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A European Discipline in America?

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Émigré Scholars and the Genesis of International Relations

A European Discipline in America?

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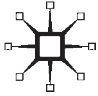

Editorial matter, selection and Introduction © Felix Rösch 2014
Individual chapters © Respective authors 2014
Softcover reprint of the hardcover 1st edition 2014 978-1-137-33468-8

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First published 2014 by
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN

Palgrave Macmillan in the UK is an imprint of Macmillan Publishers Limited, registered in England, company number 785998, of Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS.

Palgrave Macmillan in the US is a division of St Martin's Press LLC, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

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ISBN 978-1-349-46279-7 ISBN 978-1-137-33469-5 (eBook)

DOI 10.1057/9781137334695

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and made from fully managed and sustained forest sources. Logging, pulping and manufacturing processes are expected to conform to the environmental regulations of the country of origin.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

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Acknowledgements

It took Arthur Kaufmann almost 30 years to finish his most famous painting. He began working on his triptych *Die geistige Emigration* in 1938 and he only finished it in 1964. Thirty-eight great minds (*Geistesgrößen*) are depicted in this triptych. Albert Einstein, Kurt Weill, Fritz Lang, Paul Tillich, Otto Klemperer, and the Manns – to name a few – look straight ahead, neither looking to the left at what used to be their home, nor looking to the right at what will become their new home. But Kaufmann's examination of the fate of émigré intellectuals is just one of many examples that we find in arts, humanities, and social sciences. The forced emigration of Continental European intellectuals, scholars, and artists has been, and is being, extensively discussed both inside and outside academia. Surprisingly, however, in Anglophone International Relations the discussion never really took off. Despite the fact that many of its founding fathers and mothers were émigré scholars, the question of emigration, their personal experiences, and intellectual backgrounds have so far received little attention. What is more, many of these scholars are today almost forgotten. The following edited volume, therefore, constitutes a first appreciation of the lesser names in International Relations.

The idea of examining the influence of émigré scholars on the intellectual and institutional development of International Relations took shape in a different form during my doctoral research on Hans Morgenthau's worldview at the Newcastle University from 2009 to 2011. Numerous discussions with Hartmut Behr encouraged me to look further into a topic that has interested me since the end of my secondary education in Germany. For the support which I have received during these years, I cannot thank Hartmut enough. For their initial support in a variety of ways and sharing their knowledge with me at this stage of the project, I am also very grateful to Andrew Arato, Seán Molloy, Ian O'Flynn, and Wilhelm Vosse. The project started to evolve into its present shape during the 2012 ISA-BISA Conference, and I vividly recall the enthusiasm and encouragement Knud Erik Jørgensen has shown ever since our first discussion in Edinburgh.

The introduction to this edited volume has also profited from stimulating, supportive, yet critical discussions with several colleagues, for

which I am very thankful. Audrey Alejandro, Richard Ned Lebow, Alexander Reichwein, Helen Turton, Peter Wadey, Atsuko Watanabe, and again Hartmut Behr, as well as Knud Erik Jørgensen, have provided me with insightful comments that helped me to strengthen the introduction. I am equally grateful to the reviewer for his/her helpful and supportive comments. Furthermore, at Palgrave Macmillan, I am indebted to Harriet Barker, Eleanor Davey-Corrigan, and Julia Willan for their assistance and, most importantly, for the patience they have shown in bringing this edited volume to publication.

Most of all, however, I am deeply grateful to all my contributors from the United Kingdom, Germany, and the United States. I am convinced that their unique cultural and intellectual perspectives make this volume an encouragement for further research and a much more stimulating read than a monograph could ever have been. Without them – giving so generously of their time, despite all their other commitments – this appreciation of the lesser names in International Relations could not have come into being.

