

### **NDH3: Bridging Divides, 24-26 October 2018**

#### **Session 1: Panel 3 – Business Diplomacy I**

**Chair: Alison Holmes (Humboldt State University)**

#### **Dominik Matter & Julian Wettengel (University of Basel), "Who Was Making Diplomacy and to What Ends? Swiss Diplomacy and Economic Interests, 1860-1980"**

Julian Wettengel and Dominik Matter, both of the University of Basel, presented a shared paper, “What was making Diplomacy and to what ends? Swiss Diplomacy and Economic interests, 1860-1980”. Their paper sought to examine the role of crises in the definition of interests as well as the practical evolution of diplomatic structures and processes and were laid out as WWI, WWII and the oil crisis of the 1970s. The presenters divided the material according to their own respective interests and strengths in what was effectively two primary periods of time. They worked to ‘bridge the divide’ over time and point out the trends and relevant themes both in the development of the Swiss diplomatic infrastructure – including issues such as honorary consuls and the impact of the increasingly embedded nature of economic and political issues during specific moments of ‘crisis’ in this timeframe.

#### **Houssine Alloul (University of Antwerp), "Diplomats as Furtive 'Entrepreneurs' between Private Capital and the State: Framing 'Belgian' Interests in the Ottoman Empire"**

Houssine Alloul from the University of Antwerp presented his paper “Diplomats as Furtive ‘Entrepreneurs’ between Private Capital and the State: Framing ‘Belgian’ interests in the Ottoman Empire”. The purpose of so many single quotes in his title was, he explained, to problematize the separation of the public from the private particularly in the late nineteenth century – the focus of his exposition. By exploring complex business relations, family background and other social links, the paper raised a number of questions as to the depth and breadth of the connections between various roles and institutions between empires and their effect on the economic as well as diplomatic relations.

#### **Dino Knudsen (Museum Mosede Fort-Denmark), "Danish Trade Diplomacy: Maintaining Neutrality during WW I"**

Dino Knudsen of the Museum Mosede Fort-Denmark, presented “Danish Trade Diplomacy: Maintaining Neutrality during WWI”, a new project for the museum that will have many outputs designed for a wide range of audiences. Again exploring the complex links between the public and private spheres, the discussion pointed out that WWI is increasingly understood as not just a war of armaments or tactics, but a specific and deliberate war on food. The goal of the paper was to examine the way trade diplomacy was used to remain neutral and specifically the ways personal and professional connections operated and were crucial in that delicate space.

#### **Session 2: Panel II - Diplomacy after Empire**

**Chair: Carolien Stolte (Leiden University)**

**Amit Das Gupta, Universität der Bundeswehr München, “Uninhibited Anti-Communism: India’s Relations with Soviet Satellite States, 1947-1962”**

**Lori Maguire, University of Paris 8, “Viewing Apartheid through Different Lenses: India, the American and British Foreign Policy Elite, and Racial Politics in South Africa”**

**Matthew Phillips, Aberystwyth University, “Thailand’s King Bhumibol and Queen Sirikit as Vanguard of Free Third World Diplomacy”**

This panel was able to reach a lot of depth thanks to the tight temporal frame of the 1950s and the focus, from various angles, on postcolonial Asian diplomacy. First, **Amit Das Gupta** compared established narratives of Indo-Soviet relations to the reality on the ground. In his presentation he argued that it is almost possible to speak of two parallel worlds. There was a world in which India’s most prominent politicians – Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and High Commissioner to the UK and later UN Ambassador V.K. Krishnamenon – had “leftist leanings” and maintained a good working relationship with the Soviet Union. But this co-existed with pronounced anti-communism in domestic affairs, a British-trained and fairly conservative diplomatic corps and, perhaps surprisingly, an attitude of “open disgust” for Soviet satellite states and their leaders. According to Das Gupta, this ran counter to the image the Nehruvian government sought to project to the world: an image of respect and support for others’ self-determination and independence. And yet, it consistently failed to acknowledge Prague, Budapest and other satellite governments, seeing instead the Soviet Union as the only interlocutor of importance.

Next, **Lori Maguire** examined one of the most contentious issues of the era through diplomats of the British and US delegations to the UN to ask: how informed and independent were the assessments of their respective foreign policy elites? In order to answer this question, she focused on one single year: 1950, in which year the infamous South African Group Areas Act (among other things) pushed India to place the plight of overseas Indian communities in South Africa on the agenda of the General Assembly. Maguire showed how, for both the British and American delegations, the issue of apartheid went far beyond bilateral relations, speaking instead to issues ranging from the Jim Crow laws, to the South African contribution to the Korea War and, in the British case, maintaining their position in the Commonwealth.

