NOTES

Preface

3. Lewis, Moneyball, 147.
4. Lewis, Moneyball, 147.

Introduction  The Role of Networks in Public Diplomacy

5. Mark Granovetter, “The Strength of Weak Ties,” American Journal of Sociology 78, no. 6 (1973): 1360–1380.
Notes


47. Paget, “From Stockholm to Leiden,” 137.


### 1 Navigating from the Salzburg Seminar to EAAS


15. Matthiessen, *From the Heart of Europe*, 10.


17. Matthiessen, *From the Heart of Europe*, 10.

18. Matthiessen, *From the Heart of Europe*, 11.

19. Letter in author’s possession from Oberlin College Archives, Oberlin, Ohio.


Notes

41. Matthiessen, *From the Heart of Europe*, 10.

44. Richard Campbell to ISS, quoted in “Background and History 1947–1967,” SSA.


Wassily W. Leontief, professor of Economics, F. O. Matthiessen, professor of History and Literature, and Benjamin F. Wright, professor of Government, all previously named to the Seminar faculty will head the University’s contingent to Salzburg, added by newly appointed Harvard graduate assistants Villa Cans, Carl Kaysen 2G, Mark Linenthal, Jr. 2G Kenneth S. Lynn ’45, and Jacob C. Levenson, Teaching Fellow in History and Literature. In addition to the University men, Professors Walt W. Rostow of Oxford, an economist; Richard Schlatter of Rutgers, and Elisabeth Davies of Sara Lawrence, historians; and Margaret Mead of Columbia, a cultural anthropologist, have joined the Salzburg faculty. Completing the roster are literary critic Alfred Kazin, New York Herald Tribune music critic Virgil Thomson ’22, J. J. Sweeney, former director of the New York Museum of Modern Art, and public opinion expert Lyman Bryson of Columbia University and the Columbia Broadcasting system.


51. Matthiessen, From the Heart of Europe, 14, 13.


54. Letter, J. Szentkiralya to Richard Campbell, September 20, 1947, SSA.


57. Memorandum (copy), Seminar on American Civilization Leopoldskron, Salzburg, Baty, August 27, 1947, SSA.

58. Memorandum (copy), Seminar on American Civilization Leopoldskron, Salzburg, Baty, August 27, 1947, SSA.

59. Letter, Samuel H. Williams to James Conant, September 3, 1947, SSA.

61. Excerpt from PEM Diary, Salzburg Austria, August 3–4, 1947, RFA, RG 6.1, Series 2, Box 68, Folder 656.


63. “Old Dominion Foundation Grants $5,000 to Salzburg,” The Harvard Crimson, April 7, 1948. The Old Dominion Foundation had been “established in 1941 by Paul Mellon,” the son of Andrew W. Mellon. It would later be consolidated into the Avalon Foundation and the name changed to The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation website, http://www.mellon.org/about.html.

64. Donations included “$6,000 from Mrs. Emmons Blaine and $1,000 from Gordon McCormick, both of Chicago” and “an anonymous Radcliffe student from the Class of 1948, who wrote out a check for $5000, payable on August 4,” their twenty-first birthday. Harvard Alumni, faculty and students aligned with the Seminar “participated in the coast-to-coast support of the Seminar” that involved increasing awareness of the initiative in the hope of increasing private donations. Other supporters included Herbert Davis, president of Smith College, financier Thomas S. Lamont ‘21, Thomas D. Cabot ‘19, playwright Thornton Wilder, David Rockefeller ‘86, and Henry L. Shattuck ‘01, member of the Corporation; “Rockefeller Gives Salzburg $13,000; Search for Students Begins in April,” The Harvard Crimson, March 10, 1948; “Old Dominion Foundation Grants $5,000 to Salzburg,” The Harvard Crimson, April 7, 1948.

65. Letter, Samuel H. Williams to James Conant, September 3, 1947, SSA.


69. Interview, EFD with Clemens Heller (telephone), May 11, 1948, RFA, RG 6.1, Series 2, Box 68, Folder 656.

70. Despatch, John Erhardt to the Secretary of State, No. 25, “Policy Considerations in Connection with the ‘Seminar on American Civilization’ at Leopoldskron Castle,” January 14, 1948, Wagnleitner, Understanding Austria, document 73, 307.


74. Despatch, John Erhardt to the Secretary of State, No. 25, “Policy Considerations in Connection with the ‘Seminar on American Civilization’ at Leopoldskron Castle,” January 14, 1948, Wagnleitner, *Understanding Austria,* document 73, 309.
75. Airgram, John Erhardt to Secretary of State, February 14, 1949, NARA, LM 132, 863.4212/2–449.
76. Airgram, John Erhardt to Secretary of State, February 14, 1949, NARA, LM 132, 863.4212/2–449.
78. Airgram, John Erhardt to Secretary of State, February 14, 1949, NARA, LM 132, 863.4212/2–449.
84. Excerpt of NSB's letter to Marion Elderton, February 24, 1950, RFA, RG 6.1, Series 2, Box 68, Folder 656.
85. Excerpt of NSB's letter to Marion Elderton, February 24, 1950, RFA, RG 6.1, Series 2, Box 68, Folder 656.
87. Memorandum, of Interview E. K. Wickman with John Finch, Executive Director, Salzburg Seminar, March 9, 1950, RFA, Commonwealth Fund, Series 18.1, Box 297, Folder 2846.
90. Summary of Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting, May 26, 1950, RFA, RG 6.1, Series 2, Box 68, Folder 656.
92. Salzburg Seminar in American Studies; course outline, summer session 1950, SSA.
95. “Salzburg Now Operating on All-Year Basis,” *The Harvard Crimson*, October 31, 1950. Board members were: Dexter Perkins ’09, professor at Rochester University, President; Richard D. Campbell Jr, ‘48, Herbert P. Gleason ’50, Clyde K. M. Kluckhohn, professor of Anthropology; Florence R. Kluckhohn, lecturer on Sociology; and Wassily W. Leontief, professor of Economics.

96. Record of Grant, February 20, 1953, Reorganization of Staff Executive Committee Action January 20, 1953 Record of Grant, November 12, 1953, Record of Grant, May 26, 1955, RFA, Commonwealth Fund, Series 18.1, Box 297, Folder 2846; Summary of Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting, January 22, 1954, RG 6.1, Series 2, Box 68, Folder 656.


98. Despatch 473, Joseph Charles to the Secretary of State, October 21, 1948, NARA, LM 132, 863.4212/10–2148.

99. See BAAS chapter (chapter five).


101. Grant in Aid, for Professor Skard, signed Charles B. Fahs, January 14, 1953, RFA, RG1.2, 767 Norway, Box 3, Folder 34.


106. List of Persons Invited to Attend the American Studies Conference, n.d. SSA. These included: Frank Thistlethwaite, Marcus Cunliffe, Dennis Welland from Britain; Professors Fischer, Papajewski and Zechlin from Germany; Max Silberschmidt from Switzerland; and Professor Den Hollander from the Netherlands.


109. Schedule of Meetings, American Studies Conference, April 1–19, 1954, SSA.

110. The first session focused on Sources in Europe for Historical and Literary research, the second on coordination of research and the exchange of research material within Europe.

