

# A CENTURY OF INTERNATIONALISMS

The Promise and Legacies of the League of Nations



National Library of Portugal & ISCTE-IUL  
18 to 20 September 2019

## ***A Century of Internationalisms. The Promise and Legacies of the League of Nations***

**18, 19, 20 September 2019**

**Lisbon, Portugal**

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**Institutional Support:** Diplomatic Institute of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

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# PRESENTATION

## *A Century of Internationalisms*

### *The Promise and Legacies of the League of Nations*

Intergovernmental organisations – understood as multilateral institutions created by sovereign states, with their own permanent structures and charged with the long-term pursuit of common goals – are tools for promoting the peaceful resolution of conflicts and facilitating cooperation. By establishing permanent dialogue between governments and trying to promote cooperative relations between peoples at a global level, intergovernmental organizations are a fundamental new element of global politics in the contemporary era. The genealogy and nature of intergovernmental organizations has therefore been the subject of highly relevant political controversy as well as significant debate in academia.

Established in January 1920, at the end of the First World War, the League of Nations was the first permanent multilateral organization set up to maintain peace and collective security, aiming at promoting a new stable and prosperous international order. Although it was meant to be in principle a global organization, European states de facto were the central core of founding members. After a decade, it became increasingly clear that the League's performance in addressing major conflicts did not live up to the expectations of guarantying the collective security of member states. Resolutions and sanctions were ineffective against increasingly violent conflicts. In the functional areas, regarding minority rights and in the oversight of the role of imperial powers in mandate territories, the League of Nations created an important precedent but also showed important limitations.

With the suspension of the activities of the League of Nations, with the beginning of the Second World War and its subsequent replacement, came the idea of a total failure of the League of Nations. But current studies have pointed in new directions in the analysis of the knowledge of the organisation. This rehabilitation of the importance of the critical study of the League of Nations has led to new and different readings of its various facets. It is, nevertheless, important to pursue these new approaches not only from an institutional perspective, but also by a more multidimensional and comparative analysis, that does greater justice to the rich and important history of the organisation. The tools of International History, Global and Transnational History, History of Ideas, Comparative History, Social History, Labour History, History of Communications, History of Health, History of Migration and others allow us to consider the presence and the role of the

League of Nations in various scales and spaces, as well as its relationship with a diversity of actors and themes.

The relevance of the League of Nations is also justified by how topical and important many of the issues with which it struggled still are. The growing globalization and mobility of the contemporary era, voluntary or not, generates global problems and norms with enormous national and local impact. It has been in and through intergovernmental organisations that global regimes have been defined in a variety of areas – human rights, drug trafficking, terrorism, and refugees. This brings us to the controversial but arguably indispensable role of multilateral organisations in international governance, as standards-makers and managers of the problems and challenges of contemporary societies which require a global response.

The conference promotes an interdisciplinary debate by crossing different subjects as:

- Institutional structure and dynamics of the League of Nations;
- The League of Nations and: the relationship with its member states; the international civil service; the international peace and security; the rights of minorities and refugees; the empires and international mandates; social issues and the International Labour Organization (ILO); technical areas; the non-state actors; other international organisations; the international law and justice;
- The transition from the League of Nations to the United Nations (UN).

# PROGRAMME

## 18 September » ISCTE-IUL, Building II, 1<sup>st</sup> floor

11:00–13h00 / 14:00–16:00 | Registrarion

## 18 September » National Library of Portugal, Auditorium

14:30–15:00 | Welcome remarks

Maria Inês Cordeiro, Director of the National Library of Portugal

Representative from the Portuguese Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Pedro Aires Oliveira, Institute of Contemporary History of the NOVA School of Social Sciences and Humanities – NOVA FCSH (on behalf of the organizing committee)

15:00–17:15 | Round table: *The League of Nations: History and Legacies*

Moderation: Pedro Aires Oliveira (Institute of Contemporary History – NOVA FCSH)

With: Patricia Clavin (University of Oxford), Patrick Finney (Aberystwyth University), Philippe Rygiel (École Normale Supérieure de Lyon), Rui Tavares (ISCTE-University Institute of Lisbon)

17:30–18:30 | Panel: *League of Nations Archival Projects*

- Colin Wells (United Nations Library at Geneva): *The League of Nations Goes Digital: New Opportunities for Research in the League of Nations Archives*
- Margarida Lages (Archive and Library of the Diplomatic Institute of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Portugal) & Helena Pinto Janeiro (Institute of Contemporary History – NOVA FCSH): *Mapping out the League of Nations in Portugal*

18:30 | Port wine tasting

## 19 September » ISCTE-IUL, Building II

08:30–13:00 / 14h00–18h30 | Registration (1<sup>st</sup> floor)

09:00–09:40 | Keynote address (Auditorium B2.03, 2<sup>nd</sup> floor)

Moderation: Cristina Rodrigues (Institute of Contemporary History – NOVA FCSH)

**Nicholas Werth** (Institut d'Histoire du Temps Présent): *L'Union des Républiques Socialistes Soviétiques à Genève, 1934-1939*

09:40–11:20 | Parallel sessions

**Session 1 | *The League of Nations Institutional Dimensions*** (Auditorium B2.03, 2<sup>nd</sup> floor)

Moderation: Fernando Martins (University of Évora)

**Katja Naumann** (Leibniz Institute for the History and Culture of Eastern Europe & Leipzig University): *Empowering the League of Nations: Postimperial Transformations in Eastern Europe and Trans-national Agency in the League's Secretariat*

**Karen Gram-Skjoldager** (Aarhus University): *An Institution in the Making. A Sociological Exploration of the League of Nations Secretariat 1919-1946*

**Torsten Kahlert** (Aarhus University & Humboldt University of Berlin): *Inventors of International Bureaucracy. Prosopography of International Civil Servants of the League of Nations Secretariat*

**Session 2 | *The League of Nations and Technical Cooperation*** (Room C2.05, 2<sup>nd</sup> floor)

Moderation: João Paulo Avelãs Nunes (Centre of 20<sup>th</sup> Century Interdisciplinary Studies of the University of Coimbra – CEIS20-UC)

**Paul Weinbaum** (Duquesne University Pittsburgh): *Epidemics, Politics and Public Health, Ludwik Rajchman MD, The League of Nations Health Organization and the Creation of a Transnational Health Organization*

**Quintino Lopes** (Institute of Contemporary History – University of Évora): *Science and Diplomacy in the 1930s: The [Portuguese] National Education Board and the League of Nations*

**David Petruccelli** (Dartmouth College): *The League of Nations and the Making of the Illiberal International Order*

**Session 3 | League of Nations, Refugees and the Minorities Question** (Room B1.02, 1<sup>st</sup> floor)

Moderation: Yvette Santos (Institute of Contemporary History – NOVA FCSH)

**David J. Smith** (University of Glasgow): *Talking Past Each Other. Minority Rights and the Differing Statehood Conceptions of the European Nationalities Congress and the League'*

**Marina Germane** (University of Glasgow): *'The Two Great Minorities of 1918': Germans and Jews at the Congress of European Nationalities (1925-1933)*

**Oskar Mulej** (University of Vienna): *The German Nationalist Subversion of the European Nationalities Congress, 1933-1938*

**Timo Aava** (University of Vienna): *Mikhail Kurchinskii's International Minority Activism in the European Nationalities Congress, 1925-1939*

11:20– 11:40 | Coffee-break (1<sup>st</sup> floor)

11:40– 13:00 | Parallel sessions

**Session 1 | Women and the League of Nations** (Room C2.05, 2<sup>nd</sup> floor)

Moderation: Helena Pinto Janeiro (Institute of Contemporary History – NOVA FCSH)

**Sara Ecolani** (University of Bologna): *The Fight against the Traffic of Women and Minors Before and Within the League of Nations: A Path to Legitimacy for the European Civil Society*

**Nova Robinson** (Seattle University): *The Committee of Experts on the Legal Status of Women and Measuring the Status of "All the World's Women"*

**Session 2 | *The League of Nations and International Security*** (Room B1.02, 1<sup>st</sup> floor)

Moderation: Bruno Cardoso Reis (ISCTE-IUL)

**Joseph A. Maiolo** (King's College London): *The League of Nations, the Problem of Raw Materials and the Crisis of World Order in the 1930s*

**David Ekbladh** (Tufts University): *Plowshares into Swords: The League as an Instrument of War*

**Natali Stegmann** (University of Regensburg): *Social Rights and Conceptions of Peace in an East Central European Perspective*

13:00– 14:30 | Lunch

14:30– 15:10 | Keynote address (Auditorium B2.03, 2<sup>nd</sup> floor)

Moderation: João Paulo Avelãs Nunes (CEIS20-UC)

**Philippe Rygiel** (École Normale Supérieure de Lyon): *Dreaming of a Forum? International Legal Conversations on the Society of Nations in the Pre-1914 World*

15:10– 16:30 | Parallel sessions

**Session 1 | *The United States and the League of Nations*** (Room C2.05, 2<sup>nd</sup> floor)

Moderation: Mónica Dias (Portuguese Catholic University)

**Geert Van Goethem** (Institute of Social History & Ghent University): *Sidelined: International Social Policy and the American Architects of a New World Order (1941-1943)*

**Ross A. Kennedy** (Illinois State University): *A Commitment to Judge: Woodrow Wilson's Conception of Collective Security under the League of Nations*

**Session 2 | Regional Perspectives on the League of Nations** (Room B1.02, 1<sup>st</sup> floor)

Moderation: Pedro Aires Oliveira (Institute of Contemporary History – NOVA FCSH)

**Carolin Liebisch-Gümüs** (Kiel University): *Turkish Nation Building through the Lens of the League of Nations*

**Jesús Manuel Bermejo Roldán** (Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia): *Comparative Analysis of the Integration and Performance of the Two Small Iberian Powers in the League of Nations (1919-1939)*

**Andrei Mamolea** (McGill University's Faculty of Law): *Escaping Washington's Tutelage: Latin America at the League of Nations*

16:30–16:50 | Coffee-break (1<sup>st</sup> floor)

16:50–18:10 | Parallel sessions

**Session 1 | Cultural Approaches** (Room C2.05, 2<sup>nd</sup> floor)

Moderation: Cláudia Ninhos (Institute of Contemporary History – NOVA FCSH)

**Carolyn Bilotft** (Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies): *Switzerland: Decoding the Balance Sheet: Material Objects, Symbolic Capital and the Liquidation of the League of Nations*

**Sebastian M. Spitra** (University of Vienna & University of Michigan Law School, Ann Arbor): *Constructing International Community within the League of Nations: The Ambivalent Case of Cultural Heritage*

**Ilaria Scaglia** (Aston University): *Feeling the League of Nations: A Perspective from the History of Emotions*

## 20 September » ISCTE-IUL, Building II

08:30–13:00 / 14h00–16h00 | Registration (1<sup>st</sup> floor)

09:00–09:40 | Keynote address (Auditorium B2.03, 2<sup>nd</sup> floor)

Moderation: Patrick Finney (Aberystwyth University)

**Patricia Clavin** (University of Oxford): *Britain, Security, and the League of Nations*

09:40–11:20 | Parallel sessions

**Session 1 | *The Mandate System and Empires*** (Auditorium B2.03, 2<sup>nd</sup> floor)

Moderation: Helena Pinto Janeiro (Institute of Contemporary History – NOVA FCSH)

**Thomas Gidney** (Institute of International and Development Studies): *An Anomaly among Anomalies': Colonial Member States at the League of Nations*

**Kate Burlingham** (California State University): *From Hearing to Heresy: Angola, the Ross Report, and the League of Nations' Temporary Slavery Commission*

**Jelmer Vos** (University of Glasgow): *The League of Nations and the Discourse of 'New Slaveries' in Africa, 1900-2000*

**Gavan Duffy** (National University of Ireland–Galway): *"The Obligation to Work [is] Recognised in all Civilised Nations": The Permanent Mandates Commission and Labour Issues in the British Empire C Mandates 1920-1926*

**Session 2 | *Women and the League of Nations*** (Room C2.05, 2<sup>nd</sup> floor)

Moderation: Maria Inácia Rezola (Institute of Contemporary History – NOVA FCSH)

**Rebecca Shriver** (Missouri Southern State University): *Europe's Threat to the League: Women's International League for Peace and Freedom's Debate over European Integration and Protecting the League of Nations, 1923-1933*

**Marie-Michèle Doucet** (Royal Military College of Canada): *The Women of the World Want to Disarm: The League of Nations and the Disarmament Questions in the early 1930s*

**Andrew M. Johnston** (Carleton University): *“A Little Child, Born of Dissipated Parents”:* *The Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom’s Feminist Critique of the League of Nations, 1919-1924*

**Session 3 | *The League of Nations Institutional Dimensions*** (Room B1.02, 1<sup>st</sup> floor)

Moderation: Rui Aballe Vieira (Institute of Contemporary History – NOVA FCSH)

**Martin Bemmann** (University of Freiburg): *The League and the World. How and Why the League’s Economic Intelligence Service Shaped the Statistical Image of the World Economy*

**Hannah Tyler** (University of Lausanne): *Show Me the Money: The Financial Structure of the League of Nations Between 1920 and 1933*

11:20–11:40 | Coffee-break (1<sup>st</sup> floor)

11:40–12:40 | Parallel sessions

**Session 1 | *The League of Nations and International Security*** (Room C2.05, 2<sup>nd</sup> floor)

Moderation: Luís Nuno Rodrigues (ISCTE-IUL)

**Thomas W. Bottelier & Nicholas Mulder** (Erasmus University Rotterdam / King's College London & Columbia University): *Not Appeasement but Internationalism: A New Look at Non-Intervention in the Spanish Civil War*

**Rob Konkel** (Princeton University): *The League’s Raw Materials Problem: Metallic Minerals, Trading Blocs, and the Limits of Internationalism in the Age of Disequilibrium*

**Session 2 | *Refugees and Humanitarianism*** (Room B1.02, 1<sup>st</sup> floor)

Moderation: Yvette Santos (Institute of Contemporary History – NOVA FCSH)

**Tomás Irish** (Swansea University): *The “Moral Basis” of Reconstruction: The League of Nations and Intellectual Relief in the Aftermath of the Great War*

**Hazuki Tate** (Musashi University): *Cooperation and Competition between the League of Nations and the Red Cross Movement in their First Humanitarian Activities in the Post-War World*

12:40–14:00 | Lunch

14:00–14:40 | Keynote address (Auditorium B2.03, 2<sup>nd</sup> floor)

Moderation: Patricia Clavin (University of Oxford)

**Patrick Finney** (Aberystwyth University): *Aberystwyth and the League Experiment*

14:40–16:00 | Parallel sessions

**Session 1 | *The League of Nations and Anti-imperialism / Anti-imperialist Movements*** (Room C2.05, 2<sup>nd</sup> floor)

Moderation: Aurora Almada e Santos (Institute of Contemporary History – NOVA FCSH)

**Michele L. Louro** (Salem State University): *The Search for a “Real” League of Nations: The League against Imperialism and Alternative Histories of Interwar Internationalism*

**Dolf-Alexander Neuhaus** (Free University Berlin): *Betraying Asia: Criticisms of the League of Nations in Colonial East Asia, 1919-1926*

**Reem Bailony** (Agnes Scott College): *Competing Internationalisms and the Syrian Revolt of 1925*

**Session 2 | *League of Nations and the “New Diplomacy” / Open or Public Diplomacy*** (Room B1.02, 1<sup>st</sup> floor)

Moderation: Daniel Marcos (Portuguese Institute of International Relations – Universidade NOVA de Lisboa)

**Erik Koenen, Arne L. Gellrich & Stefanie Averbeck-Lietz** (University of Bremen): *The League of Nations “Open Diplomacy” – Strategy for a New Information Order*

**Pelle Van Dijk** (European University Institute): *Influencing Indian Public Opinion: The League of Nations’ Bombay Office*

**Michael Auwers** (University of Antwerp): *“Ces Dangereux Moyens de Pacifier l'Europe”*.  
*On the Strained Relationship between Professional Diplomats and the League of Nations*

16:00–16:20 | Coffee-break (1<sup>st</sup> floor)

16:20–17:00 | Keynote address (Auditorium B2.03, 2<sup>nd</sup> floor)

Moderation: Bruno Cardoso Reis (ISCTE-IUL)

**Mónica Dias** (Portuguese Catholic University): *On American Greatness, Again... and the Urgency of Wilsonian Internationalism Today*

17:00–18:20 | Parallel sessions

**Session 1 | *The League of Nations and Non-State Actors*** (Room C2.05, 2<sup>nd</sup> floor)

Moderation: Ana Mónica Fonseca (ISCTE-IUL)

**Sarah Shields** (University of North Carolina): *The League of Nations, Non-State Actors, and the Challenges of Intervention*

**Anne-Isabelle Richard** (Leiden University): *The International Federation of League of Nations Societies*

**Jan Stöckmann** (University of Oxford): *The Architects of International Relations: Academia and Diplomacy at the League of Nations*

**Session 2 | *The League of Nations and the Clash of Ideologies*** (Room B1.02, 1<sup>st</sup> floor)

Moderation: Nicolas Werth (Institut d'Histoire du Temps Présent)

**João Arsénio Nunes** (ISCTE-IUL): *The Comintern and the League of Nations*

**Martin Beddeleem & Hagen Schulz-Forberg** (Aarhus University): *Intellectual Cooperation at the League of Nations: A Cradle for Neoliberalism?*

18:20 | Closing session (Auditorium B2.03, 2<sup>nd</sup> floor)



# ABSTRACTS

## I. Keynote Speakers

### Mónica Dias | Portuguese Catholic University

Mónica Dias is Head of the PhD Programme at the Instituto de Estudos Políticos of the Universidade Católica Portuguesa (UCP) where she teaches since 1992. She holds a PhD in Political Science and International Relations from the IEP-UCP (on Woodrow Wilson's concept of peace) and works currently in the field of Democracy Studies, Peace Studies and International Conflict as Professor and Senior Researcher. In her MA thesis, developed in the field of Cultural Studies at the Humanities Faculty, University of Lisbon, she discussed the concept of utopia and its importance at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. She is a member of CIEP and CECC, both research centres at the UCP. Besides her academic experience, which includes lecturing at the University of Cologne, Germany, and participating in the Summer Institute granted by the United States Information Agency, she worked as a translator and was a lecturer at international youth seminars on multicultural Education, Leadership and Conflict Management organised by the European Commission. From 1996 to 2000, she worked at the Portuguese Parliament as consultant for the Committee on Education, Science and Culture.