**Matthew Phillips**, finally, looked at King Bhumibol and Queen Sirikit’s international tours – both official and private, the latter presenting considerable archival difficulties for the historian – as postcolonial diplomacy. His presentation emphasized the extent to which the kingdom of Thailand was an outlier in Asia. This “Thai exceptionalism” manifested itself in different performative ways ranging from dress to speech and diplomatic idiom, but also in terms of substantive issues. Thailand’s membership of the Southeast Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO), for instance, marginalized Thailand among the neutralist powers and their many international gatherings. Phillips also showed how Thai kingship and Thai traditions of statecraft were given new life and new meaning on the international stage, covering concepts such as merit-making and *barami* in the context of the 1950s.

Interestingly, the discussion after the presentations soon turned to a person who had not been present in the papers much but figures in all the speakers’ projects, even if in the background:

Vijayalakshmi Pandit, Nehru's sister and India's UNGA representative before Krishnamenon took over the role. She figures directly in both **Amit Das Gupta** and **Lori Maguire**'s research. Though the international community gushed over her as the first-ever female president of the General Assembly, Krishnamenon, apparently, was not among her fans. Through the US/British focus of Maguire's project and the Indian focus of Das Gupta's, it became clear that this was true in a wider sense: her national and international image was quite different.

The discussion continued with questions on the idiom of postcolonial diplomacy. **Carolien Stolte** asked Das Gupta about the role of the World Peace Council in Indo-Soviet relations, and the discourse of peace and disarmament more generally, as its vocabulary seemed to have a lot of currency in the public sphere in 1950s India. Other themes discussed were hope/"wishful thinking" when it comes to the idealized vision in India of what the Soviet Union could potentially become (but never did). **Matthew Phillips** received multiple questions on the ways in which Buddhist concepts were brought to diplomatic language. Questions included who the target audience was for these new concepts, that would have been quite alien to many of Thailand's international interlocutors, but also whether some of these concepts, especially merit-making, might be "safe" precisely because of their ambiguity, inviting Phillips to speculate upon the different ways in which these terms may have been understood by different audiences.

## **Session II: Panel 4 – Diplomacy and Language**

**Chair: Isabella Lazzarini (University of Molise)**

The three papers covered a long time span (from the 16th to the early 20th century) and were – maybe by chance, but a lucky one – all centred on France and its interlocutors. Moreover, while presenting three quite different case-studies – the relationships between France and the Holy Roman Empire at the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century (Desenclos), and between France and the Austrian Netherlands in the second half of the 18th century, (Speeckaert) and the French diplomatic agency and the role of the press during the Balkan wars (early 20th century) – the papers did actually reveal some very interesting features of some main issues related to the theme of language and diplomacy.

### **Camille Desenclos (Univ. Haute Alsace), *'Diplomacy as process, not as result: French diplomacy (1598-1624) from a political communication perspective'***

Desenclos focused on diplomacy as political communication. A sophisticated analysis of sources, including the vast diplomatic correspondence, she argues, reveals not only the phases and features of the crucial process of gathering, collecting, selecting, and circulating the flux of information which substantiated the negotiations, but also the processual nature of diplomacy, and the flexible structuring of groups whose political interests only partly and temporarily coincided with those of their rulers. As an example, Desenclos quotes the use made by the kings of France of the protestant humanist networks across the Empire in order to gather information, to act as potential mediators, and to maintain open communication channels. All this, she argues, goes under the banner of political communication in a historical period in which political fragmentation (particularly in the imperial lands) was the rule, and boundaries between politics and 'international relations' were mostly anachronistic.

**Jean-Charles Speeckaert (Univ. Bruxelles), ‘The diplomacy of joy and affection. How language did help to build a pacific relationship between France and the Austrian Netherlands, 2nd half of the 18th century’**

Speeckaert in turn focused on emotions in diplomatic interaction, or – better – on the use of an ‘emotional grammar’ of friendship, affection, loyalty and trust in the new, strong relation between France and the Habsburgs resulting from the 1756 overturning of their historical antagonism. Not only the peace treaties, but also the diplomatic correspondence regularly made use of a lexis of joy and affection, or to discursive strategies aimed at creating and maintaining a ‘playful’, and seductive mood among professionals. Such a language, or grammar, played a central role – together with non-verbal languages such as music or visual arts – in consolidating a common discourse of courtly interaction grounded on a shared culture of civility, irony, humour, and mutual courtesy.

