

Cold War Holidays: American Tourism in France. *By Christopher Endy*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004. xii + 286 pp. Index, notes, bibliography, illustrations, photographs. Cloth: \$49.95; paper: \$19.95. ISBN: cloth 0-807-82871-8; paper 0-807-85548-0.

Reviewed by Ellen Furlough

Christopher Endy's intelligent and engaging book endeavors to analyze the cold war—era relationship between the United States and France from the novel perspective of American tourism in France. He examines the ways that both the U.S. and French governments, in alliance with an array of private-sector actors, encouraged the development of American tourism and the mobilization of tourists for foreign-policy goals. In the broadest sense, this is a case study of how the growth of economic interdependence and informal consumer-oriented exchanges during the cold war relied upon the continuing importance of state power and national identities.

Endy's title phrase "cold war holidays" nicely introduces the book's central themes. Americans' trips to France were cold-war holidays, because cold-war pressures and concerns affected leisure travel. In the United States, tourists and the travel industry were mobilized as part of a larger project of "consumer diplomacy," which was an attempt to harness private consumer activities for state goals and win the war against Communism. In France, politicians and the travel industry saw the influx of tourists to their country as a way to promote French power, cultural influence, and economic modernization. Travel was also a way to escape the cold war, as American tourists and travel-industry boosters invoked older expectations of consumer-oriented pleasures. Travel-oriented consumer exchanges thus never fully conformed to foreign-policy pressures. This tension—of tourism as both an extension of foreign policy concerns and a challenge to those concerns—shapes Endy's narrative.

This book is clearly organized, and the writing is crisp and focused. After a brief discussion of the interwar patterns of American tourism in France, Endy turns to Franco-American efforts to revive French tourism amid postwar penury and scarcities. As the cold war heated up, U.S. politicians and journalists drew upon travel writing and tourists'

experiences to argue either for or against postwar financial aid to France. Proponents successfully linked travel to France with the notion of a “shared civilization” that needed defending as part of an Atlantic Community. This argument helped justify cold-war projects, such as the Marshall Plan.

The four chapters that analyze the Marshall Plan years (1948–52) are the heart of the book and are likely to be of the most interest to readers of this journal. We learn how close ties between Washington and the travel industry fueled a postwar boom in transatlantic travel. Lobbying efforts by U.S. airlines, travel agents, hotel chains, and the tourism-oriented mass media resulted in the creation of a Travel Development Section (TDS) within the Marshall Plan. Geared toward reducing the “dollar gap,” in which trade and currency deficits threatened Europe’s recovery and its ability to pay for U.S. exports, the TDS harnessed American tourist spending to French reconstruction. This “consumer diplomacy” meant that tourists’ spending could lessen the dollar amount of government expenditure for foreign aid. One measure of its success was that earnings from American tourism in 1949 were 81.7 percent of the total value of French merchandise exports to the United States (p. 54). Marshall Plan policies also encouraged “mass” (broadly, middle-class) tourism abroad and the modernization of France’s tourist infrastructure.

These efforts met with a mixed reception in France. Most government tourism officials, the tourism industry (notably luxury hoteliers), and tourism advocates supported a French version of “consumer diplomacy,” whereby American tourists would fuel the economy, assure U.S. foreign aid, and promote French culture and prestige. In contrast, French planning officials favored technocratic industrialization, and left-wing and labor groups promoted vacations designed for French workers rather than for wealthy Americans. Reactions to the Marshall Plan’s drive to modernize French hotels for American tourists were also mixed. While many people within the hotel industry recognized the need for innovation, service workers registered their discontent with its anticommunist aspects. The task of representing “France” to American tourists thus called forth competing visions of the nation and of French identity.

Endy’s close attention to the interplay between culture and politics yields interesting insights. For example, Marshall Planners hoped that American tourists would represent the public’s commitment to the Atlantic Community. Officials found, however,

that tourists largely rejected politically inflected travel and embraced consumer-oriented pleasures (reinforced by films like *An American in Paris*). Government skepticism over the value of tourists' cultural diplomacy and "expertise" persisted after the Marshall Plan years. While Eisenhower's White House believed that private citizens, as tourists, could be harnessed to cold-war purposes, Kennedy's Peace Corps promoted nonconsumerist forms of grassroots cultural exchanges. De Gaulle's government used French hosts' purported "rudeness" to American guests as leverage for modernizing French tourism's infrastructure (a Hilton hotel opened there in 1961) at the same time that the French government was challenging U.S. policy on a range of policy issues. With the decline of the American economy, beginning in the late 1960s, U.S. policy makers reversed course and tried to stem the flow of dollars abroad. Endy demonstrates that tourists and travel-industry boosters largely rejected Johnson's attempt to impose restrictions on U.S. tourism abroad. Arguing that the right to travel freely distinguished Americans from Soviets, tourists and other non-state actors used the language of consumer rights and foreign relations for their own ends.

This is a splendid book, filled with fresh insights and evidence on the interplay among foreign-policy makers, business and labor interests, government leaders, and consumers/tourists. Endy's concerns and his attention to cultural history situate him among "postrevisionist" scholars of American foreign relations who emphasize transnational and global connections, the role of non-state actors, and the significance of economic, political, and cultural forces on foreign policy makers and priorities. He creatively draws on relevant source material, including governmental archives in both the United States and France and records drawn from the private sector, such as Pan American World Airways, advertising agencies, travel industry newsletters, and French hotel unions.

While the histories of foreign relations and of tourism are seldom analyzed in conjunction with each other, Endy's innovative case study of American tourism in France demonstrates how governments and actors outside the government cultivated mass tourism to advance their foreign-policy agendas. As with any ambitious work, this book sacrifices depth in some areas—such as the serious foreign-policy divisions between France and the United States and the intense disagreements in France over the allocation

of tourist-related government funds—as it skillfully examines the historically productive relationship between tourism and foreign relations. Endy’s sophisticated blend of the histories of foreign relations and tourism enriches both approaches and should serve as a model for other scholars.

*Ellen Furlough is associate professor of history at the University of Kentucky. She is the author of Consumer Cooperation in France, 1834–1930 (1991) and the editor (with Shelley Baranowski) of Being Elsewhere: Tourism, Consumer Culture, and Identity in Modern Europe and North America (2002). Her essay “Tourism, Empire, and the Nation in Interwar France” was published in French Historical Studies (Summer 2002). She has also written about Club Méditerranée. At present she is working on a history of mass tourism, consumer cultures, and politics in France from the 1930s through the 1970s.*