Earlier versions of the chapters of Peter Breiner and Richard Ned Lebow appeared in: Breiner (2004). “Translating Max Weber: Exile Attempts to Forge a New Political Science.” *European Journal of Political Theory* 3:2, 133–149 (reprinted by permission of Sage) and Lebow (2011). “German Jews and American Realism.” *Constellations* 18:4, 545–566 (reprinted by kind permission of Wiley-Blackwell).

Felix Rösch
Coventry, January 2014

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1
Introduction

Breaking the Silence: European Émigré Scholars and the Genesis of an American Discipline

Felix Rösch

Émigré Scholars and the Genesis of American International Relations: A European Discipline in America? invites students of International Relations (IR) to return to the discipline's modern foundation during the early and mid-twentieth century and to reconsider the contribution of Continental European émigré scholars. Its intention is to break the silence that has befallen émigré scholarship in Anglophone IR, since the dominance of American positivism (Maliniak 2011: 439) has been challenged by various forms of critical scholarship. Generally, these challenges do not consider the Continental European context in which many of the early IR scholars were socialised. In reconsidering the lives and thoughts of émigré scholars, IR students will find three aspects particularly beneficial: they are encouraged to question the usual trajectories of IR as an American discipline, to reflect upon émigré scholars' thought as an enrichment of world political theorising in the twenty-first century, and to enhance discussions of intercultural knowledge exchange by moving beyond conceptualisations of imposition towards amalgamation.

Ever since Stanley Hoffmann's landmark paper in 1977, the image of IR as a predominantly American discipline has turned into a commonly accepted truism. Since then, many contributions have appeared which, although critically engaging with this image, have helped to further solidify it (cf. Krippendorff 1989; Kahler 1993; Wæver 1998; Smith 2000, 2002; Crawford and Jarvis 2001; Kristensen 2013). Certainly, one of the reasons why IR scholars find the image so persuasive is that it seems to

coincide with reified reality. Ole Wæver (1998) demonstrates that many of the leading journals, associations, publishers, think tanks, and funding bodies in the discipline reside in the United States. A further reason might be that for most of its history the discipline has been "driven by demand", as Miles Kahler (1997: 22) notes, meaning that its close ties with the state machinery in the United States not only confined its ontological and epistemological outlook, but also provided it with a more solid institutionalisation than anywhere else. This image, however, does not match historical evidence, for we know that first institutionalisations in the form of university chairs and think tanks actually occurred in Great Britain (Suganami 1983; Cox and Nossal 2009). Nor does it reflect academic geographies: Peter Kristensen (2013: 2) recently stressed that IR is, in comparison to other social sciences, "one of the least U.S.-dominated" sciences and that, although contributions from the United States are still significantly higher than those from other world regions, most emerged from elite university networks in New England and the Midwest.

Although these criticisms challenge the dominant image of IR as an American discipline, they still do not fundamentally call it into question. Studying the contributions of émigré scholars, by contrast, enables IR students to gain a more nuanced understanding of the discipline's history, as many were originally from Continental Europe (Palmer 1980: 347–348). Karl Deutsch, Stanley Hoffmann, Hans Morgenthau, John Herz, and Arnold Wolfers are so intimately connected with the foundation and institutionalisation of IR in the United States that it is often forgotten that all of them were émigrés. Also, scholars like Hannah Arendt, Eric Voegelin, Franz Neumann, and Waldemar Gurian, though not considered to be IR scholars, influenced the discipline to varying degrees (e.g. Kielmannsegg, Mewes, and Glaser-Schmidt 1995; Lang and Williams 2005). At this point, however, a caveat needs to be voiced. This volume cannot provide a comprehensive study of *all* émigré scholars who have influenced IR, nor does it intend to.[1] Rather, *Émigré Scholars and the Genesis of American International Relations* contributes to a still relatively limited body of Anglophone literature (Jørgensen 2000; Friedrichs 2004; Jørgensen and Knudsen 2006) that acknowledges the European contribution to the institutionalisation of IR and, in particular, invites IR students to return to some of its more forgotten thinkers.