**Niko Psitsos (CREE, Paris), ‘Handling late Eastern question between the Quai d’Orsay and the Grands Boulevards : the role of press in France’s Balkan diplomacy’**

Psitsos brought to the fore the themes of both the press – that is, a group of professional informers turned political and sometimes biased interpreters of international interactions – and an increasingly vocal public opinion which was at the receiving end of both the journalists’ job and the formal diplomacy’s initiatives. The increasingly active role of journalists complicated the diplomatic and political decision-making processes both at the local and central level.

All the papers, therefore, put on the table some central issues to be discussed: the ‘political’ nature of diplomacy as communication (and the role of written records in its analysis); the different discursive strategies that were increasingly available to professionals of diplomacy (emotions, feelings, non-verbal languages etc); and the growing complexity of diplomatic dynamics on the eve of modern times, when diplomatic interaction increasingly extended to third parties such as public opinion, and other actors such as the press used sophisticated strategies to manipulate information, to create propaganda, and to influence consent and dissent. As John Watkins pointed out in the discussion, scale matters a lot in such dynamics, both in time (speed and the ways information circulated) and mass (the sheer quantity of people reached by information): therefore, the influence of some key features of late medieval and early modern diplomacy – such as information, emotions, communication – changed over time, transforming at the same time diplomacy itself.

### **Session III: Panel 1 - Changing Diplomatic Practices I**

**Chair: Lorena de Vita (Utrecht University)**

**John Condren (British School at Rome), "An ambasciata d’obbedienza to the Holy See: The Marchese Giambattista Lupi as Ranuccio II Farnese’s Envoy to Clement X in 1671"**

**Haakon A. Ikonomou & Karen Gram-Skjoldager (Aarhus University), "Establishing a New Diplomatic Profession: Developing a Code of Conduct for the International Civil Servant, c. 1920-1960"**

**Benedikt Franz (Goethe University Frankfurt / Technische University Darmstadt), "Messages from the Engine Room: Making Sense of Autobiographies by Diplomats"**

The panel certainly bridged divides – across topics, eras and methodologies. John Condren’s paper (British School at Rome) focused on the political symbolisms and tasks included in Giambattista Lupi’s role as Ranuccio II Farnese’s Envoy to Clement X, focusing especially on the rituals and ceremonies that came with that delicate diplomatic role. The research that Haakon Ikonomou and Karen Gram-Skjoldager (Aarhus University) presented also evoked the importance of rituals and symbols within diplomatic practice – although dealing with a very different case study. Their paper traced the creation and development of the international civil servant as new professional figure on the international stage. Through an analysis of formal rules and formative practices, the paper discussed his/her emergence with the establishment of the League of Nations and the increasing professionalisation and contestations of the 1920s and 1930s. In the conclusion, the paper also explored how the role was reinvented, diversified, and dispersed into the many second generation IOs following the Second World War, including the UN, via the ECSC, and the OEEC. Ego-documents and autobiographies are central to the study of international and diplomatic history. The paper presented by Benedikt Franz (Goethe University Frankfurt / Technische University Darmstadt) problematized the use of diplomatic autobiographies. Taking stock of the extant International Relations literature that uses autobiographies and memoirs within a ‘fact mining approach’, the paper rather suggested that drawing on literary studies and history can enrich the understanding and use of autobiographies as performative and communicative practices that narrate a ‘diplomatic self’ and constitute specific images of ‘diplomatic personhood’.

**Session III: Panel 2 - Business Diplomacy II**

**Chair: Dario Fazzi (RIAS)**

The three research projects presented revolved around the possibilities of conducting diplomacy outside of traditional state channels. In particular, all the presentations shared the assumption that non-state, private actors are not only fully entitled to manage diplomacy, but are also crucial in determining a country’s perception abroad.

**Christoph Nitschke (Oxford University), "Jay Cooke and the 'Brokers of Foreign Relations' before the Panic of 1873"**

The first presenter, Chris Nitschke from Oxford University explained the role that American financiers and businessmen played in creating the preconditions for the bursting of the global financial bubble of 1893. Chris showed that the American rail bonds, while providing foreign investors with interesting opportunities for profits mostly through secondary markets, also represented a gamble on the development and technological progress of the United States. In this sense, Jay Cooke’s endeavors are paramount for understanding how American businessmen promoted the trust that foreign investors needed to finance US companies. Jay Cooke’s scrupulous cultivation of his business contacts, especially in the UK, becomes therefore an early example of what Chris defines as “swap shop” diplomacy. Private interests, in sum, are considered among the main drivers of US diplomacy.

