CULTURE AS SOFT POWER

BRIDGING CULTURAL RELATIONS, INTELLECTUAL COOPERATION, AND CULTURAL DIPLOMACY

Edited by Elisabet Carbó-Catalan and Diana Roig-Sanz

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Contents

Elisabet Carbó-Catalan and Diana Roig-Sanz

Swinging Between Culture and Politics: Novel Interdisciplinary Perspectives

1 Introduction

In politics, culture matters. Culture might not decide the outcome of a military conflict, but it can certainly explain the reasons behind a political crisis or why agents and agencies may be willing to come into conflict and fight for or against a cause. We finished this chapter as the entire world shuddered before the terrifying Russian bombings over Kiev and Kharkiv. The media, politicians, and much of our society acknowledge Ukraine's European values. But history tells us that the struggle for Eurasian borders is nothing new, and empires and contemporary governments compete to maintain political and cultural hegemony but also to keep border territories free from the influence of opposing powers. Much has happened since Vladimir Putin was elected in 2000, namely, the Russian occupation of Georgian territories and the annexation of Crimea. The Maidan protests in 2013 only reminded us of the Ukrainian government's decision to reject signing the European Union-Ukraine Association Agreement on the same year in favour of keeping their closer relations to Russia. Therefore, it seems clear that trying to join the EU has not only been a political decision, but also a struggle for cultural dominance between Russia and the Western world.

Culture matters in domestic and international politics, as shared culture can create a powerful sense of community. It can also be used to consolidate a given collectivity or to shape its image in the international arena. By taking a global approach, this book stresses the importance of acknowledging the role of cultural practices and the relevance of historising cultural relations, intellectual cooperation, and cultural diplomacy in order to better understand shifting power dynamics. By collectivity, we refer to a group of people who identify with each other through their shared features – be they cultural, linguistic, ideological, or of any other kind – who benefit from some form of collective agency. We include political collectivities based on a given territory – states or regions, but also substate and supranational territories – as well as ethnic, linguistic, gender, confessional, ideological, and professional collectivities, to name but a few.

The relationships between culture and politics, and more precisely, the political uses of culture, constitute a broad topic[1] that has been addressed in a variety of disciplines in the humanities and in the social and political sciences. In the humanities, the issue can be addressed from different scales, considering the domestic uses of a culture and its foreign purposes. On the one hand, from a national-scale perspective that pertains to the domestic, relevant topics may include the role of culture in the construction of a given collectivity (Thièsse 1999, 2019), the political engagement of cultural actors (Sapiro 2018), and cultural policies, that is, the ways national cultures are regulated and promoted by governments and other public actors (Dubois 1999). On the other hand, from an international or transnational approach, disciplines working with cultural contact, exchange, or transfer have also addressed the political uses of culture. For example, we can find abundant literature discussing power relations and the political dimensions of translation (Álvarez and Vidal 1996; Tymoczko and Gentzler 2002; Fernández and Evans 2018) in the field of translation studies. Thus, the previously mentioned topics have also been addressed in relation to how translation affects the forging of collectivities (Kristmannsson 2005; Sapiro 2011; Dizdar et al. 2015), the political engagement of translators (Baker 2013), and the growing field of translation policy (Meylaerts 2011). To give a specific example: the translation policy of national institutes for culture can only be understood within a set of relationships that connect multiple spaces on both the local and global level (McMartin 2019; Kvirikashvili 2022). Likewise, we may also analyse the political uses of translation regarding the role of translators and interpreters in international relations and world politics (Roland 1999; Osborne 2018). Global approaches to literature (Casanova 1999; Boschetti 2010; Moretti 2000; Roig-Sanz and Rotger 2022) and history (Middell and Naumann 2010; Rotger, Roig Sanz and Puxán Oliva 2019) have also favoured the problematisation of relationships between cultures and especially the understanding of how culture is deployed politically. Indeed, that culture and literature are relevant as ways to get to know the Other and enhance a sense of the local is generally assumed. However, culture and literature also have subversive potential and can be mobilised to transgress national borders and challenge homogenising ideas such as that of world literature (Damrosch 2003), thus showing their crucial role in the definition of collectivities.

In the domain of the social sciences, the relationship between politics and culture has been the object of extensive writing as well. Among the different

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1 For this reason, this overview does not aim to provide a state of the art or exhaustive references, but to outline some of the works that address the topics at hand.

theories emerging in the field of sociology, Pierre Bourdieu (1979, 1992) provides fruitful concepts and insights to tackle the relationships between the symbolic and the material, the social functions of culture, and the reproduction of power relations. His work has contributed to rethinking the articulations between power in politics not only in the social sciences, but also in socially oriented disciplines in the humanities, such as the sociologies of literature (Sapiro 2014) and translation (Heilbron 1999; Wolf and Fukari 2007). In parallel, the cultural turn in international relations and political science has reasserted the role of culture in these domains. In this regard, it is necessary to acknowledge that the term "culture" has often been employed in the fields of international relations and political science in a broad, somewhat vague sense. The topics approached include the role of beliefs, representations, and collective mentalities in politics, as well as the analysis of the practices, objects, and products that embody them, from beauty or sports contests to symbolic goods. Other related topics are the images nations have of each other, as well as emotions in politics or in political organisations (Scaglia 2019). In this framework, cultural exchanges and cultural diplomacy have been the object of growing interest and witnessed the emergence of a new field, that of international cultural relations (see Chaubet in this volume, as well as Milza 1980; Iriye 1997 and 2002; Rolland 2004; Chaubet and Martin 2011; and Singh et al. 2019). Drawing from insights in cultural history, the cultural turn has also broadened these fields' scope by overcoming state-centred and top-down approaches.

In this respect, we argue that the topics covered by international cultural relations partially overlap with those covered by some scholars in the humanities who either work in literary and translation studies or in cultural and global history, as explained above, given their shared interest in foreign cultural promotion, cultural projection, and culture in general as a source of intangible resources of power. Likewise, they show a shared interest in specific actors at the very crossroads of the political and the cultural fields, such as the writer-diplomat, also called the intellectual-diplomat (Badel 2012; Marichal and Pita 2019), who could be also understood as cultural mediators (Roig-Sanz and Meylaerts 2018). By the same token, objects traditionally approached by historians of international relations, such as cultural diplomacy and intellectual cooperation, have drawn renewed interest and are being approached from a specifically cultural perspective (see, for example, Hauser et al. 2011; Mc Martin 2019; and Carbó-Catalan and Meylaerts 2022).

Thus, from an interdisciplinary gaze, a new research landscape appears, and traditional activities related to the literary and cultural world such as literary awards, literary festivals, book fairs, literary magazines, or literary associations are now being examined as sharing similar roles and purposes to other

events that are commonly associated to international cultural relations. While these mechanisms necessarily pursue autonomous goals (related specifically to the development of the literary or cultural field or to the creation of symbolic value), our contribution emphasises the ways its animators used such mechanisms as tools to reach heteronomous goals, such as intervening in how a given culture is perceived abroad. The main purpose of this book, which we have titled *Culture as Soft Power. Bridging Cultural Relations, Intellectual Cooperation, and Cultural Diplomacy*, is to contribute to institutionalising an area of study that criss-crosses cultural relations, intellectual cooperation, and cultural diplomacy in an interdisciplinary way.

While close, these activities have historically been approached from different disciplines. Cultural relations have been examined within a literary and translation-history perspective, whereas intellectual cooperation and cultural diplomacy have generally been addressed by historians of international relations, or by scholars working on cultural, intellectual and global history. This scholarly fragmentation mostly but not exclusively stems from the actors involved in the phenomena at hand. State-actors and international cultural organisations were generally addressed in international relations, whereas non-state actors have been traditionally associated with the analysis of cultural relations within the fields of literary history and translation studies. However, we see both as cross-pollinating perspectives in the sense that they show reciprocal and continuous interactions. They also share the ultimate purpose of promoting cultural transfer in a broad sense, while they organise overlapping activities that fulfil different functions in the political and cultural fields.

We also argue that rigid distinctions between these activities should be questioned. First, the criteria that has traditionally been employed to distinguish between cultural relations and cultural diplomacy, that is, the presence of state and non-state actors, poses several limitations (for some proposed definitions on cultural diplomacy and details on the lack of a unified or consensual definition, see Goff 2013). Since their collaboration is extremely common, the analytical value of this distinction can be challenged. See, for example, the case of national institutions, such as the French Alliance française, the Portuguese Instituto Camões, the Spanish Instituto Cervantes, and the Italian Dante Alighieri, which present varying degrees of autonomy from national governments. Indeed, the necessary precondition to their success in the cultural field is their autonomy from political powers, given that a too-straightforward dependency on the political field may turn culture into propaganda. Therefore, public powers are involved in the cultural domain in a myriad of ways, which are not always explicit. In a similar vein, the proximity of cultural actors to the political sphere and especially to the state is not always acknowledged. Nonetheless, the

transnational turn in international relations and history (Iriye 2012; Iriye and Saunier 2009) has opened the door to studying a wider range of actors in cross-border activities. Among substate actors, we may include regions and cities, while philanthropic foundations, NGOs, and multinational companies would fall under the category of non-state actors. While their role in the contemporary world is often acknowledged, the international activities of non-state or sub-state actors needs more historical research (Smith et al. 2019), and the cultural domain offers a fruitful vantage point to do so (Carbó-Catalan 2022).

Second, it has traditionally been considered that intellectual cooperation differed from diplomatic practices given its disinterested nature and specialised scope. However, intellectual cooperation and cultural diplomacy are not necessarily opposed and can be considered as two faces of the same coin. Intellectual cooperation is a form of associating one's own image with terms such as "disinterestedness," "civilisation," "cosmopolitanism." or, as performed in the interwar period, with that of "internationalism." These terms operate as "positive axiological operators" (Sapiro 2020, 484) and they contribute to shaping the image of a given country or collectivity in positive terms, thus approaching the more self-interested diplomatic domain.

In sum, we do not deny that state-actors have access to means that other actors or collectivities might not, and that cooperation and diplomacy have different goals. However, our analyses suggest that a more nuanced understanding is needed to acknowledge their overlaps and relationships to each other. We refrain from making rigid distinctions between cultural relations, cultural diplomacy, and intellectual cooperation, as we focus on the social dimension that the three activities share – specifically, how culture, in its diverse manifestations, is employed by diplomats, politicians, and intellectuals in a broad sense (writers, artists, musicians, university professors, etc.) to represent more or less bounded and static collectivities and shape their images abroad. To move past a partial understanding of such activities, we focus on a dynamic and interconnected history of their functions in the social field. Therefore, we assume that cultural relations may have political outcomes. To give some examples, we may note that much controversy was elicited by the literary manifesto *Pour une littérature-monde en français* published in the journal *Le Monde* in March of 2007 during the French presidential election. The publication marked a turning point in the historical and asymmetric division between France's and other Francophone literatures. However, the manifesto was criticised for its exotic and idealistic gaze, given the centrality of the publishing industry in Paris. Another example that also sustains the idea that cultural manifestations may have major political effects is the oppression of literary and artistic creation. For example, Salman Rushdie was accused of blasphemy following the publication of the *The Satanic*

Verses (1988), which cost him a fatwa ordering his execution. The Italian writer Roberto Saviano has lived under police protection since the publication of *Gomorra* (2006) as a consequence of the threats he received from the mafia group Camorra. Finally, PEN International's work to protect writers at risk and support writers in exile sheds light on numerous cases from all over the world showing that culture can be sometimes considered a threat to different collectivities. In other cultural fields, the preservation of cultural heritage has also triggered political contention, both in the present and in the past. Monument preservation has played a fundamental role for the nation-state and has made visible local and global interests from a symbolic, cultural, and political perspective. The history of cultural heritage and tangible culture has also been marked by major controversies beyond the cultural domain. In recent times, global claims for slavery reparations have shaken European governments. The Black Lives Matter movement has pushed the reparations agenda in terms of public memory as well, and our times have witnessed the toppling of statues and colonial monuments all over the world.

If we approach the phenomenon the other way round, from politics to culture, we should take into account that cultural diplomacy and intellectual cooperation may perform specific roles in the cultural and intellectual domains. A clear example is the publication of translations sponsored by committees, institutes, or organisations funded by public institutions, among other common cultural programs, such as language teaching and artist tours. While reinforcing commercial relations and contributing to a culture's dissemination and *rayonnement*, sponsored books become part of the literary and the cultural field: they need to be related to the broader available supply in the literary marketplace as they can reinforce the presence of a given genre or foster innovative or conservative literary practices. In the domain of media, film and television also offer numerous examples given their potential to reach global audiences. For instance, we may note the creation of CGTN Spanish, a Spanish-language news and entertainment channel launched in Beijing in 2007 to disseminate Chinese culture among a Spanish-speaking international audience. While the political dimension of this project is evident, its broadcasted emissions have become part of the available supply and must prove appealing in order to attract audiences.

Within this general framework, this book advocates for a multi- and interdisciplinary understanding of the fields under study and engages in a dialogue with several disciplines that are multidisciplinary themselves. We also connect with often-isolated research communities whose objects of study have evolved and risen from contact zones with other disciplines. Thus, we aim to move beyond previous disciplinary approaches and propose, on the one hand, an interdisciplinary theoretical framework at the crossroads of international cultural

relations, intellectual history, global literary studies, and translation studies that contributes to overcoming previous disciplinary fragmentation and considers the common features, as well as the differences, of relevant undertakings in which culture is put at the service of international relations and exchanges, and, on the other hand, an analysis of a wide range of mechanisms deployed by individual and collective actors to establish cultural relations with political aims at different scales (local, national, regional, global), which, over time, will shed light on the relevant role of other regions, cities, localities, and lesser-known actors. In this volume, we can point out the relevant role of cities such as Santiago, Chile, in the chapters by Juliette Dumont-Quessard (chapter 5), Alexandra Pita (chapter 6), and Camila Gatica (chapter 7); Florence, Italy, as presented by Adam Humphreys (chapter 8); Lima, Bogotá, Caracas, and Havana as addressed by Juan David Murillo (chapter 15); and Paris and Geneva, as addressed by Martin Grandjean (chapter 4). In this book, we mainly focus on geopolitical collectivities, although we also explore the strategies employed by other transnational collectivities to consolidate themselves and shape their respective images abroad. For instance, we delve into ideological movements, such as anarchism, as in the contribution by Campanella (chapter 11), but one could also consider transnational movements led by women.

2 The Notion of Soft Power: An Interdisciplinary Theoretical Framework to Approach Cultural Relations, Intellectual Cooperation, and Cultural Diplomacy

The notion of soft power lies at the core of our interdisciplinary theoretical framework. Our choice to use this concept in the volume's title is certainly a provocative one. A diversity of definitions has been proposed since Joseph Nye's first formulation (1990, 2004), from its initial American, state-centred, and Cold War-related definitions to more flexible applications and understandings in terms of chronology, geography, and the actors involved, especially since the 2000s. Indeed, the debates around this notion clearly reflect the ways the geographic, chronological, and thematic focus affect the definition being mobilised in each case. In this sense, we do not seek to suggest a definition that aims at systematicity, but to explore its application upon new research objects from a cultural perspective and across different geographical and historical contexts. Our understanding of soft power does not hinge upon distinguishing it from hard power, which is

often the case in international relations, as illustrated by the oft-quoted attraction and coercion binary. Instead, we address it from the perspective of conceptualising the potential of culture in terms of international politics.

We also use this notion to grasp how cultural activities have the capacity to consolidate, legitimise, and consecrate a given collectivity, not only as a cultural actor, but also as a political one, through foreign action. Therefore, we understand soft power as the capacity to project oneself positively and modify the actions, opinions, and beliefs of the Other by providing a sense of confidence, attraction, and prestige. Soft power is indeed used as a partial synonym of prestige, but with an emphasis on its political effects. Each historical period deploys different resources to exert soft power: the means of the ancient Greeks are nothing like those of the Soviet Union or those of twenty-first century Canada. However, they all used cultural manifestations to reinforce their image and promote a sense of epistemic familiarity between them and the Other. In this sense, our understanding of the term is close to other notions that are more commonly employed in the humanities and the sociology of culture to conceptualise power and describe power relations, such as that of the dominating and the dominated, symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1979, 1992), cultural hegemony (Gramsci 1971), and more broad terms such as prestige (Underwood and Sellers 2016) as applied to literary studies. When examining the idea of culture, we find ourselves in the domain of the immaterial, the intangible, and the imaginary, but culture has material, tangible, and real effects. For example, religion is an imaginary institution, to borrow the expression from Castoriadis (1987). Nevertheless, very *real* wars have been fought in its name. Therefore, we chose to use the term soft power to emphasise the idea that culture matters beyond the symbolic domain.