### *On American Greatness, again: Woodrow Wilson's Legacy and the Urgency of a New Internationalism*

In the last few years, a lot has been said on "American greatness", prophesized in the name of a new nationalism that is both invoiced against the world and against the global momentum. However, this nationalist appeal seems to rest on a tremendous misunderstanding, since much of the American greatness derives precisely from its liberal internationalism which consolidated 100 years ago and characterized a whole "American century". In our presentation, we will show how that great American prosperity was based on the capacity to project American values, declared not as imperial or exclusive narrative, but as shared and liberal challenge towards an international order guided by concepts such as self-determination, collective security and transparent common laws, applied to all peoples of the world. Departing from President Woodrow Wilson's internationalist and institutionalist worldview, who considered that only pure ignorance could lead to the idea that isolationism would be a safe harbor for the USA, we will focus on the origin of his project for a "League of Nations" and its ultimate raison d'être in a globalized world – whether in 1919 or today.

## Nicolas Werth | Institut d'Histoire du Temps Présent (IHTP)

Directeur de recherche à l'IHTP jusqu'en 2015, il continue à participer régulièrement aux activités de l'IHTP, en publiant des articles de référence sur le Carnet de l'IHTP et en intervenant dans le séminaire interne. Ancien élève de l'École Normale Supérieure de Saint-Cloud, agrégé d'histoire, Nicolas Werth a enseigné dans le Secondaire et à l'étranger (Minsk, New-York, Moscou, Shanghai). Il a occupé les fonctions d'Attaché culturel auprès de l'Ambassade de France à Moscou durant la perestroïka (1985-1989). Entré au CNRS en 1989, Nicolas Werth s'est consacré depuis son premier livre (*Etre communiste en URSS sous Staline*, Gallimard, 1981) à l'histoire sociale de l'URSS (plus particulièrement des années 1920-1930), aux rapports entre le pouvoir et la société, aux formes de violence étatique et aux résistances du social face au politique.

### *L'Union des Républiques Socialistes Soviétiques à Genève, 1934-1939*

La diplomatie soviétique entamé au cours de l'été 1933, quelques mois après l'arrivée au pouvoir d'Adolf Hitler en Allemagne. Durant deux ans (fin 1933-début 1936), la diplomatie soviétique obtint un certain nombre de succès : la reconnaissance de l'URSS par les Etats-Unis et d'autres pays européens (Tchécoslovaquie, Roumanie), la signature d'un pacte d'assistance mutuelle avec la France et, plus encore, l'entrée de l'URSS à la SDN. Celle-ci marquait la réintégration du « pays de la révolution », considéré il y a peu comme un dangereux paria, dans la communauté internationale dont il avait été exclu seize ans auparavant. En outre, l'URSS réintégrait cette communauté à ses propres conditions, les litiges concernant notamment le remboursement des dettes tsaristes ayant été réglés entièrement en sa faveur.

Le « Nouveau cours » de la diplomatie soviétique devait tout à l'obstination d'un homme, Maxime Litvinov, Commissaire du peuple aux Affaires Etrangères de l'URSS, partisan de la politique de « sécurité collective » dont l'une des pièces maîtresses était la SDN. Quelle était la marge d'autonomie de Litvinov par rapport à Staline ? Jusqu'à quel point celui-ci avait fait sienne cette ligne politique ? Et pour combien de temps ? Des études récentes ont éclairé, à la lumière des archives ouvertes depuis la fin de l'URSS, les sinuosités de la politique extérieure de l'URSS dans les années 1930 et les relations complexes entre Staline, Litvinov et Molotov qui, en 1939, allait succéder à Litvinov et signer le pacte germano-soviétique du 23 août 1939.

Les évolutions de la politique extérieure de l'URSS dans la seconde moitié des années 1930 ne sont pas au cœur de mon exposé ; elles ne sont rappelées ici qu'en toile de fond. Je m'intéresserai plus précisément à l'action des diplomates soviétiques à Genève durant la courte période de l'automne 1934 à l'automne 1939, marquée par la montée des tensions internationales et la faillite de la politique de « sécurité collective ». Qui étaient les diplomates soviétiques à la SDN ? Assurément, des personnalités fortes choisies avec

soin par Litvinov pour ce poste très particulier. Quel message y faisaient-ils passer ? Quelle action y menaient-ils, au Conseil, au Secrétariat, dans les diverses Commissions, mais aussi au BIT, organisme différent de la SDN, mais complémentaire et important aux yeux des Soviétiques ? Comment sont-ils parvenus à maîtriser les rouages d'une institution qu'ils ne connaissaient guère ?

La SDN fonctionnait à la fois comme une vitrine de la diplomatie de chaque pays et une tribune. A Genève, les diplomates soviétiques tentèrent, non sans succès, de mettre en œuvre une « politique extérieure de l'image » (R.Frank), de diffuser une « information positive » sur l'URSS, de faire passer l'image de l'URSS comme puissance à la fois modérée et déterminée, défendant la sécurité collective contre les agresseurs fascistes. De nombreux contacts furent pris avec la presse genevoise et les milieux soviétophiles. Toutefois, le terrain genevois était miné. Les représentants en exil des nationalités ukrainienne, géorgienne et arménienne, très nombreux à Genève, et représentés auprès du HCR, firent front pour dénoncer la Grande famine de 1932-1933 en Ukraine, l'écrasement sanglant de la République géorgienne au début des années 1920 ou la chasse contre les nationalistes arméniens. Le caractère démocratique et donc en partie imprévisible de l'Assemblée de la SDN constituait un fort handicap pour les diplomates soviétiques, contrairement au Conseil, qui était formé des représentants des Grandes Puissances plutôt favorables à une coopération – mesurée - avec l'URSS et rompus aux usages diplomatiques.

Malgré un certain nombre d'incidents survenus principalement au cours des débats à l'Assemblée générale, les diplomates soviétiques parvinrent à obtenir de la SDN qu'elle donnât publiquement raison à l'Union soviétique face à ses détracteurs sur un certain nombre de dossiers, comme ceux des réfugiés ou de la lutte contre le terrorisme. La SDN cautionna donc une certaine « respectabilité soviétique » dans le domaine du respect de la légalité. Elle joua aussi un rôle de garant en approuvant publiquement la fameuse thèse soviétique de la dissociation entre l'Etat soviétique et l'Internationale communiste (Komintern).

Finalement, la diplomatie soviétique sut, en un laps de temps étonnamment court, instrumentaliser à son profit divers rouages de la SDN pour donner une image « globalement positive » de l'URSS dans une Europe en prise à des tensions internationales croissantes. Pour le reste – et pour l'essentiel - les résultats furent plus que décevants. La faillite de la SDN devenait, chaque jour, inéluctable. Mais dans cette crise finale, l'URSS ne fut assurément pas la principale responsable.

## Patricia Clavin | University of Oxford

Patricia Clavin is the Zeitlyn Fellow and Tutor in History and Professor of International History at Oxford University. Clavin has published widely on the history of international relations and economic crises. Her most recent books are *Securing the World Economy: The Reinvention of the League of Nations, 1920-1946* (Oxford, 2013) for which she received the British Academy Medal in 2015, and, co-edited with Glenda Sluga, *Internationalisms: A Twentieth-Century History* (Cambridge, 2017). Her work has been translated into Spanish, Russian, German, Italian, Polish and French. She is an editor of the Oxford History Monographs series and serves on the editorial board of *Past and Present*. In 2008-09, she held the British Academy 'Thank-Offering-to-Britain' Senior Research Fellowship, and in 2015 was awarded a Major Research Fellowship from the Leverhulme Trust. She is a Fellow of the British Academy and the Royal Historical Society, and a Foreign Member of the Norwegian Academy of Science and Letters.

### *Britain, Security, and the League of Nations*

Britain was the predominant power in the League. The lecture shows how Britain used the League of Nations to manage Britain's multilateral relations with Europe and with the Empire to effect its national security and international stability. The step had lasting consequences for the ideas and practice of global order – the relationship of states, markets and civil society to one another. The lecture will explore why and how Britain equated its national security with the security of the world; and how notions of 'security' came to be broadly defined after 1918. It will accord an important role to women, as well as men, and to non-state, as well as state actors, including bankers, business organizations and trade lawyers, and health professionals. A core proposition of the lectures is that Britain did not face a choice between Empire or Europe. This often unquestioned assumption of the history of British foreign relations in the twentieth century that has come back to haunt it in the twenty-first.

## Patrick Finney | Aberystwyth University

Patrick Finney has taught in the Department of International Politics, Aberystwyth University, since 2002. He has research interests in international relations between the two world wars, collective memory (especially in relation to the Second World War) and theory and method in historical writing. Recent publications include two edited books – *Remembering the Second World War* (London: Routledge, 2017) and *Authenticity: Reading, Remembering, Performing* (London: Routledge, 2018) – and a guest co-edited journal theme issue ‘The Cultural Turn and Beyond in International History’, *International History Review*, vol. 40, no. 3 (2018), 573-697, for which he authored ‘Narratives and Bodies: Culture beyond the Cultural Turn’, 609-630. He is currently completing a monograph on collective remembrance of the Second World War since the end of the Cold War. Forthcoming essays include ‘“A Living Thing is Born”: The League of Nations and the Contemporary World’, in Karen Gram-Skjoldager and Haakon Ikononou (eds), *The League of Nations: Perspectives from the Present* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, forthcoming) and ‘High Culture and Popular Culture’, in Stefan Berger and Bill Niven (eds), *A Cultural History of Memory in the Long Twentieth Century* (London: Bloomsbury, forthcoming). His teaching at Aberystwyth includes an undergraduate option module ‘The Dream of Internationalism: The League of Nations and its Legacies’. He is also a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, Chair of the British International History Group and the UK Editor of the journal *Rethinking History: A Journal of Theory and Practice*.

### ***Aberystwyth and the League Experiment***

The 2019 centenary of the League of Nations coincides with the centenary of the Department of International Politics in Aberystwyth; both institutions were founded in reaction to the First World War and embodied normative projects of transforming international politics to preserve peace. The endowment of the Woodrow Wilson Chair in 1919 inaugurated the systematic study of international relations at the (then) University College Wales, Aberystwyth; this – together with the wider activism of the Chair’s founder, David Davies – made this small Welsh town an unlikely but vibrant hub for internationalist endeavour in the inter-war years. This paper explores several aspects of its role as a node within the network of internationalist institutions and actors that grew up around the League. First, it outlines the social and intellectual history of the Department of International Politics in the 1920s and 1930s. During this period there were four holders of the Wilson Chair – Alfred Zimmern, C. K. Webster, Jerome Greene and E. H. Carr – and each contributed to the development of the Department, even as their relationships with Davies grew progressively more fractious. Second, the paper will discuss the significance of Aberystwyth and the Department as locations for internationalist endeavour. On the one hand, it will analyse how Davies’ relationship with

the town gave it an unusual profile in internationalist circles, typified by its hosting in 1926 of the annual congress of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies. On the other, it will assess the role of the Department within the wider development of the discipline of international studies that the League fostered, through initiatives such as the International Studies Conference. Third, the paper will offer a critical analysis of how successive Wilson Chairs conceptualised the League, bringing their writing into conversation with the contemporary historiographical rethinking of the organisation.

## Philippe Rygiel | École Normale Supérieure de Lyon

Philippe Rygiel is senior professor of modern History at the École Normale Supérieure de Lyon (France). He has extensively published on the history of international migrations and worked on the history of international law and its relations to mobility control. He is currently co-founding editor of the *Journal of Migration History*, chief editor of the Palgrave's Series on Migration History. He is the lead investigator of the Archives International Law program (Labex les passés dans le présent, Nanterre). Last edited volume was, with Dzovinar Kevonian, «Profession Juristes Internationalistes?», *Monde(s)*, number 7, 2015). He is at the moment preparing an Issue on the archives of International Law for *Ius Gentium*, *Journal of International Legal History*.

### ***Dreaming of a Forum? International Legal Conversations on the Society of Nations in the Pre-1914 World***

Long before the League of Nations was established, diplomats, political thinkers and lawyers envisioned the international arena as a society of Nations and devised plans to create permanent international fora, sometimes quite detailed. One would have expected them, liberal international lawyers specially, to applaud and endorse the new institution that was the league of nations. However it was met with somewhat mixed feelings. Using institutional and personal archives, we will describe the plans and hopes of these pivotal actors of the pre WWI international sphere and try and understand their cautious answers to the birth of the League, hoping it might help us to better understand the way it was perceived and understood during its first years by key actors of the international arena.

## II. Lecturers

### Andrei Mamolea | McGill University's Faculty of Law

Andrei Mamolea recently defended a PhD dissertation at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva, on “*The Myth of Legalism in US Foreign Relations*.” He is the author of “Saving Face: The Political Work of the Permanent Court of Arbitration, 1902-1914,” in *Experiments in International Adjudication* eds. Ignacio de la Rasilla y del Moral & Jorge E. Viñuales (Cambridge University Press, 2018 *forthcoming*) and “Vespasian V. Pella: International Criminal Justice as the Safeguard of Peace, 1919-1948,” in *The Dawn of a Discipline: International Criminal Justice and Its Early Exponents* eds. Frédéric Mégret & Immi Tallgreen (Cambridge University Press, 2019 *forthcoming*) as well as several works on international law. He is currently a researcher for the University of Copenhagen project on “The League of Nations and International Law, 1919-1945,” and, in April 2019, will begin a fellowship at the Max Planck Institute for European Legal History.

### *Escaping Washington’s Tutelage: Latin America at the League of Nations*

The League of Nations has often been portrayed as the product of decades of multilateral experimentation in the western hemisphere. This assumption is also used to account for the absence of Latin American voices in most traditional histories of the League. What need did they have for this new and largely European organization, when they already had recourse to far older and more vibrant Pan-American organizations? So goes the conventional narrative. In this paper I demonstrate that the conventional wisdom is wrong. Latin Americans flocked to the new organization precisely because they had grown disillusioned with Pan-Americanism. As the disillusionment grew over the course of the 1920s, so did the desire to seek out newer and more genuine forms of multilateralism. The list of grievances against Pan-Americanism was long. Latin American diplomats complained about the lack of progress in codifying international law; the lack of constraints on the use of force; lack of political direction. Latin Americans also widely viewed the Pan-American Union as the “colonial office” of the United States. In the League of Nations they found a willing audience for arguments against intervention and in favour of binding international commitments. Geneva also emerged as a hub of Latin American solidarity.

The paper draws archival material from the United States, Uruguay, Argentina, Chile, Peru, Mexico, the League of Nations archives, and the private archives of José Antonio Buero, to demonstrate how Latin American delegates used the League of Nations both as

a counterweight to the U.S. and as a laboratory for a more democratic and genuine multilateralism.

## Andrew M. Johnston | Carleton University

Andrew M. Johnston is an associate professor of history at Carleton University in Ottawa, where he has taught since 2016. Before that, he was an assistant professor for seven years at the University of Western Ontario, serving for three of those years as Director of its Centre for American Studies. Before that he taught at the University of New Brunswick and the University of Toronto. He holds a Ph.D. in History and an M.Phil. in International Studies from Cambridge University, an MA in U.S. History from Yale, and a BA from the University of Toronto. His early research focused on using cultural theory to explain national dispositions toward the (theoretical) use of nuclear weapons in NATO strategic thinking, published in *Culture and hegemony in NATO nuclear first-use, 1945-1955* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006). Since then, his research examines the crisis that afflicted the North Atlantic world's industrial-imperial societies at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It aims to understand how different nation-states responded to the internal fissures induced by the rise of industrial labour, women's activism, and new voices of colonial/imperial resistance—in short, calls for an expansion of the concept of humanity, self-determination, and human rights that destabilized the existing social order. He has most recently published articles on the relationship between Pragmatism, feminist pacifism, international sociology during the Great War, the social science research of Emily Balch, the pacifism socialism of Jeanne Halbwachs, and the historiography of liberal internationalism.

### ***“A Little Child, Born of Dissipated Parents”: The Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom’s Feminist Critique of the League of Nations, 1919-1924***

The International Congress of Women that met at The Hague in April 1915, and created the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace (ICWPP), committed itself to the basic outlines of a radical “new diplomacy” built around a postwar League of Nations. Yet, just before the ICWPP renamed itself the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) at its Zurich Congress in May 1919, it had already issued a public critique of the draft of the League of Nations in February 1919. While WILPF unanimously charged the peace treaties as a whole with violating the principles upon which a “just and lasting peace” could be built, the League of Nations covenant caused more internal debate. Most members thought it, at best, better than nothing, but others saw it as a rudimentary Magna Carta of internationalism. In the end the Zurich Congress saw the League as a fledgling child, capable to growing into something stronger if the right environment were built for it. WILPF wanted the authority of the League’s Council be weakened, better provisions made for the protection of minorities by rejecting the “absolute sovereign rights of states”, a comprehensive commitment to disarmament, the abrogation of regional “understandings” like the Monroe Doctrine, and a fully transparent

publishing of League business in order to build a functioning international public sphere. Finally, WILPF proposed the adoption by the peacemakers of a “Women’s Charter” that would be inserted into the Covenant. The Charter stated that “the natural relation between men and women is that of interdependence and cooperation and that it is injurious to the community to restrict women to a position of dependence.” It was a microcosm of the specifically feminist content of their experience: WILPF had created one of the only organizations that had successfully integrated reformers from all sides of the war and provided a model of practicing internationalism.

This paper examines the feminist strand of the WILPF’s critique of the League, and the early work it undertook between 1919 and 1924 to bring elements of the Women’s Charter into the public sphere of internationalism that the League provided. I propose that WILPF debates about the relationship between gender (*avant la lettre*) and League governance brought out a radical association between universal human rights and global stability that was ahead of its time.

## Anne-Isabelle Richard | Leiden University

Anne-Isabelle Richard (PhD Cambridge, 2010) is a University Lecturer in History at Leiden University, the Netherlands. Previously, she held a Dutch Research Foundation Rubicon research grant at Utrecht University (2011-13) and was a Max Weber Fellow at the EUI (2010-11). Her work is situated at the intersection of European, global and international history, using transnational approaches. Her work has examined civil society networks surrounding various international organisations such as the League of Nations, anti-colonial, European and socialist networks in the post-1945 period, Dutch interwar foreign policy and the influence of colonialism on the European movement in France and the Netherlands, two 'imperial nationstates', in the interwar period, which was the topic of her PhD dissertation. Her work has been published in (amongst others) the *Journal of Global History*, the *European Review of History* and the *Low Countries Historical Review*. An edited collection, *Global Perspectives on the Dutch Empire: Intellectual History in Imperial Practice*, is forthcoming in the Cambridge Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies Series with Palgrave. She currently leads a 4-year Dutch Research Foundation Veni grant for a project on African Perspectives on Eurafrica in the twentieth century. This project examines attitudes to relations between Africa and Europe by civil society actors in Senegal and Ghana from the end of World War One to the 1970s.