**Lior Lehrs (Leonard Davis Institute), "A Last-Minute Private Peace Initiative: Albert Ballin's Mediation Efforts between Germany and Britain, 1908–1914"**

The second speaker, Lior Lehrs from the Leonard Davis Institute, presented on Albert Ballin's attempts to mediate between Germany and Britain on the eve of WWI. Framing Ballin's activities as unofficial, "track-two" diplomacy, Lior described this private mediation as an effort to foster cross-cultural dialogue between two countries that Ballin perceived as part and parcel of the same Anglo-Saxon civilization. The fact that Ballin had access to the highest levels of political power, especially in Germany, made his position, according to Lior, particularly influential and well-respected. Suffering from the same fate that affected most of pre-war transnational pacifism, Ballin's failure can ultimately be explained as an irremediable clash of interests between people and political elites.

**Alison Holmes (Humboldt University), "Nested Sovereignities -Networked Diplomacies: UK-US Business Negotiating the Global State"**

The last panelist, Alison Holmes from Humboldt University, introduced the audience to her new, ongoing research on "nested sovereignties" and "networked diplomacies." More specifically, Alison expounded on the ways in which local authorities in California – at the state, municipal, and community level – try to shape their own relations with foreign entities. What may be considered today as a common and pretty established practice, in fact entails a completely new reconfiguration of the relationship between sovereignty and territoriality, and exposes the complex and not univocal legitimacy – and accountability – of diplomatic agency at the same time.

**Session III: Panel 3 – Responding to War**

**Chair: Jonathan Rosenberg (Hunter College/CUNY Graduate Center)**

**Eline van Ommen (LSE), "Nicaragua Debe Sobrevivir": Mobilising Western Europeans for the Sandinista Revolution, 1985-1987"**

The paper analyses how, in the final decade of the Cold War, the *Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional* (Sandinista National Liberation Front, or FSLN) relied on a combination of state diplomacy and transnational solidarity to protect the Nicaraguan revolution (1979-1990) from US-backed destabilisation efforts. Drawing on archival material, interviews, and private papers from Nicaragua, Cuba, the Netherlands, Germany, Britain, and the United States, the paper focuses on the Nicaraguan government's relationship with Western European governments and peoples. Specifically, the paper deals with the period 1985-1987, when the Sandinista government struggled to overcome problems posed by the Reagan administration's economic embargo and the violent contra war.

By integrating Nicaraguan and Western European perspectives, both at the state and non-state level, the paper aims to contribute to the historiography of the Cold War in Latin America, as it moves beyond the traditional US-centred narratives of the region's history. Furthermore, by combining transnational and international history, it locates the international history of the Nicaraguan Revolution in the complex interplay of European, Latin American, and Transatlantic relations. In doing so, it traces how, in mid-1980s, government officials, revolutionaries, activists,

exiles, students, local councils, and politicians from Western Europe and Central America participated in the Cold War struggle for Nicaragua's future.

**William Gray (Purdue University), "Dead German Diplomats: Violent Revenge and National Honor (1900, 1938, 1970)"**

In examining German responses to "Dead German Diplomats," that is, to the killing of overseas agents, William Glenn Gray pointed to certain continuities across time. How did Germans talk about national honor and assert demands for vengeance? Wilhelm II, responding to the murder of the German legate in Peking during the Boxer Uprising of 1900, spewed forth calls for the destruction of the Chinese capital. Seventy years later, when the German ambassador to Guatemala, Count Karl von Spreti, was kidnapped and murdered by guerrillas, members of the German public wrote furious letters demanding harsh punishment of the Guatemalan government for failing to protect accredited diplomats. Common to these episodes was a tendency to place the inviolability of international representatives above whatever internal difficulties a national government might be facing.

**Jean-Michel Turcotte (John F. Kennedy Institute for North American Studies, Free University Berlin), "War, Captivity, Humanitarianism and Diplomacy: The Cases of German Prisoners of War, 1940–1946 and North Korean and Chinese POWs, 1950–1953"**

This presentation focuses on the history of Germans prisoners of war (POWs) during the Second World War, and the North Korean and Chinese soldiers captured during the Korean War. Specifically, it examines the impact of the 1929 and 1949 Geneva Conventions on the treatment of POWs, and the international relations and the diplomacy among allied countries. In both cases, the definition of Detaining Power remained a major issue for the Allies and the United Nations. The first part of the paper concentrates on the 600,000 German soldiers detained in Canada, the United States, and Britain between 1940 and 1946. The treatment of these POWs quickly became a contentious subject of negotiations between the three western Allies. In fact, each ally pursued its own detention policies that reflected its understanding of the 1929 Geneva Convention.

