in the 1980s illustrates various challenges to the American Century, posed by the intersection of the War on Drugs and the Cold War. Surinam was ruled since 1980 by Desi Bouterse, who was difficult to type-cast for the Reagan administration. Bouterse was adamant on decolonizing Surinam from Western politics, economics, and mentalities and pragmatically tried out various forms of statecraft. These ranged from adapting either a right-wing military dictatorship or a Grenada-style flavor of Marxism, to hosting Colombian drugkartels to create revenues from a profitable underground economy that challenged established norms of law and order.

Within a series of anti-Marxist interventions in the region, largely executed to re-cast U.S. power in the world, Surinam is the country where the United States contemplated intervention several times, but ultimately decided against. Why El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Grenada, but not Surinam? Which considerations proved to be decisive for United States actions and why? Answers to these questions shed light on how the U.S. expressed its norms and behaviors internationally in a perceived high point of the American Century, the Reagan years.

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Remembering and reinventing history – How President Reagan publicly reflected upon and remembered the Second World War

Jonathan Verwey

As President, Ronald Reagan (born 1911) espoused both a simple black and white moral view of the world, of freedom and democracy versus oppression and totalitarianism as well as a patriotic vision of the United States as ‘a shining city upon a hill’, a beacon of hope and liberty and the leader of the free world. In his worldview and therefore in his rhetoric, the Second World War played a crucial role. Time and again, Reagan would return to this topic as he publicly spoke about and reflected upon the war, the American role in it, his own wartime experiences and the moral and historic lessons he took from those years on good and evil and

America's role on the world stage. World War II deeply influenced and shaped his views and as a result, his presidential campaign and later his presidency.

This paper looks at the ways in which President Reagan publicly dealt with the memory of the Second World War during his presidential campaign and his presidency. It focuses on two key questions: how did Reagan reflect upon the war and his own role in it to create a certain public image of himself? How did he publicly choose to commemorate and remember World War II?

This paper is part of a proposed research project that is an interdisciplinary investigation at the nexus of political history, cultural studies and memory studies. It takes an interdisciplinary approach, combining insights from the fields of American Studies, history of political culture, cultural memory, sociology and media studies. This will help to better understand how collective memory, of the Second World War in particular, is shaped and to better understand the function of collective memories or cultural traumas in presidential politics and campaigns.

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Workshop #6

Public Diplomacy in Europe

Friday, 11:00-12:30, Location: E2.16

The Marshall Plan in the Netherlands: Cultural diplomacy and Dutch national identity

Mathilda Roza

In the visual history of the Marshall Plan, Jo Spier's image of a Dutchman climbing the Dollar sign to a more prosperous future is well-known and holds a prominent place in the history of the Marshall Plan to the Netherlands. The iconic image appeared on the cover of a small promotional booklet, *Het Marshall Plan en U*, illustrated by Spier, which reached an estimated 2,5 million Dutch people. Although Spier's Dutchman became famous, hardly any academic work has been done on the image itself. My talk will zoom in on the "Dutchness" of the image (as well as the booklet *Het Marshall Plan en U* as a whole) by placing the iconic image in the wider cultural context of representations of "Dutchness." In addition to the booklet, my presentation also explores the use of national identity as a marketing strategy to "sell" the Marshall Plan in other Dutch media.

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River Barge Diplomacy: Marshall Plan exhibits in the Netherlands, 1947-1953

Jorrit van den Berk

During the late 1940s, the U.S. Economic Coordination Assistance (ECA) mission in the Netherlands developed the idea to convert two river barges for use as floating exhibitions about the Marshall Plan in the Netherlands and Germany. But by late 1951, the ECA had had enough of these “dismal craft”. After two years of work and having spent half a million guilders, the exhibits were nowhere near finished. The U.S. mission placed the blame squarely on its Dutch partners, who were supposed to design and manage the exhibit. In turn, Dutch management and labor representatives disapproved of the ECA’s suggestion to focus the exhibit on the idea that improved productivity would mean lower prices and higher wages for Dutch workers and consumers, feeling that conditions were at present “unfavorable”. The ECA lambasted the Dutch for their lack of a “clear understanding” of the benefits of increased productivity, feeling that they were clearly “falling down on [their] job”. While the mission did not want to “shove them [the barges] down the throat of the [Dutch]”, it consistently stuck to their original position on the usefulness of the floating exhibit. In the end, it would get most of what it wanted. While a similar project was scrapped in Germany, the Dutch barges started their triumphal tour of the Netherlands in 1952, to general public acclaim.