111. Schedule of Meetings, American Studies Conference, April 16–19, 1954, SSA.


Notes


2 Making an Exhibition of Yourself

4. The Seal reads veritas, iustitia, libertas.
10. See Gienow–Hecht, *Transmission Impossible*.
13. See The Joint Committee on Postwar Planning representing: American Association on Mental Deficiency, American Branch of the International League against Epilepsy, American Neurological Association, American Orthopsychi


15. Liddell, “Education in Occupied Germany,” 119.

16. “Germany After the War: Round Table—1945,” 386.


24. For further examples of the failure to define democracy and US policy, see Letter, Colonel W. F. Smith to Commanding General US Group Control Council, US Army, September 24, 1945, NARA, RG 260, Records of the United States Occupation Headquarters World War II, OMGUS, Records of the Executive Office, The Office of the Adjutant General, 1945–49, Box 85, AG 350, Folder 5; Office memorandum, Mr. Thomson to Mr. Dickey, January 18, 1945, NARA, RG 56, Department of State, Decimal File 1945–1949, Box 4808, 811.42762/1–1845; and Letter, Buhrman to Murphy, March 25, 1946, NARA, Record Group 84, Office of the Political Adviser (POLAD) for Germany, File 842 (Education), Box 758 (All documents File 842 are POLAD hereafter) in Tent, *Mission on the Rhine*, 110.

27. Tent, *Mission on the Rhine*, 113; and Letter, William Carr to David Harris, May 6, 1946, NARA RG 59, Department of State, Decimal File, 862.42/5–646.
31. Goedde, “From Villains to Victims,” 19; Merritt, *Democracy Imposed*, 282. The idea of cultural exchange had already been suggested in the Education Mission report but had not been fully implemented until JCS 1779.
34. NSC 68, Objectives, 14 April 1950 [http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/nsc-hst/nsc-68.htm](http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/nsc-hst/nsc-68.htm)
35. NSC 68, Objectives, 14 April 1950 [http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/nsc-hst/nsc-68.htm](http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/nsc-hst/nsc-68.htm)
36. These problems were mirrored in the development of journalism, see Gienow-Hecht, “Art Is Democracy and Democracy Is Art,” 21–43 and Gienow-Hecht, *Transmission Impossible*.
37. Norbert Muhlen observed both American and German culture as he wrote for US magazines in Germany, as well as German magazines in the United States in the immediate postwar era.
41. Muhlen, “America and the American Occupation in German Eyes,” 56.
42. Muhlen, “America and the American Occupation in German Eyes,” 56.
43. Muhlen, “America and the American Occupation in German Eyes,” 56.
46. See Tent, *The Free University of Berlin: A Political History* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1988) for an emphasis on the German role and the *Kommunistische Studentenverband* (KSV) interpretation presented during the twenty-fifth anniversary, which suggested the Free University was an American inspired initiative to destroy Humboldt University, quoted in Tent, *The Free University*, 172.


48. Foreign Service Despatch, W. J. Convery Egan, chief, Public Affairs Division to Department of State, August 9, 1951, NARA, RG59, Decimal File 1950–1954, Box 5249, 862a.43/8–951.


54. Kendal Foss was “a former Rhodes scholar, and a correspondent of the *New York Post* in Berlin” who “intended to stay in Germany as long as he could and to become the most knowledgeable correspondent on the country.” American-born and a graduate of Harvard, he “adored German Kultur” and increased his ties to Germany when he “adopted two German orphans.” See Tent, *The Free University of Berlin*, 94 and Gienow-Hecht, *Transmission Impossible*, 150.


63. Report, Fritz Karsen and Howard Johnston, attached to Memorandum, Herman Wells to the Military Governor, April 28, 1948, NARA, RG 260, Records of
the Executive Office, Office of the Adjutant General, Box 455, AG 350, Folder Berlin University 1948.

64. Memorandum, Herman Wells to the Military Governor, April 28, 1948, NARA, RG 260, Records of the Executive Office, Office of the Adjutant General, Box 455, AG 350, Folder Berlin University 1948.

65. If either group made an announcement or took definitive action that caused a reaction from the Soviet zone, they would be exposed to the repercussions without the protection of an alliance. The United States could not afford to appear to be creating a university without German support as they would be accused of imposition, negating the political capital that could potentially be gained by a successful initiative. If the Germans made an announcement, without support of OMGUS, they risked at the least losing access to the university in the Soviet zone.


74. James Tent, caught up in the interpersonal wrangling and egos involved, interprets the report produced by E&CR as “warning of a disaster if the Americans came to the students’ aid.” Tent also suggests that the education director, Alexander had “reasons of his own for opposing the new university” that included concerns over continuing control over German education. While this provides neat juxtaposition of the opposing views of the KSV, it overstates the case for E&CR, and particularly Alexander’s opposition to the creation of a free university. See Tent, The Free University of Berlin, 103.


78. The political aspect to the initiative was further emphasized by John Elliot in Postscript to Report on Feasibility of Establishing a German University in the US Sector of Berlin, signed Kendal Foss, May 21, 1948, NARA, RG 260, Records of the Executive Office, Office of the Adjutant General, Box 455, AG 350, Folder 1948.


83. Call for the founding of a free university in Berlin, July 23, 1948, signed by members of the Preparatory Committee, NARA, RG 260, Records of the Executive Office, Office of the Adjutant General, Box 455, AG 350, Folder 1948.

84. Call for the founding of a free university in Berlin, July 23, 1948, signed by members of the Preparatory Committee, NARA, RG 260, Records of the Executive Office, Office of the Adjutant General, Box 455, AG 350, Folder 1948.


86. Call for the founding of a free university in Berlin, July 23, 1948, signed by members of the Preparatory Committee, NARA, RG 260, Records of the Executive Office, Office of the Adjutant General, Box 455, AG 350, Folder 1948.