### *The International Federation of League of Nations Societies*

As Susan Pedersen has pointed out, every aspect of the League of Nations' work was marked by a 'symbiotic relationship with interest groups and publicity'.<sup>1</sup> In many countries League of Nations societies were active. They provided crucial support as well as scrutiny to the League's work. Most of these societies cooperated in the International Federation of League of Nations Societies (IFLNS). In the context of the 'New Diplomacy'<sup>2</sup> the IFLNS conceived of itself as the link between public opinion and diplomacy. This makes the IFLNS a privileged site to analyse the practice of internationalism as well as examine the interaction between various historiographical approaches and the stories of internationalism they bring to the fore.

This paper examines the IFLNS as both an actor and a stage. The IFLNS saw itself as an 'avant-garde' to the League. It promoted the League's work, cooperated with societies in countries outside the League and investigated new and sensitive topics. In turn, nations, citizens and subjects, officials and experts all used the IFLNS as their global stage to stake their claims. The individuals involved were often active in international society in multiple capacities, as politicians, civil servants, publicists, industrialists, activists: as state and nonstate actors. This paper examines the intersection of these roles and shows how a quest for democratization of international society brought with its frictions between

universal hopes and particularistic ends. At the IFLNS tensions between national and imperial interests, international aspirations and transnational activities came together.

This paper is embedded in the new diplomatic history by connecting international organizations, states and global civil society. While national League of Nations societies have been analysed, the IFLNS has received scant attention.<sup>3</sup> The work on national societies often stresses their international character, a transnational approach paradoxically allows us to uncover national specificities of internationalism. Examining civil society actors from a global history angle will highlight mechanisms of in/exclusion and thus further add to the scholarship on the internationalisms performed.

For further information and a publication list, see:

[www.universiteitleiden.nl/en/staffmembers/anne-isabelle-richard](http://www.universiteitleiden.nl/en/staffmembers/anne-isabelle-richard)

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## Arne L. Gellrich | University of Bremen

Research assistant in the DFG-funded Project “Transnational Communication History of the League of Nations in the Inter-War Period (1920-1938). The institutional, professional and public spheres of journalism in the League of Nations in international comparison “(2017-2020) at the Centre for Media, Communication and Information Research (ZeMKI), University of Bremen.

### *The League of Nations “Open Diplomacy” – Strategy for a New Information Order*

With Erik Koenen and Stefanie Averbeck-Lietz

As the League of Nations (LoN) celebrates its 100th Birthday in 2019, its communication history remains widely unknown (cf. Nordenstreng/Seppä 1986; Nordenstreng 2005). We present findings of a research project on the transnational communication history of the LoN during the interwar-period (1920-1938).<sup>1</sup> The LoN was guided by the concept of “Open Diplomacy” (Sweetser 1920; Information Section 1928). To reconstruct LoN information policy and the institutional sphere of “Open Diplomacy” we analyse archive sources from the Information Section (United Nations Archive Geneva), a central organisational body of the LoN since its beginnings which was directly connected to the Secretary-General, in two dimensions:

#### 1. Discursive struggle for “Open Diplomacy”

The communication strategy of the LoN was strongly influenced by an ambivalent discussion concerning public communication during the Paris Peace Conference. From letters and memoranda stored at the Geneva archive we learn that there was a hard controversy over implementation and objectives of “Open Diplomacy”. Some diplomats and information officers argued that discussions in front of the world press would improve the LoN communication towards veracity and in the long run to (more) mutual cooperation between states – others vehemently held against this position.

#### 2. Social figuration and practice of “Open Diplomacy”

Our study is complemented by profiling the staff of the Information Section, its figuration, its different roles and interests. Many of the protagonists came from the journalistic field and public relations. As so-called information officers, they organised the infrastructure and strategies for LoN “Open Diplomacy”. With the help of a collective biography of information officials we focus on this still unexplored practical side of “Open Diplomacy”: How were conflicts and tensions between the imperative of transparency of information and political interest mediated? How did Information

Section and press work together? Overall, how can LoN information policy be described as strategic communication?

<sup>1</sup>DFG-funded project "Transnational Communication History of the League of Nations in the Inter-War Period (1920-1938). The institutional, professional and public spheres of journalism at the League of Nations in International Comparison" University of Bremen, 2017-2020

## Bob Konkel | Princeton University

Bob Konkel is a PhD student in the History Department at Princeton University. Konkel's dissertation, *Building Blocs: Raw Materials and the Global Economy in the Age of Disequilibrium*, charts a global history of the interwar period by putting trade, finance, and geopolitics at the center of a story about rivalries over strategic raw materials—especially metallic minerals. It considers the efforts of state bureaucracies, market actors, and international organizations to secure, access, and otherwise manage raw materials in an age of trade and price disequilibria. While international organizations and economic experts promoted multilateralism and freer trade, governments everywhere were under pressure to protect their respective countries from the uncertainties of global markets. The anxieties aroused by raw materials and memories of the blockades links together questions about imperialism, tariffs and quotas, cartelization, foreign exchange, and the formation of hostile trading blocs. By following the struggle for raw materials, my study seeks to provide a unique global history from the underground up, and to contribute some materiality to arguments about the changing world order and global economy of the interwar period.

Bob Konkel completed a bachelor's degree in history at the University of Saskatchewan and a master's degree in economic and social history at Oxford. He's master's thesis, *The Monetization of Global Poverty*, traced the conceptualization of poverty at the World Bank and was adapted into an article for *The Journal of Global History*. Before beginning at Princeton, Konkel worked as a Research and Policy Analyst for the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation.

### ***The League's Raw Materials Problem: Metallic Minerals, Trading Blocs, and the Limits of Internationalism in the Age of Disequilibrium***

This paper situates the efforts of the League of Nations to manage the raw materials problem within the global geopolitical and market competitions for scarce metallic minerals. Modern industry required steady supplies of tungsten, manganese, bauxite, and other minerals—but deposits were scattered around the world, and no state or empire was fully self-sufficient. The First World War had underscored the strategic importance of metallic minerals, but also highlighted the threat of resource scarcity through the blockades. The dangers of resource exhaustion weighed heavily on state officials and industrial interests—indeed, material difficulties contributed to German, Italian, and Japanese expansionism, but also to renewed interest in colonial development. In the context of intense resource interdependence, pressures of real and perceived scarcity thwarted attempts at cooperation in the realms of trade and finance, and the world splintered into hostile trading blocs.

My paper concentrates on the work of the League's Subcommittee on Raw Materials in 1936 but plots its efforts more concretely into an historical study of trade, finance, and geopolitical calculation. The League promoted a vision of a seamlessly integrated global economy, tethered together by trade and finance, and made legible through massive undertakings of data collection and analysis. But the image was at odds with a reality it sought to transcend. Drawing on state, business, and League archival sources, my paper demonstrates the hopes and limits of internationalism in a fragile world of rising nationalism, as internationalists pushed a globalist agenda in a decidedly non-globalizing moment. The trading blocs and spheres of influence of the 1930s represented bids for autonomy, as interests sought to extricate themselves from the webs of globality. Weaving together parallel histories of minerals, finance, internationalism, and competing blocs will suggest new ways of thinking about international orders, sovereignty, and the global economy.

## Carolin Liebisch-Gümüş | Kiel University

Carolin Liebisch-Gümüş is a postdoc researcher and lecturer in modern and global history at the University of Kiel, Germany. In the past, she was part of the research project “Subaltern Diplomacy” at the Cluster of Excellence “Asia and Europe in a Global Context” at Heidelberg University (Spring 2013 to Fall 2016). With a postcolonial perspective, this project investigated hitherto neglected actors at the margins of the international system following the First World War. Supervised by Prof. Dr. Madeleine Herren-Oesch, the project continued the extension of LONSEA (League of Nations Search Engine), a database which illustrates networking activities and interorganisational connections surrounding the League of Nations. Carolin Liebisch-Gümüş holds a bachelor’s degree in history and sociology as well as a master’s degree in global history from Heidelberg University. In October 2018, she completed her PhD from Heidelberg University with a dissertation on “‘New Turkey’ in International Organization: Nation-building as Entangled Reordering, 1918-38.” She is fascinated by the challenge to connect a postcolonial reading of international history with critical histories of hegemonic nationalism and minority politics. Currently, she is also interested in issues relating to conflicts between statehood and migration in transit history.

### *Turkish Nation Building through the Lens of the League of Nations*

The research project this paper is based upon claims that the League of Nations was a constant and integral part of post-war Turkish nation building. This interpretation challenges established historiographical narratives about Turkey and the League which mostly tend to fall into two categories: First, institutional approaches focusing on official state diplomacy, prominent international disputes, and Turkish League membership after 1932; Second, decentered approaches investigating minority issues and the demarcation of borders and populations. Combining and transcending both, this project thinks of Turkish nation formation and the international order as entangled processes of regional and global reordering. In this way, the League serves as a lens through which to examine the global dimension of nation building in Anatolia.

Based on this broader conception, the paper presents a close-up view on the formative years of the Turkish national movement following the allied dissolution of the Ottoman Empire after the First World War. Instead of looking at military action in Asia Minor or great power diplomacy, the paper focusses on the hitherto neglected relations between Turkish nationalists and the League Secretariat. Drawing upon records from the Geneva archives and Turkish sources, it explores interactions and perceptions connecting the international office with those persons who fought for a Turkish nation state. It asks what those transnational connections tell us about the role and relevance of the League for Turkish nation building in the transitional phase stretching from the late Ottoman time to

the early years of the Republic of Turkey founded in 1923. Are there insights to gain that would be overlooked by diplomatic history? Beyond highlighting the Turkish case, the paper aspires to animate a discussion about possible ways to link League history with the history of nation building as well as their potential for both Area Studies and International/Global Studies.

## Carolyn Bilotft | Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies

Carolyn Bilotft is an assistant professor in international history at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies (PHD Princeton, 2010), with a specialty in Global Intellectual History and the History of Capitalism. Her first book, *Global Flesh and Spirit: the Information Age as Seen from the League of Nations* is Forthcoming at the University Chicago Press, 2018. She is also currently writing a paper on Henri Bergson, the committee of international intellectual cooperation and the question of the concept of Institutional Memory.

### ***Switzerland: Decoding the Balance Sheet: Material Objects, Symbolic Capital and the Liquidation of the League of Nations***

This paper explores the transition from the League of Nations to the United Nations from the perspective of the transfer of assets. In tracing the precise fate of stationary, buildings, and funds, the paper also seeks to think differently about the role of international organizations on the world stage. In short, it argues that the production of “symbolic capital” has been one of the most important features of international organizations in the twentieth century. I make this point by looking at disputes between League of Nations and United Nations officials over the pricing of specific assets as part of the liquidation process. Beyond mere acts of accounting, I argue that the desired price in each case also revealed the different “value” (and values) that those officials placed on the work of the League of Nations. This becomes particularly clear in trying to assess the value of the collection “gifts” that the League had acquired from various dignitaries during the course of its life. What we see then in the disputes over asset pricing between League functionaries and those at the U.N, are in fact different “value systems,” and different world views.

## David Ekbladh | Tufts University

David Ekbladh is associate professor of history and core faculty in international relations at Tufts University. His books include, *Beyond 1917: The United States and the Global Legacies of the Great War* (with Thomas Zeiler and Benjamin Montoya) and *The Great American Mission: Modernization and the Construction of an American World Order*, which won the Stuart L. Bernath Prize of the Society of American Historians and the Phi Alpha Theta Best First Book Award.

### *Plowshares into Swords: The League as an Instrument of War*

Peace is bound up with the story of the League of Nations and its failures to keep the peace have been long argued. However, the use of its capabilities as weapons in a global war has been overlooked. As an ideological conflict loomed in 1938 US policymakers saw the League as "an effective instrument for carrying on a war." This position was less about explicit military capabilities than an appreciation of how the pioneering transnational technical activities of the League could be pressed into service defending a liberal cause. Putatively "technical" issues in the realms of economics and nutrition were (and still are) often discussed as promoting harmonious international engagement. In a period of ideological confrontation and global war these had much more invidious import as they were turned to the imperatives of armed conflict.

The US would serve as a haven for critical parts of the League during the conflict and these fragments would have important roles in its as well as the Allied war effort. Recovering this does not merely narrate the wartime experience of the League and related "Geneva institutions" but also forces a reconsideration of the means to the ends of liberal internationalism and the international organizations that support and defend liberal order.

## David Petruccelli | Dartmouth College

David Petruccelli is an assistant professor in the history department of Dartmouth College, in Hanover, New Hampshire, specializing in modern European history. He obtained a PhD from Yale University and held a postdoctoral fellowship at the Diplomatic Academy of Vienna prior to arriving at Dartmouth. His current book project, entitled *A Scourge of Humanity: International Crime, Law, and Policing in Interwar Europe*, argues that many of the institutions and norms that continue to structure the international community's approach to crime sprang out of concrete concerns with social, political, and geopolitical order in the aftermath of imperial collapse in Central and Eastern Europe during and after the First World War. By shifting the focus from Western European and American projects to those of Central Europeans, this project also argues for seeing alternative, non-liberal international programs that continue to shape the world. He is author of several articles and chapters on this and related topics, including in the *Journal of Contemporary History*, *Contemporary European History*, and *Journal of World History*.

### *The League of Nations and the Making of the Illiberal International Order*

The liberal international order today seems to be under assault. Many commentators warn that the rise of populism and economic nationalism threaten to unravel a liberal order established after the Second World War. This paper will use the story of the League of Nations in order to reconsider the nature of the present international order and the crisis that is purported to threaten it. The liberal international order, established after the Second World War, is usually depicted as both a continuation of and correction to the League. The League of Nations, in this telling, developed out of the liberal internationalist vision articulated by Woodrow Wilson during and after the First World War. But its cumbersome architecture and the absence of key powers – notably the United States – left it unable to contain nationalist forces in Europe and Asia seeking to overturn the status quo. More recent scholarship has deepened our understanding of the League's accomplishments and shown how deeply its legacies continue to be felt. But the core vision of the League as a vehicle for liberal values remains largely unchallenged. This paper will use the League of Nations' work laying the foundations of the modern international drug control regime to argue that – in at least some fields – the League played a critical role dismantling liberal aspects of the 19th century international order. In doing so, it laid the basis for an alternative, illiberal international order that continues to characterize the global approach to a range of fields, including drugs.

## David J. Smith | University of Glasgow

David Smith is Professor and Alec Nove Chair in Russian and East European Studies at the University of Glasgow. He has written extensively on issues of ethnopolitics, minority activism and conflict regulation in Central and Eastern Europe, both historic and contemporary. His book *Ethnic Diversity and the Nation-State* (2012, with John Hiden) examined the relationship between the European Nationalities Congress and the League of Nations. More recently, he co-authored (with Marina Germane and Martyn Housden) the article “‘Forgotten Europeans’: transnational minority activism in the age of European integration” (*Nations and Nationalism*, 2018).

### ***Talking Past Each Other. Minority Rights and the Differing Statehood Conceptions of the European Nationalities Congress and the League***

The post-World War I minorities treaties and the associated minority protection system of the League of Nations had as their goal the regulation of inter-ethnic conflicts and the consolidation of the successor states arising out of the peace settlements. The founders of the European Nationalities Congress were committed to the same end, and initially invested great hopes in the League as a multilateral instrument for ensuring peace and stability in Europe. Yet, whereas the League system was predicated on protecting the individual rights of persons belonging to minorities, ENC leaders insisted that it should provide for collective rights according to the principle of national cultural (non-territorial) autonomy (NCA). For the ENC, a lasting solution to the ‘nationalities question’ lay in the empowerment of minorities as democratic actors, as opposed simply to their protection by states. In 1931, in response to sustained ENC lobbying, the League Minority Secretariat produced an evaluation of the NCA model, but found no compelling evidence of its wider applicability beyond the Republic of Estonia where it was adopted during the 1920s. This paper weighs the arguments brought by the two parties. While questioning ENC’s portrayal of national-cultural autonomy as a panacea for nationality disputes in the Europe of the day, it uses the 1931 discussions to illustrate the League’s commitment to a unitary, ‘atomist-centrist’ nation-state model that was plainly ill-suited to the diverse societies and multinational legacies of inter-war Central and Eastern Europe.

## Dolf-Alexander Neuhaus | Free University Berlin

Dolf Neuhaus is currently finishing his PhD at the Japanese Studies Department, Free University Berlin, which analyses transnational interactions between Korean students and Japanese intellectuals during the Meiji and Taishō eras in Japan. From August 2011 to December 2015 was a research fellow at Free University Berlin, Japanese Studies Department. From 2015 to autumn 2017 he was a research fellow at the Institute of Korean Studies, Goethe University Frankfurt am Main. In 2018 has been teaching courses at the Japanese Studies Department, Free University Berlin. In the past, Dolf-Alexander spent time as a visiting research scholar at the Institute for Advanced Studies on Asia and the Institute of Social Science at the University of Tokyo, as well as at the Institute of Korean Studies, Yonsei University in Seoul, South Korea. Dolf's publications include peer reviewed articles on the relationship between Japanese Protestants missionary efforts in Korea "Assimilating Korea: Japanese Protestants, 'East Asian Christianity'" and the education of Koreans in Japan, 1905-1920," *Paedagogica Historica*, 52:6, 614-628 (DOI: 10.1080/00309230.2016.1224262); and on the contributions of Korean and Taiwanese authors to interwar Pan-Asianism entitled "Awakening Asia: Korean Student Activists in Japan, 'The Asia Kunglun,' and Asian Solidarity, 1910-1923," *Cross-Currents: East Asian History and Culture Review*, Volume 6, Number 2, November 2017, pp. 608-638 (DOI: 10.1353/ach.2017.0021). I have also contributed chapters to edited volumes.

### ***Betraying Asia: Criticisms of the League of Nations in Colonial East Asia, 1919-1926***

When the soaring hopes for self-determination in many Asian countries failed to materialize in the Covenant of the League of Nations, activists in East Asia began to conceptualize alternative configurations of Asia during the early 1920s. Left with a sense of betrayal, they envisioned a new and truly moral international order which would emanate from Asia's presumed benevolent cultural tradition that enabled it to become the 'better Europe.' Scholarship on interwar conceptions of Asia has so far largely focused on state-based Japanese approaches, such as the failed bid for racial equality at Versailles by the Japanese delegation or Konoe Fumimaro's *Call to Reject the Anglo-American Centered Peace* advocating Japan's leadership in Asia. Yet, despite an unbroken interest in the trajectory of Japanese pan-Asianism, the contributions of Korean and Taiwanese authors to the many and varied formulations of interwar pan-Asianism have remained a relatively unexplored subject of scholarly research. After the excitement of the "Wilsonian Moment" (Erez Manela) began to fade in the wake of 1919, many anticolonial activists in Asia expressed profound scepticism of the Eurocentric nation-state system which in their eyes was suited entirely to foster the perpetuation of the preceding imperial world order, thus cementing not only Western international dominance but also Japanese hegemony over large parts of East Asia.