This paper zooms in on the ECA’s barges project to explore the gap between a growing literature on the ideology and internal mechanisms of U.S. public diplomacy and the study of the reception of American culture in the Netherlands. As I will argue, the barges project reveals how local U.S. agencies collaborated with Dutch organizations while attempting to walk the extremely thin line between actively molding the Dutch view of America and urging the Dutch to develop their own informational campaigns about the Marshall Plan.

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Tradition under oath? Women cultural contacts and military practices of US public diplomacy in France (1946 - 1960).

François Doppler-Speranza

In this presentation, we propose to address the question of women in joint and cross-discourse US public diplomacy practices in France during the Cold War, with an emphasis on the military. After the creation of the National Security Council in 1947, the armed forces were called upon to play an important role in the United States’ foreign policy. Close to 60,000 servicemen and dependents were stationed in France from the late forties to the mid-sixties as part of Cold War security programs. While American expatriates settled across the country, the United States

Information Service (USIS-France) became the core of a network of partners composed of preexisting military intelligence, education and information services. USIS-France worked on promoting the brand image of America and monitored contacts between French and American citizens, especially women. To what extent did the settling process of American servicemen and their dependents affect the organization and planning of US public diplomacy? How did the military tolerate and handle the intervention of civilian USIS officers in their day-to-day public diplomacy practices? What was the larger purpose of creating ties with the local population outside the military base, especially with women?

As recent historiography has shown, postwar and Cold War US public diplomacy was largely driven by the military establishment agenda, despite signs of fundamental disagreements on the nature and content of the discourse of public diplomacy (Hart 2013). The military took an opposing stance to the modernist approach of civilian public diplomacy, and worked from the margins to militarize families abroad (Barnhisel 2015, Alvah 2007). Focusing on the case of the Franco-American Women's Club of Orléans (FAWC), an informal organization created in the 1950s, and on its unique manufactured scrapbook, our presentation will show how military public diplomacy upheld traditional American values despite the Cold War call for modernity abroad. The FAWC, we believe, reveals the "parabellicism" of US public diplomacy, a strategy which originates from the 1920s and remains to be discussed as part of a larger objective to keep Western societies on a war footing for American domestic and national security purposes.

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Workshop #7

Cultural Diplomacy: Community and Confrontation

Friday, 14:00-15:30, Location: E2.16

"The Midwestern vibrant fist" of American Art: The Affective Community Forged by Georgia O'Keeffe

Cristiana Pagliarusco

"One learns to eat differently [...]. "When there is no meat, we eat beans" (Drohojowska-Philp 390)— thus wrote the American painter Georgia O'Keeffe in a letter to her husband Alfred Stieglitz in 1945 from her house in Abiquiu, New Mexico. The letters that the artist sent to her husband who lived in New York tell of the winds of change and of war blowing through the desert areas of the Navajo

country. O’Keeffe, who was born in 1887 and lived up to 1986, had already eye witnessed the effects of the First World War and of the Great Depression in the United States, which she portrayed through her own paintings in her original “American” way.

The close reading of O’Keeffe’s correspondence (recently digitalized by the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library), of her paintings, and the study of the poems inspired by the artist written by contemporary Anglophone poets like the feminist Jewish poet Alicia Suskin Ostriker, the AsianAmerican poets Karen Rigby and Cathy Song, and the Indian-American poet Sujata Bhatt, have helped me to see how O’Keeffe long tried to forge the American Century focusing on the new affective transnational community of affiliated artists and intellectuals (Edward Said) she managed to create in New Mexico in response to the aftermath of the Second World War. The intersections between her art and the words of these poets help us visualize and focus on the current shifting role of America in multicultural domestic culture, politics, and society. By addressing the life and works of this iconic figure of American Art, these multinational poets offer a slant perspective of America internationalism and some realistic view of a change, possibly for the better.

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Advancing American Art and the Struggles of Cultural Diplomacy

Frank Mehring

My talk will focus on transcultural confrontations by looking at the concept of travelling exhibitions of American art and the critical response of German audience in after World War II. Turning to the German-born artist Hilla von Rebay, who emigrated in 1927 to the United States and organized the German tour of *Zeitgenössische Kunst und Kunstpflege in U.S.A.* (Contemporary Art and the Promotion of Arts in the U.S.A.) authorized by OMGUS in 1948, my talk will investigate the role of transatlantic cultural mediators to understand developments in the European perspective on American art. I will reveal the contested US American approach to the transformation of American primitivism, non-objective art and abstract expressionism in German cultural contexts.