Enjoying far more debate in international relations, this term is less common in literary studies, cultural history, and in the humanities more broadly. However, several examples of activities related to the literary and cultural domain have been approached from a soft power perspective over the last few years. For example, language teaching abroad (Pan 2013), archaeology (Luke and Kersel 2015), translation (Batchelor 2019), sports (Grix et al. 2019), theatre (Rivière de Carles 2016), and cinema (Rawnsley 2021). Thus, we borrow the term from the field of international relations and political theory to discuss actors and organisations that have been traditionally addressed from the perspective of international cultural relations, but also those actors and objects that belong to the cultural and literary realms, such as monuments, literary magazines, contests, and awards. Regarding the latter, studying literary prizes can certainly tell us a lot about the economy of prestige (English 2005), the representation of cultural diversity, and the gender gap in the most well-known national

and international awards, but also about nation branding, the dissemination of specific cultural values, and the functioning of the global literary marketplace.

Thus, the notion of soft power can help us study cultural activities related to struggles for cultural legitimacy and consecration. Indeed, literary awards are a clear way of reinforcing the consolidation of a given collectivity and shaping its international image. This can be done through international literary prizes (see Jack McMartin and Núria Codina regarding the EU Prize for Literature, in chapter 16) and cultural contests (the research by Margarida Casacuberta in chapter 12), but also through the representation of a given collectivity in an influential magazine. For example, we may observe the case described by Margarita Garbisu (chapter 10) regarding the *Europäische Revue*. Likewise, the consolidation of a given collectivity can also be reached through cultural heritage (see Bianka Trötschel-Daniels, chapter 13) or through the role of specific actors in the history of publishing and periodicals – such as Orsini Bertani and Benito Milla (see Lucía Campanella, chapter 11), who were both key to the history of anarchism, or Manuel Scorza, as addressed by Juan David Murillo (chapter 15).

The idea of soft power can also lead us to a better understanding of how cultural systems, which are often interconnected within asymmetrical and hierarchical relations, are ruled by political, economic, and social interests. One of the central remnants of Romanticism in the Western understanding of the world has been to identify nations, cultures, and languages in univocal terms. Culture has played a crucial role in the invention of nations as imagined communities (Anderson 1983; Thiesse 1999, 2019), but this, in turn, has determined the ways we categorise cultures. The deep intricacies between culture and language in the construction of the nation explain why language and the nation are associated in metonymic terms. In turn, this metonymy explains the potential of cultural and intellectual ventures in terms of soft power and as a means to shape the international image of substate, state, or supranational political entities. National pride is overwhelmingly present in cultural contests, such as Eurovision and the Oscars, and other awards related to the production of knowledge and science, such as the Nobel Prize. But this presence sheds light on the ways cultural representation can quickly become a form of political representation. While the nation-state has been frequently challenged as a unit of analysis in the name of globalisation and complex developments throughout the early twenty-first century, networks and inter- and transcultural exchanges that do not fit a Eurocentric explanatory model, the prevalence of the nation-state as the main structuring category for literary and cultural production is still undeniable. Thus, transnational scholarship and global approaches cannot neglect the historiographies of national literatures when analysing lengthy

cultural processes. Indeed, bookshelves in libraries and bookshops are divided according to a nation-state pattern, as are pavilions in book fairs, art exhibitions, and other cultural events. Foreign language and literature departments as well as area studies often follow geopolitical rather than linguistic criteria, and we rarely refer to German-speaking literature to bring together the literature written in Germany, Austria, and eventually by German-speaking authors from Switzerland, Luxembourg, and Belgium. The national as the structuring principle of the literary and the cultural has not gone unchallenged, especially but not exclusively when referring to literature from former colonies.[2] This issue has led to scholarly debates regarding methodological nationalism (Amelina et al. 2012), as well as political debates. For example, in 2007, Catalonia became guest of honour at the Frankfurt Bookfair and a fierce debate arose regarding whether only Catalan authors writing in Catalan should be represented, or also Catalan authors writing in Spanish, thus illustrating the political dimensions of cultural representation and consecration.

By focusing on the effects of all these endeavours, the book sheds light on a wide range of experiences that were not always formal or governmental and allows us to suggest new research paths such as soft power and translation, soft power and literary prizes, soft power and periodicals, soft power and the publishing or film industries, or soft power and cultural heritage. In this respect, the book analyses the agency of intellectuals and publishers whom we conceptualise as cultural mediators, as we understand them as having played a central roles in terms of soft power, often through their participation in collective projects. Some of the figures that best illustrate the overlaps between culture and politics the aforementioned intellectual diplomats, but also university professors, translators, and politicians acting as cultural sponsors, for example. In this respect, the idea of soft power applied to literary and cultural history enables researchers to rethink the articulations between power and culture and to reach a better understanding of cultural foreign action within the fields of global literary studies, the sociology of literature, and translation studies, among others.

Another criterion employed for the case studies in this volume is that of institutionalisation. Institutionalisation appears as a central feature as it reflects the will to develop an activity that is sustained over time, presupposes the existence of personnel and funds to carry it out, and anticipates a certain degree of

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2 While it has been argued that French literature is actually a subset of Francophone literature and not the other way around, in most of its uses, "Francophone literature" conveys a hierarchy and a distinction based on political rather than linguistic criteria (this debate has been the object of abundant discussion; see for example Hargreaves et al. (2010).

organisation and planification. In this sense, we understand cultural organisations as collectives of actors who promote cultural transfer in a broad sense, facilitating the circulation of people, ideas, and symbolic goods and the establishment of transnational or international intellectual networks. Likewise, we see cultural organisations as spaces that may be analysed from a national scale in that they provide cohesion to national cultural fields by articulating the relationships between the various actors in said space, but also from a global perspective, as they enable relations with other collectivities. Within this soft power approach and the multi- and interdisciplinary comprehension of cultural relations, intellectual co-operation, and cultural diplomacy, we aim to make a strong contribution in relation to the historisation of cultural diplomacy from a transnational perspective. In so doing, we emphasise (i) the theorisation of the role and potential of cultural goods in the political international arena from a cultural and humanistic perspective by discussing the historic articulations between state and non-state actors at the crossroads of culture and politics and analysing the strategies to internationalise a given culture and the entanglements of public and private actors in such a framework; (ii) the different connotations that foreign action in the cultural field, also known as cultural projection, can present according to each culture's position in the international arena – for instance, when it comes to hegemonic cultures, foreign promotion may camouflage an imperialist project, while when it comes to peripheral, non-state, or minority cultures, foreign promotion appears to be a necessary strategy to compensate for a lack of economic and military power or to counter perceived invisibility; and (iii) the idea of networks and connectivity through cultural exchanges, cultural practices, and the agents involved, especially women mediators (see chapter 2 by Paula Bruno). In this respect, our emphasis on the relational, rather than on isolated, prefixed categories, also fosters the reassessment of cultural-contact and circulation phenomena, shedding light on unknown aspects of the past.

3 The Contents of this Volume

In exploring the possibility of building a transnational comparison by selecting case studies spanning from the late nineteenth century to the present day across diverse geographical contexts, this volume historicises a number of cultural institutions and organisations that can be studied through the lens of soft power. While it covers different geographic contexts, the book has a significant focus on Latin America and the Spanish-speaking world, as these areas have enjoyed less study using this approach. The contributions of this book analyse

the uses of culture as a source of soft power and as a means to reach goals in the political and social arenas (for example, peace in the case of the institutions of intellectual cooperation created under the aegis of the League of Nations, or the recognition of single countries in the case of national institutions). While not all contributors discuss the notion of soft power, their objects shed light on the ways culture might be used to intervene in how a given collectivity is perceived. The book is divided into three sections. Part 1 includes a novel and interdisciplinary theoretical framework and a thorough review of the literature to bridge various scholarly traditions and elucidate their confluence, which results from their respective movements from culture to politics and from politics to culture. In part 2, a second set of contributions analyses and compares several cultural organisations of the interwar period specialised in intellectual cooperation, cultural diplomacy, and cultural relations. Part 3 applies the soft-power-perspective to the study of cultural diplomacy and cultural relations in the post-war era, thus shedding light on patterns and mechanisms that characterise and distinguish the practices undertaken prior to and after the war, contributing to their historicisation.

The book opens with the present chapter on novel interdisciplinary perspectives on culture and politics (chapter 1), followed by two contributions that offer states of the art on our object of research. François Chaubet (chapter 2) provides an overview of the field of international cultural relations and addresses the theoretical frameworks that have been explored at the cross-roads between culture and politics. He also deals with cultural globalisation and how it challenges foreign cultural action. As we have seen, it is not a matter of exchanging cultural products, but of the meaning and symbolic value of exchanges. On a different note, this book contributes to highlighting the need to write a history of the role of women in cultural diplomacy. In this respect, the chapter by Paula Bruno (chapter 3) discusses the concept of collectivity in terms of gender and proposes a literature review on the role of women in diplomatic history. Bruno identifies relevant topics in this domain and proposes several analytical approaches. Her focus on women is suggested as a first step toward analysing diplomatic cultural history with a gender perspective, while also contributing to reasserting the presence of peripheral cultures – Latin American cultures in this case – in the theorisation of our objects of study. Rather than simply arguing for the exceptionality of these women, we propose that, in order to gain a fuller picture of this phenomenon, women must also be taken into account.

In Part 2, we include papers dealing with cultural diplomacy, cultural relations, and intellectual cooperation in the interwar period. Martin Grandjean (chapter 4) questions the problematic relationship between Geneva and Paris

around the activities of the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (ICIC) and the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC). He examines the institutional history of intellectual cooperation and sheds light on the relationships between cooperation and diplomacy. Through this contribution, the book also discusses methodological issues, such as the challenges and possibilities of using quantitative methods and social-network analysis to approach this growing avenue of research. Within the framework of cultural internationalism, we strive to shed light on lesser-analysed geographical spaces and subfields of activity. Specifically, Juliette Dumont-Quessard (chapter 5) addresses intellectual cooperation with a focus on academic activities and shows the way Chile's strategy to shape the country's image abroad in the interwar period hinged upon educational activities. In so doing, she sheds light on the intricacies of intellectual cooperation and cultural diplomacy – deepening our knowledge in this domain by addressing such intricacies with a thematically and geographically decentred focus. Alexandra Pita González (chapter 6) discusses two related conferences organised by the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation in Santiago, Chile, in January of 1939. These events allow us to observe the tensions between Europe and America and vindicate a certain American regionalism that was absent in the intellectual cooperation that had been institutionalised by the League of Nations. Camila Gatica (chapter 7) addresses the foundation of the International Educational Cinematographic Institute in Rome, as well as the foundation of the Instituto de Cinematografía Educativa in Santiago, Chile. Through these institutions, the potential of cinema in the domain of education is addressed within the framework of cultural internationalism, that is, as a means of promoting mutual understanding between cultures. At the same time, she elucidates the interest of individual countries in promoting such ventures, both with national and international goals.

The notion of the institution is fundamental in the contribution by Adam Humphreys (chapter 8), who studies the British Institute of Florence as the first example of a British cultural institute outside of the United Kingdom. By shedding light on the involvement of government actors in its history, this research challenges the pre-existing narrative of the institute as a privately funded initiative. Seen within the wider context of British propaganda development and the UK's relationship with Italy during the First World War, the Institute's foundation is reassessed as a manifestation of converging local and global interests, both British and Italian. Humphreys also highlights the trans-scale and trans-dimensional role of key actors, such as Edward Hutton and Lina Waterfield, collaborating both locally and with the British government and Foreign Office. The following chapter, by Simona Škrabec and Jaume Subirana (chapter 9), is based on an analysis of the history of the early years of the Catalan PEN (1922), the

Catalan branch of PEN International, founded in October 1921 by the British writer Catherine Amy Dawson Scott. The authors explore how this cultural and human rights organisation was able to create cohesion within a collectivity over a long period of time despite the difficult circumstances in Europe and Catalonia over the twentieth century. The chapter also highlights how the Catalan PEN pursued its desire for Catalan culture to be considered an equal on the international stage.

Deploying a more literary perspective, the text by Margarita Garbisu (chapter 10) narrates the history of the *Europäische Revue*, a magazine founded by the Austrian intellectual Karl Anton Rohan as an international platform that would link German culture to other European countries after the Great War. In 1929, the *Europäische Revue* launched an unprecedented initiative that linked five well-known periodicals from different nationalities whose shared cosmopolitan vision of culture blurred national borders – specifically, the English, UK, *Criterion*, the Spanish *Revista de Occidente*, the French *La Nouvelle Revue française* and the Italian *Nuova Antologia*. The following contribution, by Lucía Campanella (chapter 11), applies the notion of soft power to publishing history and explores the trajectories of Orsini Bertani and Benito Milla, two anarchist cultural mediators who worked as publishers, booksellers, printers, and magazine editors and operated in Uruguay at the intersection of culture and politics in both the local and international arena. Campanella also uses the notion of soft power to explore anarchist cultural internationalism.

In Part 3, the book includes works dealing with cultural relations, cultural diplomacy, and intellectual history after the Second World War, giving a specific place to questions related to cultural heritage and literary institutions (see the chapters by Trötschel-Daniels and Casacuberta). The chapter by Margarida Casacuberta (chapter 12) discusses the transnational history of the Floral Games and Literary Contests in Catalan and their role in the establishment of literary, cultural, intellectual, and political networks, demonstrating the potential of literary cartography in illustrating and analysing this complex system of cultural, identity, political, and territorial relations of transnational scope. The chapter by Bianka Trötschel-Daniels (chapter 13) traces the development of international spaces in which the preservation of cultural heritage functioned as an asset of cultural diplomacy. She takes the end of the nineteenth century as a starting point to analyse how an international space for debate on monument preservation emerged. She then focuses on two specific cases related to the German history of monument preservation – specifically the refusal of the German government to participate in the International Commission on Historic Monuments in 1933, and the baring of monument preservationists from the German Democratic Republic in the International Council on Monuments and Sites, ICOMOS, founded in

1964. Then, Jorge Locane (chapter 14) tackles the ways the Peace Movement contributed to the translation of Latin American literature into Russian, Chinese, German (in the DDR), and some Eastern European languages. With a special focus on the World Peace Council (WPC) as a bank of social capital that catapulted several Latin American literary projects to the global market, he illustrates an ideological circuit that predated the boom in more commercial circuits. Within a publishing and book-history perspective, Juan David Murillo (chapter 15) addresses the roles of two publishers, Manuel Scorza and Enrique Congrains Martin, in the dissemination of literary festivals that provided mass access to books, "cultivating" popular sectors and expanding the consumption of national literature. With autonomous goals, these ventures were not deprived of a political dimension, as they also pursued Latin American cultural integration. Núria Codina and Jack McMartin (chapter 16) look into the EU Prize for Literature (EUPL) and the different ways the national structures or infiltrates its functioning. In contrast to other literary prizes, its proximity to the political pole illustrates the interest of political actors in literature as a way of building collective identities, focusing on regional identities.

4 Conclusions

This chapter has outlined several research interests that point to the confluence between a broad range of scholarly disciplines interested in the relations between culture and politics in the international arena, as well as to those aspects that blur a clear-cut distinction between cultural relations, cultural diplomacy, and intellectual cooperation. It is fair to acknowledge that we do not yet have ample literature discussing all three activities and their overlaps, but their close ties and co-dependent relations are undeniable and would push us to believe that there is still room for an entangled history of cultural relations, cultural diplomacy, and intellectual cooperation. This book invites the reader, whether she is a specialist in one of the aforementioned disciplines, ranging from international cultural relations to translation studies, or a non-specialist reader exploring the foreign uses of culture in the international arena, to reconsider the activities, institutions, events, and actors at the crossroads of politics and culture in their Janus-faced nature.

Our purpose has been to bring together a number of case studies that push forward an interdisciplinary dialogue between the above fields. The notion of the institution has been key to their selection, as we understand that institutionalisation implies a desire for continuity and systematicity. By focusing on the effects

of their undertakings in the social domain, either with a cultural or political emphasis, we have fostered narratives that go beyond internalist accounts of such institutions. We have placed the notion of soft power, a concept allowing us to conceptualise the potential of culture in political and international terms, at the core of our interdisciplinary perspective. We have used this notion to understand how cultural activities can legitimise a given collectivity, not only in the cultural realm, but also in the political one, through foreign action.

As things stand, future research avenues to boost this interdisciplinary theoretical framework would include the borrowing of other concepts, such as that of nation branding in marketing and political science (Braber et al. 2021) or that of salience, as applied to literary studies (Koegler 2018; Lanzendörfer and Norrick-Rühl 2020). They offer the potential to discuss the interconnections between power and culture and to get a better understanding of cultural projection and foreign action. These potential research interests can help us amplify our idea of the political functions of culture and the types of activities that can fulfil them, broadening our analytical dimensions for cultural-projection activities from a political as well as a cultural perspective.