This leads us to the second aspect entailed in the invitation to study the contribution of émigré scholars to IR. Gaining a more detailed understanding about the institutionalisation of the discipline would

in itself be an interesting historical exercise, but it would not give us sufficient justification for why we, as IR students, should return to their thought. Particularly, however, the revival of classical realism (cf. Lebow 2003; Williams 2005, 2007; Molloy 2006; Tjalve 2008; Jütersonke 2010; Scheuerman 2011) – and many of these émigré scholars can be aligned to classical realist thought – demonstrates that turning to émigré scholars' thought is also beneficial for current international political theorising. Despite their thought being manifold and diverse, émigré scholars stressed the human condition of politics, as further elaborated elsewhere (Behr and Rösch 2012; Rösch 2013), due to their common intellectual maturation in Continental European humanities as well as the experiences of the *Shoah* and forced emigration. Their thought offers an insightful critique of modernity and enables IR scholars to gain a more reflective understanding about the current crisis of democracy, as it questions tendencies of depoliticisation through dehumanisation in the form of technologisation, bureaucratisation, ideologisation, and "scientification" (Behr 2010; also Levine 2012: 46–51).

Two recent examples help us to appreciate the underlying potentialities of their thought, although this is not to argue that IR students can detect some "timeless wisdom" within émigré scholars' work that acts as the *deus ex machina* through which world political problems can be solved. Rather, their work needs to be studied in the manner of a "contemporary reconstruction" (Steele 2013: 741). Returning to the thought of émigré scholars can help to free the thought of IR students by providing the space to imagine different epistemologies, ontologies, and methodologies within IR, and/or inspire critical appraisals of the current situation. In this sense, William Scheuerman (2011) demonstrates that the thought of émigré scholars can contribute to a rethinking of alternative political communities beyond the nation state, as many of them were convinced of its obsolescence and argued for a world community instead. This provides refreshing new ways to unwrap the dominance of positivistic discourses within cosmopolitanism, as it coincides with Hartmut Behr's (2014) conceptualisation of phenomenological peace. By questioning common universalist and essentialist understandings of peace, Behr argues for an acceptance of difference, as an engagement with the other helps to establish mutual understanding. Hence, studying émigré scholarship furthers an understanding of "the human difference in which the universal resides [as it] remains communicable by human beings, though only in the name of the other" (Goetschel 2011: 84). In addition, their thought also enhances our knowledge about the

influence of emotions on political decision-making (cf. Schuett 2007; Solomon 2012; Ross 2013; Rösch 2014), helping to close a research gap in the discipline, as depicted by Roland Bleiker and Emma Hutchison (2008: 115).

However, their thought is not only of interest for classical realists; it also feeds into critical theory discourses (e.g. the special issue of *International Politics* 2013 and the special section in *Zeitschrift für Politik* 2013, issue 4) and it nurtures, as mentioned, current IR discourses on emotional and theological questions (cf. Molloy 2013; Sandal and Fox 2013; Troy 2013). This wide contribution is made possible by the diverse intellectual spectrum of émigré scholars. No émigré was a trained IR scholar, and many were not even political scientists but had backgrounds in philosophy, law, geography, history, or sociology; some, like Karl Deutsch, even in the natural sciences. This disciplinary pluralism reminds students that IR was not an intellectually entrenched discipline as it is today (for discussions of early IR, see Kleinschmidt 2000; Ashworth 2009, 2013). It also encourages us to recreate this interdisciplinarity, as this enlarges our perspective of, and ability to engage with, IR theorising. In this sense, this volume is not to be considered merely as a further contribution to the revival of classical realism; rather, it is an exercise in émigré scholars' thought that invites IR students to critically engage with it in order to unearth fresh insights about some of the most pressing problems of world politics in the twenty-first century, ranging from security issues to environmental questions of sustainability.