This presentation delves into the writings of Korean activists who intellectually grappled with the double constraint of Western and Japanese imperialism in journals such as the trilingual *The Asia Kunlun* and similar Korean and Japanese language publications. In order to add another layer to the history of the interwar internationalism, I argue that by strategically appropriating liberal ideas and projecting them unto Asia, Asian independence activists crafted their very own ideology of liberation from Japanese imperialism after the Wilsonian ideals were denied to them.

## Erik Koenen | University of Bremen

Research assistant in the DFG-funded Project “Transnational Communication History of the League of Nations in the Inter-War Period (1920-1938). The institutional, professional and public spheres of journalism in the League of Nations in international comparison “(2017-2020) at the Centre for Media, Communication and Information Research (ZeMKI), University of Bremen.

### *The League of Nations “Open Diplomacy” – Strategy for a New Information Order*

With Arne L. Gellrich and Stefanie Averbek-Lietz

As the League of Nations (LoN) celebrates its 100th Birthday in 2019, its communication history remains widely unknown (cf. Nordenstreng/Seppä 1986; Nordenstreng 2005). We present findings of a research project on the transnational communication history of the LoN during the interwar-period (1920-1938).<sup>1</sup> The LoN was guided by the concept of “Open Diplomacy” (Sweetser 1920; Information Section 1928). To reconstruct LoN information policy and the institutional sphere of “Open Diplomacy” we analyse archive sources from the Information Section (United Nations Archive Geneva), a central organisational body of the LoN since its beginnings which was directly connected to the Secretary-General, in two dimensions:

#### 1. Discursive struggle for “Open Diplomacy”

The communication strategy of the LoN was strongly influenced by an ambivalent discussion concerning public communication during the Paris Peace Conference. From letters and memoranda stored at the Geneva archive we learn that there was a hard controversy over implementation and objectives of “Open Diplomacy”. Some diplomats and information officers argued that discussions in front of the world press would improve the LoN communication towards veracity and in the long run to (more) mutual cooperation between states – others vehemently held against this position.

#### 2. Social figuration and practice of “Open Diplomacy”

Our study is complemented by profiling the staff of the Information Section, its figuration, its different roles and interests. Many of the protagonists came from the journalistic field and public relations. As so-called information officers, they organised the infrastructure and strategies for LoN “Open Diplomacy”. With the help of a collective biography of information officials we focus on this still unexplored practical side of “Open Diplomacy”: How were conflicts and tensions between the imperative of transparency of information and political interest mediated? How did Information

Section and press work together? Overall, how can LoN information policy be described as strategic communication?

<sup>1</sup>DFG-funded project "Transnational Communication History of the League of Nations in the Inter-War Period (1920-1938). The institutional, professional and public spheres of journalism at the League of Nations in International Comparison" University of Bremen, 2017-2020

## Gavan Duffy | National University of Ireland–Galway

Gavan Duffy is a fifth year PhD student (part-time) at NUI Galway under the supervision of Dr. Gearóid Barry, Lecturer in Modern European History. Holds a BA (2012) from NUI Galway. He's project is a study of League of Nations C mandate territories administered by the British Southern hemisphere Dominions in the period between 1914-1925. He has previously given talks entitled, "Freehold or a 999-year lease? Australia, New Zealand and the fate of the German Pacific, 1914-1920", as part of the 2015 NUIG Graduate Seminar Series, "Best of enemies: South Africa and the Germans of South West Africa, 1914-1925", at the 2016 Conference of the Irish History Students Association, which was subsequently published by the association as part of their proceedings of the conference and, "Combatants, Prisoners or Settlers?: South African policies towards the Germans of Namibia, 1914-1918", at the 5<sup>th</sup> Great War in Africa Conference, held at the National Archives, London. Gavan is also a qualified accountant and auditor working in his own business.

### ***"The Obligation to Work [is] Recognised in all Civilised Nations": The Permanent Mandates Commission and Labour Issues in the British Empire C Mandates 1920-1926***

1919-20 was a period of great flux in the international system, when concerns about labour and curtailing imperialism came together. This period of labour reform, coinciding with the formation of the International Labour Organisation (ILO), and was also a period of interrogation of empire by means of the Mandates System. The guiding principle of the mandates was that the well-being and development of the indigenous populations formed a sacred trust of civilisation. Unlike in A/B class mandates, where there were equal opportunities for trade, the C mandates only had to ensure the slave trade was prohibited and no forced labour was permitted. The mandated territories administered by southern British Dominions were tantamount to colonial takeover, thus leaving open the possibility of exploitation in the labour market. These markets included mining and farming in Namibia, phosphate extraction in Nauru, and plantations in New Guinea and Samoa.

An ILO representative served on the League's advisory body, the Permanent Mandates Commission (PMC) to advise on labour matters. Coupled with the fact that most of the other PMC members had colonial backgrounds, the idea, conditions, and interactions of indentured labour forces in mandates came under a large degree of scrutiny. To fully understand this dimension of the mandates, we must examine colonial labour attitudes such as those promulgated by PMC member, Freire D'Andrade, that indigenous populations did not have a right to idleness, and to consider how labour affairs were on measure of the 'sacred trust' of the mandates. Drawing on archival sources in Pretoria, Wellington, Canberra, and the League archives in Geneva, my paper will seek to draw

conclusions as to whether the mandates oversight regime had any impact on labour policy in the C mandates, relating my findings to the wider scholarship on international oversight such as the works by Susan Pedersen<sup>2</sup> and Patricia Clavin<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Permanent Mandates Commission. *Minutes of the First Session*. League of Nations, 1921.

<sup>2</sup> Pedersen, Susan. *The Guardians: the League of Nations and the crisis of empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

<sup>3</sup> Clavin, Patricia. *Securing the World Economy: The Reinvention of the League of Nations, 1920-1946*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

## Geert Van Goethem | Institute of Social History & Ghent University

Geert Van Goethem is director of the Amsab-Institute of Social History (Ghent-Belgium) and professor at Ghent University. He obtained a PhD at the University of Amsterdam. His main area of research is international labour history. He recently published on British and American labour during the cold war era and was co-editor of a volume on the history of the International Labour Organization.

### *Sidelined: international social policy and the American architects of a new world order (1941-1943)*

When, in 1934, the United States accepted membership, the ILO was the only world-wide international organization of which the USA was a member. Nevertheless the Department of State was not really interested in international labour policy and more or less neglected the ILO. This changed when the war broke out and labour became, from an economic and political perspective, one of the central domains in the State Departments' post-war planning.

The ILO conference in New York adapted the so-called 'American Resolution' in which the ILO was given the mandate to study the post war reconstruction problems. This opened a much-desired perspective of broadening the scope of the ILO to social and economic policy. The informal working group that took up this task in execution of this resolution contained people from the League of Nations (Alexander Loveday), the ILO (Carter Goodrich) and American experts who in the years to come would play a decisive role in the development of a new world organization: Leo Pasvolsky, Isador Lubin and Donald Blaisdell. From the start the idea was that part of the failure of the international system was due to its impotence to develop an economic and social policy. A new world organization should not only focus on security and peace, but also deal with economic and social questions.

In this contribution, I will try to reconstruct part of the transition process from the League to the UN. I will look at some people in key positions in the American administration and their ideas on 'post war planning'. In doing so, I will try to shed a light onto the often neglected second pillar of international organization, the social-economic domain. Initially on equal level with security, but in the end without any executive or supra-national power. I will try to demonstrate how the position of Ecosoc was determined by a debate on post-war economic thinking within the American administration between the adherents of New Deal and a classic 'laissez faire'. And how the American architects of the new world organization through the marginalisation of Labour imposed their view on a new world order.

## Hagen Schulz-Forberg | Aarhus University

Hagen Schulz-Forberg teaches global and European history at the School of Culture and Society at AU. He has written on the intellectual networks of League, on the history of economic thought, European integration and approaches to global conceptual history. From 2013 to 2016 he led the collaborative research project “Towards Good Society: Costructing the Social through the Economic since the 1930s” at AU. Forthcoming with the *Cambridge History of Modern European Thought* is his article entitled ‘Modern Economic Thought and the ‘Good Society’” (2019).

### *Intellectual Cooperation at the League of Nations: A Cradle for Neoliberalism?*

With [Martin Beddeleem](#)

If the Walter-Lippmann Colloquium (WLC) (August 1938) is well-known as an important milestone of the genesis of neoliberalism (cf. Angus Burgin’s 2012 *The Great Persuasion*), very little attention has been given to why it took place on the premises of the Institute for International Intellectual Cooperation in Paris (IIIC), under the helm of the ICIC. Surprisingly neglected are the reasons why the majority of the participants to the WLC had strong ties to League of Nations’ bodies, either through the IIIC (among them Louis Rougier, Louis Baudin and John Bell Condliffe), the ICIC Executive Committee itself (with José Castillejo and Johan Huizinga, for example) or the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva, run by William Rappard with Ludwig von Mises and Wilhelm Röpke on staff, two of the most prominent early neoliberal theoreticians.

Quinn Slobodian’s recent *Globalists* (2018) points to the existence of a ‘Geneva school’ of neoliberalism concerned with the best possible ‘encasement’ of the economy by the state. But Slobodian’s suggestion of neoliberal intellectual coherence does not extend to the deep institutional roots of early neoliberalism in the League of Nations. Far from a radical free-market doctrine developed by a handful of renegade economists, our research shows that early neoliberalism emerged organically from the League’s work of the 1930s, through the various rounds of the annual International Studies Conferences, the National Committees for Intellectual Cooperation (NCICs), and the establishment of national institutes for economic conjectures tied to the ICIC, with the help and funding from the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Endowment. The idea that laissez-faire liberalism had failed and that new forms of legal cooperation were needed are as constitutive of early neoliberalism as they were part of the shared imagination of the League’s experts on economic and international matters.

This paper shows that neoliberalism was not only born within the complex transnational web of the League’s organisations, but that early neoliberals continued their work within the League’s network through other means after the Second World War. They established the need for scientific consensus through international intellectual cooperation, and

strong common values as the basis of their work. What had been accomplished before 1939 continued in new institutional setups after 1945. Early neoliberalism testifies to multiple legacies of the League of Nations, and its enduring model for intellectual cooperation.

## Hannah Tyler | University of Lausanne

Hannah Tyler is a PhD student at the Institute of Political, Historical and International Studies (IEPHI) at the University of Lausanne. Supported by the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF), she works with her supervisor, Prof. Thomas David, and other scientists, on the project “Rockefeller Fellows as Heralds of Globalization: The circulation of elites, knowledge and practices of modernization (1920s-1970s)”. Her research interests hereby focus on the development and achievements of transnational and international economic history.

After obtaining her B.A. in history, she passed summa cum laude her MA in history from the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University. Her master's thesis being the basis of this presentation, was entitled “Show me the Money: The finances of the League of Nations between 1920 and 1933”, and it examined the finances and the financial structure of the League of Nations under its first Secretary General and chief financial officer, Sir Eric Drummond (1919-1933).

### ***Show Me the Money: The Financial Structure of the League of Nations Between 1920 and 1933***

A change has developed in the field of history and international and global perspectives, topics and actors have taken the stage, putting international organizations like the League of Nations (LoN) at the centre of transnational history.

The establishment of the LoN, but also its ground-breaking work, conducted by its sub-organizations in different political areas such as public health and economy, only have recently been brought to the surface. However, many sources still lie undiscovered in the depths of the Genevan archive, where thousands of documents bear witness to the work this organization.

Created as an instrument to secure peace after the horrors of WWI, the League of Nations and its organizational structure are financially unaccounted for. In order to understand the internal workings and the everyday life of the League, it is essential for us to look at the financial history of the organization. By looking at the financial structure of this transnational, bureaucratic peacekeeper one can discover the hardships, the networks and hierarchies which dominated the institution and its most effective tools, namely the sub-organizations. Reflecting on thirteen financial audit reports and the respective budgetary planning, collected during extensive archival research, this paper will show the financial structure on which the League of Nations has operated between 1919-1933 by tracking down its income, expenses as well as internal money circulation. It will provide insights on how the finance section introduced a substantial system, which kept the organization financially solid even throughout the Great Depression. Furthermore it shows that development of this system and results included not only the creation of the

scale of contributions but also financial assets which were transferred to the UN from the League of Nations in 1949, providing the UN with money and financial knowledge on which it still started to operate on.

## Hazuki Tate | Musashi University

Hazuki Tate is currently Assistant Professor at the Musashi University in Japan. She obtained her doctorate in history from the EHESS (Paris, France) in 2015 with a thesis entitled “Rapatrier les prisonniers de guerre: la politique des Alliés et l’action humanitaire du Comité international de la Croix Rouge (1918-1929)”. From March 2015 to February 2017, she did her post-doctoral research stay at the University of Geneva in Switzerland thanks to the Postdoctoral Fellowship for Research Abroad of the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS).

Her research field is history of humanitarian activities and that of international relations in the 20th century, and her current research interests focus on expansion of the Red Cross Movement and professionalization of humanitarian actors in the international society. She is the author of many articles in English, French and Japanese, among which “Le Comité international de la Croix-Rouge comme architecte du droit international: vers le Code des prisonniers de guerre (1929)”, *Monde(s): histoire espaces relations*, no.12, 2017, 203-20; “Hospitaliser, interner et rapatrier: la Suisse et les prisonniers de guerre”, *Relations internationales*, no. 159, 2014, 35-48; “The international public opinion vis-à-vis German prisoners of war in France, November 1918-March 1920”, *Rekishi-gaku Kenkyu (Historical Research)*, no. 905, 2013, 1-17 (in Japanese).

### ***Cooperation and Competition between the League of Nations and the Red Cross Movement in their First Humanitarian Activities in the Post-War World***

When the League of Nations (LoN) was established in January 1920, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), one of the oldest international humanitarian organizations and NGOs, along with many national Red Cross Societies, was tackling two major humanitarian crises in the immediate post-war period: the repatriation of prisoners of war in the Eastern Front and the large number of Russian refugees. For the ICRC, originally a war-time institution, these issues were beyond the scope of its regular activities and so it faced various difficulties in financing its operations and in diplomatic negotiations. Additionally, internal conflicts in the Red Cross Movement were observed through the 1920s. Cooperating with the LoN was, for the Red Cross Movement, its best hope of delivering broader and more effective humanitarian aid. This talk aims to analyze the new form of internationalism that came out of the cooperation and competition between the LoN and the Red Cross movement.

Firstly, I will analyze the legal framework for the cooperation. How was the intervention of the LoN in the humanitarian field legitimized in its Covenant and discussions in the Assembly?

Secondly, I'd like to focus on the race to establish their reputations in the field, particularly with POW or refugee camps. Some delegates of the Red Cross Movement were critical of

the LoN's involvement, adding that the increased number of concerned actors would only complicate the situation. Conflicts within the Red Cross movement also need to be emphasized. So, how was the delegation of responsibilities between the various actors defined and how did it evolve?

Thirdly, I want to pay special attention to the activities of non-European actors such as the American Red Cross Society and the Japanese Red Cross Society, and their relations with the LoN, in order to examine if some of their visions of humanitarian action were shared and how international cooperation worked at a global level.

These analyses help us to better define internationalisms at this period.

Ilaria Scaglia joined Aston University in Birmingham, UK, as Lecturer (Assistant Professor) in Modern History in May 2018. Before this, she was Assistant Professor in the Department of History and Geography at Columbus State University, USA (2013-2018), a Volkswagen-Mellon post-doctoral research fellow in Germany (Free University Berlin), and a Visiting Researcher at the Centre “History of Emotions” at the Max Planck Institute for Human Development in Berlin (2016–17).

Her research examines the aesthetics and emotions of internationalism in the 1920s and 1930s. She is completing a manuscript entitled “The Emotions of Internationalism: Feeling International Cooperation in the Alps in the Interwar Period,” currently under review by Oxford University Press for inclusion in the “Emotions in History” series (eds. Ute Frevert and Thomas Dixon). She is the author of “The Aesthetics of Internationalism: Culture and Politics on Display at the 1935-1936 International Exhibition of Chinese Art,” *Journal of World History* 26, 1 (March 2015), 105–137; “The ‘Hydrologist’s Weapons’: Emotions and the Moral Economy of Internationalism, 1921–1952.” In *New Interdisciplinary Landscapes in Morality and Emotion*, edited by Sara Graça Da Silva. London: Routledge, 2018, 140–152; and “Branding Internationalism: Displaying Art and International Cooperation in the Interwar Period.” In *Nation Branding in Modern History*, edited by Carolin Viktorin, Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht, Marcel Will, and Annika Estner. New York: Berghahn Books, 2018, 79–100.

### ***Feeling the League of Nations: A Perspective from the History of Emotions***

This paper examines the League of Nations through the lens of the history of emotions. It contends that feelings constituted a key feature of the League’s rhetoric; they also represented a realist goal for the League’s technical sections, which took concrete steps to instill some (e.g., “friendship”) and suppress others (e.g., “resentment”) by staging events featuring shared aesthetic and sensorial experiences. Branches and institutes dealing with intellectual cooperation and international education in particular believed that emotions could and should be manipulated for internationalist purposes, and devoted great resources to doing so. Moreover, as evidenced by the discussions surrounding the design of the Palais des Nations and by the debates over adopting a League of Nations flag or not, concerns about what people might feel dominated the process of constructing the League’s image and reputation. The League shaped its emotional style accordingly, frustrating many of its supporters and emboldening its opponents.

Bringing emotions into the history of the League of Nations enriches—and also shifts—many of the debates surrounding its history. Seen through the lens of emotional manipulations and experiences, internationalism is recast as a set of practices that

involved a broad range of actors with contradicting agendas. Issues of branding and reputation also assume greater importance. Finally, the League's successes and failures at making people feel different emotions unveil many breaks and continuities between interwar internationalism and its many reformulations in the following decades.