94. Bourke, “Some Thoughts on German Universities Today,” 231.
100. Memorandum, R. J. H. to Chester Barnard, January 8, 1949, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 717, Box 1, Folder 6.
101. See Letter, Frank Howley to Chester Barnard, April 19, 1949, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 717, Box 1, Folder 6; Letter (draft), Chester Barnard to Frank Howley, May 19, 1949, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 717, Box 1, Folder 6; Memorandum, J. M. P. to Chester Barnard, May 13, 1949, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 717, Box 1, Folder 6; Letter, Chester Barnard to Frank Howley, May 24, 1949, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 717, Box 1, Folder 6. Also see comments on the visit of Alonzo Grace contained in this letter for confusion over government priorities.
104. Interview, Rektor Redslob with D’Arms, December 20, 1949, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 717, Box 1, Folder 6.
105. Interview, Rektor Redslob with D’Arms, December 20, 1949, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 717, Box 1, Folder 6.
106. Interview, Rektor Redslob with D’Arms, December 20, 1949, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 717, Box 1, Folder 6.
107. Interview, Alonzo Grace with D’Arms, January 16, 1950, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 717, Box 1, Folder 6.
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113. Letter, J. Willits to James Read, June 29, 1950, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 717, Box 1, Folder 6.
114. Letter, Franz Neumann to Joseph Willits, June 6, 1951, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 717, Box 1, Folder 7; Letter, Chet D'Arms to Carl Anton, September 5, 1952, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 717, Box 1, Folder 8.
116. Chet D'Arms's Diary trip to Europe, Berlin Germany, October 25, 1950, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 717, Box 1, Folder 6.
117. Chet D'Arms's Diary trip to Europe, Berlin Germany, October 25, 1950, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 717, Box 1, Folder 6.
120. Letter, John J. McCloy to Paul Hoffman, January 15, 1951, Ford Foundation Archive (hereafter FFA), Grant no. 51–41, Reel no. 0489.
122. Memorandum on the Free University of Berlin, Shepard Stone to Mr. McCloy, n.d., FFA, Grant no. 51–41, Reel no. 0489.
123. Memorandum on the Free University of Berlin, Shepard Stone to Mr. McCloy, n.d., FFA, Grant no. 51–41, Reel no. 0489.
125. Letter, Franz Neumann to Paul Hoffman, February 13, 1951, FFA, Grant no. 51–41, Reel no. 0489.
126. Memorandum of Conversation Franz Neumann with John Howard, February 13, 1951, Grant no. 51–41, Reel no. 0489.
129. Letter, John J. McCloy to Paul Hoffman, March 1, 1951, FFA, Grant no. 51–41, Reel no. 0489.
130. Letter, Lemuel Mathewson to Paul Hoffman, April 19, 1951, FFA, Grant no. 51–41, Reel no. 0489.
131. Letter, Lemuel Mathewson to Paul Hoffman, April 19, 1951, FFA, Grant no. 51–41, Reel no. 0489.
The approach of the Ford Foundation is in contrast to that of the Rockefeller Foundation who in this case, focused more on the educational than political rationale. This is particularly evident in a letter Chet D’Arms wrote to Stone in which D’Arms emphasized, as he had done earlier, on the need for space as “the most important condition of any expansion of their work.” See Letter, Chet D’Arms to Shepard Stone, May 07, 1951, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 717, Box 1, Folder 7; Letter, Chet D’Arms to John Marshall, October 29, 1950, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 717, Box 1, Folder 6, compare to Memorandum on the Free University Berlin, John Howard, May 07, 1951, FFA, Grant no. 51–41, Reel no. 0489.
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162. Barnes left in part due to what he perceived to be a failure by the State Department to fulfill promises they had made about the level of financial support he would receive. See Notes Concerning the Chair of American Studies, Free University, Berlin (draft), John McCormick, December 1957, FUB, Korrespondenz Ford Foundation / Aussenkommission, S8b, Box 8.
163. Notes Concerning the Chair of American Studies, Free University, Berlin (draft), John McCormick, December 1957, FUB, Korrespondenz Ford Foundation / Aussenkommission, S8b, Box 8.
166. Notes Concerning the Chair of American Studies, Free University, Berlin (draft), John McCormick, December 1957, FUB, Korrespondenz Ford Foundation / Aussenkommission, S8b, Box 8.
167. Notes Concerning the Chair of American Studies, Free University, Berlin (draft), John McCormick, December 1957, FUB, Korrespondenz Ford Foundation / Aussenkommission, S8b, Box 8.
168. This was a problem that Sigmund Skard had also had to confront at the University of Oslo. See S. Skard, *Trans-Atlantica; Memoirs of a Norwegian Americanist* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1978), 112–16.
171. Notes Concerning the Chair of American Studies, Free University, Berlin (draft), John McCormick, December 1957, FUB, Korrespondenz Ford Foundation / Aussenkommission, S8b, Box 8; Letter, John McCormick to Rektor Free University Berlin, December 17, 1957, FUB, Korrespondenz Ford Foundation / Aussenkommission, S8b, Box 8.
172. Letter, Rektor Ernst Heinitz to Shepard Stone, November 30, 1962, FFA, Grant no. 63–348, Reel no. 1292.
173. Letter, Professor Herbert Lüers to Shepard Stone, n.d., FUB, Korrespondenz Ford Foundation / Aussenkommission, S8b, Box 8.
187. Burkhardt was ideally placed to advise on American Studies as the ACLS received US$2,500,000 in 1960 from the Ford Foundation for the “to strengthen American subject matter instruction at European educational institutions.” See Letter, Ruth Raborn (Treasurer, ACLS) to Thomas Lenaugh (Comptroller, Ford Foundation), August 17, 1967, FFA, Grant no. 61–41, Reel no. 1957.
188. Letter, Ruth Raborn (Treasurer, ACLS) to Thomas Lenaugh (Comptroller, Ford Foundation), August 17, 1967, FFA, Grant no. 61–41, Reel no. 1957.
198. Telegram, Berlin to Secretary of State, June 08, 1962, NARA, RG59, Decimal File 1960–1963, Box 1071, 862a 19/6–862.
199. Telegram, Berlin to Secretary of State, June 08, 1962, NARA, RG59, Decimal File 1960–1963, Box 1071, 862a 19/6–862.
200. Telegram, Berlin to Secretary of State, June 08, 1962, NARA, RG59, Decimal File 1960–1963, Box 1071, 862a 19/6–862.
201. Telegram, Berlin to Secretary of State, June 08, 1962, NARA, RG59, Decimal File 1960–1963, Box 1071, 862a 19/6–862.
203. Telegram, Berlin to Secretary of State, June 08, 1962, NARA, RG59, Decimal File 1960–1963, Box 1071, 862a 19/6–862.


210. Memorandum, General outline of plan for new Institute, November 1962, FFA, Grant no. 63–348, Reel no. 1292.

211. Letter, Ernst Heinitz to Shepard Stone, November 30, 1962, FFA, Grant no. 63–348, Reel no. 1292.

212. Letter, Frederick Burkhardt to Horst Hartwich, November 07, 1962, FUB, Rektorat, S8b, Box 4.

213. Letter, Secretary Ford Foundation to Ernst Heinitz, May 29, 1963, FFA, Grant no. 63–348, Reel no. 1292.


221. Docket Excerpt, Board of Trustees Meeting, March 14–15, 1966, FFA, Grant no. 63–348, Reel no. 1292.


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235. Hoare and Nowell Smith, eds., Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci, 137
240. For causes of increased tension, including the death of a protester during the visit of the Shah of Iran, see Tent, The Free University of Berlin, 323–25.
244. Inter-Office Memorandum, Hans Simons to Howard Swearer, Free University Berlin, March 12, 1970, FFA, Grant no. 63–348, Reel no. 1292.
245. Inter-Office Memorandum, Hans Simons to Howard Swearer, Free University Berlin, March 12, 1970, FFA, Grant no. 63–348, Reel no. 1292.
246. Inter-Office Memorandum, Hans Simons to Howard Swearer, Free University Berlin, March 12, 1970, FFA, Grant no. 63–348, Reel no. 1292.
248. Memorandum concerning the present state of affairs at the John F. Kennedy Institute, based on a letter of May 02, 1972, professors Arnulf Baring, Ursula Brumm, Armin Paul Frank, Karl Lenz, and Jürgen Peper, FFA, Grant no. 63–348, Reel no. 1292.

249. Memorandum concerning the present state of affairs at the John F. Kennedy Institute, based on a letter of May 02, 1972, professors Arnulf Baring, et al., Grant no. 63–348, Reel no. 1292.

250. Memorandum concerning the present state of affairs at the John F. Kennedy Institute, based on a letter of May 02, 1972, professors Arnulf Baring, et al., FFA, Grant no. 63–348, Reel no. 1292.

251. Memorandum concerning the present state of affairs at the John F. Kennedy Institute, based on a letter of May 02, 1972, professors Arnulf Baring, et al., FFA, Grant no. 63–348, Reel no. 1292.