Inviting IR students to move beyond restrictive thinking of dichotomic theories or schools leads us to the third beneficial aspect of studying émigré scholarship. It stimulates IR students to rethink the discipline's sociology of knowledge, giving way to a more refined set of epistemologies by considering one of the central elements of world politics: intercultural knowledge exchange. So far in IR, our understanding of this element has been particularly advanced by critical, particularly postcolonial, scholarship. Their contributions (cf. Halperin 2006; Bilgin 2008; Kayaoglu 2010; Hobson 2012; Vasilaki 2012) have demonstrated that many of these encounters were imposing knowledge from Western on to non-Western cultures, fortifying a Eurocentric outlook on world politics, and merely led to the mimicry of Western decision-making processes. Studying émigré scholarship, by contrast, adumbrates a further layer of knowledge exchange. Critically engaging with, but accepting, intellectual differences enabled émigré scholars to thematically adjust their thought to their new environment without renouncing their

distinctive European form of scholarship that set them apart from their American peers. Studying this knowledge amalgamation encourages IR students to open up new spaces to reflect on world politics through collective actions spanning different cultures. Hence, in consideration of the intellectual and cultural diversity of this volume's contributors, this book is an invitation to study, imagine, and create world politics through (self-)reflective and sceptical, though unprepossessing, knowledge exchanges, in order to transcend the dichotomic, sectarian, and essentialist thinking that characterises much of the discipline to date.

The silence of Anglophone International Relations

Despite this potential of émigré scholarship, Anglophone IR remained relatively silent about their contribution. To date, there is no comprehensive study about émigré scholars in IR. We merely find single contributions scattered in anthologies, often focusing on social sciences at large (Neumann et al. 1953; Coser 1984; Krohn 1993; Söllner and Ash 1996; Kettler and Lauer 2005; FaIR Schulz and Kessler 2011). Having this wider focus, these anthologies, which were often edited by German and/or émigré scholars, did not attract the kind of interest in IR that they deserved. Consequently, much of what the discipline knows about émigré scholars is still limited to autobiographical contributions (cf. Brecht 1966; Herz 1984; Morgenthau 1984; Bendix 1986),[2] although first steps are being made towards a more profound appreciation (Guilhot 2011). By contrast, in neighbouring disciplines, particularly history and literature, émigré scholarship received wider attention. Two classifications – *Beitragsgeschichte* and *Schicksalsgeschichte* (Epstein 1991) – help to summarise the state of research.

Initially, contributions as *Beitragsgeschichte* mainly concentrated on dichotomic studies of loss and gain, stressing either the remarkable career of particular émigrés in the United States or the so-called "brain drain" that Europe experienced from the late 1920s onwards. This focus led to a concentration on the elaboration of the remarkable careers of some émigré scholars and primarily produced single case studies. The merit of such studies was, next to the exemplary elaboration of particular cases, the excavating and securing of primary resources. This archival material is still an invaluable source for a profound elaboration of the thought of émigré scholars, as demonstrated in Christoph Frei's (2001) and Scheuerman's (2009) Morgenthau monographs or Elizabeth Young-Bruehl's (1982) Arendt biography.

This securing of archival material fostered a more profound discussion of émigré scholarship in the form of *Schicksalsgeschichte*, as the research agenda shifted towards processes and contingencies of change. It was realised that single case studies in themselves would not be sufficient to depict the collective phenomena that émigré scholars experienced. To overcome this shortcoming, a number of scholars, particularly in the field of German-speaking politics and IR, drawing on long-standing insights of exile studies, have advanced the concept of acculturation (cf. Söllner 1987, 1996a; Srubar 1988; Barboza and Henning 2006; Puglierin 2011; Thümmler 2011; Schale, Thümmler, and Vollmer 2012). Introduced by Herbert Strauss (e.g. 1991) and further elaborated by Alfons Söllner and Mitchell Ash (1996), this concept allows one to transcend discussions of émigré scholarship in terms of loss or gain by considering their specific life-trajectories. This analytical focus allows the capturing of collective phenomena by considering the mutual interplay of émigré scholars and the "host" academic culture. Hence, it enables the consideration of the influence that émigré scholars had with their research agenda and distinct experiences as well as the influence of the American academic culture on émigré scholars' research agenda.