## Jan Stöckmann | University of Oxford

Jan Stöckmann works on twentieth century political thought and diplomacy. His doctoral dissertation, completed in 2017 at the University of Oxford while supervised by Patricia Clavin, explores the formation of International Relations as an academic discipline from 1914 to the Second World War. Based on archival research across six countries, it shows how the study of war and peace was shaped by scholars as well as practitioners of foreign politics, resulting in intellectual inconsistencies and political failures. Jan holds a B.A. in Philosophy and Economics, and a dual M.A./M.Sc. in International and World History. From 2017 to 2018, he was the Brady-Johnson pre-doctoral fellow at International Security Studies, Yale University. In 2018, he was awarded a Wiener-Anspach post-doctoral fellowship at the Université libre de Bruxelles. His research has been published in *The International History Review*, *History Compass*, and the *Review of International Studies*.

### ***The Architects of International Relations: Academia and Diplomacy at the League of Nations***

The promise of the League of Nations was that international politics would become subject to rational debate and peaceful cooperation. Secret diplomacy would be replaced by open treaties. International disputes would be solved by impartial investigation. Economic, humanitarian, and cultural affairs would be coordinated across borders. The League of Nations was, as observers joked, the world's declaration of interdependence. This vision inspired a group of international thinkers to establish the academic study of International Relations (IR) in 1919. They founded professorships, journals, and conferences to examine the mechanics of war and peace. Sponsored by liberal philanthropists, they worked on topics such as disarmament, sanctions, collective security, trade, migration, and colonial reform. Besides their job as professors, however, they actively participated in international affairs as government advisors, diplomats, and politicians. For them, the League of Nations was both an object of research as well as a platform to test their ideas in practice. This paper draws on archival evidence from six countries to explore the ambitions of early IR scholars within the context of the League of Nations. It considers the architects of IR—including Albrecht Mendelssohn Bartholdy, Philip Noel-Baker, James T. Shotwell, and Helena Swanwick—as a lens to explore the tension between academia and diplomacy. The paper begins with the origins of IR during the First World War. It then examines the intellectual and personal experiences at the Paris peace conference. Finally, it shows how the promise of the League of Nations shaped the discipline during the 1920s.

Jelmer Vos is Lecturer in Global History at the University of Glasgow and previously taught African history at Old Dominion University in Norfolk, Virginia. He has published widely on topics related to the Atlantic slave trade, slavery and forced labour in Angola, including the article 'Work in Times of Slavery, Colonialism, and Civil War: Labor Relations in Angola from 1800 to 2000' (in *History in Africa*, 2014). His current research project investigates the history of coffee cultivation in Angola, paying special attention to the ways African farmers and colonial planters recruited and organised labour. He sits on the editorial board of the Oxford Research Encyclopedia in African History and Voyages: The Transatlantic Slave Trade Database.

### ***The League of Nations and the Discourse of 'New Slaveries' in Africa, 1900-2000***

In 1925, the sociologist Edward Ross published a devastating report for the Temporary Slavery Commission of the League of Nations on the 'Employment of Native Labor in Portuguese Africa', which compared labour conditions in Angola and other Portuguese colonies to slavery, causing a panicked response from Portuguese officials to salvage Portugal's international reputation. This was of course not the first damaging account of labour practices in Portuguese Africa; in fact, from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century Portugal sat uncomfortably in an increasingly abolitionist international community because of the illegal slave trade from Angola to Brazil, Cuba and São Tomé. This paper situates the Ross Report of 1925 in a long tradition of international scrutiny of labour practices in Angola, starting with Henry Nevinson's *A Modern Slavery* in 1906 and continuing through the 1960s with several ILO reports, Henrique Galvão's infamous denunciation and Basil Davidson's writings on Angola. The paper specifically analyses the discursive continuities in these reports on forced labour in Angola, which reverberate in the work of Kevin Bales today. The similarity in concepts used to describe specific labour conditions at different points in time suggests that either the observers' conceptual framework inadequately captured a complex and changing historical reality or the realities of forced labour in Angola changed little over time. The paper furthermore examines the impact of external critique on the Angolan colonial state. While Portuguese officials generally denied or countered allegations of abuse, the 'new slavery' discourse conditioned the formulation of colonial labour laws and, more importantly, the actions of colonial authorities regarding African labour. The paper will particularly focus on labour conditions in Angola's coffee plantations, which produced the colony's most important export crop and were therefore a pivotal sector of the colonial economy.

## Jesús Manuel Bermejo Roldán | Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia

Jesús Roldán is finalizing my doctoral thesis under the direction of Prof. Pedro Aires de Oliveira and the co-direction of Prof. Hipólito de la Torre Gómez. I am currently working as a librarian at UCL.

### *Comparative Analysis of the Integration and Performance of the Two Small Iberian Powers in the League of Nations (1919-1939)*

The creation of the League of Nations, a consequence of the peace established after the First World War, supposed the appearance of a universal political organization with permanent organs. In order to prevent the disasters of a future war, it conferred a new direction to international political activity betting on a multilateral and open diplomacy. The diplomacy of the two Iberian countries was redesigned to take a pre-eminent place within the League of Nations, which was considered a springboard for a greater role in the international box. The entry of Spain, a neutral country during the war as a non-permanent member of the Council, marked a first difference, and a grievance, with respect to the entry of Portugal into this international organization. In this communication, we expose, for the first time, a comparative analysis of the main general lines of action of Spain and Portugal within the new international organization designed to safeguard collective security.

## João Arsénio Nunes | ISCTE-IUL

Degree in Law (Faculdade de Direito, University of Lisbon, 1975) and PhD in Modern and Contemporary History (Instituto Universitário de Lisboa, 2017). Researcher at CEI-IUL (Center for International Studies of Instituto Universitário de Lisboa) and member of CEIS20 (Center for Interdisciplinary Studies of the 20th. Century, University of Coimbra). Former Assistant and Assistant Professor at ISCTE-IUL (1975-2010).

Main research interests: communist history, anti-fascism, twentieth century Portuguese and European history, with focus in the interwar period.

### *The Comintern and the League of Nations*

The Communist International was born in 1919, in the sequence of the Zimmerwald peace movement, under the impact of the Russian October events and of Lenin's ideas about war and world revolution. It contained within itself a tension between pacifism, on the one hand, and the idea of the conversion of imperialist wars into revolutionary civil wars against capitalism, on the other. Meanwhile, the League of Nations, born in the same year out of Wilsonian ideas about world peace through political democracy and self-government, but without the participation of the USA, was in practice a European organization and an instrument of Anglo-French hegemony. Therefore, the Comintern actively promoted campaigns against it, and denounced its talk of peace as false and deceiving illusions.

Later on, however, with the beginning of stabilization after the postwar crisis, and the consolidation of the Soviet regime, Lenin and Tchitcherin developed the idea of the necessary peaceful coexistence between socialist and capitalist states, and the Soviet Union regarded peace as a prerequisite for the construction of "socialism in one country". An active policy of insertion of the Soviet state in world affairs began to develop, especially from 1927 onwards, with its participation in the Geneva Disarmament Conferences, and later with Litvinov's politics of collective security. With the ascent of fascism and German national-socialism in the 1930s, the Communist Parties began to look at the problem of war in connection with the struggle against fascism, and to actively work for peace, instead of the previous idea of "conversion of imperialist into civil war". In 1934, the Soviet Union joined the League, and the struggle for peace became one of the main elements of the Comintern's Popular Front politics.

In this paper I discuss the development of "collective security" and Popular Front politics, the reasons why they were ultimately unable to stop fascism and the war, and the theoretical achievements which were nevertheless made in the process, and which would help to forge the antifascist coalition of the Second World War.

## Joseph Maiolo | King's College London

Dr Joseph A. Maiolo is Professor of International History in the Department of War Studies at King's College London. His research focuses on the origins of the Second World War, particularly on the themes of diplomacy, armaments and intelligence. He is author of *Cry Havoc: The Arms Race and the Second World War, 1931-41* (New York, 2010) and co-editor of *The Cambridge History of the Second World War: Volume II Politics & Ideology* (Cambridge, 2015). He is currently writing *The Origins of the Second World War* for Cambridge University Press forthcoming 2019/20.

### ***The League of Nations, the Problem of Raw Materials and the Crisis of World Order in the 1930s***

This paper examines the origins and significance of the League of Nations inquiry of 1936-37 into the problem of uneven international access and global distribution of industrial raw materials. The inquiry culminated in the convening of a committee of international technical experts (including representatives from non-League member states such as the Japanese empire and the United States) which submitted a little-studied report in September 1937. Although the League report focused on technical issues such as financial clearing arrangements, shipping, and extraction, the committee, its politics and work need to be contextualised in a larger project to promote peaceful change and world disarmament as a response to the extended crisis of the 1930s. Indeed, the report underscores (particularly the objections of the representative from the Soviet Union) the close connection between the mushrooming great-power arms race and distortions in world commodity markets. Critics of the report framed it in terms of the June 1916 Paris declaration, in which Britain and France proposed to monopolise the world's supply of raw materials as an instrument of their post-war hegemony. The debate between the report and its critics points to one of the fundamental paradoxes of the post-1919 world order: the combined economic supremacy of the western liberal-capitalist powers was at once a source of strength and instability in international politics.

## Karen Gram-Skjoldager | Aarhus University

PhD in History from Aarhus University (2009), Jean Monnet Fellow, European University Institute 2009-10. Associate Professor in 20<sup>th</sup> Century International History. Gram-Skjoldager has published two monographs on Danish liberal internationalism and inter-war foreign policy and produced a wide range of articles on diplomacy, the League of Nations, Scandinavian internationalism and international law in journals such as *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, *International History Review* and *Journal of Global History*. She has been active in debates on higher education and national research policies and has been the President of the Young Academy of Denmark, Royal Danish Academy of Science and Letters. She is currently Director of the research project *The Invention of International Bureaucracy. The League of Nations and the Creation of International Public Administration* funded by the Danish National Research Council. Address: Aarhus University, Department of History and Classical Studies, Jens Chr. Skous Vej 5, 8000 Aarhus C. [email: [hiskgs@cas.au.dk](mailto:hiskgs@cas.au.dk)].

### ***An Institution in the Making. A Sociological Exploration of the League of Nations Secretariat 1919-1946***

Among the many political and institutional innovations brought about by the League of Nations, the League Secretariat has only recently attracted scholarly interest. However, the creation of the first permanent, multinational administrative body that functioned autonomously from member states and dealt with international affairs represented an important institutional innovation with important, formative effects on 20<sup>th</sup> century international politics. This paper wishes to highlight this first, formative experiment in international civil service through a sociological exploration of the League Secretariat. The paper is divided into two main parts. In the first section, we present a quantitative analysis based on the LONSEA ([www.lonseas.de](http://www.lonseas.de)) database, which maps the national and professional makeup of the Secretariat and tracks variations in the social characteristics of League officials across different policy areas in the Secretariat and over time. The second part offers a qualitative analysis of the professional norms and principles that defined the new international civil service through a structured discourse analysis of prescriptive and evaluatory documents such as staff regulations, circular letters and work performance reviews.

The paper is rooted in the research project *The Invention of International Bureaucracy. The League of Nations and the Creation of International Public Administration, c. 1920-1960* and aims to summarize and synthesize key insights from the research we have carried out over the last three years.

As a historiographical intervention, the paper wishes to highlight the importance of studying the institutional dimensions and innovations of the League of Nations as object

in their own right while at the same time showing the potential of viewing them as open and embedded structures that were shaped by pre-existing national political and administrative models, European and global power hierarchies and internationalist vocabularies.

## Kate Burlingham | California State University

Kate Burlingham joins the Department of History as an Assistant Professor. Dr. Burlingham received her Ph.D. and M.A. in History from Rutgers University. While her main focus is in U.S. History, Dr. Burlingham's research interests also include various aspects of International and Global History. She is particularly interested in African history. Dr. Burlingham spent much of 2004-2007 conducting research for her project in South Africa, Angola, and Portugal and 2008-2009 living, researching, and writing in Portugal and France. In 2007, she was an Africanist Doctoral fellow at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. She has received numerous other grants and fellowships in support of her research and writing from foundations and organizations in the United States and Portugal. Her current project is a global history of U.S. foreign relations in Africa looking specifically at the history of Congregational missionaries in Angola. She has developed and taught classes about U.S. foreign relations international perceptions/reactions to the Cold War.

### *From Hearing to Heresy: Angola, the Ross Report, and the League of Nations' Temporary Slavery Commission*

On 5 June 1925, nineteen prominent American citizens signed a letter presenting the *Report on Employment of Native Labor in Portuguese Africa* to the League of Nations' Temporary Slavery Commission. The Commission called on the League to use its powers to "abolish compulsory labor and other practices" in Portugal's African colonies. Using information gathered through American and Canadian Congregational missionaries in Angola, Sociologist Edward Ross, the Report's author, accused the Portuguese government of running a system of "state requisitioning... and leasing of [native] labor to private parties" that amounted to slavery.

This paper offers a narrative of the often-unintended consequences of League Nations conversations. The story of the rise and eventual faltering of the League is familiar. However, looking beyond narratives of the League's failure, recent historiography has begun to acknowledge that, despite obvious failures leading into World War II, the League did produce significant debate and lasting international norms. The history of the Ross Report moves forward the historiography of the interwar moment by exploring how it was part of a "liberal, nation-embracing, and anticommunist version of internationalism." Specifically, the paper investigates how the fallout from the Ross Report reinforced the very nationalisms that the League was designed to undermine. It suggests the importance of the decolonization movements born of the period from the interwar years to the movements of the post-World War II era.

## **Katja Naumann | Leibniz Institute for the History and Culture of Eastern Europe & Leipzig University**

Katja Naumann's research deals with Eastern Central European and global history in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with a focus on international organizations and history of knowledge. Her current projects include a study on the trajectories of East central European actors in the system of international organisations until WWII and the internationalization of colonial knowledge (1890-1960s). She works at the Leibniz Institute for the History and Culture of Eastern Europe (GWZO) and teaches at Leipzig University. Added to that she member in the editorial boards of *H-Soz-Kult*, *Connections. A Journal for Historians and Area Specialists* and *Comparativ. Zeitschrift für Globalgeschichte und vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung*. Currently is president of the European Network in Universal and Global History and bureau member of the Network of World and Global History Organizations. Her recent publication related to the conference topic include: "Situating transnational actors", thematic issues of *European Review of History*, 25, 3-4, 2018 (with A. Dietze); *Historians and international organizations*, in: D. Laqua, W. van Acker, Ch. Verbruggen (eds.) *International Organizations and Global Civil Society: Histories of the Union of International Associations*, London: Bloomington (in print); *Rescaling Imperial Modes of Internationalization and Forming the League of Nations: The trajectories of Ludwik Rajchman and Albert Apponyi before and after WWI*, in: P. Becker / N. Wheatley (eds.), *Remaking Central Europe: The League of Nations and the Former Habsburg Lands*, Oxford: Oxford University Press (in peer review).

### ***Empowering the League of Nations: Postimperial Transformations in Eastern Europe and Trans-national Agency in the League's Secretariat***

Recent flourishing research on the League of Nations shows the substantial impact of the organization on international politics. New fields of and approaches to international cooperation and collective action developed. Cross-border transfer of knowledge and information was extended on a large scale. Not the least the League became a forum for the exchange between diplomats, experts and activists. While the League' commissions on opium, social questions etc. have received considerable attention in the last years, the novelty of the international civil service which was established with the secretariat is an emerging field. In that paper, I want to argue that especially in and around the League's secretariat transnational networks between actors from civil society and politics were built up through which the predominance of geopolitical concerns was softened or refuted. The employees could work on different grounds since they were absolved from their loyalty as citizens of their states; they could undercut *inter-national* and imperial rationals. In addition, the post-imperial transformation in Eastern Europe after World

War entered the League via the secretariat because actors from the former Habsburg and Russian empire entered the international administration in considerable numbers. Their intimate knowledge of and involvement in the political reordering in their home countries resonated in the League. The projects they launched circumvented or transcended political-territorial rationalities, or incorporated them in original ways into larger schemes. Based on the engagement of officials from the region in the Secretariat's Social Section, the Information Section and in the League of Nations Health Organization, it will be shown that the legitimacy of the League in international politics and the strength of the new political order it epitomized (based on sovereign nation-states and their international organization) was fundamentally linked to the post-imperial transformations in Eastern Europe and to the agency that developed in its secretariat.

## Marie-Michèle Doucet | Royal Military College of Canada

Dr. Marie-Michèle Doucet is an Assistant Professor of Contemporary European History at the Royal Military College of Canada. She completed her PhD in history at the University of Montreal in 2016. Her research focuses on women's peace movements in France during the interwar period, more specifically on the way these women talk about international issues such as disarmament and Franco-German reconciliation. Dr. Doucet is currently working on her manuscript, *Female Voices: Women, International Relations, and the Peace Movement in France, 1919-1934*, and has already published many book chapters in edited collection and journal articles. Most recently, she has published a paper, "Les femmes pacifistes et les parlementaires français: l'exemple de la loi Paul-Boncour de 1927", in *Parlement(s): Revue d'histoire* (France); as well as "Faire la paix par l'humanitaire. Les pacifistes françaises au secours des enfants d'Allemagne : un premier pas vers un rapprochement franco-allemande (1919-1925)", in *Cahiers d'histoire* (Canada). Dr. Doucet has also presented at numerous international conferences, including the Annual Conference of the French Historical Society in Washington, DC; the Gendering Peace in Europe Conference in Sheffield (UK); *Pratiques et imaginaires de paix en temps de guerre* in La Flèche (France) as well as *Europe in the war: For Peace!* in Coimbra (Portugal).

### *The Women of the World Want to Disarm: The League of Nations and the Disarmament Questions in the early 1930s*

In 1919 the Versailles Treaty put the very complex question of disarmament in the League of Nations' hands. Recognizing the important role it would have to play on the matter, article 8 of the League's Covenant insisted on the fact that "peace required the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety". Throughout the 1920s preparatory commissions were tasked with organizing the World Disarmament Conference that would take place between 1932 and 1934. For pacifist women, who had been anxiously waiting for this conference since the end of the Great War, it was impossible to watch silently while the (male) leaders of the world were negotiating the terms of disarmament. On the contrary, they believed that it was their duty to work actively to mobilize public opinion and to put pressure on politicians.

Of all the actions undertaken by women around this Conference, the international petition in circulation between 1931 and 1932 in more than 56 countries is, without a doubt, the most impressive. Aware of the importance of public opinion for the Conference to achieve the desired results, the Disarmament Committee of Women's International Organization (DSWIO), which united international women's organizations ranging from the International Women's League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) to the International Council of Women (ICW), launched the petition in September 1931. In just a few months,

they were able to collect more than six million individual signatures worldwide. These petitions were presented to the members of the Conference in Geneva on February 6, 1932. To this day, this disarmament petition remains one of the largest international petitions in terms of the world population. Using this petition as a backdrop, this paper will look at how women talked about one of the key moment in the League of Nations' history: the World Disarmament Conference. To do so this paper relies primarily on the WILPF's international and national section's papers; the records of the DSWIO; as well as a number of private correspondence between members of these groups. Adopting a transnational approach – looking at French, British and Canadian pacifist women's discourses – it will focus on the tensions and differences of opinion that exist on the question of disarmament and on the work being done in Geneva in the early 1930s.