252. Memorandum concerning the present state of affairs at the John F. Kennedy Institute, based on a letter of May 02, 1972, Professors Arnulf Baring, et al., FFA, Grant no. 63–348, Reel no. 1292.

253. Memorandum concerning the present state of affairs at the John F. Kennedy Institute, based on a letter of May 02, 1972, professors Arnulf Baring, et al., FFA, Grant no. 63–348, Reel no. 1292.

254. Memorandum, Moselle Kimbler to Craufurd Goodwin, December 01, 1973, FFA, Grant no. 63–348, Reel no. 1292.

255. Memorandum, Moselle Kimbler to Craufurd Goodwin, December 01, 1973, FFA, Grant no. 63–348, Reel no. 1292.

256. Memorandum, Moselle Kimbler to Craufurd Goodwin, December 01, 1973, FFA, Grant no. 63–348, Reel no. 1292.

257. Memorandum, Moselle Kimbler to Craufurd Goodwin, December 01, 1973, FFA, Grant no. 63–348, Reel no. 1292.

258. Inter-Office memorandum, Peter Ruof to McGeorge Bundy and Francis Sutton, March 20, 1975, FFA, Grant no. 63–348, Reel no. 1292.

259. Inter-Office memorandum, Peter Ruof to McGeorge Bundy and Francis Sutton, March 20, 1975, FFA, Grant no. 63–348, Reel no. 1292.

260. Inter-Office memorandum, Peter Ruof to McGeorge Bundy and Francis Sutton, March 20, 1975, FFA, Grant no. 63–348, Reel no. 1292.


262. Draft memorandum, Peter Ruof to Bundy, Sutton and Goodwin, n.d. FFA, Grant no. 63–348, Reel no. 1292.

263. Draft memorandum, Peter Ruof to Bundy, Sutton and Goodwin, n.d. FFA, Grant no. 63–348, Reel no. 1292.

264. Letter, Peter Ruof to Files (via Goodwin), October 23, 1975, FFA, Grant no. 63–348, Reel no. 1292.

265. Letter, Peter Ruof to Files (via Goodwin), October 23, 1975, FFA, Grant no. 63–348, Reel no. 1292.

266. Letter, Peter Ruof to Files (via Goodwin), October 23, 1975, FFA, Grant no. 63–348, Reel no. 1292.
267. Memorandum concerning the present state of affairs at the John F. Kennedy Institute, based on a letter of May 02, 1972, professors Arnulf Baring, et al., FFA, Grant no. 63–348, Reel no. 1292.
268. Memorandum, Moselle Kimbler to Craufurd Goodwin, December 01, 1973, FFA, Grant no. 63–348, Reel no. 1292.

3 Amerika Institut—Munich

1. H. F. Peters posed this Hoelderlinian question at the informal opening of the Amerika Institut—Peters, Aims and Methods of American Studies, speech Amerika Institut, Munich, November 7, 1949, NARA, Decimal File, 862.4212/11–1549.
2. Memo, Dr. H. F. Peters to Dr. Sieter Sattler, September 6, 1948. Rockefeller Foundation Archive (hereafter RFA), RG 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 132.
3. Memo, Dr. H. F. Peters to Dr. Sieter Sattler, September 6, 1948. Rockefeller Foundation Archive, RG 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 132.
4. Memo, Dr. H. F. Peters to Dr. Sieter Sattler, September 6, 1948. Rockefeller Foundation Archive, RG 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 132.
8. Senator Morse, a member of the Senate Committee on Armed Services, forwarded the report to Paul Hoffman, the administrator of the Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA). Hoffman was forced to withhold support for the initiative as he felt that it was “difficult to see under Public Law 472 where a project of this kind might be financed with ECA funds.” He therefore, passed it to William Stone, special assistant to the assistant secretary for public affairs. Stone in turn referred it on to Henry Kellerman of the Public Affairs Overseas Program Staff. Following informal discussions with “an officer of the Reorientation Branch, CAD, who expressed an interest in the project and requested that it be referred to the Department of the Army for consideration,” Kellerman passed the proposal on to Dr. Harold Snyder, the executive
secretary of the advisory committee on Cultural and Educational Relations with the Occupied Countries. See Letter, Hoffman to Senator Morse, October 15, 1948, NARA, Decimal File FW 862.4212/10–1948; Letter, Kellerman to Snyder, October 29, 1948, NARA, Decimal File 862.4212/10–1948.

9. There are obvious reasons for this difference; the resources and personnel required to govern, reeducate, and reorientate an occupied territory and develop a global foreign policy are distinctly different from the scope of a philanthropic foundation, however broad its charter. However, regardless of the wider bureaucratic problems, the ability, or otherwise, of an interested group to pursue a coherent plan of engagement has an influence on the role that group will be able to adopt in development of a cultural initiative through the state–private network.

10. Interviews, D’Arms trip to the west coast—Portland Oregon, January 14, 1949, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 132.
14. Curriculum Vitae, Dr. H. F. Peters, Enclosure II to Despatch No. 360 to Department of State, November 15, 1949, Decimal File 862.4212/11–1549.
22. On August 12, Peters informed the Rockefeller Foundation that “Professor Howard M. Jones of Harvard and Professor Merle Curti of Wisconsin are both willing to” commit to teaching at the Amerika Institut. Letter, H. F. Peters to David Stevens, August 12, 1949, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 132.
25. Grant motion RF 49096, Grant to University of Munich, Amerika Institut, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 132.
26. This concern was based on observations of the political situation but also drew on predictions of a retreat to a position that rejected alternative influences or “Tribalism” about which he had written in 1942. See H. M. Jones, “Tribalism,” The Atlantic 170, no. 4 (1942): 87–94.
27. He suggested that this was because he had been involved in “getting the red Dean over here at a time when the state department wanted to bar him.” See Letter, H. M. Jones to E. D’Arms, September 23, 1949, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 717, Box 13, Folder 133.
28. Peters attempted to allay Jones’s fears by speaking to “former Ambassador Robert Murphy in the State Department” who had promised his assistance, if it should be needed.” This demonstrated a division within the State Department, as Murphy offered assistance in opposing State Department action.
33. Despatch No. 360 to Department of State, November 15, 1949, Decimal File 862.4212/11–1549, NARA, decimal file, 862.4212/11–1549.
34. It is currently unclear whether the State Department responded to this report to express concern over the interpretation of the Institut by some US government representatives in Germany. Any response was not filed with the original document.
35. Despatch No. 360 to Department of State, November 15, 1949, Decimal File 862.4212/11–1549, NARA, decimal file, 862.4212/11–1549.
36. Interview, Charles B. Fahs with Mrs. Patricia Van Delden, December 10, 1949, RFA RG 1.2, Series 717, Box 13, Folder 133.
37. Interview, Charles B. Fahs with Mrs. Patricia Van Delden, December 10, 1949, RFA RG 1.2, Series 717, Box 13, Folder 133.
38. Chief, Federal Programs Branch, Division of Exchange of Persons, Department of State, Washington, D.C.
39. Assistant Officer in Charger of German and Austrian Public Affairs, Department of State, Washington, D.C.
40. Interview, Charles B. Fahs with Oliver Caldwell and Bruce Buttles, March 15, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.

41. Interview, Charles B. Fahs with Oliver Caldwell and Bruce Buttles, March 15, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.