However, not all the possibilities of the concept of acculturation have been exhausted. On the one hand, these acculturation studies are often historic sketches, and, with the exception of Söllner's monograph (1996a), they do not focus on a specific discipline. Therefore, this makes it difficult for IR students to see beyond them or even recognise a bigger picture in terms of common experience and particularly overlapping thematisations of socio-political issues. Yet, even then their collectivity is merely apprehended in a spatial, often institutionalised context, rather than in and as a historic–semiotic network. On the other hand, these studies often focus, as the terms change and *Schicksal* (fate) suggest, primarily on the aspect of the actual emigration. This is obviously of importance, since the emigration was of significance for the scholars' lives and experiences, but it clouds the initial intention of using the concept of acculturation, used as the "possibility of considering intellectual . . . changes as interactive processes embedded in [fluid] cultural settings" (Söllner and Ash 1996: 12), as the analytical framework. In addition, David Kettler and Thomas Wheatland (2004: 118) remind us of two further caveats of understanding émigré scholarship merely through the concept of acculturation. First, putting the focus on acculturation neglects the fact that émigré scholars often

maintained intellectual ties with their colleagues in Continental Europe. This was the case with Arendt, Morgenthau, and Neumann, to name only a few, and some, like Voegelin or Ernst Fraenkel, even returned to Europe after the end of the Second World War to help reinstitutionalise politics and IR. Furthermore, acculturation does not adequately map the close networks émigré scholars maintained among themselves in the United States. One of the reasons for these networks is, as Kettler and Wheatland (2004: 118) note, their shared experience of and intellectual socialisation during the Weimar years. Young-Bruehl remarked in this regard that these were people "who could respond to a quotation from Goethe with a quotation from Heine, who knew German fairy tales" (1982: XIV).

The scholar as émigré

In consideration of these reservations with regard to acculturation, the contributions to *Émigré Scholars and the Genesis of American International Relations* employ the concept of *émigré* to provide ample stimulus for IR students to take up the three above-mentioned invitations.[3] Émigré scholars are characterised as intellectuals who had to leave Continental Europe or who had to remain in the United States, like Carl Joachim Friedrich, due to the rise of Nazism. Although many of them were Germanophone, émigré scholars came from various countries in Continental Europe. In addition, émigré scholars were already established academics, or had at least received all their education prior to their emigration. Finally, although most of them were Jewish, many of them were secular scholars who acknowledged the cultural influence of faith, as recently discussed by Amos Oz and Fania Oz-Salzberger (2012), while some were not Jewish at all. Consequently, the question of religion is acknowledged, but not overemphasised, in applying the émigré concept.

Employing the émigré concept begins by reconsidering Neumann's et al. (1953) tripartite taxonomy of his fellow refugees. First, some refugees remained in their European intellectual culture and were unable or refused to engage with their "host" culture. Carl Zuckmeyer, Stefan Zweig, Franz Werfel, and other litterateurs are such examples because the forced emigration from their home culture (and language) made many of them speechless. The second type of refugees characterised scholars who denied their habitual way of thinking. This was mainly the case for people who were still adolescents or students

when they left Europe, such as Henry Kissinger, Ernst Haas, Stanley Hoffmann, and the historians Fritz Stern and Peter Gay. Finally, and this is the type of refugee upon whom the émigré concept rests, the most rewarding, yet most difficult, engagement was to share both intellectual cultures. Following Neumann, this was the case for most European émigrés, as they were struggling to make the United States their new home.