Shedding light on the cultural aspect of cultural diplomacy and intellectual cooperation, as well as on the political dimension of cultural relations, also enables us to focus on forgotten or neglected actors. Indeed, most researchers working on intellectual cooperation and cultural diplomacy have considered the roles of major figures in the "centres" of cultural production (Paris, London, New York), but have left aside the roles that other regions, cultural capitals, and apparently secondary actors have played. Decentred histories are possible by focusing on new objects and actors, but also, as suggested by Biltoft (2020), by looking into the so-called peripheral, marginal, or insignificant in highly centralised archives, such as that of the League of Nations. With the same decentralising horizon in mind, in this book we have gathered a list of well-known scholars who are diverse in terms of their affiliations (U. of Paris Nanterre, CONICET, U. of Lausanne, U. de Colima, Sorbonne Nouvelle, U. de Chile, U. of Reading, U. Pompeu Fabra, U. Oberta de Catalunya, U. Complutense de Madrid, U. de la República, U. de Girona, U. of Wuppertal, U. of Oslo, Instituto Caro y Cuervo, and KU Leuven) and geographical origins (France, Argentina, Switzerland, Mexico, Chile, United Kingdom, Spain, Uruguay, Germany, Colombia, and Belgium). With this diversity, we seek to bring together researchers working on a variety of geographies and institutions, so that we can diversify the origin of their scientific production and include researchers at different stages in their career. World theories flatten the diversity that in fact exists, and we thus argue that complexity needs to be acknowledged and discussed, as epistemic progress cannot hinge upon the universalisation of particular practices.

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François Chaubet

International Cultural Relations, Historiographic Sketch, and New Conceptual Issues

The history of International Relations (IR) is recent (between the two world wars) and that of International Cultural Relations (ICR) only dates from the 1980s when we witnessed the "cultural turn of IR": culture in its different forms (ideologies, cultural productions and their circulation, public opinion), is examined as an intrinsic dimension of the field of operation of IR because it is a tool of diplomatic power/influence. Previously, very few works existed (McMurry et al. 1947; Thomas and Laves 1963), although the 1960s saw the beginning of political reflection in France and the United States by two former practitioners (Coombs 1964; Balous 1970), on the scope of cultural diplomacy in a post-Cold War context. The 1980s and 1990s also corresponded to a new acceleration of social globalisation and to the multiplication of exchanges of all kinds that increasingly escaped the elite mechanisms of cultural diplomacy set up at the end of the 19th century. This observation of an impregnation of international societies by transnational politico-cultural phenomena (migrations in the first place) has thus given rise to a new approach to the history of IR in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which profoundly mixes all manifestations of Culture (including in particular sports, tourism, and even technological aspects) and International Relations (Gienow-Hecht and Schumacher 2003); Culture (alongside the economy or military force) then becomes a rather systematic field of study, no longer considered only in terms of official cultural exchanges (of students and professors, of various cultural productions) but also of complex circulations of individuals and cultural contents outside the state framework of diplomacy. We will attempt to provide an overview of the historiography of ICRs, focusing first on the oldest approaches, linked to distinct national historiographies, around the notions of cultural diplomacy (European historiography) and public diplomacy (American historiography). We will then look at the elements of historiographic renewal under the effect, above all, of the "transnational turn" (sometimes also referred to as the "new diplomatic history") which strongly relativises the stato-centric dimension of International Relations by emphasising private transnational actors. Finally, we would like to end this presentation on a more theoretical note by returning to Joseph Nye's conceptualisation of "Soft Power" and to "constructivist" thinking on norms in order to (re)think the field of international relations (some IR theorists speak of a "global" framework that goes beyond the inter-state order) today. These two approaches

seem to us to be useful in order to better reflect on the new context of cultural globalisation since 1980 insofar as they bring into play a definition of culture in terms of "meaning", of the necessary taking into account of Others in the cultural relationship. In a world increasingly focused on values and notions of identity, external cultural policies should undoubtedly take this into account.

1 Cultural Diplomacy and Public Diplomacy, Two Forms of External Cultural Action

The ICR landscape has been rich over the past forty years. It abounds in case studies while syntheses are rare (see Dulphy et al. 2010). Albert Salon, in 1981, defended a thesis on French cultural diplomacy (late nineteenth century–1970) and Richard T. Arndt, in 2006, delivered a fairly complete assessment of American cultural action in the twentieth century (Salon 1981; Arndt 2006). It is also worth noting that most of the works are by historians; but for recent periods, works by sociologists and political scientists exist, based in particular on interesting oral material (see, for example, Grémion and Chenal 1984; Leclerc 2019).

With the exception of a few works on the history of international cultural organisations, such as intellectual cooperation within the League of Nations before 1940 or Unesco after 1945 (Renoliet 1999; Maurel 2010), organisations that promoted a "cultural internationalism" (Iriye 1997), the studies focus overwhelmingly on the "cultural diplomacy" (French terminology) or "foreign cultural policy" (German terminology) carried out by the States.

This can be defined, according to Milton Cummings, as "the exchange of ideas, information, artistic productions and other cultural aspects between nations in order to promote mutual understanding". Defined in this way rather vaguely by practitioners (who were also the first theorists) and also by historians, European cultural diplomacy of exchange has in fact taken three paths of action, very different (even contradictory) to each other: dissemination (end of the nineteenth century–1950s), cooperation (since the 1960s), reciprocity (since the 1990s). This very vague definition also had a political reason insofar as the real goal of cultural diffusion was obviously political, in terms of strategic influence. Undoubtedly the notion of cultural diplomacy, by its deliberate terminological imprecision, also allowed to euphemise the project of influence on Others. This political finality was also masked by the choice of a method of action, the cultural exchanges, depoliticised as much as possible. We will come back to this fundamental aspect below.

1.1 A Rich History of Cultural Diplomacy and its European Tropism

Three types of problems were studied: the role of cultural operators, most often decentralised, and that of central institutional cultural operators (their ideologies in particular); the question of the precise geographical horizons of this foreign policy; and finally the study of the concrete vectors of this foreign intervention.

The first theme focuses on those who develop foreign cultural policy and especially on those who implement it, *i.e.* decentralised operators. France was undoubtedly the country that invented modern cultural diplomacy at the end of the nineteenth century (creation of French cultural sites abroad, sending of books, lecturers, creation of grants, etc.). Its examination, from the years 1980–1990, mobilised a whole series of researchers. After Albert Salon's large, pioneering but very general thesis, studies focused more specifically on the French Institutes (Renard 1996 and Guénard 1994) abroad before 1914 and at the end of the 1930s or on the Alliance française (Chaubet 2006). Gradually, apart from the French case, other operators or mechanisms of foreign cultural action were studied, such as the British Institute (Okret-Manville 2002), the Dante Alighieri created in 1889 (Pisa 1995), the Goethe Institute (Michels 2005), or university exchange mechanisms (Kramer 2009) such as the famous Fulbright program, which concerned 48 countries between 1946 and 1964 and reached 21,000 Americans and 30,000 young non-Americans. In addition to the examination of the actors of foreign cultural action in the field, there are, more rarely, works devoted to the analysis of the central institutional steering of this foreign policy, such as those of Pauline Milani for Switzerland (2013), Frank Ninkovitch for the childhood of American foreign cultural policy, or Manfreid Abelin for Germany (1968). One can in particular study the ideologies, the values which underlie the decision-making of the central actors; the study for example, of the cultural universe of the French diplomats during the Cold War, informs on the importance of the Christian references within a small core of influential diplomats (Soutou 2020).

A second type of work, the most numerous, concerns the study of the projection of foreign cultural action in a given country. The cultural presence of France in the United States (USA) has given rise to several theses (Dubosclard 2002), while the implantation of French culture in Latin America (Rolland 2000), in the Mediterranean basin (Cabanel 2006), in Central and Eastern Europe during the interwar period has also given rise to monographs or collective syntheses. In the same way, the German cultural presence in Spain (De la Hera Martinez 2002) or Latin America (Rinke 1996), that of Spain within the South American continent (Rolland 2001), the American cultural action in Austria (Wagnleitner 1994) in the 1950s have been studied.

A third type of approach concerns the choice to study a cultural object of export, including books (Hauser 2011), audiovisual products such as cinema and television (Shaw 2007; Rosenbaum 1997; Cull 2010), theatre, and artistic exhibitions and fairs (Sidorova 2019 and Di Martino 2010). Alongside these works, which are essentially centred on the external cultural devices of European diplomacy, we find another historiographical tradition centred on American public diplomacy.

1.2 American Public Diplomacy, Another Form of Cultural Action

Public diplomacy (a term conceptualised in the United States in the 1960s by Edmund Gullion), a cultural action policy favoured by the United States since the Cold War, covers a broader field of action than that of cultural diplomacy because it involves four distinct domains if we follow Nicholas Cull (2008): classical cultural diplomacy centred on the exchange of ideas or various artistic productions in order to promote mutual understanding with others, but also to influence them; large-scale communication actions aimed at national and international audiences (major communication operations such as the "Campaign for Truth" [1950], "Atoms for Peace" [1953] or "People's Capitalism" [1956]) (Hixson 1997 and Belmonte 2005); exchange programs centred on the circulation of individuals; and assistance to public and private media in order to reach target populations. It is therefore, above all, a form of communication that anchors it in the "public relations" theorised in the United States since the 1920s (Bernays 1923) and it has inspired a historiographic school distinct from European historiography (Gillabert 2017).

In fact, this public diplomacy already appeared during the First World War around the Wilsonian project of "open" diplomacy that emerged from the Chancelleries. It also relied primarily on audiovisual means aimed at the masses (cinema, radio) and thus covered a much more open social dimension than European cultural diplomacy. Wilson's discourse of the 14 points was thus conveyed by the first trials of radio broadcasting. It was supposed to act within a short time horizon and sought to obtain rapid results on public opinion. However, it can also carry out classic cultural exchanges. For example, sending books, welcoming students or other categories of people considered strategic (Scott-Smith 2008) more linked to the medium term. The United States thus favoured this public action, notably with its major communication campaigns during the Cold War. Their worldwide domination of the media universe was a decisive tool of their foreign policy. Thus, in 1945–1946, when UNESCO was created, there was immediate

opposition between Latin countries attached to an elite diplomacy of high-level cultural exchanges and the United States (and to a lesser extent Great Britain), which wanted to promote exchanges via audiovisual means. The American academic and political expert, Zbigniew Brzeziński, theorised (and also implemented in the White House between 1976–1980) this "technetronic" power of the US. However, we will see below that the post-9/11 years have led to a profound discussion on the limits of "old" public diplomacy.

1.3 Differentiating Models of Diplomatic Action

The first element of identification would be to distinguish between what is common and what is different in all the cultural diplomacy at work. France, for example, with its obsession with "influence", wants to be a universalist country, ready to "evangelise" the world with its messianic type of culture anchored in the cult of Human Rights and carried by great writers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This resulted in particularly one-sided cultural relations with other countries, based on the "diffusion" mode of action. The other European countries have taken up this diffusionist model,[1] but in a more attenuated way, without wanting to subordinate or pretend to culturally assimilate others. This national dimension of cultural diplomacy is fundamental and has provoked criticism from academics (Akira Iriye in particular) who have denounced its false internationalism (Goff 2013); but cultural diplomacy is inextricably national (it wants above all to disseminate its products) and international (it has an opening, at least minimal to others, because cultural exchange, even if unequal, is based on a form of empathy).

Thus, in Brazil, in the 1960s and early 1970s, the differences in style between French and German cultural diplomacy are clearly visible (Lanoe 2012); French cultural diplomacy, through the *Alliances françaises*, is not very open to local cultural and political realities, whereas the Goethe Institutes are open to popular Brazilian cultures and lead political debates on freedoms. The choice of fields of action can also differentiate countries (Tovell 1958). France has traditionally been attached to a policy of language and artistic cultural exchanges over the medium and long term, Germany has favoured the dissemination of its musical culture, Sweden has encouraged design, Switzerland book exhibitions (Debluë 2015). Leaving aside French messianism, a common vision of the role

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1 Cultural diffusion inherits, strongly, the missionary model, very powerful in the 19th century in the proto-history of cultural diplomacy.

of foreign cultural policy was nevertheless shared by most European countries until the 1960s. It was conceived as an amplifier of commercial dynamism, particularly for certain countries such as Switzerland, and national politics. It is above all a tool of power in terms of attracting foreign elites, especially their scientific and student elites.[2] A geopolitical configuration of European culture existed until the 1950s with a centre (France, Germany, Great Britain) and peripheries (Southern and Eastern Europe, African and Asian colonies, South America to some extent).

Most European foreign cultural policy approaches are therefore connoted by their unilateral way of acting, uncooperative with foreign importing societies that solicit the Cultural Offer to make up for what is perceived as a "delay". Despite this, change occurred little by little, essentially in the 1960s, with the rise of the notion of "cooperation" in most foreign cultural policy mechanisms. Finally, the policies of European cultural diplomacy were intended to be as far removed as possible from political interests (constant French, West German policy after 1945) and commercial interests (especially France), at least until the 1960s. They are reluctant to select this or that cultural content in order to make a propagandist use of it. The exported culture should only be a good mirror of the cultural landscape of each exporting power. Great Britain also chose this model of an action methodology that was not very political by concentrating on educational exchanges with the creation of the British Council in 1934. This model could be extended after 1945 to other countries, such as democratic Spain after 1977. The United States, on the other hand, favoured public diplomacy of much more explicitly political communication. The creation of the great American cultural agency (USIA) in 1953 (Osgood 2006) certainly mixed two domains, information, and cultural exchanges, but the former tended to prevail over the latter.

A second element of reflection concerns the temporality in the institutionalisation of foreign cultural policies. Wars and the aftermath of war were propitious moments because they accelerated the process of internationalisation of societies; as we will see above with the phenomenon of scientific exile in the United States during the end of the 1930s and the beginning of the 1940s, international political crises are the ground and the breeding ground for the renewal and deepening of certain transnational links already established in peacetime. In the same way, within the national elites, the two world wars favoured rapprochements;

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2 Modern cultural diplomacy takes one of her spring in the international university expansion conducted by Germany and France after 1870 near nations of eastern Europe or Mediterranean countries (Tronchet 2014). For Spain, it is the sending of students abroad that constitutes his modern proto-cultural diplomacy (Sanchez Ron 1988).

American cinema thus undertook to strengthen its world role; increasingly close collaborations between the administration and the major studios were established during these moments. We can also note that most of the first real foreign cultural services of the great European powers appeared between 1918–1922[3] in France/Spain/Germany, while the post-1945 period corresponds to an increased institutionalisation of cultural diplomacy in France and the United States. On the other hand, the end of the period, the years 1970, corresponds to a mutation of the international relations with the affirmation of a new polyarchy of States (those of the Third World, the "Asian tigers", and Japan), the rise of the regional communities within certain States, the intervention of new transnational actors, especially private (ONGI), which modify the traditional action of the States and establish new interdependencies (Keohane and Nye 1972). The external cultural devices, especially that of France, enter in crisis at the time when a world civil society establishes multiple modes of exchange, outside the state and para-state sphere of the cultural diplomacies.

Finally, a last point raises the question of the scope and effectiveness of these relatively elite mechanisms, at least those of cultural diplomacy. Documentation may also bias the research somewhat, since diplomats' reports are sometimes an overly optimistic source for assessing their country's actual cultural influence locally. Their ability to assess "local reception" is very uneven, and the statistics they use or collate themselves (on the teaching of French in schools, for example, for French diplomats) cannot necessarily be sufficient to establish a realistic state of affairs. The same is true for the reception of Hollywood in the world: what can the global statistics of cinema attendance and the impressive % of American films on the screens mean? It is necessary to go further, as Stephen Gundle proposes for the reception of American mass culture in Italy after 1945, notably in the popular magazines published by the PCI (Forgacs and Gundle 2007) in order to grasp the precise mechanisms of acculturation at work in what is called "Americanisation" (Stephan 2006).

But let us not conclude too quickly that these policies are ineffective, although measuring their effect is therefore very delicate. They can, in the medium and long term, capture the loyalty of a more or less elitist public. The French cultural presence in Latin America in the twentieth century benefited from a network of *Alliances françaises* and a strong intellectual visibility before 1945, which created strong ties in favour of France. Paris' seat to host UNESCO and permanent membership on the UN Security Council owe much to Spanish-

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3 About the rise of cultural diplomacy between the two world wars, see the recent special issue in *Contemporary European History*, 30.2 (may 2021).

speaking South American support. American cultural policy in West Germany, with the Amerika Haus in particular, was very successful until the early 1960s; their gradual dismantling in the following decade was counterproductive in the midst of the rise of student anti-Americanism (Schildt and Siegfried 2006 and Mausbach 2006).