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Contributors

(alphabetical)

HANS BAK is professor of American Literature and American Studies at Radboud University, Nijmegen, the Netherlands. He served as President of the Netherlands American Studies Association (1990-2000), President of the Association for Canadian Studies in the Netherlands (2000-2003), and Treasurer of the European Association for American Studies (2000-2004). He is the author of *Malcolm Cowley: The Formative Years* (University of Georgia Press, 1993) and the editor of *The Long Voyage: Selected Letters of Malcolm Cowley, 1915-1987* (Harvard University Press, 2014). He is currently preparing a full-fledged biography of Malcolm Cowley. He has published articles in European and American journals on mostly 20th-century American and Canadian fiction, drama, biography, multiculturalism, and the discipline of American Studies.

JORRIT VAN DEN BERK is an assistant professor of North American Studies at Radboud University, where he teaches U.S. history, politics, and foreign relations. He has authored several articles on U.S.-Central American relations in the 1930s and 1940s and is also finishing a book manuscript on that subject. His most recent projects focus on the public diplomacy of the Marshall Plan.

BEERD BEUKENHORST is currently a post-doctoral fellow at the John F. Kennedy Institute at the Freie Universität Berlin. He works on a study of the triangular relation between the United States, the Netherlands, and Surinam in the 1980s, within the context of the War on Drugs.

GEORGE BLAUSTEIN is assistant professor of American Studies at the University of Amsterdam. His forthcoming book, *Nightmare Envy and Other Stories*, is about American culture and the reconstruction of Europe. He received his PhD from Harvard's History of American Civilization Program, and his BA from the University of Pennsylvania. In Amsterdam, he teaches "American History, Beginning to End," as well as more specialized seminars on 19th- and 20th-century American cultural history and international perspectives of the United States. His essays and reviews have appeared in *Amerikastudien/American Studies*, *American Quarterly*, *Vrij Nederland* and *N+1*.

FRANÇOIS DOPPLER-SPERANZA is the department head for languages and international relations officer at the Faculty of Sport Sciences at the University of Strasbourg, as well as an adjunct teacher of History at Syracuse University in Strasbourg. His Ph.D in American cultural history (2015), conducted under the supervision of professor Bernard Genton, focused on the cultural aspects of the US military presence in France from 1944 to 1967. Before joining the Faculty of Sport Sciences, he held a position as a Lecturer in American history and culture at the University of Strasbourg. His professional experience also includes a former position as assistant instructor at Indiana University in Bloomington and language assistant at the University of Missouri at St. Louis (United States). In 2012, he was awarded a Ph.D scholarship from the Institute of Higher National Defense Studies (IHEDN).

DAVID ELLWOOD (GB, 1946) was Associate Professor in International History, University of Bologna (1991-2012), is currently Senior Adjunct Professor, Johns Hopkins University, SAIS Europe, Bologna. First major book was *Italy 1943-1945.- The Politics of Liberation*, 1985, then *Rebuilding Europe. Western Europe , America and Postwar Reconstruction*, 1992. The fundamental theme of his research - the function of American power in contemporary European history - has shifted over the years to emphasize cultural power, hence 2 edited books on the theme *Hollywood in Europe* (Florence 1991, Amsterdam 1995). His large-scale work on America and the politics of modernization in Europe was published by Oxford University Press in July 2012 as *The Shock of America. Europe and the Challenge of the Century*. (2nd edition, 2016). He was President of the International Association of Media and History 1999-2004.

DARIO FAZZI works as researcher at the Roosevelt Study Center (RSC) in Middelburg and has been visiting professor at several Dutch, Belgian, and Italian universities. He is the author of the forthcoming *Eleanor Roosevelt and the Anti-Nuclear Movement: The Voice of Conscience* (Palgrave, December 2016), has co-edited a European Journal of American Studies' special issue on transatlantic public diplomacy, and has published articles on nuclear historiography, American and European anti-nuclear protests and transatlantic movements. He has also been project assistant for the Leiden University *Rooseveltian Century* Massive Open On-line Course (MOOC).

JUSTIN HART is Associate Chair and Associate Professor of History at Texas Tech University, where he started teaching in 2005 after completing his Ph.D. in

History at Rutgers University under the direction of Lloyd Gardner. He is the author of *Empire of Ideas* (Oxford University Press, 2013) and numerous articles and book chapters on U.S. public diplomacy and other elements of U.S. foreign relations. He is currently writing a history of President Truman's failed campaign for Universal Military Training in the United States.