Using a comparative perspective, the paper also explores the case of the North Korean and Chinese prisoners of war between 1950 and 1953. During the Korean War, the United Nations military coalition held more than 173,000 enemy prisoners, including 25,000 Chinese soldiers. Although the 1949 Geneva Convention regulated this captivity, the custody of the POWs by the United Nations coalition complicated the responsibility of every state with regard to international law. Though the United States remained the central actor on detention policies, exercising a dominant influence on the captivity, the American approach towards enemy prisoners was criticized by Canada, Great Britain and Geneva. This reaction reveals the international context in which wartime detention evolved during the early Cold War. The research aims to understand the internal dynamics within the UN coalition concerning the treatment of communist captives. Both cases explored in the paper reveal the complex duality of wartime diplomacy and political/military cooperation.

## **Overview of the Questions:**

On the van Ommen paper: questioners wondered about comparisons between the U.S. and Western Europeans. Was there a sense of the rising profile of the Nicaraguan revolution among Europeans? Was there a sense that there might be an alternative to the Reagan foreign policy? Is the nature of interest groups changing? Response: Depends upon the country. Looks at Britain and The Netherlands. There was further commentary on Britain and The Netherlands, particularly with respect to Solidarity campaigns. Comparing US and Western European groups, how careful are they in their association with the Communist Party? What was the nature of these groups' ideologies?

On the Gray paper: What does the international community demand of governments? Should they give in to demands? Would that lead to an increase in kidnappings? Was it surprising that the Brandt government took a soft line (a function of WW II)? Gray was not convinced that it was actually a soft line. Apparently, 94% of Germans seemed to want a punitive policy. Concerning the nature of the letters he uncovered: Were government officials moved by such letters? That is, did the letter writers have much influence? What makes diplomats special?

## **Session IV: Panel 1 - Cultural Diplomacy II**

**Chair: Dario Fazzi (RIAS)**

The presentations of this panel gave numerous insights on the role, efficacy, and applicability of cultural diplomacy. Perhaps even more interesting, the three presenters questioned themselves and the audience on the methods of inquiry and analytical tools that practitioners of diplomatic history should take into account while dealing with a country's cultural promotion abroad.

### **Elizabeth Piller (University College Dublin), "'Her Fatherland's Best Propagandist':Margarete Gärtner and the Rise of German Public Diplomacy, 1914-1941"**

Elizabeth Piller from University College Dublin started the session by presenting on the German propagandist Margarete Gartner. Gartner's experience, according to Elizabeth, is revealing of an oftentimes overlooked role that women played in supporting and shaping cultural diplomacy. In addition, Gartner's achievements shed a new light on the possibility of interpreting public diplomacy as a tool of historical revision and reconciliation. Framing Gartner as a liberal internationalist, very much embedded in a transnational network of women's groups, Elizabeth offered a fascinating and innovative view of the Weimar Republic's foreign entanglements.

### **Neal M. Rosendorf (New Mexico State University), "'Practically Our Whole Foreign Policy Stands or Falls with the Success of this Information Centre': The Establishment of the Israel Office of Information in New York and the Genesis of Israel's US Image-Building Efforts, 1948-1950"**

The second panelist was Neal Rosendorf from New Mexico State University, who shared his research on the establishment of the Israel Office of Information in New York. Neal, while expounding on the different personalities of those who were involved in this overarching image-building effort, argued that the public relations activities these people were busy with and, most

importantly, the social networks they were able to create were the ultimate keys to the success of Israel's cultural diplomacy in the United States. Openly drawing on Nye's concept of soft power, Neal therefore stressed the relevance of seduction and reputation as the main catalyzers of international trust.

**Greg Domber (California Polytechnic State University), "Using Social Network Analysis to Explore the Influence of East-West Exchanges on Poland's Transition to Democracy in 1989"**

Greg Domber from California Polytechnic State University gave a glimpse of the enormous, suggestive and yet still partly unexplored possibilities that the integration of digital humanities tools into the field of diplomatic history can bring about. Greg's research focuses on East-West exchanges in Poland. Greg's starting point is a constructivist approach that allows him to identify changes in the historical developments of those epistemic communities (his units of analysis) that fostered East-West dialogue in Poland. Greg makes ample use of Social Network Analysis in order to render vividly, through flow charts and diagrams, the volume, intensity and political relevance of such exchanges. The final result of this process is an immediately accessible graphic representation of those cross-cultural encounters that helped to overcome, and at the same time enrich and complicate, the rigid, bipolar confrontation of the Cold War.