## Marina Germane | University of Glasgow

Marina Germane holds an MSc in Nationalism and Ethnicity from the London School of Economics and Political Science, and a PhD in Central and East European Studies from the University of Glasgow. She is currently a research affiliate at the Department of Central and East European Studies of the University of Glasgow. Her research interests include European history of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, nationalism and identity, minority rights, non-territorial cultural autonomy, transnationalism, and history of political thought. Her articles appeared in *Nations and Nationalism*, *Journal of Baltic Studies*, *Ethnopolitics Papers*, and *Journal of the European Centre for Minority Issues*. She is currently researching transnational minority activism during the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

### ***'The Two Great Minorities of 1918': Germans and Jews at the Congress of European Nationalities (1925-1933)***

The German and Jewish minorities did not just form the two biggest factions at the Congress of European Nationalities (ENC, 1925-1938), they spearheaded the interwar minority rights movement both at the international arena, and at their respective home countries during the 1920s. Their shared commitment to the idea of non-territorial cultural autonomy (NTA) underpinned the ENC's lobbying efforts at the League of Nations that promoted NTA as a possible universal solution to minority problem in Central and Eastern Europe.

In 1933, this cooperation came to an abrupt end when the ENC – albeit not unanimously – rejected the Jewish minority leaders' appeal to break with the precedent (criticism of individual governments was expressly forbidden by the organisation's statutes) and issue an explicit condemnation of the Nazi regime and its policies, prompting the Jewish delegation to leave the Congress. One of the founders of the ENC, Baltic German Paul Schiemann, broke his ties with the Congress out of protest, and with his departure the previous Baltic German leadership had given way to dominance by the Sudeten Germans already firmly under the sway of Nazism. Although formally the ENC continued to meet until 1938, its democratic period was effectively over.

Focusing on Paul Schiemann and the Jewish representative Leo Motzkin, this paper traces the origins of the short-lived cooperation between these two European minorities and examines its internal dynamics whilst considering external facilitating factors and constraints, such as the policies of the League of Nations, on which the Congress was modelled; the politics of nation-states, and the overall fragility of international environment during the interwar period.

## Martin Beddeleem | Aarhus University

Martin Beddeleem is a post-doctoral researcher at the School of Culture and Society at Aarhus University (AU). He has completed his dissertation on the epistemology and scientific politics of early neoliberalism at the Université de Montréal in 2018. Forthcoming is his “Recoding Liberalism: Philosophy and Sociology of Science Against Planning” in the edited volume *The Nine Lives of Neoliberalism* (Verso, 2019). He is also responsible for the database “Mapping the Good Society: Concepts, Actors, and Institutions of Neoliberalism from the 1930s onwards” to be launched in 2019.

### *Intellectual Cooperation at the League of Nations: A Cradle for Neoliberalism?*

With Hagen Schulz-Forberg

If the Walter-Lippmann Colloquium (WLC) (August 1938) is well-known as an important milestone of the genesis of neoliberalism (cf. Angus Burgin’s 2012 *The Great Persuasion*), very little attention has been given to why it took place on the premises of the Institute for International Intellectual Cooperation in Paris (IIIC), under the helm of the ICIC. Surprisingly neglected are the reasons why the majority of the participants to the WLC had strong ties to League of Nations’ bodies, either through the IIIC (among them Louis Rougier, Louis Baudin and John Bell Condliffe), the ICIC Executive Committee itself (with José Castillejo and Johan Huizinga, for example) or the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva, run by William Rappard with Ludwig von Mises and Wilhelm Röpke on staff, two of the most prominent early neoliberal theoreticians.

Quinn Slobodian’s recent *Globalists* (2018) points to the existence of a ‘Geneva school’ of neoliberalism concerned with the best possible ‘encasement’ of the economy by the state. But Slobodian’s suggestion of neoliberal intellectual coherence does not extend to the deep institutional roots of early neoliberalism in the League of Nations. Far from a radical free-market doctrine developed by a handful of renegade economists, our research shows that early neoliberalism emerged organically from the League’s work of the 1930s, through the various rounds of the annual International Studies Conferences, the National Committees for Intellectual Cooperation (NCICs), and the establishment of national institutes for economic conjectures tied to the ICIC, with the help and funding from the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Endowment. The idea that laissez-faire liberalism had failed and that new forms of legal cooperation were needed are as constitutive of early neoliberalism as they were part of the shared imagination of the League’s experts on economic and international matters.

This paper shows that neoliberalism was not only born within the complex transnational web of the League’s organisations, but that early neoliberals continued their work within the League’s network through other means after the Second World War. They established the need for scientific consensus through international intellectual cooperation, and

strong common values as the basis of their work. What had been accomplished before 1939 continued in new institutional setups after 1945. Early neoliberalism testifies to multiple legacies of the League of Nations, and its enduring model for intellectual cooperation.

## Martin Bemann | University of Freiburg

Since 2013 Martin Bemann has been lecturing at the University of Freiburg. Martin received his PhD in 2010 in Freiburg with a thesis on German debates about forest decline in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In 2011 Martin was a visiting scholar at the University of East Anglia (UK), where he conducted research on international timber trade of the 1920s and 1930s. In 2012/13 he worked as a lecturer at the University of Dresden. During the academic year 2016/17, he was a Junior Fellow at the *Freiburg Institute for Advanced Studies* (FRIAS).

Currently, Martin is writing his 'Habilitation' thesis on the establishment of 'world economic statistics' in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Martin has published his dissertation thesis in 2012 and co-edited two anthologies concerning the relevance of knowledge and uncertainty in environmental policy and land management (2013) as well as the history of the concept of Ecological Modernisation (2014). Furthermore, Martin has written and published articles on forest history, international timber trade, ecological modernisation, the international standardisation of forestry and timber statistics as well as on the establishment of 'world economic statistics'.

### ***The League and the World. How and Why the League's Economic Intelligence Service Shaped the Statistical Image of the World Economy***

In his 'Age of Extremes' Eric Hobsbawm testified the *League of Nations* to have been an 'almost total failure'. Only in one regard, he maintained, it had achieved something: the collection of statistics. Ever since the League's related endeavours have been praised as pioneering and path-breaking. Indeed, many of the League's publications on economic issues were unprecedented and contemporary economists as well as later historians have used them heavily. However, there are no closer examinations of what the League's statistical experts actually did and why they could acquire a pioneering role in a field which for decades had been the playground of statisticians and economists.

My paper will introduce the actual work of the League's *Economic Intelligence Service* (EIS), its institutional structure and its main achievements. I argue that it can best be understood as a result of intensified globalisation processes after the First World War and that it created a new and lasting form of global consciousness by implicitly shaping a statistical image of 'the world economy'. Then I will discuss three reasons of its success and long-lasting impact:

*First*, the EIS was dominated by highly dedicated and competent economists and statisticians who hold their positions for almost the whole lifetime of the League. This enabled them to acquire the relevant statistical know-how and to establish long-lasting formal and informal contacts with colleagues across the globe necessary for a real-time observation of economic processes and the standardisation of concepts and methods.

*Second*, the EIS' endeavours to standardise concepts and methods – a second prerequisite for observing economic processes on a global scale – were successful because they coincided with an increasing willingness of states to compete with each other. And comparable statistics provided one field for such a competition – less in a sense of ton ideology but more in terms of prestige.

*Third*, the EIS profited from the fact that governments all over the world intensified their statistical activities at the same time. They needed data for their increasing activities in economic and social policies. The better the statistical machineries of single states became, the more power they acquired, the better the League's service could become – a perfect example of the mutual dependency of nationalisms and internationalism.

## Michael Auwers | University of Antwerp

Dr Michael Auwers is a member of PoHis – Center for Political History at the University of Antwerp. His research interests lie primarily in the history of diplomatic culture. They have mainly resulted in publications about gift-giving, visual culture and diplomacy in the early seventeenth century and in articles about the influence of democratization on diplomatic culture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The present paper is inspired by a passage in his doctoral dissertation, which he successfully defended in 2014.

### ***“Ces Dangereux Moyens de Pacifier l’Europe”. On the Strained Relationship between Professional Diplomats and the League of Nations***

In the conclusion of his posthumously published 1934 memoirs, the Belgian diplomat Baron Eugène-Napoléon Beyens warned his readers for the consequences of the new system of diplomatic practice that had emerged after the First World War:

“Pour stabiliser la paix, on a eu recours à des conférences périodiques et à la Société des Nations. Les conférences se multiplient, où siègent des chefs de gouvernement et des hommes politiques, mais où les diplomates brillent par leur absence. Leurs discussions sont radiodiffusées pêle-mêle avec les dernières nouvelles du jour et les airs à succès des chanteurs à la mode. C’est la diplomatie au grand jour, la diplomatie de la place publique. La Société des Nations est devenue, d’autre part, un marché international où se débattent les demandes et les refus de désarmement [...] Ces dangereux moyens de pacifier l’Europe n’ont eu d’autre résultat que d’envenimer les controverses et d’irriter tous les esprits.”

One could argue that the frustration of senior diplomats like Beyens primarily sprung from their realization that they were further and further removed from the center of world politics, which was seemingly more and more occupied by national political leaders. Yet in the early 1920s Beyens, then dean of the Belgian diplomatic corps, had acquired first-hand experience with dealings in world politics’ new center as Belgian delegate to the League of Nations’ annual General Assembly. In published writings, the diplomat kept defending the importance of the League until at least early 1925. At that time, he stated that “la création de la Société des Nations a marqué un premier effort et un premier pas dans une direction résolument pacifique.”

Focusing on the case of Baron Beyens, in this paper I will study how senior members of the Belgian diplomatic corps perceived the League of Nations and the materialization of the so-called *new diplomacy* after the First World War. While proponents of *new diplomacy* proclaimed the preservation of world peace as their own central paradigm and charged *old diplomacy* with only serving the interest of one country, traditional diplomats were often ambivalent in their attitudes towards the institutions that propagated these ideas.

## Michele L. Louro | Salem State University

Michele L. Louro is an Associate Professor of History at Salem State University, where she specializes in Modern South Asia, the British Empire and World History. Her book, *Comrades against Imperialism: Nehru, India and Interwar Internationalism* (Cambridge University Press, Global and International History Series, 2018), traces the emergence of anti-imperialist internationalism in the interwar years from the perspective of India's Jawaharlal Nehru. Louro's research appears in the *Journal of Contemporary History*, *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, and the edited volume, *The Internationalist Moment: South Asia, Worlds and Worldviews*.

Louro is also co-editor and contributor to a volume of essays, *Global Anti-imperialism Between the World Wars*, which recovers a global history of the League against Imperialism. She also serves as the Treasurer of the World History Association and the Managing editor of the *Journal of World History*.

### ***The Search for a “Real” League of Nations: The League against Imperialism and Alternative Histories of Interwar Internationalism***

In February 1927, over 170 delegates representing anticolonial and working-class movements convened in Brussels and established the League against Imperialism (LAI), a rarely studied yet important institution that coordinated a worldwide resistance to imperialist powers and capitalist classes. In the words of its founder, the League represented “the first steps toward the formation of a real League of Nations,” which had been made “not in Geneva, but here in Brussels.”<sup>1</sup> High profile delegates like Jawaharlal Nehru admitted that there was some truth to this claim, while other future heads of state like Indonesia's Sukarno and Kenya's Jomo Kenyatta eventually came to see the LAI as the “real” League of Nations because it afforded representation for nationalists from the colonial world.

This paper contributes to our understanding of the legacies of the League of Nations in creating an internationalist milieu that inspired rival institutions like the LAI, which claimed authenticity as the “real” League on Nations and at the same time confronted the failures of Geneva and the ‘Wilsonian Moment’ to address anticolonial demands for national sovereignty. In tracing this history, I draw upon research uncovered in my recent book, *Comrades against Imperialism*, to argue that the LAI represented a new internationalist mode of solidarity for the colonized that was inspired by the possibilities and limitations of the League of Nations and especially its position on imperialism, anticolonial nationalism, and racism.

## References

<sup>1</sup> Willi Münzenberg, *Speech at the Brussels Congress against Imperialism and for National Independence*, February 10, 1927, Brussels, Belgium.

## Natali Stegmann | University of Regensburg

Natali Stegmann owns a PdD in East European History and a habilitation from the University of Tübingen. Her main monographs deal with the history of the Polish women's movement from 1863 till 1918 and with Czechoslovak war victims after the First and the Second World War. Since 2009 she holds the position of an academic researcher and a professorship at the chair for South East and East European History at the University of Regensburg. Research interests: 19th and 20th century history of East Central Europe, gender history, war experiences, social policy, culture of late socialist societies.

### *Social Rights and Conceptions of Peace in an East Central European Perspective*

In the countries founded after the breakup of the former empires at the end of World War I, both the emergence of internationalism and the foundation of nation states went hand in hand. Even though both processes suggested a new start, the East Central European nations also owed traditions of social policy making from the predecessor states, among which the tradition of the Habsburg monarchy had the deepest imprint.

When the League of Nations was established with the newly founded states among the first members, its idea of social justice developed in correspondence with these traditions. Hence, the simultaneous development of national and international standards was intertwined with this (transnational) institutional bequeathment. This marks the very specific approach to the conception of social justice in the region, which also formed the further development. Building hence on the thesis of institutional continuity, which outlasted and partly even supported the regime changes, the paper will explore the place of social policy making within three dimensions:

Firstly, the concept of social rights as an element of citizenship, developed in the former empires and institutionally incorporated into the nation state in the context of the Versailles order.

Secondly the concept of social justice as a precondition of peace as it was formulated by the League of Nation.

Thirdly the concept of social security as it was codified in the Human Rights Declaration of the United Nations in 1948, and how it challenges the socialist order as well as the transition to market economy.

Starting from the observation that social standards developed simultaneously on national and international (and partly also transnational) stages, the paper challenges the binary notion of either national or international solidarity options. Interpreting international solidarity options as at least a European (if not a global) heritage.

**Nicholas Mulder | Erasmus University Rotterdam / King's College London & Columbia University**

Nicholas Mulder is Doctoral Candidate at Columbia University. He works on twentieth-century modern European and international history. He is especially interested in questions of political economy, the different varieties of internationalism and the history of war. His doctoral dissertation is a history of the interwar origins of economic sanctions in Euro-American politics between 1914 and 1945 and reconstructs how sanctions reconfigured the international order by introducing the possibility of economic coercion against societies in peacetime. It charts how this instrument became established as part of international institutions and European state policies after World War I, how it offered a novel way to prevent war, and produced new forms of intervention in the world economy. It also recovers the contested political nature of sanctions, and reframes our understanding of the role that they played in the collapse of the international order in the 1930s and its reconstruction in the late 1940s. His work has appeared in *Humanity*, *Het Financieele Dagblad*, *The Huffington Post*, *Cambridge Humanities Review*, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, *Private Debt Project* and *King's Review*.

***Not Appeasement but Internationalism: A New Look at Non-Intervention in the Spanish Civil War***

With **Thomas W. Bottelier**

In August-September 1936, within months of Francisco Franco's revolt against the democratically elected Spanish Republican government, Britain and France established a Non-Intervention Committee (NIC) that quickly came to include all foreign parties involved in the Spanish Civil War, from Portugal to the Soviet Union. The NIC has long been regarded as a typical miscarriage of Anglo-French 'appeasement' towards the fascist powers. It bypassed the League of Nations and was used by London and Paris as a vehicle for engaging Germany and Italy, even as it failed in its main goal: to stop foreign involvement in Spain. This paper challenges this conventional account of the origins of the Second World War. We argue that the institution of Non-Intervention should be seen as a creation of liberal internationalism rather than as a form of appeasement; the NIC was much more like the League of Nations than has been recognized.

Like the League, the NIC was a multilateral, if temporary, international organisation committed to preventing the spread of war. Non-Intervention exemplified the hierarchy of the interwar international order, as it brought together a consortium of European great powers that suspended Spain's sovereignty through a system of so-called 'neutrality patrols' in Spanish waters. These patrols constituted a rare case of (attempted) close military-diplomatic cooperation between Britain, France, Germany, Italy and the USSR. Accordingly, some proponents, like Winston Churchill, saw in Non-Intervention the

kernel of a new, more cooperative international politics that might yet salvage peace in Europe. Though it signally failed to do so, the NIC did achieve its goal of preventing Spain's conflict from provoking a general European war. Critical attention to this mixed legacy highlights both the possibilities and limitations of interwar liberal internationalism, with obvious parallels to conflict management and intervention in present-day civil wars in Syria and Yemen.

## Nova Robinson | Seattle University

Nova Robinson is an Assistant Professor of History and International Studies at Seattle University. Her research is situated at the intersection of women's history, Middle Eastern history, and the history of international governance. She is presently working on her manuscript *Truly Sisters: Syrian and Lebanese Women's Transnational Activist Networks, 1910-1955*. Recent articles have been published in the *International Journal of Middle East Studies* and the *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies*, and the *Arab Studies Journal*.

### ***The Committee of Experts on the Legal Status of Women and Measuring the Status of "All the World's Women"***

On April 4, 1938, after eighteen years of advocacy from international women's organizations, the League of Nations inaugurated the Committee of Experts on the Legal Status of Women. The resulting committee consisted of six Europeans and one American—four women and three men. It was charged with measuring the status of the world's women and creating international legal norms for "all the world's women." The committee, whose members were citizens of colonizing nations, initially decided that "Eastern" systems for regulating the status of women were too byzantine to include in its global survey. Women from the mandated territories, and especially Syria, disagreed. They petitioned to expand the ranks of the Committee of Experts to include an "Eastern" representative and thereby acknowledge women's rights systems that existed outside the "West." Ultimately, the Committee of Experts decided they would try to collect information about some non-Western legal systems, but all the other women's rights systems would be measured against the legal rights established under civil and common law traditions.

This paper explores the process by which women's rights were internationalized at the League of Nations and the legacies of that internationalization. The Committee of Experts was the first international body dedicated to measuring the status of women and it set into motion the practice of measuring the legal, social, economic, and political status of women, which was absorbed by the United Nations' Commission on the Status of Women. The goal of the League's committee was to establish a standardized metric for measuring whether or not a nation had "advanced" or "underdeveloped" protections for its female citizens. The committee dissolved with the outbreak of World War II, but its legacy lingers and continues to affect the delivery of women's rights on the international level.