Taking this third type as the conceptual basis allows one to capture the entire scope of the émigrés' existence. The advantages of two other recent classifications are considered, while their analytical shortcomings are avoided. Kettler (2011: 1–5) recently advocated the concept of exile, which particularly helps to visualise the personal, professional, and intellectual hardships that émigrés had to endure after their emigration to the United States. Morgenthau, for example, started off his career as an elevator boy (Lebow 2003: 219), and many émigrés found it difficult to find common epistemological and/or ontological grounds with their American interlocutors.[4] Looking at émigrés through the exile lens made Nicolas Guilhot (2008: 282) even argue that IR theory was a "separationist movement" during the mid-twentieth century, as it offered émigré scholars shelter from the behaviouralism that swept through American IR. As much as the exile concept enables IR students to gain insights into the time after the emigration, it does not provide a concise elaboration of their Continental European historic–semiotic network. It is this network in which they developed their intellectual maturity during the interwar period in German-speaking humanities. Their scholarly agenda remained central to émigrés' thought. Inspired by Neumann, Markus Lang (2012), by contrast, drafts émigrés as political scholars. With this concept, Lang further refines the concept of acculturation by discussing the intellectual impact the emigration had on the émigrés' agenda as well as their home culture. Following Lang (2012: 223–224) and Söllner, this led to a "normative Westernisation", as émigrés understood their scholarship as a contribution to a global democratisation. Employing Lang's concept, however, would hamper considerations of knowledge amalgamation, as it ascribes too much importance to the American intellectual influence on émigré scholars' promotion of democracy.

The émigré concept, by contrast, considers both historic–semiotic networks and acknowledges that, through the emigration of these scholars, IR theorising was furthered by a "fusion of American and German [Continental European] experiences" (Vecchiarelli Scott 2004: 170). Although Joanna Vecchiarelli Scott also argues that émigré scholars' thought

failed to gain wider recognition within the intellectual mainstream in the United States, their status on the margins of US academic culture as well as their different intellectual perspectives still enabled them to make significant contributions to the disciplinary discourses (Bleek 2001: 252). In the case of Morgenthau, for example, it was argued that his

> great advantage is that, as a scholar and citizen already mature, when he chose the United States as his country, he can look at it from within and also with the critical objectivity of an outsider. So he knows where the foundations, emotional and social, are weak.
> (Library of Congress, Morgenthau Papers, Container 144)

Émigré scholars, therefore, did not group themselves as a "separationist movement"; their marginalisation led to a more substantial engagement with their American peers, as demonstrated by Arendt's (1978: 65–66) characterisation of émigré scholars as "conscious pariahs", in order to reconstitute their "discontinuous state of being" (Said 2001: 177). Analysing this group of scholars through the émigré concept demonstrates to IR students the potential of knowledge construction on the fringes of academic communities and/or societies as well as reflection on the fusion of US American and Continental European knowledge. Such knowledge exchanges do not only happen as power impositions, but also take place in the form of amalgamation. Knowledge amalgamation, as discursive moments of intercultural sharing through translating and thereby adjusting meaning, shows similarities to Jenny Robinson's (2003: 276) "travelling theory":

> in "travelling", theory is . . . disrupted or changed in its meaning, but it also potentially returns to the places of its origin, a vital and demanding critique of ways in which social processes in the "centre" are understood with the potential for learning . . . [to] advance more creative accounts of social processes in the societies they [scholars] study.

Hence, considering their thought through the émigré concept can help to open up new spaces to – at least – imagine alternative political orders, as argued for by Rosa Vasilaki (2012: 8), by engaging in a "contemporary reconstruction" of their thought *and* encouraging through their shared moments of being intellectual open-mindedness, scepticism, and (self)criticality.