42. Interview, Charles B. Fahs with Oliver Caldwell and Bruce Buttles, March 15, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.


45. Interview, Charles B. Fahs with Oliver Caldwell and Bruce Buttles, March 15, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.

46. Interview, Charles B. Fahs with Oliver Caldwell and Bruce Buttles, March 15, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.

47. Interview, Charles B. Fahs with Oliver Caldwell and Bruce Buttles, March 15, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.

48. Interview, Charles B. Fahs with Oliver Caldwell and Bruce Buttles, March 15, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.

49. Interviews, telephone Chet D'Arms with James Read, March 18, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.

50. Telephone interviews, Chet D'Arms with James Read, March 18, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.

51. Telephone interviews, Chet D'Arms with James Read, March 18, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.

52. Letter, H. M. Jones to Chadbourne Gilpatric, March 27, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.


54. Dr. Eve Lewis served as assistant to the director of the Amerika Institut.

55. Copy of Letter, Dr. Eve Lewis to H. F. Peters, March 29, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.

56. Copy of Letter, Dr. Eve Lewis to H. F. Peters, March 29, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.

57. Interview, Charles B. Fahs with Oliver Caldwell and Bruce Buttles, March 15, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.

58. Copy of Letter, Dr. Eve Lewis to H. F. Peters, March 29, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.

59. Copy of Letter, Dr. Eve Lewis to H. F. Peters, March 29, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.

60. Chief of the Cultural Exchange Division of HICOG at Bad Nauheim.

61. Copy of Letter, Dr. Eve Lewis to H. F. Peters, March 29, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.


63. Interview, Charles B. Fahs with Oliver Caldwell and Bruce Buttles, March 15, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.
64. Interview, D'Arms with H. F. Peters, April 3, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.
65. Interview, D'Arms with H. F. Peters, April 3, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.
68. Interview, D'Arms with H. F. Peters, April 3, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.
69. Interview, D'Arms with H. F. Peters, April 3, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.
70. Interview, D'Arms with H. F. Peters, April 3, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.
71. D'Arms Diary in Frankfurt, Germany, November 6, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 134.
72. Telephone Interview, D'Arms with Henry Kellerman, April 3, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.
73. Telephone Interview, D'Arms with Henry Kellerman, April 3, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.
74. A. E. Burns told Peters that his request for financial support had been denied on the same day that Read indicated he would write the letter. As Peters then left at his own expense, the letter would have been redundant and as a result may not have been sent. Henry Kellerman would, therefore, have been unaware of the financial request and the contact between Peters and HICOG officials relating to it.
75. Telephone Interview, D'Arms with Henry Kellerman, April 3, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.
76. Telephone Interview, D'Arms with Henry Kellerman, April 3, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.
77. Interview, D'Arms with H. F. Peters, April 4, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133. Complaints about faculty had appeared regularly in earlier conversations. See in particular James Read’s comments regarding Mr. Burns’s complaints about Peters selecting Merle Curti; Telephone Interview, Chet D’Arms with James Read, March 18, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.
78. Interview, D'Arms with H. F. Peters, April 4, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.
80. Letter, David Hoggan to H. F. Peters, April 5, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.
81. Telephone Interview, D'Arms with Henry Kellerman, April 3, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.
82. Interviews, D’Arms with H. M. Jones, April 6, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.
83. Interview, D’Arms and Charles Fahs with Oliver Caldwell and Joseph Roland, April 6, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.
84. Dr. Eve Lewis wrote to warn Peters that “If the administrative issue is not enough … THEN B. [Burns] will fall back on SOME OTHER ISSUE, ANYTHING HE CAN TRUMP UP to make his course of action stick.” See Letter, Dr. Eve Lewis to H. F. Peters, March 29, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133. (Capitals in the original.)
85. Letter, H. F. Peters to D’Arms, April 28, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133; H. F. Peters to D’Arms, May 11, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 134; Also see Telephone Interview, D’Arms with Henry Kellerman, April 3, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133; Interview, D’Arms and Charles Fahs with Oliver Caldwell and Joseph Roland, April 6, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.
86. Interview, Oliver Caldwell and Joseph Roland with D’Arms, April 6, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.
87. Telephone Interview, Henry Kellerman with D’Arms, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.
88. Interview, D’Arms with Charles Winn, July 14, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 134.
89. Dr. Winn did not believe authorization was required. See Interview, C. C. Winn with D’Arms, July 14, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 134.
90. Read claimed this was an error in good faith, but D’Arms noted this admission had failed to appear “in the HICOG–State Department account of the case,” despite Peters’s assertions to that effect. See D’Arms Diary, November 6, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 134.
91. Telephone Interview, Dr. Hildegarde Bruecher with D’Arms, April 10, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.
92. Telephone Interview, Dr. Hildegarde Bruecher with D’Arms, April 10, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.
93. Copy of telegram, Dr. Hildegarde Bruecher to John J. McCloy, April 10, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.
94. Telephone Interview, H. F. Peters with D’Arms, April 7, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.
95. Telephone Interview, H. F. Peters with D’Arms, April 10, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.
97. Statement, attached to Telephone Interview, Richard Cooke and Oliver Caldwell with D’Arms, April 10, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.
98. Statement, attached to Telephone Interview, Richard Cooke and Oliver Caldwell with D’Arms, April 10, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.
99. Telephone Interview, Richard Cooke and Oliver Caldwell with D’Arms, April 10, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.
100. Telephone Interview, Richard Cooke and Oliver Caldwell with D’Arms, April 10, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.

101. Telephone Interview, Richard Cooke and Oliver Caldwell with D’Arms, April 10, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.

102. Telephone Interview, Richard Cooke and Oliver Caldwell with D’Arms, April 10, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.

103. Telephone Interview, Oliver Caldwell with D’Arms, April 12, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.

104. Telephone Interview, H. F. Peters with D’Arms, April 12, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.

105. Telephone Interview, H. F. Peters with D’Arms, April 12, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.

106. Telephone Interview, H. F. Peters with D’Arms, April 12, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.

107. Interview, Carl Schorske with D’Arms, April 13, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.

108. Also see Letter, H. M. Jones to D’Arms, April 12, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.


110. Telephone Interview, Shepard Stone to D’Arms, April 14, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.

111. Telephone Interview, Shepard Stone to D’Arms, April 14, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.

112. Telephone Interview, William Johnstone with D’Arms, April 15, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.

113. Telephone Interview, William Johnstone with D’Arms, April 15, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.

114. Letter, Merle Curti to D’Arms, April 15, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.

115. Letter, D’Arms to Merle Curti, April 19, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.


118. Letter, Alan Gregg to H. M. Jones, April 26, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.


120. Letter, H. M. Jones to D’Arms, April 19, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.

121. Telephone Interview, William Johnstone with D’Arms, April 15, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.
123. Telephone Interview, William Johnstone with D’Arms, April 15, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.
125. Telephone Interview, H. F. Peters with D’Arms, April 19, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.
126. Telephone Interview, William Johnstone with D’Arms, April 20, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.
127. Telephone Interview, Henry Kellerman with D’Arms, April 20, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.
128. Interview, William Johnstone and Vaughn Delong, April 21, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.
129. Telephone Interview, Henry Kellerman with D’Arms, April 20, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.
130. Telephone Interview, Henry Kellerman with D’Arms, April 20, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.
131. Interview, H. F. Peters and Samuel Scrivener with D’Arms, April 21, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.
133. See Interoffice Correspondence, D’Arms to J. C. M., April 26, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.
139. Interoffice Memo, D’Arms to Charles Barnard, May 01, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 134.
140. Interoffice Memo, D’Arms to Charles Barnard, May 01, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 134.
141. Interoffice Memo, D’Arms to Charles Barnard, May 01, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 134.
144. Letter, D’Arms to Walther Gerlach, May 05, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133.
152. Letter, H. F. Peters to the Advisory Council, May 11, 1950, attachment to letter to John Foster Dulles, January 28, 1953, NARA, Department of State, Decimal File, RG 59, Box 5250, 862A.431/1–2853.
Notes

163. Interview, Arthur Kimball and Oliver Caldwell with Chester Barnard, Charles Fahs and Chet D'Arms, June 23, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 134.