The second limitation concerns the state prism that characterises most works on cultural diplomacy. However, since the nineteenth century, a global society has been formed that partly escapes the mechanisms of state control; consider the anti-slavery movement at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the pacifist movement at the end of the nineteenth century. Artistic/literary/scientific exchanges, but also political exchanges (anarchist and socialist currents in the world) and transnational social exchanges multiplied in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and their flows escaped, in part, state control. In this world of networks, of small, narrow transnational communities, with very specific functioning (for example, the so-called "epistemic" communities in the scientific or highly specialised expert worlds), forms of cross-border political action and mobilisation occur alongside cultural diplomacy or public diplomacy.

Thus, if the actors of French cultural diplomacy have always prided themselves on defending a universalist message of a literary and humanist nature in the twentieth century by means of thinkers and writers, we must nevertheless put them in relation to another universalist actor, for a long time less visible, but no less effective in the promotion of a global, technical, functional, and rationally inspired knowledge: the American philanthropic foundations. Another historiography, that of transnational politico-cultural movements and actors, which took off in the 1990s, then opened up.

2 The Transnational Approach: A New History of International Cultural Relations Around Circulations

For the past thirty years, transnational history has played an essential role in the renewal of historiography (Iriye and Saunier 2012 and Zeiler 2009), particularly in the field of international relations. Contrary to scientific history, born in the nineteenth century, and centred on the nation-state or on exchanges between nation-states – the history of international relations that appeared in the interwar period -, transnational history brings to light an interstitial space of international action, imperfectly controlled by states (from tourists to terrorists), where

the circulation of private actors is complex and multiple. Migration phenomena are a good indicator of this overcoming of the inter-state framework when the migrant's trajectory crosses several state spaces and is part of multiple "circuits", with more or less incessant return trips between the country of departure and the country(ies) of arrival: the concept of "migration" (unidirectional) thus gives way to that of "circulation" (complexity of geographical itineraries and therefore of the migrant's political and cultural affiliations). Paul Gilroy's now famous study on the "Black Atlantic" (1993), with its examination of the circulations of black thinkers such as Marcus Garvey and Du Bois, highlights the multiple circuits between the US, Africa and Europe. Other works, more focused on political sociology, reveal the complex relations on political and cultural grounds between the different waves of Chinese populations settled abroad since the nineteenth century and the Motherland (Ong 1999); the most recent Chinese immigrants feel the most politically attached to the communist regime, unlike other categories of migrants. This transnational history, which rethinks the functioning of the nation-state, simply refers to what occurred at the beginning of the nineteenth century and continued into the twentieth century: the accelerated globalisation of exchanges and contacts, the constitution of cross-border political and social worlds (Bayly 2014). The phenomenon is old and certain transnational actors even allowed the first milestones of cultural diplomacy to be set before 1914. Indeed, it was private transnational actors (Protestant Missions and Catholic Congregations, the Red Cross, the Alliance Française) that were the main protagonists of foreign cultural action. In the artistic, intellectual, and political fields, a good part of the history of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is concerned with transnational circulations: history of intellectual exile, artistic history (Joyeux-Prunel 2016–2017), scientific history (Rasmussen 1995 and Kunkel 2021), political and cultural history of communism and anticommunism or fascism, history of the student movements of the 1960s. As we indicated above, transnational history brings into play mainly non-state actors, organised in short networks (for example between international gallery owners such as Durand-Ruel in the nineteenth century for the Impressionists or Leo Castelli in the twentieth century for Pop Art) or long networks, such as those of the philanthropic Foundations or the Comintern (Wolikow 2010). For all that, this history is articulated with that of the traditional state and diplomatic actors. Thus, transnational actors make use, in the national sphere, of their "social capital" acquired in the international sphere; let us think of the history of the Red Cross and their national subsidiaries controlled by the States or today the history of contemporary diasporas and the "remote" control by the Chinese and Indian States (Therwath 2018, 247–266.). Above all, a historiographic mass has imposed itself in transnational historiography,

notably for its exceptional documentary dimension, that of the American philan-thropic foundations.

2.1 American Foundations and Global Knowledge Organisation

The vast documentary and historiographical continent of American philanthropic foundations in the twentieth century has given rise to an abundant literature over the past forty years. Armed with abundant money, competent men, and a precise vision of the world (peace, freedom, rationality), they were indeed one of the essential agents of the decompartmentalisation of the scientific, intellectual, and political world in the twentieth century in general (Salzman 1987 and Ber-man 1983); more specifically, they embodied a fourfold role (guide [1910–1938], pilot-fish [1938–1950], auxiliary [1950–], and critic) in American public action abroad. While the first public actors in the latter did not appear until late in the 1930s (Ninkovich 1981), the Foundations, including Carnegie, created in 1910, played a "guiding" role in convincing America to move away from its isolation-ism (Berghahn 1993, 393–419; Tournès 2016). From now on, it is impossible to evaluate the "American century", the American presence and its political and cultural influence, its capacity for global expansion (especially in terms of con-ceptualisation), without examining this discreet but skilful actor with decentral-ised and transnational action.

Their historiography has thus made it possible to renew the traditional ques-tioning of the "Americanisation" of European societies in the twentieth century. Alongside the classic actors of American public diplomacy, who tended to address a broad public, the Foundations, for their part, carried out a resolutely elitist ac-tion in order to influence and shape the systems of knowledge and education in the world. The work of the Rockefeller Foundation in France between the wars, in the medical and social sciences (Saunier et Tournès 2010, 46–64 and Tournès 2011), or that of the Ford Foundation in Italy (Gemelli 1994) after 1945 in fields as varied as economics and management or agricultural development, have given rise to exhaustive works. They allow us to understand a very original type of inter-vention from a distance (a culture of reporting and evaluation, also found in the Comintern) which establishes a close relationship between the sender (the Foun-dations) and the receivers. The former has and offers money (the Ford Foundation spent 325 million dollars in Europe between 1950 and 1980), institutional models (for example, the large care and research hospital) and methodological references (empirical investigation in sociology or economics) in the service of a liberal and

rational ideology. However, the receiver is not passive and tries to select from the offer what best fits his own objectives.

The Foundations create intercultural relationships, asymmetrical to be sure, but not pure domination either. This is one way to seriously qualify all the vague notions such as "American imperialism". Have the Foundations exercised this type of pure domination? The debate remains open as to how to properly assess their mode of intervention, between the thesis of "soft hegemony" and that of "imperialism," which is more classic in the analysis of American power in the twentieth century. But most of the works lean more towards a balanced position where the receiver proves capable of orienting a good part of the American offer when, for example, the VIth section of the *Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes* in France reoriented (in a more historical sense, less linked to the present time, and keeping some of its communist academics) the "areas studies" program financed by the Rockefeller Foundation in the early 1950s. Most of the time, we see that the funded institution assumes its own scientific choices and proves capable of freeing itself from the strict American model; like INSEAD in Fontainebleau, created in 1957, largely financed initially by the Ford Foundation (one million dollars) and inspired by Harvard Business School, the French institution nonetheless adopts the principle of case studies, geographically very broad, which relativises the example of American capitalism as the table of the law. Thus, the "Americanisation" of Europe is increasingly reconsidered in terms of negotiation, an arrangement between the American sender and the European receiver.

The Cold War, in its cultural aspect, has represented one of the recent particularly fertile historiographical fields where the historian can grasp the action of the Foundations, with sometimes their ambiguities. In this case, they displayed an undeniable patriotism by relaying a certain number of initiatives of the American government, whether it was a question of the policy of "intellectual containment" to counter the influence of Marxism (from research on "areas studies" to the funding granted to empirical works in sociology, economics or political science to the support of anti-communist intellectual organisations) or of the shift, from the 1960s onwards, of investments towards the Third World in accordance with John Kennedy's policy. Their action in parallel with official diplomacy proved to be very significant. But sometimes the Foundations also distanced themselves from the official instructions when, for example, the anticommunism of the American public authorities between 1950–1954 was judged excessive by some of them who supported European intellectual actors of socialist tendency, although, of course, vigorously anticommunist (Grémion 1995 and Stonor Saunders 1999).

Several other fields of historiography have also taken the transnational route, including intellectual and scientific exile in the twentieth century and the history of the European Community. The history of the European Community (Vauchez 2013) lends itself to transnational approaches, at the crossroads of political history, the history of international relations and the cultural history of international cultural policies, or the transnational history of legal knowledge and the intellectual professions of law. The examination of the role of European jurists within the Court of Justice of the European Communities was at the heart of the political and legal construction of a new political community.

2.2 European and French Exile in the US, Articulation of the Transnational and the National

As for the history of European scientific and political exile to the United States, between the 1930s and the 1940s, it reveals the destiny of a transatlantic human community in a context where chains of social interdependence on a global level (in the economic and political order, and especially in the scientific field) became longer during the interwar period. The exile of the war years became for some exiles the means to reinforce these chains and to build a European post-war period inspired in part by the political and social experience in the United States; Whether it was participation in certain international institutions after 1945 in order to establish a world that was culturally and politically more egalitarian (the role of Claude Lévi-Strauss at UNESCO, of Hervé Alphand at the UN), or the creation in France of a reformist political model that brought together diverse elites (bankers, scientists, intellectuals, senior civil servants) and that drew on expert knowledge (those of the French Plan created in 1946, for example). The French exile in the United States during the war made it possible to consolidate lasting political links with certain American networks on the non-communist French left (Jeanpierre 2004). Here again, we touch on the question of "Americanisation". Unquestionably, if the France of post-1945 modernisation was partly shaped by these scientific and political-administrative networks forged in American exile, their action was nonetheless largely "patriotic," in the service of a modernised France capable of independence.

If transnational history allows us to rethink the history of classic cultural international relations and the history of international relations in general, we would also like to focus on the conceptual and practical renewal imposed by the new stage of globalisation since the 1990s. In a world that is more interconnected than ever (in 1993, there were about fifty websites in the world, in 2000 there were 5 million, and there are 20 billion connected objects), where each

country, each segment of society, each individual claims equal treatment and a right to his or her cultural identity, how does the field of international cultural relations function? New analytical concepts are appearing (soft power, diplomacy of influence in France) while new theories (constructivism) are being developed to think about this new world.

3 Thinking about Globalisation and its Effects on the Field of International Relations

It is advisable to return in a word to the new context, since 1980, of the cultural globalisation (Lash and Robertson 1995) characterised by an explosion of new media and by a world of networks, enrichment of the individuals who have access almost everywhere to the cultural and informational goods, new cultural powers in the "South". The characteristics of the cultural globalisation would be the horizontality of the actors who are conscious to participate in the global universe, who intend to defend their cultural identity within this globalisation; another characteristic would be the hybridisation of the references and the identities which result from the contact between global flows of information and the local reality in which the individuals live ("glocalisation" according to Roland Robertson); the decentralisation of world cultural power with the rise since 1980 of new powers in the field of cultural industries (Brazil, Japan and South Korea and their media culture in particular) would represent another new political and cultural fact. The notions of cultural and political hierarchy that had long given European countries and the US a global superiority have faded. A world of symbolic complexity has triumphed (Hannerz 1992).

These changes have disrupted both the functioning of cultural diplomacy and that of public diplomacy by forcing them to engage in dialogue with foreign populations, whereas for decades they had favoured monologues. The analytical notion of Soft Power has come to offer a new way of thinking and acting in this new international universe, while a theory of international relations, Alexander Wendt's Constructivism, seeks to account for a world that is defined, above all, by the defence of identities, individual or collective.

3.1 Soft Power, a Floating Conceptualisation

In 1990, in a book entitled *Bound to leave*, the American specialist in international relations, Joseph Nye, put forward a new analytical concept, that of Soft

Power, which was a dazzling success in the media, if not in the academic world (Parmar and Cox 2010). At a time when the Cold War was coming to an end, and when there was growing doubt about the capacity for coercion embodied by American military force, Nye sought to think about the foundations of a new incarnation of American power, of which Soft Power would be a specific mode of action (a point that was later abandoned). He defines Soft Power both as a power of attraction thanks to cultural excellence in three "intangible" resources (cultural achievements themselves, ideologies, norms and values, and the quality of a given country's foreign policy) and as a power of persuasion. It is a matter of getting others to voluntarily modify their behaviour and thus align themselves with the attractive power (Nye 2004).

This conceptualisation must also be gradually linked to the post-9/11 attempts to explain the American model to the rest of the world on new grounds: a "new public diplomacy" (Cowan and Arsenault 2008) has emerged in the field of American international expertise, thought in terms of multilateral dialogue in an interconnected world where citizens have become direct actors in international politics and co-creators of the public diplomacy policies they try to influence. As Nye says, it is a matter of shaping the preferences of others, of negotiating with them. We have entered a relational world and this decisive element is well taken into account with the notion of Soft Power. How then can we project a policy of Soft Power? The adoption of the principle of reciprocity or cooperation with partners would be one of the essential modalities. The credibility of cultural action is indeed essential in the policy of persuasion. On the other hand, a simple policy of promotion (the notion of "brand" that came into fashion in the 2000s) of cultural elements towards the rest of the world is not enough to define a policy of Soft Power. This was seen in the "Cool Japan" campaign of the early 2000s, where the great success of Japanese cultural industries (animated films, manga, TV programs) throughout Asia since the 1980s (Japan has become the world's second largest cultural exporter) does not constitute a sufficient element of attraction, since the "target" cannot be controlled in this undifferentiated promotion policy (Kados Otmazgin 2008, 1–10).

On the other hand, it is possible to touch here a weak point in Nye when he thinks, initially at least, that attraction is totally untied from economic hard power; this aspect has provoked the distrust of many IR historians who have judged Nye's model too disembodied. The notion of "smart power" came to answer these criticisms. Developed by Ernest Wilson (2008, 110–124) and taken up by Nye, it reconciles "hard" and "soft" power when the decisive element is not so much the resources as the two possible ways of using them, coercive or cooperative. We have seen this in the past with the Marshall Plan, which skilfully mixed the two dimensions (hard and soft) but where, above all, a cooperative

way of acting (pushing the Europeans to unite) took precedence over coercion, while economic aid made the liberal model attractive via, in particular, the trips organised through the famous "productivity missions". Today, the cultural industries, a typical mix of hard and soft, have become unavoidable in the globalised world (7% of the world GNP). They certainly participate in the cultural influence exercised by a country itself, but with the limits that we have just recalled above. Hollywood and its worldwide prestige throughout the 20th century nevertheless attests to an undeniable force of seduction. French diplomacy and a certain number of its experts evoke, for their part, in the 2010s, a "diplomacy of influence" where, as in Smart Power, the economy becomes the unavoidable medium of cultural action; the diplomacy of museums, the diplomacy of technical-scientific and legal norms (for example, French notary law has imposed itself in China), and the diplomacy of major sports events become in this way the new grounds of cultural influence.[4] Thus, a research firm was able to rank France 1st in 2017 and 2019 in Soft Power.

How can we assess the differences and points of convergence between Soft Power and cultural diplomacy or the "new" American public diplomacy? The convergence lies in the need to count on the long term, to subtly control the target through constant and close dialogue (the metaphor of the dance), to value ideas (the role of think tanks, international forums such as Davos or the COP) as much as information. The difference seems to lie in the constant danger of Soft Power falling into propaganda by seeking to control its "target" too closely.[5] Nye also has some difficulty in thinking about the relationship between the agent of Soft Power and its subject (partner), according to Craig Hayden (2012, especially chapter 2). Strangely enough, given his background as a theorist of interdependence and the role of INGOs, Nye also has little to say about non-state actors. The Harvard political scientist evokes the qualities (attention to others, competence, charisma) to be implemented in the soft power relationship and he is perfectly right: to succeed, foreign cultural action policies must be an action of meticulous and loving gardening and not a mechanised farming operation.

All in all, the most characteristic point of Nye (and, on another intellectual level, of Iriye) is that, in a liberal theorisation of IR, he tends to obscure the dimension of constraint on others; his vision of Soft Power would still be a little too abstract, despite the correction provided by the notion of Smart Power. In the

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4 See the special issue in *Revue internationale et stratégique*, "Diplomatie d'influence", n°89, printemps 2013.
5 This point is in chapter 4 of Nye's book, *The Future of soft power*, New York, Public Affairs, 2010.

eyes of certain critics, Robert Cox in particular, he still has difficulty thinking about power itself, its mixture of coercion and consent according to the approach once established by Antonio Gramsci with his concept of "hegemony" (Zahran and Ramos 2010, 12–31). The realisation of a project of cultural hegemony thus rests also, in part, on a form of symbolic and material violence; and the policy of cultural diffusion adopted formerly by European cultural diplomacy was part of this policy of hegemony. But this European hegemony had been built earlier on the cultural and political grounds and was no longer explicitly displayed in the twentieth century in the deployment of European cultural diplomacy. This ambiguous reality of Culture, if not an element of barbarism as Walter Benjamin said, then at least a battleground for ideas, as reflected recently by the debates around the concept of "cultural diversity" adopted by UNESCO in 2005 (Vlassis 2015), Nye seems uncomfortable to define it precisely. However, the notion of Soft Power has made it possible to reflect on it in a renewed way, notably via this critical Gramscian approach that encourages a re-reading of the ambiguous political model that was European cultural diplomacy in the past.