Outline of the book

To further our understanding about the influence of émigré scholars on the institutionalisation of IR in the United States, all chapters in this book consider a tripartite set of questions in varying degrees:

> First, biographical trajectories: who were these European émigré scholars working in IR? What positions, at which academic institutions in the United States, did they hold? In which academic disciplines were they trained in Europe?
>
> Second, historic–semiotic networks: in which intellectual cultures have émigré scholars and their American peers been socialised? What have been their main epistemologies, ontologies, interests, and liabilities?
>
> Third, academic amalgamation: how did the process of acculturation take place? Was it a mutual process of acceptance, disregard, or indifference? Did émigré scholars stress the different intellectual cultures and research agendas in order to occupy academic niches? What are the conditions of successful career development of émigré scholars in American academic institutions? Was it genuine open-mindedness for the other or an underestimation of difference and acculturability?[5]

In consideration of this set of questions, the structure of *Émigré Scholars and the Genesis of American International Relations* is threefold. The first section (chapters 2–3) discusses the specific problem of emigrating into a different academic culture by examining the influence of language and intellectual styles on the process of knowledge construction and, eventually, knowledge exchange. Hartmut Behr and Xander Kirke consider the question of conceptual translatability in their contribution by demonstrating the difficulties that arise when what seems to be self-evident knowledge in one academic context has a very different meaning in another academic culture. Evidently, this can lead to misinterpretations (cf. Bain 2000; Behr and Heath 2009), which can only be minimised through reconsidering processes of knowledge construction. Behr and Kirke argue that such reconsiderations need to engage with a notion of literate ethics. This specific form of ethics comprises three elements of literary work: reading, writing, and translation. In addition, literate ethics takes culturally situated knowledge as well as relational reading into account. This problematique is further

discussed in Peter Breiner's contribution, as he traces the introduction of Weberian–Mannheimian thought into American IR through the work of émigré scholars and its subsequent diversification. To demonstrate the difficulties émigré scholars faced in getting their intellectual contributions perceived by American peers, Breiner discusses the work of Franz Neumann, Hans Morgenthau, and Arnold Brecht. He shows that particularly the latter two had to soften this "Weberian–Mannheimian project" in order to find a common ground with American scholars. Following Breiner, Neumann, however, was able to remain closest to his intellectual European heritage. This is the case because, with his focus on classic political questions, such as dictatorship, liberal political institutions, and the relation of capitalism and socialism to democracy, Neumann was able to provide answers to some of the most pressing problems of mid-twentieth-century American political science and IR.

This is followed by a second section (chapters 4–10) providing more in-depth discussions of one or more émigré scholars and their intellectual networks in the United States. These chapters analyse the extent to which these scholars were able to contribute to the development of American IR by focusing particularly on émigrés who have long disappeared from the nomenclature of contemporary IR. Peter Stirk reminds us in his chapter that German *Staatslehre* had a decisive influence on American IR in its nascent years by returning to the thought of Morgenthau and Herz. By discussing the influence of Weimar lawyers on IR, Stirk demonstrates that the still common narratives of the development of IR as a series of great debates are inadequate and even distorting. Rather, we should accept the complexity of IR as a discipline of overlapping trajectories and debates. Subsequent chapters further solidify this picture by discussing more forgotten thinkers. William Scheuerman reconsiders the importance of Hans Kelsen for IR, and asks why a thinker of the status of Kelsen has almost completely disappeared from contemporary Anglophone IR discourses. Scheuerman provides a compelling answer for this astonishing disappearance, as he demonstrates that it was particularly a younger generation of émigré scholars that contributed to the intellectual neglect of Kelsen. This was because Kelsen's legal positivism embodied for them many of the pathologies from which interwar European liberalism had suffered. Furthermore, Kelsen's contribution to IR provided an easy target for émigré scholars' concern about the mainstream empiricism in American political science and IR. In Chapter 6, David Kettler and Thomas Wheatland discuss the IR contribution of a former colleague of Morgenthau in Hugo Sinzheimer's law office in Frankfurt: Franz Neumann. Arguing that Neumann considered