HANS KRABBENDAM (1964) was born in Utrecht, the Netherlands. In 1983 he entered Leiden University to study (American) history. After acquiring his M.A. degree there, he specialized in Dutch immigration history at Kent State University, Kent, Ohio, USA, where he earned another Master's in 1989.

Since 1990 he has been affiliated with the Roosevelt Study Center in Middelburg, most recently as assistant-director. In 1995 he acquired his Doctoral Degree from Leiden University in the Netherlands with a dissertation entitled: *The Model Man: A Life of Edward W. Bok, 1863-1930*. He published several articles on Dutch immigration history and edited a twenty volumes on European (Dutch)-American relations. His research interests are immigration history, U.S. diplomatic and religious history.

His works in progress include an edited volume with Derek Rubin, *American Responses to the Holocaust: Transatlantic Perspectives*; An edited volume with Tim Stoneman, *Return to Sender: American Evangelical Missions in Twentieth-Century Europe*; And a monograph *From Confrontation to Cooperation: American Protestants in Western Europe, 1940-1980*. This book analyses how and why American Protestants, including mainliners, evangelicals and fundamentalists, tried to rebuild the religious landscape in Europe through their missions and in doing so exported their own domestic conflicts.

LOUIS MAZZARI is an assistant professor in the Department of Western Languages at Bogazici University in Istanbul, and he teaches in the City University of New York system. He has recently contributed chapters to *Dixie's Great War*, Louisiana State University Press, 2017, and *The South and Europe*, University of Kentucky Press, 2014. In 2011, he edited and contributed to *American-Turkish Encounters: Politics and Culture, 1830-1989*. In 2006, LSU Press published Mazzari's *Southern Modernist*, a biography of Depression-era, civil-rights activist Arthur Raper. He contributed to the *Encyclopedia of New England*, Yale University Press, 2003. Mazzari was managing editor of the anthropology journal *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, and he has worked on the editorial staff of the *Harvard Educational Review*. He is working on a book proposal with Johns Hopkins University Press for a study of novelist and cultural critic Philip Wylie.

FRANK MEHRING is professor of American Studies at Radboud University, Nijmegen. He teaches 20th and 21st century visual culture and music, theories of popular culture, transnational modernism, and processes of cultural translation in European-American contexts. Current research projects deal with the cultural matrix of the Marshall Plan and the nexus between music and social protest movements. His latest book *The Soundtrack of Liberation* (2015) analyzes the function of music in remembering the summer of 1945 in the Netherlands. He received his PHD from the Justus-Liebig-University Giessen and completed his habilitation at the John F. Kennedy Institute/Freie Universität Berlin.

DANIELA NAYDEVA is a PhD candidate and lecturer in American studies at Sofia University, where she teaches US cultural history and Cold War culture. Her research interests include US and comparative Cold War and post-Cold War culture and history, the cultural and ideological aspects of US foreign policy, conceptualization of war and conflict in US political discourse, theories of American exceptionalism, as well as the historical and current reception of America in Bulgaria. She received her BA and MA in English and American Studies from Sofia University, where she also read Arabic and Semitic Studies.

CRISTIANA PAGLIARUSCO has recently received a PhD in Humanities from the University of Trento where she studied the ekphrastic Anglophone poetry inspired by the works and life of the modernist American painter Georgia O'Keeffe. Her research focuses on the intersections between the visual and the verbal media with the aim to highlight the importance of affiliative and affective relationships among artists and intellectuals in contemporary age and global contexts. She has worked as an interpreter, as a teacher of English for the Faculty of Engineering and Management of the University of Padua, and for the Scuola Interpreti e Traduttori in Vicenza. She is tenured teacher of English Language and Culture in an Upper Secondary School in Vicenza, Italy. She has presented her research in international conferences in Europe and Italy, and several articles have been published on literary journals.

MATHILDE ROZA is Associate Professor of North American Literature and North American Studies at Radboud University Nijmegen, the Netherlands, where she served as program director for several years. A Fulbright recipient, she engaged in extensive archival research in preparation for a critical biography on American lost generation writer Robert Coates entitled *Following Strangers: The Life and Works of Robert M. Coates* (South Carolina University Press, 2011). In addition to