164. Interview, Arthur Kimball and Oliver Caldwell with Chester Barnard, Charles Fahs and Chet D'Arms, June 23, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 134.

165. According to Kimball, policy shifted as the result of a teleconference on June 22, however, Jones’s letter complaining about the treatment of Peters was dated June 21. See Letter, H. M. Jones to D'Arms, June 21, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 134 and Interview, Arthur Kimball and Oliver Caldwell with Chester Barnard, Charles Fahs and Chet D'Arms, June 23, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 134.

166. The boycott of the opening was indicative of the attitude to the Institut but actually enhanced its independent image, which would have been damaged by the attendance of the high commissioner; Letter, H. M. Jones to D'Arms, June 27, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 134.


172. Telephone Interview, Shepard Stone with D’Arms, June 29, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 134.


179. Letter, H. M. Jones to David Stevens, September 14, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 134.


183. Interview, Henry Kellerman with D’Arms, October 5, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 134.
184. Interview, Henry Kellerman with D’Arms, October 5, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 134.
185. Interview, Henry Kellerman with D’Arms, October 5, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 134.
186. Interview James Read with D’Arms, November 6, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 134.
188. Letter, Karl Aschenbrenner to D’Arms, December 18, 1950, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 134.
190. Letter, Heinrich Stammler to D’Arms, February 13, 1951, RFA 1.2, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 134.
199. Peters, “American Culture and the State Department,” 274.
203. A. Davis, “Memorial to Merle E. Curti,” American Studies Association Newsletter, June 1996. See particularly his presidential addresses to the Mississippi Valley Historical Association (1952) and the American Historical Association (1954); M. Curti, “The Democratic Theme in American Historical Literature,” The
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1. Notes for Discussion of Docket Item German Association of American Studies, n.d. RFA, RG 1.2, Series 717, Box 8, Folder 88.
10. Interview, Thomas Wertenbaker with D’Arms, October 3, 1950, RFA, RG 1.2 Series 717, Box 15, Folder 148.
15. Interview, Rektor Walther Gerlach with D’Arms, November 11, 1950, RFA, RG 1.2 Series 717, Box 15, Folder 148.
16. Grant-in-Aid to the University of Munich, February 16, 1951, RFA, RG 1.2 Series 717, Box 15, Folder 148.
19. Grant-in-Aid to the University of Munich, February 16, 1951, RFA, RG 1.2 Series 717, Box 15, Folder 148.
Notes

20. Letter, David Hoggan to D’Arms, April 6, 1951, RFA, RG 1.2 Series 717R, Box 15, Folder 135.
23. Letter, Thomas Wertenbaker to D’Arms, April 22, 1951, RFA, RG 1.2 Series 717, Box 15, Folder 148.
25. Letter, Thomas Wertenbaker to D’Arms, April 22, 1951, RFA, RG 1.2 Series 717, Box 15, Folder 148.
27. Grant-in-Aid to the University of Munich, February 16, 1951, RFA, RG 1.2 Series 717, Box 15, Folder 148.
29. Letter, David Hoggan to D’Arms, May 17, 1951, RFA, RG 1.2 Series 717, Box 15, Folder 148.
32. Letter, David Hoggan to D’Arms, May 17, 1951, RFA, RG 1.2 Series 717, Box 15, Folder 148.
33. Letter, James Read to D’Arms, May 16, 1951, RFA, RG 1.2 Series 717, Box 15, Folder 148.
34. For example, see Letter, D’Arms to David Hoggan, April 12, 1951, RFA, RG 1.2 Series 717, Box 13, Folder 135.
35. In the event, as “the actual expenses as accounted for amounted to 12,334.34DM” and the Rockefeller grant had been DM 12,200 the university was only liable for the remaining DM 134.34; Letter, D’Arms to Walther Gerlach, August 15, 1951, RFA, RG 1.2 Series 717, Box 15, Folder 148.
37. Letter, David Hoggan to D’Arms, May 17, 1951, RFA, Series 717, Box 15, Folder 148.
49. Letter, William Lehman to D’Arms, February 18, 1953, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 717, Box 8, Folder 88.
52. Letter, Helmut Kuhn to D’Arms, March 8, 1953, RFA, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 717, Box 8, Folder 88.
54. Letter, Helmut Kuhn to D’Arms, March 8, 1953, RFA, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 717, Box 8, Folder 88.
55. Letter, Helmut Kuhn to D’Arms, March 8, 1953, RFA, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 717, Box 8, Folder 88.
56. Letter, D’Arms to Helmut Kuhn, March 12, 1953, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 717, Box 8, Folder 88.
58. Letter, Helmut Kuhn to D’Arms, March 8, 1953, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 717, Box 8, Folder 88.
59. Letter, Helmut Kuhn to D’Arms, March 8, 1953, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 717, Box 8, Folder 88.
60. Letter, D’Arms to Helmut Kuhn, March 12, 1953, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 717, Box 8, Folder 88.
61. Letter, D’Arms to Helmut Kuhn, March 12, 1953, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 717, Box 8, Folder 88.
64. Letter, Helmut Kuhn to D’Arms, March 27, 1953, RFA, Series 717R, Box 13, Folder 137.
65. The DGfA, has also become known in the English translation—German Association for American Studies (GAAS), which will be used hereafter.
66. Excerpt from D’Arms Diary, August 6, 1953, RFA, Series 717, Box 8, Folder 88.
67. Excerpt from D’Arms Diary, August 6, 1953, RFA, Series 717, Box 8, Folder 88.
68. This research was eventually published as S. Skard, *American Studies in Europe: Their History and Present Organisation* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1958).
69. GAAS Articles of Association, attached to Excerpt from D’Arms Diary, August 6, 1953, RFA, Series 717, Box 8, Folder 88.
71. Excerpt from D’Arms Diary, August 6, 1953, RFA, Series 717, Box 8, Folder 88.
72. Excerpt from D’Arms Diary, August 6, 1953, RFA, Series 717, Box 8, Folder 88.
73. Excerpt from D’Arms Diary, August 6, 1953, RFA, Series 717, Box 8, Folder 88.
76. Excerpt from D’Arms Diary, August 6, 1953, RFA, Series 717, Box 8, Folder 88.
77. Excerpt from D’Arms Diary, August 6, 1953, RFA, Series 717, Box 8, Folder 88.
79. Letter, Professor Fischer to D’Arms, November 9, 1954, RFA, Series 717, Box 8, Folder 88.
84. Letter, Professor Fischer to D’Arms, January 26, 1955, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 717, Box 8, Folder 89.
85. Excerpt from Charles Fahs’s Diary, March 17, 1955, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 717, Box 8, Folder 89.
86. Excerpt from Charles Fahs’s Diary, March 17, 1955, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 717, Box 8, Folder 89.
87. Excerpt from Charles Fahs’s Diary, March 17, 1955, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 717, Box 8, Folder 89.
88. Letter, Professor Zechlin to D’Arms, April 14, 1955, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 717, Box 8, Folder 89.
89. Excerpt from Charles Fahs's Diary, March 17, 1955, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 717, Box 8, Folder 89.
90. Excerpt from D'Arms Diary, April 22, 1955, RG 1.2, Series 717, Box 8, Folder 89.
91. Letter, Professor Zechlin to D'Arms, April 28, 1955, RG 1.2, Series 717, Box 8, Folder 89.
92. Letter, Professor Zechlin to D'Arms, April 28, 1955, RG 1.2, Series 717, Box 8, Folder 89.
93. Letter, Chet D'Arms to J. Marshal, May 1, 1955, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 717, Box 8, Folder 89.
94. Letter, Chet D'Arms to J. Marshal, May 1, 1955, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 717, Box 8, Folder 89.
96. Notes for Discussion of Docket Item German Association of American Studies, n.d. RFA, RG 1.2, Series 717, Box 8, Folder 88.
98. Notes for Discussion of Docket Item German Association of American Studies, n.d. RFA, RG 1.2, Series 717, Box 8, Folder 88.
99. Grant Motion, RF 55079, May 20, 1955, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 717, Box 8, Folder 88.
100. Grant Motion, RF 55079, May 20, 1955, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 717, Box 8, Folder 88.
102. Letter, Janet M. Paine to Professor Zechlin, May 20, 1955, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 717, Box 8, Folder 88.
105. Letter, Professor Fischer to the Rockefeller Foundation, October 12, 1955, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 717, Box 8, Folder 89.
107. His study was published as Skard, American Studies in Europe.
110. Skard, American Studies in Europe, 326.
111. H. Oncken, Nation und Geschichte, 358, quoted in Skard, American Studies in Europe, 293.
5 The Founding of BAAS