states as the main actors in international politics, Kettler and Wheatland provide a further reason why Neumann was considerably more successful in retaining his European intellectual heritage in comparison to other émigré scholars. With his focus on states, Neumann's understanding of international politics was more accessible to his rationally and empirically minded American colleagues. Rainer Eisfeld then traces the lives of two further largely forgotten émigré scholars – Arnold Wolfers and Ernst Jaeckh – by demonstrating that, after their immigration to the United States, many émigrés helped to establish the discipline while retaining their personal and intellectual mind-sets. Wolfers and Jaeckh were prominent scholars in interwar Germanophone Europe, as they were leading figures in the *Deutsche Hochschule für Politik* (DHfP). What is more, they exemplify that the initial fascination with fascism and National Socialism in Europe even affected some scholars who were later forced to emigrate.

In the next chapter, Ellen Thümmler engages with the contribution of another forgotten Weimar thinker to American political science and IR: Waldemar Gurian. Even though the Russian-born Gurian was the founding editor of the *Review of Politics* and worked at Notre Dame University, he is absent from any current debates in IR. As Thümmler demonstrates, this is unfortunate, not only because he made original contributions to our understanding of Communism and ideologies in general, but also because he demonstrates how émigré scholars contributed to the development of IR in the United States by bringing different intellectual perspectives into its political discourses. Gurian remained an oscillograph of European intellectualism while he advanced in his thinking from the literary reviewer and author of the Weimar years to a political scholar and advisor in the United States. Finally, Paul Petzschmann in his contribution on Carl Joachim Friedrich and Helen Kinsella on Simone Weil remind us that the rise of Nazism affected not only male, Jewish lawyers, but an entire generation of democratically minded scholars throughout Europe who were forced to leave their old life behind and found rescue in the United States. In his chapter, Petzschmann considers the contribution of a special case among the group of émigré scholars. Unlike most émigré scholars, Friedrich was already residing in the United States and was forced to stay after the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP) rose to power in Germany. He spent most of his career at Harvard University, and, as Petzschmann shows, Friedrich did not only provide another critique of idealism in IR, but, with his intellectual focus on totalitarianism, he merged his European intellectual socialisation and experience with American political interests of his time. This

made his work accessible for interlocutors in his new home. In Chapter 10, Kinsella introduces a scholar whose work so far has received almost no attention in IR. Engaging with the work of Simone Weil, however, is beneficial for the discipline, not only because her work speaks for the consideration of human dignity – something that is of little concern for much of mainstream IR – but also because Weil is a case in point to demonstrate that not all émigré scholars were Germanophone men; a considerable number of women were also prohibited or forced out of a university career in Europe. In addition, the example of Weil also shows that some émigré scholars resided only temporarily in the United States and eventually returned to Europe.

The final section (chapters 11–12) entails the contributions of Alfons Söllner and Ned Lebow. Both chapters provide a summary of the key issues and contributions of émigré scholars to the development of IR in the United States, as they show how several of them (Söllner and Lebow focus mainly on Morgenthau, Herz, Kelsen, and Deutsch) were intellectually and personally connected *and* how they engaged with their American interlocutors. With this contextual kaleidoscope, Söllner and Lebow demonstrate how these two historic–semantic networks gradually amalgamated. In realising this knowledge amalgamation, not only are IR students enabled to understand the overarching intellectual themes émigré scholars brought into American IR, but Söllner's and Lebow's chapters are also an encouragement to further analyse this aspect.

Notes

1. For a tentative list of émigré scholars in IR, see Söllner (1996b: 271–272) and his chapter in this edited volume.
2. Interestingly, many of these autobiographies were written in German and, hence, did not receive wide attention in Anglophone IR.
3. See also Richard Ned Lebow's discussion in Chapter 12.
4. Some had an even more dreadful fate. Gustav Ichheiser, for example, a well-known sociologist in interwar Vienna, did not manage to find full-time employment in the United States. He was admitted to a mental health facility and later committed suicide.
5. For a somewhat similar list, see Strauss et al. (1988: 115).

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