**Session IV: Panel II - Lyrical Diplomacy**  
**Chair: Alice Byrne (Aix Marseille Université)**

**Damien Mahiet (Brown University), "19th-Century Modes of Diplomacy: Salon Music, Keyboard Culture, and the Production of International Society"**

Piano culture challenged the professional and institutional boundaries of diplomacy.

On the one hand, diplomats who participated in musical culture could find themselves accused of elitism, dilettantism and immorality. Accusations of an excessive interest in balls, dance and theatre plagued the reputation of Metternich. Yet musical skills could also be leveraged for diplomatic purposes as shown by the case of de Rayneval, who used his talents to gain access to the Austrian circle in Paris, which ultimately led to his nomination as Ambassador to Vienna.

Music also empowered wives and lovers who recruited illustrious musicians and composers to their salons. Musical performances were key to the formation of international society and the women behind them were able to open unofficial channels. For young diplomats, musical and dancing abilities offered a means to get secrets out of diplomats' wives. Musicians were employed by diplomats to enhance prestige and create a common ground. Music could also serve as a conversation starter, a way to cultivate relations and a means to adopt a performative approach: relations between negotiators could be reconfigured during a moment of shared music-making.

There was equally a gendered dimension to the diplomatic practice of music: its performance by or in the presence of women was on occasion criticized for delaying the progress of serious diplomatic affairs and rendering them trivial.

The history of music in diplomatic practice is more than a mere footnote, it contributes to the debate on nature and role of diplomatic actors and to understanding the modes of diplomacy.

**Jonathan Rosenberg (Hunter College, CUNY), "Orchestrating War: The American Concert Hall and Opera House as Battleground, 1914-1918"**

The US decision to enter World War One in 1917 was greeted with patriotic fervour in Opera Houses in the USA and the playing of the Star Spangled Banner, indicating the symbolic value of music in wartime. Until then, the classical music played in the US had been dominated by German music and musicians but the media and public opinion quickly turned hostile. As school boards banned German books, the concert hall too was turned into a "battleground" of "ethnic prejudice." German music was seen as inseparable from German barbarity in the war and symphony orchestras which continued to programme German composers were accused of dishonouring American soldiers. Listening to German music was seen as detrimental to the war effort. As a result, by January 1918, the New York Symphony Orchestra had ceased performing any living German composers. Antipathy towards opera performed in German was particularly pronounced. German musicians and conductors were also affected. The conductor of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra resigned in order to "protect" the orchestra, while Ernst Kunswald in Cincinnati and Karl Muck in Boston found themselves embroiled in accusations of pro-German sentiments and actions. Both were eventually arrested and interned as enemy aliens. Their plight reflected that of German-Americans who previously had been portrayed as a reputable immigrant group but now found themselves the object of suspicion.

Previous to the war music had generally been perceived as a universal language which spoke to humanity's hopes and dreams. In the war it was redefined as an expression of national character: like other forms of art it became potentially dangerous. This episode also illustrates American anxiety over anti-democratic regimes and contemporary debates over American identity.

**Amir Theilhaber (TU Berlin), "Doing Diplomacy in Poetic Terms: Friedrich Rosen's Multiple Approaches to Persian and Arabic Poetry in the Age of German Empire".**

This paper focused on the Orientalist and German Foreign Minister Friedrich Rosen (1856-1935) who is still known today as the translator of Omar Khayyam. In particular it looked at the significance of poetry in Rosen's diplomatic career.

The Indian poet-diplomat Abhay Kumar described diplomacy as a "complex art" requiring "cultural finesse" and whose objective was the "power of persuasion"; like poetry, diplomatic language reveals as much as it hides. Poetry has also offered expiation for diplomatic practice. Rosen's career suggests other roles for poetry, including as a space for exchange and interaction. In 1890s Iran, Rosen joined a Sufi order with close links to ruling dynasties. His friendships with key political figures were cemented by their shared love of poetry and enabled all parties to share information about their respective circles. Germany had no active interest in Iran at the time, so these exchanges took place in a less asymmetrical context than those with Russia and Britain. Poetry facilitated Rosen's encounters with nomadic tribal groups while consul in Baghdad. While charting land for a railway construction project Rosen depended on local Arab tribes for accommodation in a region known for robbers. Poetic jousting formed part of the welcome ceremony in this context, and Rosen was well served by his knowledge of Arabic poems (qassida) learnt growing up in Jerusalem in the 1850s. Rosen continued to collect poems from his many

diplomatic postings, including India and Morocco, and diffused his knowledge across Europe through translations and participation in Orientalist congresses.