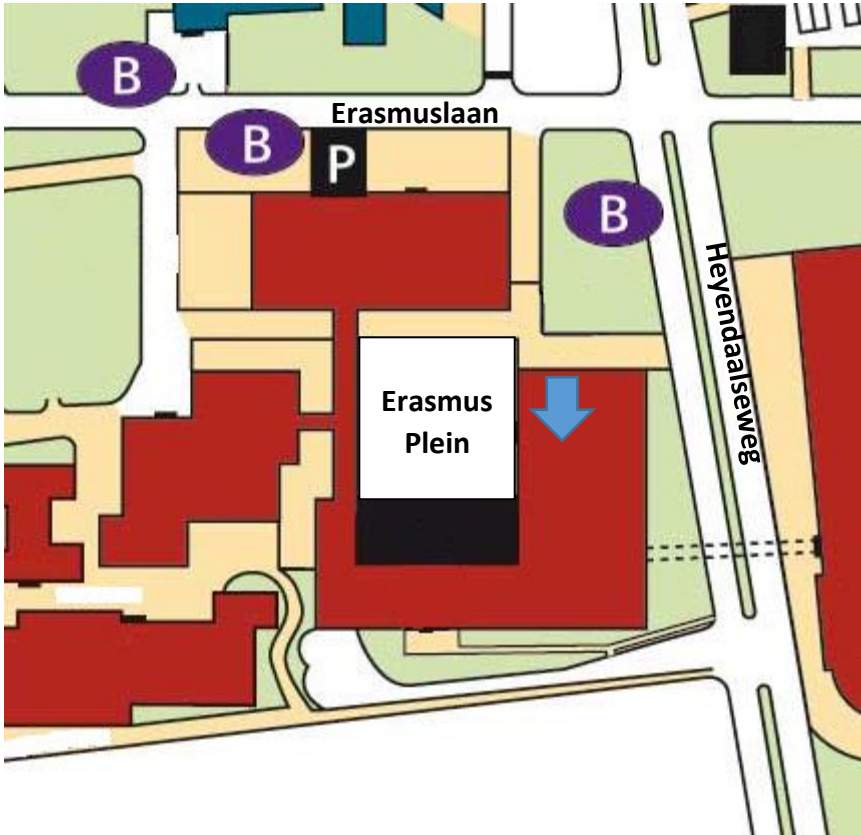
American modernism and the international avant-garde, her research focuses on contemporary North American ethnic writing. Her research on the Marshall Plan in the Netherlands is part of a larger research project on “The Politics and Cultures of Liberation” at the department of North American Studies at Radboud University.

GILES SCOTT-SMITH holds the Ernst van der Beugel Chair in the Diplomatic History of Transatlantic Relations since WW II at Leiden University, the Netherlands. From 2013-2016 he was Chair of the Transatlantic Studies Association. He is co-editor for the Key Studies in Diplomacy book series with Manchester University Press, and on the editorial board of the *Journal of Contemporary History* and *New Global Studies*. His research interests cover the role of non-state actors and public diplomacy in the maintenance of inter-state (particularly transatlantic) relations. His publications include *Western Anti-Communism and the Interdoc Network: Cold War Internationale* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), *Networks of Empire: The U.S. State Department's Foreign Leader Program in the Netherlands, France, and Britain 1950-70* (Peter Lang 2008), and *The Politics of Apolitical Culture: The Congress for Cultural Freedom, the CIA, and Post-war American Hegemony* (Routledge 2002).

JONATHAN VERWEY (MA) is a historian and studied Political History, International Relations and American History. He has previously written on President Reagan and American foreign policy. From 2013 to 2015 he worked at the KITLV project ‘Dutch military operations in Indonesia, 1945-1950’, as a research-fellow, where he assisted Gert Oostindie as co-author in writing *Soldaat in Indonesië. Een oorlog aan de verkeerde kant van de geschiedenis* (Amsterdam 2015).

MAARTEN ZWIERS, an assistant professor in contemporary and U.S. history at the University of Groningen, the Netherlands, specializes in regional history and the history of political culture. He is the author of *Senator James Eastland: Mississippi's Jim Crow Democrat*, which came out with Louisiana State University Press in 2015.

Campus Map



Directions / Phone number

The easiest way to get from the train station to the University is by bus. During workdays line 10 runs from Central Station directly to campus Heyendaal. Between 8 a.m. and 6 p.m. the bus departs every five minutes. After 6 p.m. the bus departs every fifteen minutes till 7 p.m and twice an hour after 7 p.m.

The most convenient stop is “Erasmusgebouw” (indicated by the “B” on the Erasmuslaan). From there, it’s a two minute walk to Erasmus Plein 1 where the conference takes place. The arrow on the map indicates the location of the registration desk.

Feel free to call Jorrit van den Berk at **(0031) 613975236** if there are any problems.