Oskar Mulej is a junior researcher at the Institute for Modern and Contemporary Historical Research of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, working in the ERC project 'Non-territorial Autonomy as a Form of Minority Protection in Europe.' He studied history and philosophy in Ljubljana before continuing MA studies in history at the Central European University (CEU) in Budapest, where in 2018 he also earned a PhD degree in Comparative History of Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe. His core research interest is political and intellectual history of Central Europe in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup>, where he has particularly focused on liberalism and its close, yet not always easy historical relationship with the national movements and nationalism. He has also engaged in research on youth subcultures and various problems of modern Slovene history.

### ***The German Nationalist Subversion of the European Nationalities Congress, 1933-1938***

The Nazi takeover of power in Germany in 1933 signalled the final phase in the development of the Congress of European Nationalities, which was marked by an increasingly strained relationship with the League of Nations.

While already prior to 1933, the representatives of German-speaking minorities formed the numerically strongest and most influential group in the Congress – arguably, the Weimar Republic also lent it additional support - a radical ideological shift within the German representation resulted in a complete transformation of the ENC after 1933. First, in 1933 all of the Jewish members left the Congress, creating a void that was largely filled by activists of the emerging Sudeten German movement, who soon came to form the dominant group within the ENC. With the problem of *Auslandsdeutschtum* becoming the crux of the Congress's agenda, it gradually transformed from a profoundly international and predominantly liberal forum into an instrument of pan-German nationalism, also fostering increasingly hostile attitudes towards "western" democracy. Ultimately, it succumbed to the Nazi influence and adopted an openly revisionist position.

The aim of this paper is to show how after 1933, the ENC's stance towards the system of minority protection instituted by the LoN evolved from a constructively critical one to the one of outright rejection. This will be done by a thorough examination of the minutes of the congresses, as well as tracing how this paradigm shift was reflected in the pages of the journal *Nation und Staat*, whilst also accounting for the plurality of opinions that still existed among the ENC members (including the German nationalists themselves).

## Paul Weinbaum | Duquesne University Pittsburgh

Dr Paul J Weinbaum, MD, MS has been a practicing clinician and physician educator in Women's Health for over 30 years. In 2017, he returned to school to fulfill a lifelong desire to become a professional historian. Dr. Weinbaum is currently a Candidate for the Master's Degree from the Department of History and Public History, Duquesne University, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. His current research interest involves the development and impact of the Health Section of the League of Nations as it evolved into the world's first transnational health organization between 1919-1939. His thesis in preparation is, "*Epidemics, Politics and Public Health, Ludwik Rajchman MD, The League of Nations Health Organization and the Creation of a Transnational Health Organization.*"

### ***Epidemics, Politics and Public Health, Ludwik Rajchman MD, The League of Nations Health Organization and the Creation of a Transnational Health Organization***

Traditional scholarship on the League of Nations generally labels the organization as a failure because it did not prevent the outbreak of the World War II. Yet this literature neglects to examine other important League endeavors. Perhaps the most successful of these efforts was accomplished by the Health Section led by Dr. Ludwick Rajchman between 1919-1939. Using primary sources including League archives in Geneva, documents from organizations such as the Rockefeller Foundation, and a survey of medical journals, I argue that the Health Section became the world's first transnational health organization and initiated important international public health programs which included the control of epidemic diseases, standardization of laboratory testing, and the development of effective disease treatments.

This paper examines the Health Section's partnerships with private charitable foundations, which provided support for medical education and meetings between scientific and medical experts from different nations. The most important of these conferences are examined, not only because they facilitated the exchange of information and research data, but because they encouraged productive communication between nations that had been bitter enemies during the Great War. The presentation also examines the critical role played by Dr. Ludwick Rajchman in the development and success of the public health programs of the Health Section and his importance in the founding of UNICEF in the post-World War II period. Finally, I argue that the rightward shift in European political sentiment and the change in the leadership of the Health Section during the 1930's led to politicization and significant reduction in the scope and effectiveness of the Section's public health projects.

Pelle van Dijk is a PhD researcher at department of History and Civilization at the European University Institute in Florence. His PhD project is concerned with the League of Nations' attempts to improve its image amongst the public in the member states. He conducts this research through a study of the League's Information Section and several affiliating organisations that were set up by civil society in different countries. It involves archival research in the League's archives in Geneva, and several archives in the former member states.

By using concepts such as 'public diplomacy' in analysing the interwar period, he builds on his previous research at the University of Amsterdam and the University of Birmingham on Dutch efforts in influencing foreign audiences in this period. Research into the cooperation between different state and non-state actors in this field led into participation of a conference on the Netherlands in international history in 2016. In 2018, Routledge published the chapter "You act too much as a journalist and too little as a diplomat": Pieter Geyl, The National Bureau for Documentation on the Netherlands and Dutch public diplomacy, 1919-1935' in *Shaping the International Relations of the Netherlands, 1815-2000*. Previously he worked on the Dutch neutrality during the First World War. This resulted in the article 'Both doctor and ethnographer: Arius van Tienhoven, Dutch doctor at the Balkan front', published in the collection of essays *Unknown Fronts: the Eastern Turn in First World War History* (Groningen 2017).

### ***Influencing Indian Public Opinion: The League of Nations' Bombay Office***

As part of their attempt to create a stable world order, the liberal internationalists responsible for the League of Nations wanted to mobilise the 'moral force' of the international public. They believed that if educated and informed properly, the rational public would understand the importance of peaceful international cooperation. In the historiography the League has been called passive and naïve with regard to its ideas on public opinion, but a closer look at its information strategies suggests otherwise. By distributing pamphlets in various languages, creating films and radio broadcasts, and maintaining contact with journalists, the League's Information Section tried to spread its message in the member states.

In this paper, based on research into a large set of sources discovered in the League's archives in Geneva, I will demonstrate the League's efforts at influencing public opinion by looking at the Information Section's office in India. The status of India in the League caused friction with Indian nationalists. In theory the country was a full member, but as India was not a sovereign state, the British imperial government controlled its actions in the international organisation. By establishing a branch of the Information Section in Bombay and a system of correspondents in other cities, the League tried to tackle the

hostile public opinion in the country. League officials maintained close relations with Indian journalists, tried to mobilise civil society, and delivered lectures, focussing for instance on how India benefited from the League's work on labour conditions and its fight against epidemics. Out of the sources of the Bombay office a story emerges of an organisation that pushed its message amongst different Indian political groups, while at the same time appeasing the imperial government. Thereby this case displays the interaction between forces of internationalism, nationalism and imperialism that are crucial in understanding the League's role in the interwar world order.

Quintino Lopes is an integrated researcher at the Instituto de História Contemporânea – Ciência, Estudos de História, Filosofia e Cultura Científica (IHC-FCSH/NOVA-CEHFCi-UE) (Institute of Contemporary History – Science, History Studies, Philosophy and Science Culture; New University of Lisbon; University of Évora).

He concluded his PhD in History and Philosophy of Science at the University of Évora (Portugal) in 2017 (FCT grant ref. SFRH/BD/78509/2011). His dissertation was entitled *A Junta de Educação Nacional (1929-36): traços de europeização na investigação científica em Portugal (The National Education Board (1929-36): evidence of Europeanisation in scientific research in Portugal)*. At the present he has a research grant from IHC-FCSH/NOVA-CEHFCi-UE. He is a fellow of the Association for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies since 2015 and he has particular interest in Contemporary History; History of Science; Scientific politics and scientific practice; Scientific centre/peripheries; Comparative and transnational perspectives; Portuguese New State.

### ***Science and Diplomacy in the 1930s: The [Portuguese] National Education Board and the League of Nations***

This paper examines the career of Fernando Correia Pereira da Silva, a scholarship-holder at the University of Geneva of the National Education Board, a state institution that aimed to Europeanise scientific activity in Portugal in the 1930s. This analysis is carried out within the context of two agendas: science and diplomacy on the one hand, and on the other hand the organisation and achievements of the League of Nations, particularly in terms of its international staff, a member of which Silva later became. Having gained a PhD at the Geneva Faculty of Law in 1931, he became a faculty lecturer (*privat-docent*) and produced a thesis and a number of books and articles dealing with the League of Nations and questions of international law. The authoritarian nationalist *Estado Novo* [New State] seeking to avoid upsetting the status quo in Portuguese academia, appointed Silva to a post at the Secretariat of the League of Nations, where international interests were assumed to take precedence over national interests. Embodying the ‘Spirit of Geneva’, he influenced international diplomacy between the wars while acting against the interests of the Portuguese state. This makes interpretation of the actions of a regime which is traditionally seen as having turned its back on the rest of continental Europe more complex.

## Rebecca Shriver | Missouri Southern State University

Dr. Rebecca Shriver is an Assistant Professor of Modern European History at Missouri Southern State University. She received her doctorate from Florida State University in May 2018. Her general research interests include interwar Europe, federalism, gender, and peace studies. Specifically, her work investigates how gender shaped people's perceptions of political involvement, systems of government, and transnational organizations during the first half of the twentieth century. Shriver is currently preparing her manuscript, *Europa and the Bull: Gendering Europe and the Process of European Integration 1919-1939*, for publication, elements of which have already led to book chapters in edited collections and journal articles. Funded by multiple fellowships, this study relies on Italian, German, Dutch, British, American, and Canadian archives to explore how anti-war organizations that supported European integration gendered their notions of international political identities and activism. Additionally, it examines the relationships between these organizations and existing diplomatic institutions. Her most recent article, "Weimar Feminist Pacifists: The Question of Political Authority in the New Republic," appearing in a 2017 issue of *Parlement[s]: Revue d'histoire politique*, considers how German members of WILPF interpreted and used the Weimar Constitution in their petitions to government authorities. Shriver has presented at numerous international conferences, including meetings hosted by the Humanities Research Institute at the University of Sheffield, LabEx EHNE at the Sorbonne, and the First Europe in the World Conference hosted by IHC, NOVA FCSH and the CEIS20 at the University of Coimbra.

### ***Europe's Threat to the League: Women's International League for Peace and Freedom's Debate over European Integration and Protecting the League of Nations, 1923-1933***

After the First World War, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) was one of many organizations devoted to the challenge of creating an international order capable of preventing future violent conflicts. In their early years, the majority of WILPF leaders considered the League of Nations a promising development toward this goal, as well as a key ally. Considering the importance of the League on Nations to their group's activities, WILPF leadership often tempered their public criticism of the international body. When they did point out shortcomings, they stressed that their critiques were intended to signify their desire to work with (rather than against) the diplomats and statesmen gathered in Geneva. However, a growing concern over the efficacy of the League of Nations among some WILPF leaders becomes apparent by the late 1920s, particularly when assessing the debate over another increasingly popular contemporary movement.

Beginning in 1923, WILPF members regularly discussed whether their organization should support proposals to unify European States under a single federal government.

Although there was not an inherent conflict between supporting the League of Nations and European federalism, there was an assumption among League supporters that European integration would threaten the functionality of the League of Nations. An analysis of WILPF's debate over the prospect of a federal European government provides valuable insight into the evolution of WILPF leaders' faith in the future success of the League of Nations. This investigation primarily relies on WILPF's international and national sections' papers; the records and publications related to their triennial congresses and annual summer schools; their organization's periodical, *Pax*; the papers and publications of individual WILPF members; and correspondence between WILPF leaders, League of Nations officials, and federalists. Using these materials, an analysis of the debate over European integration provides a new understanding of the concerns that divided WILPF members who remained devoted to the success of the League of Nations compared to those who increasingly lost faith in its ability to resolve disagreements between European States.

## Reem Bailony | Agnes Scott College

Reem Bailony is a historian of the modern Middle East, focusing on the history of the Eastern Mediterranean and its diaspora during the interwar period. She is currently an Assistant Professor of History at Agnes Scott College, and teaches a wide array of courses on the modern Middle East. Before beginning her position at Agnes Scott, she was the 2016-2017 American Druze Foundation Postdoctoral Fellow at Georgetown University's Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, and received her doctorate in modern Middle East history from the University of California, Los Angeles in 2015. She is currently working towards her book manuscript tentatively titled *Transnational Rebellion: The Syrian Revolt of 1925-1927*. Set within the broader internationalism of the 1920s, it uncovers the critical role Syrian-Lebanese migrants played in defining and shaping the anticolonial rebellion against the French Mandate government. Her article, "Transnationalism and the Syrian Migrant Public: The Case of the 1925 Syrian Revolt," appears in the inaugural issue of *Mashriq & Mahjar: Journal of Middle East Migration Studies* in Spring 2013.

### ***Competing Internationalisms and the Syrian Revolt of 1925***

In the summer of 1925, the Druze of southern Syrian sparked what would soon become a countrywide rebellion against the French Mandate government. The 1925 revolt was just one response to the failure of the mandates system to embody the spirit of anti-imperialism that the League of Nations ostensibly represented. Syrian protagonists on and off the battlefield petitioned the League of Nations to intervene to bring about the end of French abuses and to hasten self-determination. By utilizing the language of anti-imperialism and international law, the petitions endowed the League of Nations with power as an international body. Yet, the relationship of oppositional Syrians to the League of Nations was a fraught one. Both in discourse and practice, Syrian hopefuls acted in ways to also undermine the League of Nations and the Mandate government it upheld. While buying into the nation-state project, Syrians were not impervious to various alternative internationalist networks that operated—to differing degrees—outside the logic of the League of Nations framework. Even as they petitioned the League and negotiated with the French, Syrians recognized the potentially strategic role that the alternative internationalist movements could play in countering a Eurocentric international order.

Utilizing French intelligence reports, petitions to the League of Nations, as well as Arabic newspapers, this paper uncovers broad reaching efforts by Syrians to gain support and resources from liberal internationalist, Bolshevik, and pan-Islamic circles. A common anti-imperialist agenda brought together these diverse networks, even when their specific ideologies and goals stood at odds with one another. In their quest for independence, Syrian efforts to bridge the national and international demonstrate the porosity of ideological and strategic networks during the interwar period. By shedding

light on these various actors, the Syrian Revolt of 1925 can be read as multivalent in nature, holding meaning for divergent but overlapping “internationalist” movements, not all of which considered the nation-state framework as their dominant paradigm.

## Ross A. Kennedy | Illinois State University

Ross A. Kennedy received his Ph.D. from the University of California at Berkeley in 1994. He is the author of *The Will to Believe: Woodrow Wilson, World War I, and America's Strategy for Peace and Security* (Kent State, 2009), which won the Scott Bills Prize in Peace History. He also edited *A Companion to Woodrow Wilson* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), a collection of 29 original historiographic essays covering all aspects of Woodrow Wilson's career. Kennedy has published work in *Diplomatic History*, the *Journal of American History*, and the *Journal of Strategic Studies*, among other outlets, and delivered invited talks on the U.S. and World War I in both Europe and the United States. He is a member of the Scientific Committee for the International Conference on the Peace Treaties (1918-1923), hosted by Sorbonne University and University of Nantes, Paris, 21-23 March 2019, and is an Organization of American Historians Distinguished Lecturer (2017-2020). Kennedy's current project, entitled *The United States and the Origins of World War II*, analyzes the role of the United States in Great Power politics from 1918 to 1939. He teaches at Illinois State University, where he is a Professor of History and Chair of the History Department.

### ***A Commitment to Judge: Woodrow Wilson's Conception of Collective Security under the League of Nations***

Woodrow Wilson's conception of how the League of Nations would deter aggression and so provide a new basis for international security has long been a subject of controversy among historians. According to Adam Tooze, for example, the security provisions in the Covenant of the League were incoherent and Wilson somehow saw the League both as a vehicle for American global hegemony and as a way to disentangle the United States from Europe. In contrast, Trygve Thrøntveit's new book argues that the Covenant of the League created an egalitarian international organization able to provide security to nations through strong guarantees of collective defense. Still other historians simply repeat Wilson's own statements about the League's collective security regime without much comment, as if Wilson's claims about the League were self-explanatory.

My proposed paper argues that Wilson's perception of how the League would work as an international security organization was rooted in his estimation of American power and his belief in American exceptionalism. The power of the United States, Wilson calculated, clearly surpassed that of other nations; it was unquestionably the most powerful nation on earth. At the same time, Wilson saw the United States as a morally and politically superior country that other nations admired and looked to for guidance. These two characteristics made America's participation in the League crucial to its effectiveness. The Covenant, Wilson knew, did not impose any ironclad obligations upon its members to rush to the defense of victims of aggression. But by signing the Covenant and joining the League, the United States did, in Wilson's view, make a binding commitment to assess

alleged instances of aggression. Knowledge of this commitment would deter potential aggressors because they recognized that behind America's judgment of their behavior lay American power and America's unique ability to persuade others to follow its lead.

## Sara Ercolani | University of Bologna

In 2013, Sara Ercolani received a master's degree in History and Civilisation from the University of Pisa with a thesis on the traffic of women, which was awarded the following year by the University of Pisa a prize for research on gender issues. Sara received a doctoral degree (2014-18) in Political and Social Sciences from the University of Bologna with a dissertation entitled "The White Slave Traffic in Italy and in the United Kingdom. From the Associations Movement to the League of Nations (1885-1946)", where she traced back the common ancestry of the European associations movement of the 1870s and the present international law against the traffic of human beings. Sara Ercolani carried out her archival research in the Women's Library in London, while she was a visiting student at the Kingston University. During her PhD, Sara spoke in two international conferences, supporting the idea of an association-based Europeanism born in the second half of the XIX century, affecting the international systems which were created in the following decades and which are still relevant today.

Sara Ercolani attended the Workshop "From Ideas on Europe to the European Citizen: Why Europe?" (Villa Vigoni, Como, January 2016) with a paper entitled "The European Fight against trafficking. From the White Slave Traffic to Today's Traffic of Women and Minors". She attended the International Conference "Populisms, New Rights, New Parties: What Political Discourses in Europe?" (Pisa, June 2016). Sara Ercolani is a member of the editorial board of "Quaderni di Cultura viareggina", a scientific journal on culture and history.

### ***The Fight against the Traffic of Women and Minors Before and Within the League of Nations: A Path to Legitimacy for the European Civil Society***

With this paper, we propose to show how the League of Nations played an active role in tackling social issues and opposing the traffic of women and minors. Within the League, an appointed commission, chaired by Rachel Crowdy and under the Social Issues Section, was meant to fight the traffic of women and minors. It succeeded in triggering a political, ethical, and social debate with the introduction, in the international arena, of humanitarian issues which had been largely ignored until then by national governments. In Geneva, white slave traffic policies were carried out not only by the League of Nations' officers and by governments' representatives, but also by members of the European associations which for the twenty previous years had been waging their fight against the traffic of women - the International Bureau for the Suppression of Traffic in Women and Children, the International Women's Organization, and three international associations for the protection of girls (Catholic, Hebraic, and Protestant).