In 1913 Rosen re-published Rumi, arguing in his introduction that Sufi Islam was misunderstood by Europeans. His reading of Rumi inspired his interpretation of the organic development of free Muslim states and placed him in opposition to German policy at the time. As German Foreign Minister in the 1920 he published another collection of Farsi poetry which had been used to inculcate moral behaviour in rulers.

Rosen's combining of poetry and politics drew on a long tradition in the Persian context.

### **Questions and Discussion**

Topics addressed in the discussion included:

The piano as a sign of social distinction.

The role of the piano in relation to that of dance (sociability).

The comparison between German and British Orientalists.

The role of poetry and music in allowing diplomats to express what they cannot utter in diplomatic practice.

German/Austrian views on the US.

The special status of Wagner.

### **Session IV: Panel 3 - Mediators II**

**Chair: Lior Lehrs (Leonard Davis Institute, Hebrew University of Jerusalem)**

**Nao Masunaga (Hitotsubashi University), "Lucrezia Borgia in Spoleto (1499): The Pope's Daughter? Governorice? Arbitrator?"**

The presentation focused on the appointment of Lucrezia Borgia – the daughter of the pope Alexander VI - as a governor of Spoleto in 1499. The case was analyzed as part of the research on diplomatic and political agents in the Renaissance Papal State and the strategy and policy of the Papal state. Nao discussed two main issues. The first was the decision of the pope to send secretary Piccinino from Rome to serve as an 'agent of the governor' in Spoleto, to assist Lucrezia. The second was the role of Lucrezia as an arbitrator between regional factions in Todi. The governor Lucrezia interfered in the conflict, she used threats to impose sanctions but she also tried to promote a peaceful solution for the conflict.

Nao claimed in conclusion that many studies on the Papal state in this period explore the foreign relations and external wars and she suggested an alternative perspective of focusing on the internal conflicts between the regional cities. She also raised questions about the implications of the fact that Lucrezia was the pop's daughter on her role as governor.

**Maximilian Drephal (University of Sheffield), "'An Envoy and His Presents': Henry Walter Bellew's Disciplinary Entanglements"**

The presentation focused on the 1857 military and political mission to Afghanistan and the role of Henry Walter Bellew, Indian-born British physician, in the mission. Maximilian analyzed the historical context, the background that led to the mission and the participants in, and the goal of, the mission. Bellew published in 1862 a book: "Journal of a Political Mission to Afghanistan in 1857" which became an important landmark in the research on Afghanistan. Maximilian discussed the role of Bellew as a medical officer, a diplomat, a translator, a mediator and a researcher and analyzed the mission in the interplay between medicine and diplomacy and between power and knowledge.

### **Panel Discussion**

1. Orientalism and Bellew's book: how the journal can be analyzed in the context of Edward Said's theory? Maximilian explained that Bellew's journal is a good example of an 'orientalist book' and Said's analysis and arguments are very relevant to his research.
2. Resources on 'the other side': why does the research focus only on European sources? Maximilian said that he plans to deal with the other side of the interactions in the mission in the next stage of his research.
3. Medicine and diplomacy: Maximilian's project can be connected to the scholarship on the complex relations and dynamics between medicine and diplomacy in diplomatic history and also to the question of the power relations in this context.
4. Lucrezia as an official actor: the case of Lucrezia is special and unique because it is not a case of woman with unofficial role in diplomacy, it is a case of a woman with official and formal diplomatic actor in the Papal State and this aspect should be emphasized.
5. Reaction to the nomination: were there voices of resistance and rejection after Lucrezia was nominated as a governor? Nao argued that there were no objections and the residents of Spoleto accepted her nomination and her authority.