3.2 The Constructivist Theorisation of IR and the Consideration of Identities

Cultural globalisation poses another challenge to external cultural action policies by highlighting an anthropological definition of culture. More than ever, it is not only a question of exchanged cultural products, but of the meaning and symbolic value of exchanges for receivers who construct, at the very moment of receiving the message, their "mediascapes" (Arjun Appadurai): international communication allows individuals to be both "agent" and "acted upon". Cultural globalisation is in fact largely horizontal, egalitarian in its aspirations, "glocal" in its reformulations. As the work of the French IR sociologist Bertrand Badie repeatedly points out (Badie and Smouts 1992; Badie 2020), the old world of IR was stato-centric (elements of power, sovereignty, territory), Western, economically, politically, and symbolically unequal. This world has changed under the effect of the return in force of particular cultures (the international actors that are the globalised individuals do not all have the same rationality) and of transnational forces. As such, his historical sociology of IR preceded the constructivist theory of IR proposed by Alexander Wendt (Guzzini and Leander 2006; Lapid and Kratochwil 1996). The latter also comes to bring a useful lighting to the RCIs because he incites to take into account, as a priority, the values, the ideas in the sphere of international relations, although his reflection is rather state-centred compared

to that of Badie. The ideal structures (norms) determine the relations between the states as well as the actors.

Beyond the interdependence of material interests or the interactions of strategies, the sphere of values constitutes today in the field of international relations the most diffuse reality, the most difficult to analyse, and perhaps the most decisive in the eyes of theorists such as Badie, Lapid and Wendt. It indeed becomes the field of reality that allows us to understand the two other aspects of international life. To take a concrete point, the politics of restitution of stolen objects in Africa (or elsewhere) acquires a new political centrality in IR. Similarly, information politics has become the new terrain of these identity struggles. The creation of the Al Jazeera news channel in 1996 allowed the affirmation of an "Arab democracy" through an "Arab media" (Talon 2011; Powers 2013).

Historical memory, a key element in the construction of political and cultural identities over time and in the functioning of foreign cultural policies, carries a lot of weight: China consumes Japanese manga but does not forget the Nanking massacre of 1937! Here, the new challenge is opposed to the devices of cultural diplomacy and public diplomacy in their capacity to dialogue with this new globalised and conflictual social world. Should we then dissociate the cultural from the diplomatic by involving as a priority new intercultural mediators such as journalists, members of INGOs (their number has multiplied by ten since 1960) or academics, and thus operating in a "bottom-up" manner? Or do we need to associate the cultural and the political more closely in order to deal with this new social and cultural globalisation, which involves new themes (ecology, health)? The debates are ahead of us.

From the First World War onwards, the history of ICRs has been, first and foremost, a state (or parastatal) history of politico-cultural actors engaged in cultural or public diplomacy in order to exert political influence via the export of cultural products and informational content. This policy has helped shape a history of cultural exchanges between elites; it has shaped a whole part of the global cultural history of the twentieth century (the Peruvian Nobel Prize winner for Literature, Mario Vargas Llosa, was trained in the library of the Alliance Française in Lima in the 1950s).

But this external cultural action had serious shortcomings, the main one being the lack of consideration for the audiences it addressed. Now, the process of social globalisation at work since the nineteenth century, qualitatively and quantitatively overdriven since the end of the twentieth century, renders more and more ineffective, even counterproductive, any action based on cultural "diffusion" alone. And this process relativised the all-powerful role of the States. Transnational history then appeared as another history, with other actors (unofficial actors, networks of international sociability), other objects (the construction

of research devices and new knowledge for scientific transnational history, for example), other methods and purposes of action (the co-elaboration of projects in the image of the action of the American Foundations, the co-negotiation of migration identities). Today, the history of RCMs must combine both of these approaches insofar as the national, the international and the transnational must be understood in their dynamics and their overlaps. By extending the questioning, we can think that the IR and the ICR have been able to renew their field of study and definitively escape the criticism of intellectual immobility that some great historians of the past, such as Lucien Febvre or Charles Maier, had regularly addressed to them.

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Paula Bruno

Women and Diplomatic Life: An Overview with Methodological Directions and Proposals

1 Introduction: New Perspectives on the Study of Diplomatic Life

This chapter has two primary objectives. First, I will offer a systematic review of the academic literature on the paths of women who circulated in various diplomatic circles throughout history. In particular, I will focus on publications from the last two decades that have endeavoured to renew the study of diplomatic history in several different fields, including cultural history, political history, women's history, and (to a lesser extent) the branch of international relations related to gender. In the hopes of contextualising a diverse body of work that has been produced in parallel disciplines that do not always intersect, I have limited my focus to three broad geographic regions: Western Europe, English-speaking North America, and Latin America. Based on my readings and reflections, I will offer a potential reading list for future study on this topic. Secondly, I will draw on experiences from the research I have conducted in recent years to propose a series of profiles that can help us study the lives of Latin American women in the nineteenth century and the period leading up to the First World War. I will also offer a few methodological reflections for studies on these women. I hope that this text will be, in part, an invitation to broaden these lines of inquiry and incorporate other parts of the world and other profiles that will enrich our understanding of women's role in diplomacy.

   Over the course of decades, topics related to nations' international reach, the emergence of foreign services, and the professionalisation of the diplomatic exercise gave rise to state histories, which attend to the territorial definitions, moments of military tension, and agreements that lead nations to extend themselves into the international arena. However, this diplomatic history of the relations among nations left no space for considering non-governmental actors or non-state spaces. Since the early 2000s, in turn, the fruitful field of "new diplomatic history" has made it a primary goal to revise and transcend foreign services' strictly institutional histories of these diplomatic domains. By moving its focus away from state issues and dynamics, this body of work takes new actors

and spaces as its objects of study and interest. These efforts have created more space to study figures who were previously considered secondary actors or mere "bystanders" in the international arena.

These new perspectives have also encouraged another line of academic interest, of particular relevance here, that has endeavoured to study certain individual actors as a means of thinking about "diplomatic experiences". In other words, this approach focuses on the lived experience and behaviours of various agents in diplomatic networks. In so doing, it has elevated figures who were absent from books about state diplomacy for decades to centre-stage. Moreover, it has generated new questions about actors who had previously been studied, but only from perspectives that did not interrogate the performative aspects of actors, including secretaries. Thus, new attention is being paid to aspects such as the particular modes of communication, gesture, and appearance that were deemed appropriate for diplomatic environs (Sabbatini and Volpini 2011; Andretta et al. 2020). This "diplomatic experience" approach was first illustrated in books on the 15th and 17th centuries that explored the state duties of diplomatic envoys and the concrete experiences of the individuals who frequented European courts, went on missions to the Vatican, and negotiated matters of the state (Biow 2002; Frigo 2000). In addition, these new scholars also studied the opportunities these duties created for the people performing them, the margins of autonomy that diplomatic envoys enjoyed, and the different forms of *self-fashioning* – individual, collective, and governmental – that they engaged in on the international stage (Sowerby and Craigwood 2019).

When it comes to choosing objects of study, constructing research questions, and reviewing various aspects, the new openings created by new diplomatic history foster a broadening of the study of women and diplomatic life. In the following section, I will endeavour to offer an overview of potential readings that can help us apply these new perspectives that have so far only been applied in European and English-speaking North American academic circles.

2 Women and Diplomatic Life: Overview and Literature Review

In the context of the research agendas mentioned above, the role of women in diplomatic life has taken on greater currency both within academia and among the general public. This increased interest is evidenced by recent signals from literary markets that target broad audiences, including the success of books such as Katie Hickman's *Daughters of Britannia: The Lives and Times of Diplomatic*

Wives (1999 and later editions), Benedetta Craveri's *Amanti e Regine. Il Potere delle Donne* (2005, with later editions in Spanish, Italian, and French), Andrée Dore-Audiber's *Propos Irrévérencieux d'une Épouse d'Ambassadeur* (2002), and Huguette Pérol's memoir *Femme d'Ambassedeur* (2002).

The body of academic work dedicated to women in diplomatic circles varies in depth depending on time period and location. Here, I will offer an overview focused specifically on texts about Western Europe, Latin America and English-speaking North America. Within this heterogeneous body of work, I will prose five categories organised around common areas of interests, which I will describe in detail below.

The first group comprises profiles of European women who were part of the diplomatic culture of the courts between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. The texts within it include analyses of women's roles and actions in marital affairs and aristocratic salons, as well as accounts of princesses' international travels and diplomatic visits to resolve regional conflicts, among other works. They highlight a few individual women as "diplomatic brides" or "dynastic betrothed" who transcended the rigid terms proposed by studies on "marriage markets" to be recognized as drivers of relationships and negotiations in their own right. The works in this category explore the scope of women's influence on court relations and problematize the overlaps and tensions between personal ambitions, family interests, and state expectations. They focus on female figures in transnational diplomatic scenarios who entered the diplomatic arena, introduced innovations in their countries of origin, and became key emissaries at important junctures in geopolitical decision-making (Downie 1999; Sluga and James 2016). In this same category, other studies emphasise the role of women in court life, pointing to the courts as places where they could influence others and exchange politically salient information. The women described in these studies include widows, escorts, travellers, and camouflaged observers who essentially operated like spies (Broomhall 2018; Craveri 2005a, 2005b, and 2006; Daybell and Svante 2017; Matheson-Pollock and Fletcher 2018).

In line with these contributions, some published studies on the European kingdoms between the fifteenth and eighteenth century have attended to "ambassador's wives" or "ambassadresses", emphasising that not all women from noble families were considered for such roles, which required certain recognizable abilities and manners. Integrated into diplomatic circles, these lady ambassadors wove networks of feminine sociability that could impact diplomatic decisions (Allen 2019; Comsa 2016; Hanotin 2013; Lauzon 2014).

A second noteworthy category of works on women and European diplomatic life includes studies that ask new questions about well-known *salonières*, paying greater attention to their actions as mediators. In these contributions, certain

names stand out over others, including Germaine de Stäel, Dorothea Lieven, and Marie de Vichy-Chamrond (known as Madame de Stäel, Madame Lieven, and Madame du Duffand). However, researchers have also begun to explore the lives of other women and pay more attention to the ways in which ideas and news were exchanged in the salons, and some recent studies have tried to rethink the dynamics of leisure and sociability in "everyday life" by considering how they overlapped with the requirement that women who attended salons show themselves to be cultured and educated in order to be recognized as social and cultural movers (Leduc 2020). These studies most commonly focus on the power these women had in diplomatic intrigues thanks to their titles, family connections, and proximity to men who made political decisions; on their experiences in spaces of debate; and, in some cases, on the chances theyh had to be part of spheres of public discussion beyond the salons, including international congresses where territorial problems were addressed and decisions about war and peace were taken (Anderson 2006; Cromwell 2007; Craveri 2006; Guenther 2012; Kale 2002, 2006a, and 2006b; Sánchez Mejía 2015; Sluga and James 2016).

A third line of academic production concentrates on the period between the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century, drawing connections between the European and American settings. These studies depart from a common diagnosis: they all consider the First World War to be a watershed moment for diplomacy and the organisation of foreign services around the world. Focusing on this time frame, various authors have made a point of putting figures associated with the aristocratic salons of diplomatic social life into conversation with those in other roles that were established by the formation of nation states and the professionalisation of state functionaries. In this context, career diplomats and *practitioners* began to deploy new forms of expertise. Where the diplomatic culture of the courts had been connected to aristocratic periods, manners, and dialects, in the nineteenth century, "bourgeois styles", values, and modes of behaviour began to prevail in diplomatic circles (Casado Sánchez and Moreno Seco 2014). In this context, new roles for women in the public sphere opened, and the number of positions in the foreign service multiplied (Sluga and James 2016). One role that is particularly relevant to the study of women's trajectory in diplomatic spaces is that of "diplomatic dames (or ladies)", a term that has been used to refer to certain wives of North American diplomats. The role of these women in early twentieth-century diplomacy was "almost professional", since they exemplified certain attitudes, knew the protocols, and never improvised in their roles as hostesses and organisers of dinners and parties. Through this work, they built relationships with other diplomats' wives and served as the mediators of relationships between functionaries from different parts of the world (Mori 2015; Wood 2005).

These studies build, in part, on a line of inquiry that was proposed decades ago, which highlighted the figure of the "ambassador's wife" or "diplomat's spouse" (Hochschild 1969; Perkins 1954). Several of these newer studies reference women's appearances, the use of beauty and charm as tools, the role of manners in communication, and related issues (Wood 2007). These same considerations are also relevant to notions of the "diplomatic partner" or "diplomatic companion", which were proposed to establish the role of diplomatic companions as transversal actors in the process of establishing relations, and even as agents of *soft power*. These analyses have applied personal, social, and political lenses to the trajectories not only of diplomatic wives in international relations, but also the roles of secretaries, clerks, and other actors who collaborated in the consolidation of networks and negotiations through their friendships and affections (Domett 2005; Wood 2015). In some studies related to twentieth-century diplomacy, the expression "unofficial ambassadors" is used to refer to the role that women in diplomatic services occupied for centuries – a role which has led certain specialists to describe these women as agents of "non-state cultural diplomacy" who built relationships and transmitted their nations' cultural values in foreign lands (Biltekin 2020).

A fourth group of scholarly contributions focuses on the processes that followed the First World War, when diplomatic offices multiplied, and opportunities emerged within national foreign services and international organisations for certain women to find a place of their own. Over the course of the twentieth century, new professional positions also opened to women who had certain skills that could support bureaucracies: translators, accountants, stenographers, and other office jobs.

One part of the literature in this category has centred on women who played key roles in Pan-American diplomatic circles (Berger 2015; Cándida Smith 2017) and agencies of international cooperation (Goodman 2012; Pita González 2014), as well as in the state departments of nations including Australia (Stephenson 2019), Canada (Bashevtin 2009), the United States (Calkin 1978; Jeffreys-Jones 1997; Nash 2002; Wood 2015), Mexico (Ramírez Flores 2006), France (Thuillier 1989), Great Britain (McCarthy 2009, 2014, 2015) and Holland (Dierikx 2020). Other studies have turned their gaze to movements, gatherings, and transnational currents of thought and action in which women played relevant roles, including pacifist and anti-war movements, struggles for civil and political rights, and actions by feminist movements and other associations that began in civil society and eventually led to political and humanitarian demands (Alonso 1992; Blasco Lisa and Magallón Portolés 2020; Gottlieb and Johnson 2020; Irive 2002; McKenzie 2011; Papachristou 1990; Patterson 2008; Rupp 1994, 1996). In addition, some recent contributions

have incorporated the study of women's office roles in spaces connected to the diplomatic circuit (Gottlieb and Johnson 2020).

The fifth and final category in recent literature on women's role in diplomacy comes out of the discipline of International Relations and attends to the women who occupied fully professionalised diplomatic positions during the second half of the twentieth century and the first years of the twenty-first. Some compiled volumes that include perspectives on these roles have focused on specific national cases, including France (Denéchère 2003) and Brazil (Soares Balestero 2017), while others offer more general, panoramic overview Bayes 2012; Alexander, Bolzendahl, and Jalalzai 2018; Sibley 2012). Several of these Works analyse public imagination and legislation around gender equality, focusing on women who build careers in traditionally masculine fields (Foot 1990; Gaspard 2000, 2002; May 1994).

Several of these Works have been framed as part of the "new diplomatic history" (Schweizer and Schumann 2008). The primary goal of this movement, which has borne fruit since the early 2000s, is to revise and transcend the strictly institutional histories of the domains created by the foreign service. Constructed from motifs of international expansion, the emergence of embassies, and the professionalisation of the diplomatic office, these state histories attend to the territorial definitions, moments of military tension, and agreements that led nations to extend themselves into the international arena.