35. After being sent to Bootham, a Quaker school in York, he was influenced by “the senior history master, Leslie Gilbert.” Gilbert became legendary, according to Howard Temperley, “because of the number of his pupils, among them AJP Taylor and Geoffrey Barraclough, who achieved academic distinction.” See H. Temperley, “Frank Thistlethwaite Obituary,” *The Guardian*, February 19, 2003.
50. Excerpt from D'Arms Diary, October 14, 1952, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 401, Box 48, Folder 426.
53. The ad hoc committee on American Studies was an “independent” committee, made up of Americans and British Americanists, which had been “constituted to deal with the future of American Studies” and was complimentary to the USEC sub-committee on American Studies. See Report on the 1954 Conference on American Studies, Peterhouse, Cambridge, n.d., RFA, RG 1.2, Series 401, Box 48, Folder 428.
55. Memo, Richard Taylor to USEC ad hoc committee on American Studies, April 18, 1955, British Association for American Studies Archive, University of Birmingham (hereafter BAAS) Box 3, B6.
56. Memo, Richard Taylor to USEC ad hoc committee on American Studies, April 18, 1955, BAAS, Box 3, B6.
57. Memo, Richard Taylor to USEC ad hoc committee on American Studies, April 18, 1955, BAAS, Box 3, B6.
59. Minutes of Meeting of USEC ad hoc committee on American Studies, May 12, 1955, BAAS, Box 3, B6.
60. Minutes of Meeting of USEC ad hoc committee on American Studies, May 12, 1955, BAAS, Box 3, B6.
61. Minutes of Meeting of USEC ad hoc committee on American Studies, May 12, 1955, BAAS, Box 3, B6.
62. Minutes of Meeting of USEC ad hoc committee on American Studies, May 12, 1955, BAAS, Box 3, B6.
64. Memo, Richard Taylor to USEC ad hoc committee on American Studies, April 18, 1955, BAAS, Box 3, B6.
65. Memo, Richard Taylor to USEC ad hoc committee on American Studies, April 18, 1955, BAAS, Box 3, B6.
66. Memo, Richard Taylor to USEC ad hoc committee on American Studies, April 18, 1955, BAAS, Box 3, B6.
67. Memo, Richard Taylor to USEC ad hoc committee on American Studies, April 18, 1955, BAAS, Box 3, B6.
68. Memo, Richard Taylor to USEC ad hoc committee on American Studies, April 18, 1955, BAAS, Box 3, B6.
73. Articles of Association, BAAS, Box 1, A2.
76. This network to create Ditchley Park also included Herbert Agar.
77. Minutes of BAAS committee meeting, October 29, 1955, BAAS, Box 1, A2.
79. Minutes of Meeting of USEC ad hoc committee on American Studies, May 12, 1955, BAAS, Box 3, B6.
83. Letter, Richard Taylor to Chet D’Arms, August 8, 1955, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 401, Box 52, Folder 454.
84. Letter, Frank Thistlethwaite to Chet D’Arms, August 10, 1955, BAAS, Box 1, B1.
85. Letter, Frank Thistlethwaite to Chet D’Arms, August 10, 1955, BAAS, Box 1, B1.
86. Letter, Frank Thistlethwaite to Marcus Cunliffe, August 18, 1955, The Marcus Cunliffe Papers, George Washington University, Gelman Library, University Archives. (The Cunliffe papers are currently being reorganized, unfortunately there will be no finding aid through which the old references can be converted to the new system rendering any references taken when this research was conducted obsolete.)
87. D’Arms to Thistlethwaite, August 23, 1955, BAAS, Box 1, B1.
88. Letter, Frank Thistlethwaite to H. C. Allen, October 18, 1955, BAAS, Box 1, A4.
89. Letter, Chet D’Arms to Frank Thistlethwaite, November 16, 1955, read into Minutes of BAAS committee meeting, January 3, 1956, BAAS, Box 1, A1.
90. Letter, Chet D’Arms to Frank Thistlethwaite, November 16, 1955, read into Minutes of BAAS committee meeting, January 3, 1956, BAAS, Box 1, A1.
91. Letter, Chet D’Arms to Frank Thistlethwaite, November 16, 1955, read into Minutes of BAAS committee meeting, January 3, 1956, BAAS, Box 1, A1.
92. Letter, Marcus Cunliffe to Frank Thistlethwaite, December 1, 1955, BAAS, Box 1 A4.
93. Letter, Frank Thistlethwaite to Dennis Welland, May 24, 1956, BAAS, Box 1, B1.
94. Letter, Marcus Cunliffe to Frank Thistlethwaite, December 1, 1955.
96. Taylor’s departure was hastened by a recurrence of tuberculosis had occurred before a replacement could be appointed forcing Koenig to take responsibility for negotiation with BAAS.
97. Chairman to Myron Koenig, November 8, 1955, BAAS, Box 3, C1.
98. Myron Koenig to Chairman, November 10, 1955, BAAS, Box 4, D5.
100. Letter, Harry Allen to Frank Thistlethwaite, December 12, 1955, BAAS, Box 4, D5.
102. Letter, Harry Allen to Frank Thistlethwaite, December 12, 1955, BAAS, Box 4, D5.
103. BAAS committee minutes, January 7, 1956, BAAS, Box 5.
104. D’Arms Diary, May 7, 1956, RFA, 12.1.
105. Minutes of emergency meeting, March 22, 1956, BAAS, Box 5.
106. Minutes of emergency meeting, March 22, 1956, BAAS, Box 5.
107. Minutes of emergency meeting, March 22, 1956, BAAS, Box 5.
108. Minutes of emergency meeting, March 22, 1956, BAAS, Box 5.
109. Minutes of emergency meeting, March 22, 1956, BAAS, Box 5.
110. Letter, Frank Thistlethwaite to Marcus Cunliffe, April 12, 1956, BAAS, Box 1, A4.
111. Letter, Frank Thistlethwaite to Marcus Cunliffe, April 12, 1956, BAAS, Box 1, A4.
112. Letter, Frank Thistlethwaite to Marcus Cunliffe, April 12, 1956, BAAS, Box 1, A4.
113. Letter, Frank Thistlethwaite to Marcus Cunliffe, April 12, 1956, BAAS, Box 1, A4.
114. Letter, Herbert Nicholas to Frank Thistlethwaite, May 27, 1956, BAAS, Box 1, B1.