The League of Nations' Commission invited those associations to join, a gesture which could be considered as a legitimization of the work they had been carrying out for twenty

years, as well as an opportunity to their project. While promoting the drafting of laws on human rights and the traffic of women and minors, the League carried on the associationists' work done in the previous three decades. The fight against the trafficking of women and children within the League succeeded in uniting national representatives, League of Nations' officers, and philanthropists issued from the internationalist civil society. An extraordinary joint effort which, in Geneva, resulted in astounding developments in the humanitarian law.

## Sarah Shields | University of North Carolina

Sarah Shields is a Professor in the History Department at the University of North Carolina, in the US. Her book *Fezzes in the River: Identity Politics and European Diplomacy in the Middle East on the Eve of World War II* (Oxford University Press, 2011) is a social and diplomatic history of the contest between France and Turkey over the Sanjak of Alexandretta (1936–1940). Her previous book, *Mosul before Iraq: Like Bees Making Five-Sided Cells* (State University Press of New York, 2000), analyzes the economy and society of nineteenth-century Mosul and the region surrounding it. She is currently researching the long-term impact of the League of Nations on the Middle East, and has recently written articles and presented papers on a variety of problems in the interwar Middle East, including the Greek-Turkish population exchange, the 1929 violence in Palestine, the 1925 Syrian uprising, Iraq's independence, and the status of minorities in the region. She teaches courses on the modern Middle East, the history of Iraq, the Arab-Israeli conflict, and the history of water issues in the region. She has been named a "Favorite Geek" by the Independent Weekly.

### ***The League of Nations, Non-State Actors, and the Challenges of Intervention***

1925 marked a challenging year for the League of Nations in the Middle East. The Council struggled to carry out its obligations to the people it was to protect while avoiding the ire of the European Powers that provided the League's legitimacy. This paper will examine two dilemmas the League of Nations faced that year. First, an international outcry ensued as information leaked out about Spain's use of chemical weapons against combatants in Morocco's Rif valley. Second, the French bombed major Syrian cities (including Damascus itself) in response to growing revolt against their handling of the mandate. The League insisted in the first case that they could not intervene without a request from a recognized entity, and the Rif "rebels" had no international standing. The League clearly had standing to intervene independently in the Syria crisis: the French mandate was technically under their supervision. Nonetheless, they refused.

The League's unwillingness to intervene to protect the peace—and the populations—in these two cases reflects a broader foundational struggle that I am exploring in my research on the League of Nations and the Middle East. Those who dreamt of an organization to prevent conflict through innovative and wide-ranging initiatives to disarm the world and to improve the lives of people repeatedly struggled with a postwar political leadership for whom the League was yet another collection of states engaged in an effort for mutual security. At every step, League officials walked a tightrope, trying to create peace while assuaging the continuing voracious desire for European control.

This paper will be based largely on documents in the League of Nations archives.

**Sebastian M. Spitra | University of Vienna & University of Michigan Law School,  
Ann Arbor**

Sebastian M. Spitra, obtained his doctoral degree in law (thesis title: “The administration of culture in international law. A postcolonial history”) and his academic degree in philosophy (BA) from the University of Vienna. Currently, he is research fellow at the Department of legal and constitutional history at the Vienna law faculty. He teaches constitutional history and history of international law since 2015 and he is Fellow of the Vienna Doctoral Academy “Communicating the Law” since 2016. He participated as a fellow in the Berlin-based Transregional Academy 2017. In the beginning of 2018, he was visiting fellow at the Max Planck Institute for Comparative Public Law and International Law in Heidelberg. For the academic year 2018/2019, he will be Fulbright and Grotius fellow of the University of Michigan Law School. So far, he published on the intellectual history of international legal theory, the history of cultural heritage, and the didactics of law. His research focus lies on the history and theory of international law, particularly on the intersection point of cultural heritage, identity, and international law. He presented his work in several national and international conferences. In addition, he writes regularly on legal topics for the Austrian newspapers “Die Presse” and weekly magazine “Der Falter”.

***Constructing International Community within the League of Nations: The Ambivalent Case of Cultural Heritage***

In my paper, I want to shed light on the intellectual context of the debates on cultural heritage within the League of Nations. A case study of “cultural heritage” within the League of Nations should show how the international organization contributed to a global understanding of this legal concept in the 20th century. My argument is that the historiography and today’s understanding of the historical concept of cultural heritage have been shaped by the work of international organizations and international lawyer’s analytical concepts.

In particular, this study seeks to be a critical piece about the celebrated ideas of “solidarity”, “international community” and “common interests” that predominantly framed the mindset of international lawyers in the first half of the 20th century. It strives to value their achievements as well as to emphasize their deficiencies. The example of the treatment of cultural heritage within the League of Nations shows how the concepts of “protection” or “trusteeship” and “universal heritage” were ambivalently set into operation at that time.

The study of the League of Nations, its agenda, and its bodies, such as the work of the Permanent Mandates Commission (PMC) or the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (ICIC), are often neglected in the historiography of international cultural

heritage law. One-sided progress narratives focused on the role of codification projects dominate the traditional narrative of the formation of cultural heritage law.

In contrast to this traditional approach to the historiography of “culture” in international law, the main argument of this paper is that the highly critical and Eurocentric “standard of civilization” of the 19th and 20th century’s international law played a crucial role and served as a driving force in the formation of the cultural heritage norms. This can be closely observed in the work of the organs of the League of Nations as various actors have used the law in different ways to take part in this discourse of “civilization”.

## Stefanie Aeverbeck-Lietz | University of Bremen

Professor of communication and media studies with an emphasis on media change at the Centre for Media, Communication and Information Research (ZeMKI), University of Bremen.

### *The League of Nations “Open Diplomacy” – Strategy for a New Information Order*

With **Arne L. Gellrich** and **Erik Koenen**

As the League of Nations (LoN) celebrates its 100th Birthday in 2019, its communication history remains widely unknown (cf. Nordenstreng/Seppä 1986; Nordenstreng 2005). We present findings of a research project on the transnational communication history of the LoN during the interwar-period (1920-1938).<sup>1</sup> The LoN was guided by the concept of “Open Diplomacy” (Sweetser 1920; Information Section 1928). To reconstruct LoN information policy and the institutional sphere of “Open Diplomacy” we analyse archive sources from the Information Section (United Nations Archive Geneva), a central organisational body of the LoN since its beginnings which was directly connected to the Secretary-General, in two dimensions:

#### 1. Discursive struggle for “Open Diplomacy”

The communication strategy of the LoN was strongly influenced by an ambivalent discussion concerning public communication during the Paris Peace Conference. From letters and memoranda stored at the Geneva archive we learn that there was a hard controversy over implementation and objectives of “Open Diplomacy”. Some diplomats and information officers argued that discussions in front of the world press would improve the LoN communication towards veracity and in the long run to (more) mutual cooperation between states – others vehemently held against this position.

#### 2. Social figuration and practice of “Open Diplomacy”

Our study is complemented by profiling the staff of the Information Section, its figuration, its different roles and interests. Many of the protagonists came from the journalistic field and public relations. As so-called information officers, they organised the infrastructure and strategies for LoN “Open Diplomacy”. With the help of a collective biography of information officials we focus on this still unexplored practical side of “Open Diplomacy”: How were conflicts and tensions between the imperative of transparency of information and political interest mediated? How did Information Section and press work together? Overall, how can LoN information policy be described as strategic communication?

<sup>1</sup> DFG-funded project "Transnational Communication History of the League of Nations in the Inter-War Period (1920-1938). The institutional, professional and public spheres of journalism at the League of Nations in International Comparison" University of Bremen, 2017-2020

## Thomas W. Bottelier | Erasmus University Rotterdam / King's College London & Columbia University

Th.W. Bottelier is Lecturer in History at Erasmus University Rotterdam. He is an historian of twentieth-century international relations. His work focuses empirically on Europe and the Atlantic world and addresses the intersection between war, democracy, internationalism and political economy. He recently submitted his PhD dissertation at King's College London, which explores a central response to the 1930s and 1940s crisis of democracy, liberalism and international order in by that order's main shapers and beneficiaries: armed force. It argues that this was organised through an alliance among the 'great democracies,' Britain, France and the United States, which predated the Second World War by years and combined practices of force and internationalism that were deeply embedded in the democracies' political economy itself. His work has appeared in the *International History Review* and *Journal of Strategic Studies*.

### ***Not Appeasement but Internationalism: A New Look at Non-Intervention in the Spanish Civil War***

With **Nicholas Mulder**

In August-September 1936, within months of Francisco Franco's revolt against the democratically elected Spanish Republican government, Britain and France established a Non-Intervention Committee (NIC) that quickly came to include all foreign parties involved in the Spanish Civil War, from Portugal to the Soviet Union. The NIC has long been regarded as a typical miscarriage of Anglo-French 'appeasement' towards the fascist powers. It bypassed the League of Nations and was used by London and Paris as a vehicle for engaging Germany and Italy, even as it failed in its main goal: to stop foreign involvement in Spain. This paper challenges this conventional account of the origins of the Second World War. We argue that the institution of Non-Intervention should be seen as a creation of liberal internationalism rather than as a form of appeasement; the NIC was much more like the League of Nations than has been recognized.

Like the League, the NIC was a multilateral, if temporary, international organisation committed to preventing the spread of war. Non-Intervention exemplified the hierarchy of the interwar international order, as it brought together a consortium of European great powers that suspended Spain's sovereignty through a system of so-called 'neutrality patrols' in Spanish waters. These patrols constituted a rare case of (attempted) close military-diplomatic cooperation between Britain, France, Germany, Italy and the USSR. Accordingly, some proponents, like Winston Churchill, saw in Non-Intervention the kernel of a new, more cooperative international politics that might yet salvage peace in Europe. Though it signally failed to do so, the NIC did achieve its goal of preventing Spain's conflict from provoking a general European war. Critical attention to this mixed legacy

highlights both the possibilities and limitations of interwar liberal internationalism, with obvious parallels to conflict management and intervention in present-day civil wars in Syria and Yemen.

Thomas Gidney is a phd candidate in International History since September 2016 – ongoing on the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Switzerland.

***‘An Anomaly among Anomalies’: Colonial Member States at the League of Nations***

The admission of British India into the League of Nations deemed an ‘anomaly amongst anomalies’ by the US. Legal representative at the Paris Peace Conference D.H Miller, set an important and largely uninvestigated precedent. Following India’s example, Britain would go on to include Dominions and Protectorates including Canada, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, Ireland, Iraq and Egypt in international organisations. However, Britain was unique among empires in its decision to include its colonies, whilst others such as France decided to abstain from the presence of their colonies at Geneva.

The unique decision to push for the inclusion of colonies ponders why Britain supported the creation of separate international personalities, potentially undermining the Empire’s unity. This was achieved through careful drafting of Article 1 of the Covenant of the League that allowed the participation of Dominions and colonies as member states. Yet rather than fragmenting the Empire, the inclusion of some British colonies made up part of a larger turn within the British administration that scholars call ‘the Third British Empire’. Whilst trying to satisfy demands by moderate nationalists for reform and devolution, membership of the League of Nations was tightly regulated, in a bid to retain British supremacy of foreign policy.

The study of the creation of the ‘colonial member state’ leads us to a more comprehensive understanding of the League of Nations’ role as a locus of the early politics of decolonisation as well as the relationship of membership to sovereignty and recognition. In doing so, the paper aims to explain how colonial membership at the League was based on practised colonial international norms, as well as British political expediency, and how the two interacted to create the seemingly paradoxical nature of the colonial member state.

## Timo Aava | University of Vienna

Timo Aava is a junior researcher at the Institute for Modern and Contemporary Historical Research of the Austrian Academy of Sciences since May 2018. In October 2018 he started his PhD studies at the University of Vienna. He studied history at the University of Tartu (Estonia) and obtained Master's degree in 2015. Timo Aava has also studied in Berlin, Kiel and London. His research interests include history of Estonia, Baltic States, intellectual history, nationalism, minorities, cultural autonomy, second half of the 19th and first half of the 20th century.

He is currently working on ERC project 'Non-territorial Autonomy as a Form of Minority Protection in Europe: An Intellectual and Political History of a Travelling Idea, 1850–2000' (PI Dr. Börries Kuzmany) and will write a PhD thesis focusing on the adoption of the idea of non-territorial autonomy in Estonia 1900-1940 and other Baltic States.

### ***Mikhail Kurchinskii's International Minority Activism in the European Nationalities Congress, 1925-1939***

The Estonian 1925 law on cultural autonomy granted its biggest national minorities (Germans, Russians, Jews and Swedes) significant control over their own cultural and educational affairs. The law, based on Karl Renner's and Otto Bauer's concept of non-territorial autonomy, represented an exceptional case of minority protection in interwar Europe. Estonian national minorities played an active role in the elaboration of the law, later also becoming active in the international arena. Estonian Germans were among the founders of the European Nationalities Congress (ENC), which made the non-territorial autonomy into the cornerstone of their programme.

Mikhail Kurchinskii, a Professor of Economics at the University of Tartu, represented Estonia's Russians at the Congress, later becoming its vice-chairman. Having moved to Estonia from the Bolshevik Russia in 1921, he became the champion of cultural autonomy for Estonian Russians. Despite his energetic efforts, the largely inactive Estonian Russian community had not submitted their application until the end of the 1930s, when the political climate had already changed, and their application was rejected. Besides domestic minority activism, Kurchinskii was involved in minority politics at the international level, and wrote extensively about the future organisation of Europe.

This paper analyses how an individual minority activist perceived the League of Nations, the future of Europe, and the place of national minorities in it. Through the analysis of his books, articles in the *Nation und Staat* and his addresses to the ENC, the author aims to understand how Kurchinskii's views evolved over time, and, above all, determine his stance on the Nazi subversion of the Congress after 1933.

Tomás Irish is Senior Lecturer in Modern History at Swansea University. He has written widely about the history of internationalism and intellectual life in the early twentieth century and is the author of *The University at War 1914-25: Britain, France, and the United States* (2015), *Trinity in War and Revolution 1912-1923* (2015), and the edited volume (with Marie-Eve Chagnon), *The Academic World in the Era of the Great War* (2017).

***The “Moral Basis” of Reconstruction: The League of Nations and Intellectual Relief in the Aftermath of the Great War***

This paper will explore the phenomenon of ‘intellectual relief’ that followed the end of the First World War. Intellectual relief here is defined as aid that was aimed specifically at intellectuals and intellectual institutions; this included the sending of books, laboratory equipment, and medical care. The plight of intellectuals came into sharp focus following the war for a number of reasons: first, the war had seen intellectual relations severed between scholars in the Central Powers and their counterparts in allied countries, meaning that, in many cases, scholars in Germany and Austria had been deprived of publications and knowledge which emerged since 1914; this situation was compounded by severe economic difficulties that followed the war. Second, the Russian Civil War led to a widespread displacement of intellectuals, many of whom found themselves in Western Europe. Finally, the post-war peace settlements redrew national borders, depriving states such as Hungary of libraries and intellectual institutions that previously fell within their territories.

This paper will look at the work of the League of Nations’ Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (1922) to promote intellectual relief. It oversaw projects to aid Hungarian and Austrian intellectuals between 1922 and 1924. The paper will argue that intellectual relief was a humanitarian project which has been hitherto neglected by historians. It will pay particularly close attention to the discourse of civilizational decline in the rhetoric of CIC actors and will assess the extent to which healthy intellectual life was seen as being an essential component of promoting stable democracies in the aftermath of the war. However, these projects simultaneously revealed tensions regarding the post-war ‘boycott’ of Germany from international intellectual life and the question of what to do with former enemy states.

## Torsten Kahlert | Aarhus University & Humboldt University of Berlin

Dr. Torsten Kahlert has studied contemporary history, political science and sociology at Humboldt University Berlin. At the Humboldt University, he has also submitted his PhD thesis 'Big Style Projects - Organisation, Objectivity and Historism in the 19th century', in which he discussed the organization, structure and culture of big research projects at the end of the 19th century. At Aarhus University, he works as a Postdoctoral researcher in the project „The Invention of International Bureaucracy – The League of Nations and the Creation of International Public Administration, c. 1920-1960“. (<http://projects.au.dk/inventingbureaucracy/>) The project investigates norms, structures, employees and strategies of the secretariat of the League of Nations, the first international intergovernmental organization the world has seen. His project examines the career trajectories of Secretariat employees. He also works as an editor for H-Soz-Kult (<https://www.hsozkult.de/>), the largest communication and information platform for historians in Europe.

### ***Inventors of International Bureaucracy. Prosopography of International Civil Servants of the League of Nations Secretariat***

The importance of the personnel of international organisations as powerful political and cultural brokers and as intermediaries in times of crisis has been frequently stressed in recent scholarship. But still, the group of international civil servants, who shaped these international administrations remains almost entirely in the dark. By taking the League of Nations as a case study, this paper aims contributing to the study of institutionalised internationalism by mapping out and analysing the staff of the first large international administration, the League of Nations Secretariat.

In this context, the prosopographical analysis of the group of international civil servants is used as a lens to investigate the institutional anatomy and topography from a bird's eye perspective. This will be done by making use of a large database (LONSEA) of the Secretariats personnel, which provides information on names, age, gender, nationality, position and career of 4.000 people (around 600 of them higher officials). This will be combined with personnel files and other organisational sources concerning the internal personnel policy.

The paper is structured in three parts. First, I will explore the institutional setup and map out the composition and its evolvement of the personnel over time. This allows for an analysis of the size and the distribution of the social characteristics of the Secretariats personnel in its development. Second, I will focus on the much smaller group of highest officials, the directors, and investigate recruitment practices. How were for example the institutional needs for qualified experts balanced with the interests of member states for representation in the Secretariat? Third, I will discuss methodological challenges on how

to combine the results of the bird's eye perspective with the microscopic perspective on practices of recruitment and promotion.

In the paper, I first argue that the Secretariat's distribution of gender, age and nationality show a particular pattern for the Secretariat. The pattern reflects not only the power relations of the member states but also peculiar interests of neutral and smaller states. Second, I argue that career trajectories were to some degree dependent on gender and nationality and the time spent in the organization. Lastly, the recruitment of the directors reveals not only the gatekeeping mechanisms through which they were allowed into the Secretariat or not, but also how the nationality of candidates played a leading role in the procedures of appointments for the different sections.



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