Thus far, we have outlined and contextualised the most well-trodden lines of inquiry related to women and diplomatic life in Western European and English-speaking North American contexts and studies that consider the connections between distant parts of the world. Now, I will outline some notable trends that offer theoretical frameworks and suggest methodological approaches, moving transversally through part of the body of literature described above. The first trend, which is most common in historical studies, centres *women's agency* or *female agency* (Sluga and James 2016; James 2020) and analyses the trajectories of women as active subjects within diplomacy – mediators in state affairs, relationship builders, and active political negotiators. In recent years, as these works have interrogated the question of agency, several of them have begun to problematize perspectives on gender in a more systemic way (Cassidy 2018). The second trend proposes to study the experiences of women and men in diplomatic circles from a dynamic perspective, without falling into the temptation to impose strict lines between different spheres – private or intimate, domestic, personal, public, and governmental (Dean 2012; Loriol 2016; McEnaney 2021). The third, which in dialogue with the second, places the emphasis on the experiences and practices of diplomatic agents, including women, so it is well positioned to consider margins of autonomy, overlaps between state and

experiential dimensions, the possibility of devising personal agendas in ritualised and protocolised contexts, and the analysis of manners, jargons, gestures, and means of communication (Andretta *et al.* 2020; Biow 2002; Frigo 2020; Towns and Niklasson 2020; Towns 2020). The fourth, which comes from International Relations, references the "gender turn in diplomacy", providing new research agendas that are alert to the dynamics of exclusion and inclusion that have affected women in diplomatic spheres. These new agendas incorporate feminist theory, combining it with the field of Foreign Policy Analysis (Aggestam 2019; Aggestam and Town 2019; Aggestam and True 2020).

In certain regions, mostly European and North American, the study of women and diplomatic life is a field that has been continuously developing for the last two decades, as evidenced by research projects, international colloquia, and monographic and collective volumes.[1] In various Latin American nations, meanwhile, the body of research on the subject is incipient but promising, as I will aim to demonstrate in the next section.

3 Latin American Women and Diplomatic Life: Challenges and Approaches

Over the course of the last decade, the innovations of new diplomatic history have made their way into Latin America historiographical circles. New interpretive lines have emerged thanks to the research and publications of a broad range of specialists from fields such as history, anthropology, international studies, and political science. Some of the characteristics that distinguish these new efforts from traditional histories of diplomacy and the connections between nations include: a transdisciplinary attitude that enables the use of a range of different toolboxes to

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1 Some projects developed in the last two decades include: "Women of the World: Gender, British Diplomacy, and International Politics, c. 1870 to the Present" (2012), led by Helen McCarthy at Queen Mary University of London [https://gtr.ukri.org/projects?ref=AH%2FI026723%2F1, accessed 31 Jan. 2022]; "Women and Peacebuilding: A Multilevel Perspective", led by Vanessa Newby at Leiden University [https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/en/research/research-projects/governance-and-global-affairs/women-and-peacebuilding-a-multilevel-perspective, accessed 21 Jan. 2022]; "A International History of Gender and Diplomacy", directed by Ann Towns at the University of Gothenburg [https://www.gu.se/en/research/an-international-history-of-gender-and-diplomac, accessed 31 Jan. 2022]; and "Gendering Diplomacy and Foreign Policy", coordinated by Karin Aggestam and Annika Bergman-Rosamond at Lund University [https://www.svet.lu.se/en/research-0/research-projects/gendering-diplomacy-and-foreign-policy?q=research/research-projects/gender-and-international-negotiations, accessed 31 Jan. 2022].

study networks, forms of social life, trajectories, and spaces for knowledge production and circulation with international reach; interpretative stakes that articulate scales of analysis – national, regional, and international; and the choice of objects of study that, in and of themselves, facilitate a transnational perspective and transcend historiographical nationalisms.[2]

In Latin America, the study of women and diplomatic life is still an incipient field whose early contributions suggest possibilities that will surely merit development in the years to come. Currently, they include several contributions about individual countries that pay specific attention to women who are part of foreign services and international organisations. Recent works on Brazil, for example, have analysed the itineraries of important female figures, both to study the history of women in the royal court and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Itamaraty) and to compare the trajectories of diplomatic women in Portugal and Brazil (De Souza Farias 2017 and 2019). Several contributions on the Mexican context have lingered on Edith O'Shaughnessy, the wife of a North American *chargé d'affaires*. O'Shaughnessy has received attention for two primary reasons: her marriage took place in Mexico during the first stage of the Mexican Revolution, and she wrote a memoir about those events called *A Diplomat's Wife in Mexico* (1916) (Wood, 2004; Pita González y Ayala Flores, 2015). In turn, the Russian diplomat Alexandra Kollontai's posting in Mexico has also generated interest (Ortiz Peralta, 2017). As for women born on Mexican soil, the life of Palma Guillén has also been an object of study (Huck, 1999; Pompa Alcalá,

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2 For an approximation of the possibilities that have opened up in recent years, see the following dossiers: "Relaciones Internacionales, Identidades Colectivas y Vida Intelectual en América Latina, 1810–1945", coordinated by Ori Preuss and Juan Pablo Scarfi and published in the *Revista Complutense de Historia de América* 39 (2013), which contains articles by Paula Bruno, Charles Jones, João Paulo Coelho de Souza Rodrigues, and Juan Pablo Scarfi; "Diplomacia, Vida Cultural y Producción de Saberes", coordinated by Juan Pablo Scarfi and published in dossiers distributed by historiapolitica.com, as part of volume 66 (2015), which contains articles by Martín Bergel, Paula Bruno, Álvaro Fernández Bravo, Pablo Ortemberg, and Juan Pablo Scarfi; "Panamericanismo, Hispanoamericanismo y Nacionalismo en los Festejos Identitarios de América Latina, 1880–1920: Performances y Encrucijadas de Diplomáticos e Intelectuales", coordinated by Pablo Ortemberg and published in *Anuario IEHS* 32.1 (2017), with articles by Paula Bruno, Alexandra Pita González, Javier Moreno Luzón, and Ascensión Martínez Riaza; "Intelectuales y diplomacia en América Latina", coordinated by Carlos Marichal and Alexandra Pita Gonzáles in *Revista de Historia de América* 159 (2019), with articles by Paula Bruno, Juan Pablo Scarfi, Nathalia Henrich, Mariana Moraes Medina, and Cecilia Guadalupe Neubauer; "Reflexiones Sobre el Uso de Fuentes Diplomáticas para la Reconstrucción Histórica de la Argentina de la *Belle Époque*", coordinated by Martín Albornoz and Agustina Rayes and published in *Revista Electrónica de Fuentes y Archivos* 20 (2020), which features articles by Martín Albornoz, Paula Bruno, Lila Caimari, Pablo Ortemberg, and Agustina Rayes.

2019). In Chile's case, most attention in this area has focused on Gabriela Mistral, who represented her country in several diplomatic positions and as a member of different international organizations (Caballé 1993; Horan 2009a, 2009b; Wilkins 2015).

There are also other studies that may not focus strictly on women and diplomatic life, but still tell the stories of women in other regions who fall within these interpretative coordinates, such as the Latin American *salonières* (Batticuore, 2005; Chambers 2005), or dynastic figures who influenced monarchical crises and the fabric of the revolutions that freed Latin America from colonial bondage (Ternavasio 2015).

Here, I would like to offer a few reflections from a research project that I coordinated, which was published as a book (Bruno, Pita, and Alvarado 2021), in the hopes that that may prove useful in thinking about the challenges and opportunities implicated in studying native-born Latin American women involved in diplomatic life – or "cultural ambassadresses", as I call them. This classification is based on the following characteristics: as "daughters" of their countries in foreign territories, these women acted as facilitators of relationships and builders of rapport in the world of diplomacy; they were perceived as capable of mediating in the political sphere, and they generated images, information, and news that circulated in different settings on a transnational scale. At the same time, in other regions, they were considered public women and representatives of the interests and values of their nations. Thus, in full cognition of the challenges inherent in thinking about cultural transfers and relations that this book outlines, these women served – sometimes against their will and their own best interests – as bearers of values, ideas, and popular notions that associated with or assumed to be associated with the places they came from (be they local, national, or regional). In primary sources, in fact, there are abundant references to "Spanish types" – a term that was used to refer to women from former Spanish colonies – which comment on the levels of "civilization" and "progress" they brought with them, as well as other sections that aim to describe these women as epitomes of the American, Latin American, or national identity of their homelands. To offer some examples, I will suggest some profiles that may help us analyse these women, as well as some considerations about the archival research and methodological challenges involved in studying their trajectories.

From the second half of the nineteenth century through the beginnings of the twentieth century, the pace of the consolidation of Latin American nation states created new opportunities for men from certain families and positions to access roles within the government. Among these opportunities, the foreign service enabled Latin Americans to move through highly formalised diplomatic

circles and spaces that had established protocols, some of which had been developed over centuries (Delgado Llanos and Sánchez Andrés 2012). Special envoys, chargés d'affaires, plenipotentiaries, consuls, and attachés represented only a portion of the positions that men began to exercise on behalf of the republics (Bruno 2018; Cagiao Vila and Elías-Cano 2018; Suárez Argüello and Sánchez Andrés 2017). During this same period, certain Spanish-speaking women who had born in the Americas were able to occupy roles in diplomatic spheres as spouses, mothers, daughters, hostesses, and companions.

In the twentieth century, especially in the context that emerged in the wake of the First World War, diplomacy served as the transnational branch of nation states' administrations and began to overlap with the circles that resulted from the emergence of international organisations. The same time period saw the emergence of actors who were embedded in causes that transcended frontiers and struggled for broad demands such as pacifism, an end to war, or the broadening of civil and political rights (McKenzie 2011). In this context, as circles expanded and began to overlap and feed into one another, women occupied positions within organisations and other working worlds and continued to take action through social aid organisations and charities (Sánchez 2019). They also led movements and served as facilitators between groups that rose out of civil society and various levels of state and supranational administrations (Goodman 2012; Patterson, 2008).

Keeping these general trends in mind, I would like to turn to some individual figures from the nineteenth century until the First World War to lift up their stories and propose new directions for the study of Latin American women in diplomatic circles. In particular, the women I propose to profile lived out their trajectories before the great influx of professional women into diplomatic circles and international organisations. In other words, I aim to provide an overview of possible opportunities for study within a context that preceded not only expert female functionaries and career diplomats, but also trained female secretaries, official secretaries, and shorthand secretaries. While the three profiles I have chosen have similarities to the trajectories of diplomatic women in other regions, they also enable us to analyse the specific efforts and modulations made by women born in nations that were established after the breaking of colonial bonds.

Diplomatic ladies: Certain Latin American women embodied the profile of the so-called "diplomatic lady" (which is both an analytical term and a term that belongs to its era). This profile fused the characteristics of the *salonières* who drove the culture of conversation and the exchange of ideas in literary and political social life (Anderson 2006; Craveri 2005a; Craveri 2005b; Kale 2006a, 2006b) with the freedom of action that ambassador's wives had; in Europe, the

figure of the diplomatic lady found its archetype in Paulina Clementina de Metternich-Winneburg, who was known as Madame Metternich. As we consider this profile, which is well-known in Europe, it will be important to mention certain particularities of the case of women born in Latin America. We must remember that while aristocratic and court-centred diplomatic cultures existed in *Ancien Régime* societies and had developed over the course of centuries, the Latin American women who were born in former Spanish colonies and began to accompany the official delegations of postrevolutionary governments had neither the knowledge base nor the social customs their European counterparts possessed. In other words, these were women who did not belong to old aristocratic families who began, as wives – as companions, or relations of male public figures – to go on diplomatic missions and enter the social fabrics of courts in Europe and other new American nations; as such, they passed through periods of apprenticeship to adjust to the rhythms and codes of conduct in other parts of the world.

I have noted certain differences in the way women from different Latin American countries were received in Europe. Brazilian-born women like Madame Lisboa – Maria Izabel Pinto Andrade de Lisboa, baroness of Japurá and wife of the special envoy and plenipotentiary of his Majesty Miguel Maria Lisboa, the emperor of Brazil and the baron of Japurá – were widely recognised by their European counterparts as diplomatic ladies and supporters of a legation that was on level footing with the Old World. Women born in Argentina who were married to men with diplomatic duties, meanwhile, like Eduarda Mansilla and Guillermina Oliveira Cézar, were sometimes judged differently for being from the New World.

Both the Brazilian and Argentinian women went through apprenticeships to prepare to merge into more seasoned diplomatic arenas, learning how to dress, act, converse, and organise events; over time, they became able to standardise themselves to match their European counterparts, becoming cheerleaders for diplomatic coteries. At the same time, since Latin American foreign services were still in the process of establishing themselves, they also served as occasional translators, unpaid administrative assistants, intermediaries, and makers of networks of friendship and affection. Lastly, it is worth noting that at a time when presidential tours were not so commonplace and the figure of the "first lady" had not yet been established, spouses, partners, and diplomatic ladies were the women who represented the values and characteristics of their countries in the transnationalised world. We see this at work, for example, in the fact that during their stint as Argentine representatives in Madrid, Guillermina Oliveira Cézar and her husband, Eduardo Wilde, successfully arranged for the Infanta Isabel de Borbón to attend the celebration of the Argentine Centenary in 1910, which is considered a stamp of the alliance between Spain and Argentina. In that moment,

Spain ceased to be thought of as the former imperial metropolis and became, instead, a "motherland" that treated its former colonies like "beloved daughters".

Ambassadresses for peace: In Latin America, the nineteenth century was marked by constant confrontations, borders redefinitions, and disputes among the new nations over the control of certain territories. In this context, there were several instances when efforts to define borders culminated in meetings, assessments, and treaties that established the borders. Institutional diplomatic history has kept a record of how these conflicts were resolved by means of arbitration awards and meetings among state officials. My studies have confirmed that as these partitions and repartitions took place, public campaigns for Latin American fraternity kept pace within civil society and mediated the conflicts. Within these initiatives, women's labour stood out. From my perspective, the role of elite women who undertook pacifist activism before the First World War merits particular attention. In Europe, we find figures such as Bertha von Suttner, who became the first woman to win the Nobel Peace Prize in 1905. Von Suttner's characteristics fit a certain profile: she was from a military family, held the title of baroness, was educated in cosmopolitan circles, and managed to make a place for herself on the stage of the international pacifist movement. In Latin America, once again, it is a less straightforward task to find women who can be compared to this profile. At times, for example, certain pacifist circles overlapped with the circles of Catholic women, and it can be challenging to find the names of these women. Nevertheless, I believe it is worth making the effort to follow leads in order to find profiles such as that of Ángela Oliveira Cézar, born in Argentina, who was the driving force behind the project that placed the so-called "Christ of the Andes" on the mountainous border between Chile and Argentina. In 1908, Cézar founded the Asociación Sud-Americana de Paz Universal [South American Universal Peace Union], which was the first of its kind in Latin America.

Oliveira Cézar's activism as an ambassadress for peace were neither mandated by any part of the state administration nor related to her husband's work, yet they created international ripples that made her into an example for international pacifist circles. As a result, at times, her actions were recognised and "officialised" after they actually took place. Perhaps her initiatives can be usefully framed by the notion of "non-state cultural diplomacy" (Biltekin 2020), since they achieved wide influence and made Oliveira Cézar into the first woman born in Latin America to be a candidate for the Nobel Peace Prize in 1911 (Norderval 2021). It would also be interesting to analyse a woman of Oliveira Cézar's profile because her case illustrates how women from new nations got involved, in their own way, in a transnational civil society with shared demands and

common initiatives that took on particular modulations in each geographic region (Rupp 1994; Batliwala and Brown 2006).

Diplomatic writers: The role of writer-diplomats – those who are both writers and diplomats – has been studied in different regions and from different perspectives (Badel *et al.* 2012; Constantinou 1996). In discussions about members of Latin American foreign services, both male and female, the notion of "poet diplomacy" or "writer diplomacy" is sometimes invoked, with figures such as Amado Nervo and Juan Zorrilla de San Martín, in the nineteenth century, and Alfonso Reyes and Gabriela Mistral, in the twentieth, serving as its oft-mentioned incarnations. In those cases of those particular names, however, their trajectory as writers preceded their involvement in diplomatic missions. In turn, I am interested in bringing further attention to women of another profile: those who have written works of fiction or memoir, or studies on specific topics within diplomatic spheres, but have not necessarily garnered a large reputation in the literary culture of their countries of origin. For Latin American women in particular, the mere fact of travelling so far from their birthplaces created opportunities to circulate in settings that were nothing like those they knew at home. They became cosmopolitan women who articulated the ideas, customs, and habits of diverse regions. In this sense, their first steps onto the international stage were often the trips to Europe that were part of the culture of the *Grand Tour*. These journeys functioned as rites of initiation into diplomatic life – the transitional experience through which individuals abandoned provincial attitudes and became cosmopolitan (Mori 2013). If this initial exposure enabled women to get to know other regions, learn or practise foreign languages, and develop their social skills, more prolonged diplomatic postings immersed them fully in the "broader world" of transnational diplomacy, which could spark their intellectual interests (Mösslang and Riotte 2008). In turn, some have advanced hypotheses about how male figures in the world of diplomacy acknowledged their wives as co-authors of their own intellectual work within diplomatic spheres (Bassnett 2011). In light of these insights, I believe the profiles of Latin American women who have developed writing projects in diplomatic contexts and circles are worthy of study for several reasons: they had a different experience of the world than their countrywomen, they moved through spaces that put them in contact with men and women of letters from other parts of the world, and they were proximate with the owners of publishing houses and journals in various cities. Moreover, in spite of diplomatic life's hectic nature – the social events, the organisation of salons and coteries, the circulation in different legations and countries, the participation in various nations' official proceedings – these women were able to find time to dedicate themselves to writing, especially in the summer season. Occasionally, the titles

of the literary works they produced offer immediate, clear evidence of a connection between their lives and diplomacy, but I believe we can also think of other books, such as those classed as travel literature (for example), as archives that can help us penetrate into the interiors of diplomatic life. In this category, I studied the case of Eduarda Mansilla, whose book *Recuerdos de Viaje* [Memories of Travel], published at the start of the 1880s, is generally considered a work of travel literature. However, by rereading the text and reexamining it from comparative perspective alongside archival sources, I have been able to think of it as a testimonial archive about Mansilla's diplomatic experience in the 1860s and the paths walked by a Latin American woman who attempted to join the circles where international political decisions were made without possessing the necessary abilities. In addition, I also analysed the text that led reviewers to dub Mansilla a "diplomatic writer" – *Pablo, ou la Vie dans les Pampas* [Pablo, or Life in the Pampas], a book about life in her native Argentina that she published in Paris.