115. Letter, Frank Thistlethwaite to Herbert Nicholas, May 24, 1956, BAAS, Box 1, B1.
117. Letter, Chet D’Arms to Frank Thistlethwaite, November 16, 1955, read into Minutes of BAAS committee meeting, January 3, 1956, BAAS, Box 1, A1.
123. It is unclear whether he just did not write it down or whether in discussion with Koenig, Gaines, and Welland no one mentioned it.
130. Letter, Chet D’Arms to Frank Thistlethwaite, November 16, 1955, read into Minutes of BAAS committee meeting, January 3, 1956, BAAS, Box 1, A1.
132. Letter, Frank Thistlethwaite to Dennis Welland, May 24, 1956, BAAS, Box 1, B1.
133. Letter, Frank Thistlethwaite to Herbert Nicholas, May 24, 1956, BAAS, Box 1, B1.
135. Letter, Frank Thistlethwaite to Herbert Nicholas, May 24, 1956, BAAS, Box 1, B1.
136. Letter, Frank Thistlethwaite to Herbert Nicholas, May 24, 1956, BAAS, Box 1, B1.
137. Letter, Frank Thistlethwaite to Herbert Nicholas, May 24, 1956, BAAS, Box 1, B1.
140. Letter, Chet D’Arms to Frank Thistlethwaite, August 17, 1956, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 401R, Box 52, Folder 454.
141. Letter, Chet D’Arms to Frank Thistlethwaite, August 17, 1956, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 401R, Box 52, Folder 454.
142. Letter, Chet D’Arms to Frank Thistlethwaite, August 17, 1956, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 401R, Box 52, Folder 454.
144. Letter, Chet D’Arms to Frank Thistlethwaite, June 27, 1956, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 401R, Box 52, Folder 454.
145. Interview, Chet D’Arms with Frank Thistlethwaite, October 2, 1956, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 401R, Box 52, Folder 454.
146. Interview, Chet D’Arms with Frank Thistlethwaite, October 2, 1956, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 401R, Box 52, Folder 454.
147. Interview, Chet D’Arms with Frank Thistlethwaite, October 2, 1956, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 401R, Box 52, Folder 454.
148. Interview, Chet D’Arms with Frank Thistlethwaite, October 2, 1956, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 401R, Box 52, Folder 454.
149. Interview, Chet D’Arms with Frank Thistlethwaite, November 30, 1956, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 401R, Box 52, Folder 454.
156. Letter, Herbert Nicholas to Frank Thistlethwaite, December 11, 1956, BAAS, Box 1, A1.
157. Letter, Herbert Nicholas to Frank Thistlethwaite, December 11, 1956, BAAS, Box 1, A1.
159. Letter, Herbert Nicholas to Frank Thistlethwaite, December 11, 1956, BAAS, Box 1, A1.
160. Letter, Herbert Nicholas to Frank Thistlethwaite, December 11, 1956, BAAS, Box 1, A1.
161. Letter, Herbert Nicholas to Frank Thistlethwaite, December 11, 1956, BAAS, Box 1, A1.
162. Letter, Herbert Nicholas to Frank Thistlethwaite, December 11, 1956, BAAS, Box 1, A1.
163. Letter, Herbert Nicholas to Frank Thistlethwaite, December 11, 1956, BAAS, Box 1, A1.
164. Letter, Herbert Nicholas to Frank Thistlethwaite, December 11, 1956, BAAS, Box 1, A1.
165. Minutes of BAAS committee meeting, February 16, 1957, BAAS, Box 1, A1.
166. Minutes of BAAS committee meeting, February 16, 1957, BAAS, Box 1, A1.
167. Minutes of BAAS committee meeting, February 16, 1957, BAAS, Box 1, A1.
168. Minutes of BAAS committee meeting, February 16, 1957, BAAS, Box 1, A1.
169. Letter, Herbert Nicholas to Frank Thistlethwaite, February 1957, BAAS, Box 1, A1.
173. D’Arms Diary, March 1, 1957, RFA, RG 1.2, Series 401R, Box 52, Folder 454.
175. Meeting BAAS committee with Chet D’Arms, March 1, 1957, BAAS, Box 1, B1.
176. Meeting BAAS committee with Chet D’Arms, March 1, 1957, BAAS, Box 1, B1.
177. Meeting BAAS committee with Chet D’Arms, March 1, 1957, BAAS, Box 1, B1.
178. Letter, Frank Thistlethwaite to Marcus Cunliffe, February 9, 1957, BAAS, Box 1, B1.
180. Minutes of BAAS Committee meeting, May 4, 1957, BAAS, Box 1, A1.
184. Letter, Frank Thistlethwaite to Marcus Cunliffe, April 12, 1956, BAAS, Box 1, A4.
185. Letter, Frank Thistlethwaite to Marcus Cunliffe, February 9, 1957, BAAS, Box 1, B1.
186. Letter, Frank Thistlethwaite to Marcus Cunliffe, February 9, 1957, BAAS, Box 1, B1.
Conclusion  Building Blocks for a Collaborative Approach to Public Diplomacy

1. This has been shown in research of information seeking about news events and communication in a crisis. For example, in Larsen and Hill’s 1954 research into the diffusion of news, 35 percent of people heard of Senator Taft’s death through interpersonal communication. A similar study showed 50 percent of people found out about the terrorist attacks on 9/11 from interpersonal contact (rather than TV or Radio). (B. S. Greenberg, L. Hofschire, and K. Lachlan, “Diffusion, Media Use and Interpersonal Communication Behaviour,” in B. Greenberg (Ed.), Communication and Terrorism: Public and Media Responses to 9/11 [Cresskill, NJ: Hampton, 2002], 3–16.)


7. Karen Hughes, nominee for under secretary for public diplomacy and public affairs, testimony at confirmation hearing before the Senate Foreign Relations


Notes


43. Henrich, et al., “‘Economic Man’ in Cross-Cultural Perspective.”

44. Ostrom, *Governing the Commons*.

45. J. Elster quoted in Ostrom, *Governing the Commons*, 95.

46. J. Elster quoted in Ostrom, *Governing the Commons*, 95.


51. Admiral Mike Mullen, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Kansas State University, Manhattan, Kansas Wednesday, March 03, 2010.


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