### **Session V: Panel 1 -Variable Geographies**

**Chair: Lorena de Vita (Utrecht University)**

#### **Takahiro Yamamoto (Heidelberg University), "Island of Diplomats: Reconsidering the Role of Tsushima Residents in the East Asian International Relations"**

The paper of Takahiro Yamamoto (Heidelberg University) highlighted that the Tsushima Islanders in various professions, ranging from fishermen, officials, traders, and unskilled labourers, were all in their own way agents of diplomacy that impacted the relations between Korea and Japan. Conventional historiography dealing with Tsushima has tended to draw a clear divide between early-modern period and the modern period, with the 1868 Meiji Restoration as a watershed. On the one hand, specialists of early modern East Asia have generally described the intermediary function of Tsushima by emphasising their character as a stabiliser of the potentially volatile regional politics (as evidenced by the spread of piracy in the preceding centuries). On the other hand, historians of modern Japan and Japanese imperialism have largely overlooked the long-term historical legacy of the island and understood Tsushima islanders' position in the late nineteenth century as a side story to Japanese imperial expansion towards the Korean Peninsula. Some scholars such as Jun Uchida (2011) has illustrated individual motivations of the Japanese lower-class merchants for settling in the Korean Peninsula out of their personal ambitions and preferences, not unlike those of 'poor whites' who went from France to Algeria or Morocco but,

as Takahiro Yamamoto argued, more work is necessary in order to bridge the boundaries between academic subdivisions.

**Michael Auwers (University of Antwerp), "Diplomatic Advisers as Tools of Imperialism in the Late Nineteenth Century: The Case of the Belgians in East Asia"**

Michael Auwers (University of Antwerp) explored how, in the late nineteenth century, Belgian diplomatic advisors in the eastern part of Asia developed their ideas, perceived their interests, and acted on both. The paper focused on three Belgian 'diplomatic' advisors, or persons who were contracted by, and in close contact with the foreign policy making elites of their host 'semi-colonial' countries. To what extent did these persons act or see themselves as tools of (Belgian) imperialist policy? One such Belgian advisor referred to himself as a 'disinterested friend' of the Siamese King in a private letter and elaborated on the concept of friendship in this place and time. The heart of the paper centred on this point, raising questions from the audience about possible cultural misconstructions, wondering whether referring to themselves as disinterested friends was not some kind of marketing strategy by which the Belgians were sold or sold themselves to the foreign leaders, while another participant referred to the relationship between the Belgian adviser and the Siamese King as a 'relationship of mutual condescension'.

**David Tal (University of Sussex), "Center and Periphery in the Making of the US-Israel Special Relationship"**

The paper of David Tal (University of Sussex) also included a call to go beyond usual scholarly classifications and dichotomies – in this case, he argued for the need to move beyond how the scholarship has thus far portrayed the evolution of the US-Israeli relationship, i.e. either in terms of an ideal relationship or one sustained primarily by pragmatic interests. Using a wide range of historical examples – 'from Plato to NATO' – Tal underscored the multifaceted complexity of this special relationship. The two other papers engaged specifically with the question of diplomatic agency. Who are the agents of diplomacy, really?

**Session V: Panel 3 - Mediators III**

**Chair: Alison Holmes (Humboldt State University)**

**Sean Phillips (Oxford University), "The Institute of Pacific Relations in the Making of Dominion Diplomats"**

Sean Phillips of Oxford University presented, "The Institute of Pacific Relations in the Making of Dominion Diplomats" and offered a deep look into the creation and development of a lesser known institution that, despite its size, played a significant role in the ways in which diplomatic institutions and processes operated in the Pacific arena. By looking at the players and issues, the paper was able to connect the institute to a number of areas and assert its influence on a much broader scale.

**Aleksander Milosz Zielinski (University of Basel), "The Bilderberg Conferences as 'Diplomatic Site'"**

Aleksander Milosz Zielinski of the University of Basel offered “The Bilderberg Conferences as ‘Diplomatic Site’” and using Iver Neumann’s concept of ‘sites’ explored Bilderberg as a specific location and space. By tracking the players and materials of Bilderberg, the assertion was that it has had and continues to have influence in the nexus of public/private and government/business dealings. As such, those involved in Bilderberg remain players of interest in the back channels of diplomatic relations.

**Alessandro Tripepi (University of Milan), "Jesuit Diplomacy in Japan: From the Tenshō Shōnen Shishetsu to the Hideyoshi Opposition, 1582-1587"**

Alessandro Tripepi of the University of Milan took the panel back in time for a paper on “Jesuit Diplomacy in Japan: From the Tenshō Shōnen Shishetsu to the Hideyoshi opposition 1582-1587”. By closely tracking the people and the route, the paper posed the idea that Jesuit diplomacy was distinct (though perhaps not entirely unique) when contrasted to similar expeditions of the time.