Having finished giving an overview of the lives of several women who fit the profiles I have studied, I would like to conclude this chapter with some closing reflections on the archives and sources that are currently available and the limitations and opportunities of studying the aforementioned profiles. In general, in Latin American diplomatic documents from the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, women are mentioned only in vague and slippery terms. Read through today's eyes, the available correspondence becomes shocking when one registers just how limited the space afforded to women in notes and cards was. The exchanges are full of courtesy greetings to daughters and wives; passing references to women's beauty and physiques; notes of gratitude for packages of sweets or fruits; and portraits of women, sent by men with a greeting and a signature. Moreover, women's names are written using diminutive expressions, initials, or nicknames that only relatives could recognize. Under these conditions, we are obligated to study the outlines of the lives of various diplomatic men in order to trace the footprints of the women at their sides (mothers, sisters, wives, and daughters) who enriched their experiences as diplomats in distant legations. This angle of approach is possible when it comes to women who were part of the male diplomatic community, but it is less simple when it comes to those who undertook their own initiatives.

Along with sources from state foreign service archives and personal papers, another preferred archive for information about these women can be found in periodical publications. However, using these sources involves certain challenges. First of all, women's full proper names are almost never given, so one must search in various languages for expressions like "lady of" and "madam

of" – or later, in the twentieth century, for phrases like "Mexican ministress" or "Chilean ambassadress", which do not necessarily correspond to official titles.

Secondly, we must consider that the world of diplomacy was influenced by home countries' national strategies and dynamics in the host countries, as well as codes of social conduct and trends in different regions. Therefore, the profiles of women in diplomatic life can generally be found in the columns dedicated to the society pages, daily life, musical seasons, and commentary on styles and trends. Furthermore, our searches must be refined to account for the fact that these women were being depicted by various reporters who were different from them. Occasionally, depictions of Latin American women's countries of origin and reflections and ponderings about their power as political mediators, builders of suitable relations, or cultural movers sneak in among accounts of beauty and good taste and descriptions of dresses and jewellery; however, the positive stereotype of diplomacy as a world of glamour and leisure makes it challenging to reconstruct the paths of the women who moved through it.

Finally, even though these nineteenth- and early twentieth-century periodical sources can be sparse, I believe we must take on the challenge of trying to glean the emotional states that women in diplomatic life went through, such as weariness, loneliness, worry about economic instability, and sensations of isolation and uprooting. While it is very difficult to find cards and letters written by those women, an effort must be made to compare archives and cross-reference sources to analyse the tensions caused by their constant public exposure – which appeared to outsiders as leisure, luxury, glamour, and entertainment – and the women's' own judgements about the costs and tribulations of the diplomatic experience.

4 Closing Considerations

The editors of this book have set us the challenge of thinking about circulations and cultural transfers through a lens that centres different actors and spaces. This particular chapter has given an overview of the available literature on broad geographic regions – Western Europe, English-speaking North America, and Latin America – and proposed some possibilities for articulating notions of local, national, and global by studying the concrete experiences of women in diplomatic life.

Given that my proposals focus on women who did not hold governmental positions or other official roles – that is, women who did not rely on credentials when they represented their countries – I believe that it is advisable not to fall

into the temptation to establish strict borders between notions such as "formal representation" and "informal representation", or between "private and domestic space" and the "public and political arena". Several contributions from the new diplomatic history movement have addressed the ways in which these divisions have ceased to be productive for thinking about the diplomatic stage. Several reasons for this fact are based in the very dynamics of spheres of foreign service. For example, legations were made up of members of a family, which could include friends; relatives both close and distant; passing visitors; and other affiliates who were connected to members of the legation, at times by a shared language or shared membership in a group. In other writings, in fact, I have proposed the term "diplomatic family" for thinking about these extended groups who were part of legations and inhabited their spaces. In the study at hand, the women performed several different prescribed roles, including that of hostess or social entertainer, while other roles began to emerge through the specific experiences that were imposed on them by the various destinies they were sent off to. In fact, the women who were thought of as possessing a diplomatic *savoir faire* were those who quickly grasped which protocols to follow, what social norms were appropriate in each region, and how they were expected to develop relationships of friendship and kinship within the context of particular negotiations.

Since the profiles I have proposed to study are not from an era of professionalisation when women could be considered experts or *practitioners*, I have attempted to demonstrate the difficulties involved in finding the right concepts to encompass their actions on the international stage. In some instances, they were seen as bearers of their nations' values, ideas, and attitudes without intending to be, for example, while in others, their public endeavours and intellectual labours came out of their own individual interests but ended up being officially held up as valuable initiatives of their nations' governments. Thus, I believe that the concept of *soft power* that this book aims to problematise incentivises us to explore other concepts as well, including the idea of "non-state cultural diplomacy" – introduced by Biltekin (2020) for her study of the role of Swedish women in North American circles – which demonstrates the extent to which women were able to become "unofficial ambassadors" and make their mark by representing their home countries without explicit official directives or concrete remuneration, using nothing but their gestures, attitudes, and modes of self-presentation in the field of political decision-making. Where these considerations have in some ways acknowledged the above-mentioned differences between official (or formal) and unofficial (or informal), I have proposed the concept of "cultural ambassadresses", which allows us to think of these women in contexts where those distinctions carry less weight, viewing them as capable

of shaping foreign territories with their presence and their actions. At times, these actions were in tune with state directives and approaches, and at times they had an impact because of contingency and good fortune. As I have suggested, some of these women displayed a high degree of performativity when it came time to account for interests that may or may not have been in sync with the government's interest. The fact that they lived different lives than their countrywomen, in turn, allowed these women to acquire forms of knowledge and social ability that differentiated them and placed them at the centre of attention, both in their countries of origin and in their international diplomatic destinations.

In summary, I hope that by presenting a literature review and organising the subject of women in diplomacy by topic area and analytical or interpretive approach, this chapter can serve as an invitation to further studies about other regions, so that we can continue to map the broad and transnational space through which these women moved and lived.

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Martin Grandjean

The Paris/Geneva Divide

A Network Analysis of the Archives of the International
Committee on Intellectual Cooperation of the League
of Nations

1 Introduction: Studying the Structure
of Intellectual Cooperation

The International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (ICIC) is often framed
as a step in the constitution of a "League of Minds" – a place where scientists
and writers reign, and a necessary part of a successful and harmonious "League
of Nations" – but the fact that it was created in the context of a bureaucratic
and politicised international administration leaves little room for such creativ-
ity. In reality, intellectual cooperation is one of the technical elements of the
impressive but imperfect machinery that is the inter-war League of Nations
(LoN from now on). However, the ICIC's universal aspect and its sympathy capi-
tal, fuelled by the appointment of leading scientific and cultural personalities,
including Albert Einstein, Marie Skłodowska Curie, Hendrik Lorentz, Henri
Bergson, and Jagadish Chandra Bose, make it an organ of the League that en-
joys high visibility in proportion to its modest size. This explains why the recov-
ery of the symbolic benefits of intellectual cooperation is at the heart of a
power game between the Geneva administration and the main powers of the
LoN Assembly. On the one hand, Great Britain and its dominions are fighting to
prevent these secondary, strictly national or private issues from hampering the
fundamental missions – political, financial, and technical – of the League of
Nations. France and most of the Latin countries, on the other hand, see an ex-
cellent opportunity to globalise cultural issues and impose the vision of a civi-
lising and universal League. In between, with an independent political agenda
that prevents it from being a totally impartial arbiter, is the Geneva secretariat,
which tries, despite lacking means, to make this small technical organisation
work and legitimise it.

This dynamic originates in Geneva, a city chosen by the nations participat-
ing in the Paris Peace Conference because of the neutrality of its territory, be-
cause of the fact that it has international status without being the capital of a
state, and certainly also because of William Rappart's lobbying of President
Woodrow Wilson (Fleury 1981). As the capital of a belligerent country, Paris

was excluded *de facto* from being the seat of the League (Geneva's competitors were Brussels and The Hague). However, it is in Paris that intellectual cooperation finds its most powerful and effective echo. The French government's offer to house an institute dedicated to helping to the Geneva Committee just a stone's throw from the Louvre, made only a few years after the ICIC's first efforts, introduces a key piece to the chessboard of cultural relations in the 1920s – a small step for scientific and intellectual coordination, but a giant step for France's influence and its cultural diplomacy. Indeed, from 1926 onward, France's International Institute for Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC) proves to be a significant counterweight to the Secretariat of the League of Nations – so much so that the latter tries unceasingly to regulate the Institute's activities to keep it under its supervision. It is this balance of power, this pendulum swing between Geneva and Paris, that lies at the heart of our study.

Like the field of LoN historiography, where global and institutional political studies eventually gave way to approaches focused on local mechanisms and technical achievements (Pedersen 2015), the study of intellectual cooperation in the post-war decades (Bennet 1950; Northedge 1953; Pham 1962) was invigorated by a "Parisian" period, which often highlighted the continuity with UNESCO (Bekri 1990, but more importantly Renoliet 1992 and Renoliet 1999). This period was followed by a tendency toward a more transnational approach (Laqua 2011) that questions the very concept of intellectual cooperation (Wilson 2011; Saikawa 2014; and Millet 2015, e.g.) and addresses thematic issues (Laqua 2018; Riondet 2020; Roig-Sanz 2021). Compared to the French historiography of the late twentieth century, these new perspectives give a greater place to Geneva, since the concepts that were later embodied by the Parisian institute were developed within the League of Nations and the ICIC. Beyond the importance of a quarrel over symbolic heritage between two hubs of internationalism in the first half of the 20th century, understanding the nature of intellectual cooperation's "centre" (and, on the contrary, its "periphery") is a way of interrogating this complex, two-sided situation.

We therefore propose to explore the problematic relationship between Geneva and Paris around the activities of the ICIC and the IIIC. To identify this pendulum swing's crucial moments, it will be necessary to outline the institutional history of intellectual cooperation, but we will also demonstrate that a serial analysis of the archives from the Committee's first years and the pivotal moment of the Institute's creation gives a good account of the tensions and competition between the two and the IIIC's eventual takeover. Concretely, we will conduct a network analysis of the metadata of more than 30,000 ICIC documents from 1919 to 1927 in order to map the relationships of more than 3,000 protagonists of intellectual cooperation. Network analysis enables new hypotheses on the notions of

centrality or scale, and metrics from graph theory such as the notion of between-
ness centrality allow us to highlight the structurally minor role played by ICIC
experts in the rivalry between the Secretariat of the League of Nations and the
IIIC's management.

2 The Bureaucratisation of the "Society of Minds"

As we have noted above, the International Committee on Intellectual Coopera-
tion has been the object of a significant historiographical renewal over the last
twenty years. While there are now specialised studies of actors (Richard 2012;
Brzeziński 2013; Pita González 2015; Feichtinger 2020; Fólica and Ikoff 2020)
and peripheral regions (Roig Sanz 2013; Kreissler 2014; Pita González 2014;
Grandjean 2020a), our aim of understanding the tension between Geneva and
Paris has led us to remobilise a more institutional history. Taking up these
structural questions is not a step backwards, since it is a matter of confronting
this institutional knowledge with the complexity of interpersonal relations,
which can be observed in the ICIC archives. In the following sections, we will
focus on institutional episodes that illustrate the pendulum's swing between
Geneva and Paris.[1]

2.1 The Initial Structure of the Committee

The first meeting of the ICIC, on August 1, 1922, is only one step in the process
of reorganising the International Bureaux Section of the League of Nations. In-
deed, the ICIC is one of the section's later achievements, and it is initially
thought of as marginal. As early as July 1919, the Secretariat – and the Japanese
Under-Secretary-General Inazo Nitobe in particular – is primarily focused on
identifying the international "bureaux" of primary importance. However, with
the exception of a few remarkable collaborations, this mission does not bear
any notable fruit other than a directory that continues (in part) the work initi-
ated before the war by the Union of International Associations (Grandjean and

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1 This paper builds on Grandjean (2018a), which precisely details all the stages of the institu-
tionalisation of intellectual cooperation, and the considerations on the centre/periphery issue
developed in Grandjean (2020b).

Van Leeuwen 2019). The drafting of this document – the first volume of which was published in 1921[2] and has been reissued and updated several times – is the focus of a whole part of the Section's activity. If this first phase is apparently unrelated to the creation of the ICIC, which is being discussed at the same time at the Assembly of the League of Nations, it is nonetheless important for understanding one of the origins of the Geneva-Paris antagonism. Indeed, it is in these first hesitant years of stammering that the Geneva section assumes its place in the field of cultural and scientific relations by projecting itself in the role of coordinator of international bureaux, or centre for the transmission of information. This is the role that the IIIC will contest *de facto* a few years later.

Not long after its creation in 1922, the ICIC quickly takes on considerable importance because of the work of its supervisory unit, the "International Bureaux" Section, whose title is more or less officially supplemented by "and Intellectual Cooperation" and sometimes simply called the "Intellectual Cooperation" Section. From the beginning, the sessions of the ICIC are attended not only by the twelve experts of the Committee, but also by representatives of other organs of the League who are concerned with the questions being addressed, specialists summoned for a particular occasion, and correspondents from different countries, not to mention the staff of the Secretariat. At the very first session, in August 1922, William Martin represents the International Labour Office[3] and Julien Luchaire assists Henri Bergson as Inspector General of French *Instruction Publique*. Luchaire's presence foreshadows his active involvement in the Institute's creation.

Quickly, with the consent of the Secretariat of the League of Nations, the Committee creates a small ecosystem around itself. The organisational chart of the ICIC at this time consists of a fairly simple tree structure and reveals a very close relationship between the Committee and the Secretariat on which it depends, and which maintains its relationships with international bureaux (see Fig. 1). In this "first phase" of the Committee's activity, its relationships with bodies outside the League are limited by its provisional status. In addition to establishing several sub-committees of experts, which generally meet on the margins of the plenary sessions, the ICIC occasionally enlists the services of "observers" and "correspondents" in certain countries, as national committees for intellectual cooperation gradually emerge in some twenty nations.

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2 "Répertoire des organisations internationales (associations, bureaux, commissions, etc.)", 1921, LoN Archives 13/299/19568.
3 Letter, Fleury to Secretary General, 27 July 1922, LoN Archives 13/14297/21759.

Assembly

Council

Secretary General

Secretariat of the League of Nations

Under Secretary General

International Bureaux

Intellectual Cooperation and International Bureaux Section

ICIC

Permanent Sub-Committees

Correspondents

National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation
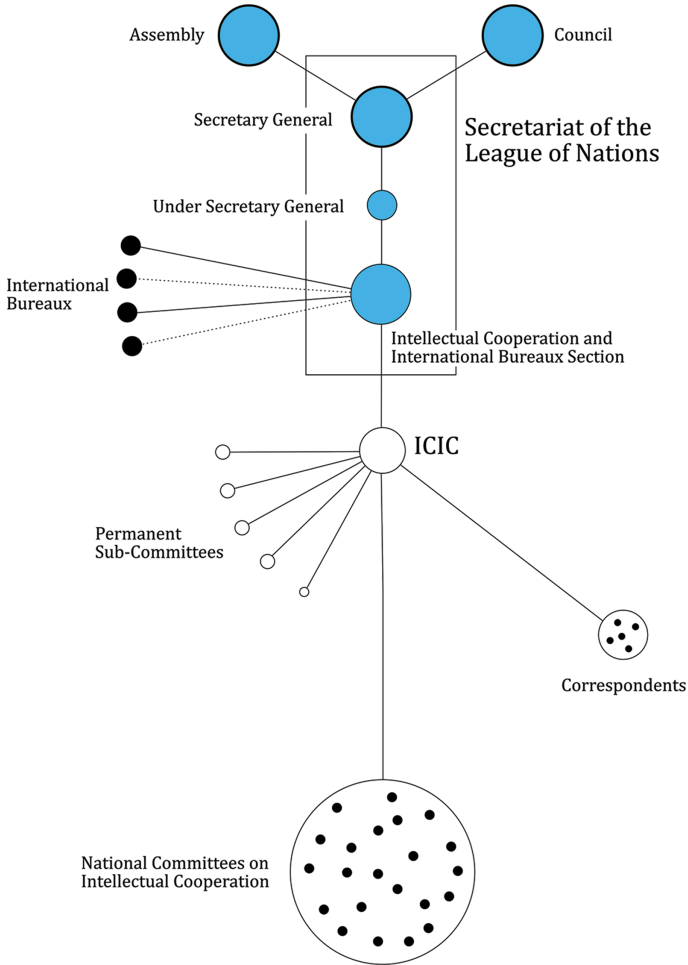
1922-1925

Fig. 1: Organisational chart of the first stage of intellectual cooperation (subsequent stages in Fig. 2, Fig. 5 and Fig. 6). We distinguish between the bodies of the League of Nations (in blue), the ICIC (in white), and the external organisations (in black). The following figures use the same colours.

2.2 The International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation: A Double-Edged Sword

For many observers, the Institute is the visible face of intellectual cooperation within the League of Nations. Its founding is a kind of culmination, a milestone victory for the ICIC in its early years that considerably modifies its structure and internal balance. The Institute represents a pivotal step in the bureaucratisation of intellectual cooperation, since it gradually evolves from a group of experts charged with advising the League of Nations into a fully-fledged institution, albeit one that is not yet completely independent.

The proposal to create a permanent body financed by a state is original in the context of the League of Nations. Even if the stakes of such an undertaking cannot be reduced to their financial element alone, the fact that France offers to assume most of the cost of the Institute is crucial in overcoming the opposition of the Assembly whose delegates compete to pose as champions of austerity and systematically oppose any increase to the ICIC budget. Of course, the delegation of responsibility that comes with such an organisation, which entrusts a single state with a mission that everyone agreed to consider as belonging in principle to the League of Nations only a few years earlier – is not without consequences for the redrawing of the field of cultural diplomacy. Nevertheless, it is based on the hope that such practical voluntarism will produce a more effective result and perhaps even be imitated in other regions by League members wishing to build their own "soft power" and thus increase their financial contribution. This proves to be the case when the Italian government proposes two institutes in response to the French offer, the International Institute for the Unification of Private Law (proposed in 1924 and inaugurated in 1928) and the International Educational Cinematography Institute (proposed in 1927 and also inaugurated in 1928) (Herrera León 2008; Goodman 2018; Taillibert 2019).

The French proposal does not come out of nowhere, however. Following the Council of the League of Nations' call to governments to contribute their moral and financial support to the ICIC,[4] France begins to prepare its strategy. In November 1923, the French Minister of Public Education, Léon Bérard, requests the creation of a French national committee for intellectual cooperation (Renoliet 1999, 38). In other countries, national committees are created via the initiative of academic circles, and this political decision, from a minister who

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4 Fourth Assembly, 16th session, 27 September 1923, LoN Official Journal, special supplement no. 13, 109 (French version). See also the Bardoux Report 19, 357–360.

announced himself as an opponent of Esperanto in order to guarantee the primacy of French alongside English as the official language of the League of Nations (Biltoft 2010), signals that France sees a diplomatic interest in playing the game of intellectual cooperation. France's Director of Higher Education, Alfred Coville, is also in correspondence with Julien Luchaire, who is actively preparing the nation's next move: on January 9, 1924, Luchaire writes to Coville to propose a project to establish an international institution focused on intellectual issues in Paris. In terms that largely align with "pendulum" hypothesis, Luchaire offers this explanation, which does not hide the fact that this initiative is the fruit of a long-standing calculation with ICIC president Henri Bergson:

> Bergson and I [. . .] are now concerned, after having been very "international" at the beginning (and we had to be), with gently attracting to Paris, as far as possible, a good part of the activity of the International Committee, and above all the stable organs that it will create or sponsor [. . .]. In our opinion, the best plan would be this. The French Government would place at the disposal of the League of Nations a building in Paris, to house the services and institutions of an intellectual nature that it would see fit to put there. It would have to allocate to the functioning of these services a special subsidy as a gift. It is thus a great effort, but the result would be considerable.[5]

Luchaire also details the new French National Committee's mission in a January 1924 note, proposing that it should be "able to practice hospitality with regard to international intellectual institutions whose headquarters are not immutably fixed elsewhere".[6]

At the end of the spring of 1924, with a change of government and the arrival of the *Cartel des Gauches* to power, Édouard Herriot, the new president of the Council of Ministers, wants to move France's image away from the militaristic reputation it developed under Raymond Poincaré during the occupation of the Ruhr. On July 24, François Albert, Minister of Public Instruction, responds to Bergson's appeal. Placing itself at the service of the ICIC, the French government announces its intention to leave the establishment of the definitive plan of its "admirable machine" in Bergson's care, noting, in order to spare the feelings of League of Nations members, that "the future institution will be the instrument of your Committee; it will be his responsibility to direct it".[7] When Renoliet (1992: 392; see also 1999: 44) remarks that the French proposal represents a break from its prior attitude towards the League and the ICIC, it should

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5 Letter, Luchaire to Coville, 9 January 1924, UNESCO Archives, IICI AI.9, box 2, cited by Renoliet (1999, 392–393).

6 "Note sur le rôle du nouveau Comité national français de coopération intellectuelle" (January 1924), UNESCO Archives, UNESCO, IICI, A.III.8, box 21, cited by Renoliet (1999, 40).

7 Letter, François-Albert to Bergson, 24 July 1924, LoN Archives 13C/37637/37645, 3.

be noted that it is based on an element of continuity in the person of Julien Luchaire himself. The editor of a French project that aimed to create an institution in charge of studying educational and scientific questions, initially submitted to the League of Nations in 1920 by Paul Appell,[8] Luchaire became the liaison between the French government and Bergson, and then (as previously noted) a stakeholder in the Institute project.

Having passed in the Council, which adopts the resolutions of the French rapporteur, the dossier is transmitted to the Assembly. In the Second Committee of the Assembly, Gilbert Murray agrees with Bergson, presenting the situation as a "matter of life and death for the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation", which "will probably die of starvation"[9] if it does not accept the donation from the French government. But not all delegations are convinced by the opportunity that the French gift represents, and it is only after very long debates that the resolution is adopted, on September 18, 1924.[10]

This result is truly a French victory, as the League of Nations cannot afford to refuse such a financial contribution. It is also an entirely French-speaking subcommittee that is put in charge, in May 1925, of "fixing in a definitive way the titles and the general attributions that will be conferred to each of the sections [of the new Institute]".[11] Julien Luchaire is joined by the Swiss professor Gonzague de Reynold and the former Belgian minister of arts and sciences Jules Destrée, both pillars of the ICIC's early years. Another major concession is made to France during this process with the obvious aim of appeasing the French Parliament, both in the moment and in future annual elections, when it will have to vote on the subsidy that supports the Institute: Henri Bergson proposes that the president of the IIIC's board of directors should always, systemically, be a French member of the ICIC, and that the first director should be of French nationality in order to facilitate the establishment of the Institute and ensure smooth relations with its future hosts. The ICIC mentions in the draft of its rules of procedure that "it is desirable that the successor [. . .] does not belong to the same nationality as this one",[12] but this clause will not be observed, as we shall see.

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8 Julien Luchaire, "Projet de Convention créant un Organisme permanent pour l'Entente et la Collaboration internationales dans les Questions d'Enseignement et dans les Sciences, Lettres et Arts", LoN Official Journal, no. 7, October 1920, 446–451.

9 Fifth Assembly, Second Commission, 6th meeting, 15 September 1924, LoN Official Journal, special supplement no. 25, 19.

10 Fifth Assembly, Second Commission, 9th meeting, 18 September 1924, LoN Official Journal, special supplement no. 25, 27.

11 ICIC Minutes, 5th session, 4th meeting, 12 May 1925, C.286.M.104.1925.XII, 24.

12 ICIC Minutes, 5th session, 7th meeting, 14 May 1925, C.286.M.104.1925.XII, 33.

The arrival of the IIIC considerably alters the balance of power and the structure within the organisation. Despite the reluctance of some Committee members who would have preferred a more modest institution, the Paris Institute is constituted from the outset as an international office comprising several sections, departments, and committees. And although each of these internal subdivisions are not immediately populated with swarms of officials, as they will be later, the simple tree structure of the LoN's International Bureaux Section (Fig. 1) is disrupted considerably by the emergence of the IIIC in 1926 (Fig. 2). The Institute is more than a new tool at the disposal of the Geneva Committee; it is the Committee's new backbone, if not its entire body, sensitive and active, as Hendrik Lorentz describes it in his inauguration speech of January 26, 1926:

> This Institute should be, and already is, our organ of action. It is more than that, it is a true harmonious organism. For an organ is an eye or a hand, but the Institute is a combination of these two and many more. It sees and hears for us; nothing that happens in the world, in its domain, will escape it. It thinks for us, suggesting problems and questions for study. He speaks for us in every language.[13]

This metaphor echoes the one that Julien Luchaire formulated in September 1925: "the Committee remains the soul of the complex organisation that the League of Nations now possesses".[14] As for the IIIC, it is divided into six units: the General Affairs Section, the Academic Relations Section, the Scientific Relations Section, the Literary Relations Section, the Artistic Relations Section, and the Information Section.[15] In addition to these departments, there is a legal service, a documentation service, and a small film service. The whole organisation of the "body" is designed to correspond to the organisation of the "soul" of the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (see the arrows between the subcommittees of the ICIC and the sections of the IIIC in Fig. 2, right). It is quite interesting that this parallel organisation is unanimously accepted in 1926, and that it becomes part of the "organic" idea of the functioning of the institution; however, it is not uncommon for this parallelism to lead to misunderstandings between the League of Nations and the IIIC. The ICIC archives contain several examples of situations in which Julien Luchaire jealously points out to the Romanian art historian Georges Oprescu, secretary of the Intellectual Cooperation Section, that the technical subject of such

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13 Speech, Lorentz, 16 January 1926, LoN Archives 13C/37637/48765.

14 Luchaire, "Organisation de l'Institut international de coopération intellectuelle", LoN Official Journal, special supplement no. 35, 88.

15 The organisation is described in the report of the Board of Directors to the Council, Document A-27-1926, XII, 22.

Assembly

Council

Secretary General

Secretariat of the
League of Nations

International
Bureaux

IIUPL

IECI

International Labour
Organisation (ILO)

Section

International
Studies
Conference
(ISC)

ICIC

IIIC

Internal Services

Permanent
Sub-Committees

Sections

Expert Committees

International Museums
Office (IMO)

Correspondents

State Delegates

National Committees on
Intellectual Cooperation

1926-1930

Fig. 2: Organisational chart of the second stage of intellectual cooperation after the creation of the IIIC (in red).

and such a correspondence handled by the League of Nations Secretariat should have been his own administration's responsibility.[16]

This is the beginning of a period of intense activity for the Institute, of rapid and voluntary expansion under the direction of a man who intends to prove the efficiency of his institution. But in front of the ICIC, the director struggles to hide the fact that his ambitions go beyond the scope of his mandate: in July 1927, when Luchaire announces the end of the trial-and-error process – a period during which he declared "it was advisable to multiply the attempts, the surveys, to try to awaken the attention of all the countries"[17] and drew some criticism – Gonzague de Reynold questions the organisational structure of the Institute. Fearing that the year-round work activity of the IIIC will allow it to escape from the control of the authorities at the LoN, who meet more rarely, the Swiss delegate wonders "if we have not fallen from one extreme to another, if, after having felt for three years the need for a working instrument, an executive body, we do not have one today that is a little heavy to handle, a little difficult to direct for our Committee".[18] The ICIC's enthusiasm for the Institute is not a given.

3 Centralities and Peripheries in the Intellectual Cooperation Network: A Marginalised Committee?

The archives of the League of Nations offer fascinating material for documenting the shifting balance between the ICIC and the IIIC. They complement our institutional approach very well, since they allow us to weigh the effectiveness of these entities in practice: How do the different actors in these two groups interact on a daily basis? Do they follow the clear lines of official organisation charts and hierarchies, or do they organise themselves differently? Are the connections between them based on well-defined channels of communication, or are they established according to personal behaviour?

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16 Letter, Luchaire to Oprescu, 28 November 1927, LoN Archives 13C/62455/62455.
17 ICIC Minutes, 9th session, 3rd meeting, 23 July 1927, C.424.M.157.1927.XII, 17.
18 De Reynold, "Certains compléments à apporter dans l'organisation actuelle de la Commission internationale de coopération intellectuelle", ICIC Minutes (Annex 3), 9th session, 23 July 1927, C.424.M.157.1927.XII, 60.

3.1 Visualising the ICIC Archive Network

These archives, which have been very well preserved in files that maintain both the intellectual and material organisation of the Secretariat (Habermann-Box 2014), allow us to dive into the meandering of decisions and negotiations while maintaining a panoramic and institutional perspective.[19] For the purposes of our study, we will focus on the ICIC documents produced between 1919 and 1927. This periodisation, which constitutes the first of the three major phases of archiving the League's documents – and thus a homogeneous corpus, a complete and coherent set of documents where all the materials related to a given correspondence appear together – allows us to study the effect of the emergence of the Paris Institute on the Geneva-based ecosystem of the Committee.[20]

As we have shown elsewhere (Grandjean 2017), the history of international organisations lends itself well to network analysis, and particularly to a study of information exchanges within the Organisation of Intellectual Cooperation, which quickly take on the mission of cultivating relationships and bringing individuals and institutions into contact, often more for the sake of "networking" – to prove that they are at the centre of an international dynamic – than in the hopes that these contacts will bear fruit in the long term. An analysis of networks in the context of the League of Nations' history quickly reveals that the field is fertile, and that this analytic approach need no longer be limited to clarifying "network-like" situations. Rather, it is a research tool that can allow us to take a new look at a corpus, and even to make a new source criticism possible. Despite its quantitative appearance, the way in which people and institutions structure an organisation is qualitative information – or "morphological" information (Moretti 1999, 68) – of the highest importance since the quantified indicators make it possible to qualify the arrangement of relations (Hollstein and Straus 2006, reviewed by Diaz-Bone 2008). Moreover, network analysis allows us to move away from a traditional perspective centred on the discourse produced by the institution in order to instead identify a nebula of relationships through the testimony of thousands of letters, notes, reports, and telegrams. Analysing the network of these documents is therefore not an end in itself but a way to contextualise individual activity within the overall structure.

While the network metaphor is particularly appropriate for such a topic, in this chapter, we aim to go further and propose a formal approach (Lemercier

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19 The archives of the League of Nations are now digitised and accessible on the platform of the Library and Archives Service of the UN Geneva: https://archives.ungeneva.org/.

20 The encoding decisions for this portion of the ICIC archives are detailed in Grandjean (2018a, 42–69).

2015): an application of graph theory concepts to archives (Ahnert et al. 2020; Kerschbaumer et al. 2020; Grandjean 2017).[21] Specifically, we have modelled the ICIC archive as a network of document actor metadata: the senders and recipients of the thousands of messages sent and received by the International Bureaux Section. As the aim of this analysis is to focus on the pivotal period that saw the Institute's irruption into the system set up by the League and the Committee, we proceeded to index nearly 30,000 documents, grouped into nearly 3,000 files from 1919–1927.[22] The result of this processing can be seen in Fig. 3, which represents all the co-occurrence relationships of actors in the ICIC files during that period as a weighted graph. Each point on the graph is an individual who is involved as an actor in these documents (that is, as a sender or receiver; the persons mentioned in the documents are not considered as acting on them). The points are organised in space according to the gravitational logic that prevails in force-directed algorithms:[23] vertices attract each other if they are strongly connected and repel each other if they are not, forming relatively distinct groups.

Since the size of the dots is proportional to the number of times the individuals appear in the archives, we can quickly spot a handful of leading actors. But it is not so much this metric that interests us as the way these dots are structured and included in neighbourhoods, in clusters made even more visible by the colourisation of the three main groups in the network: the members of the League Secretariat (the 158 blue dots), the experts of the Committee and its sub-committees (the 66 white dots), and the Institute's members and delegates (the 101 red dots). As Tab. 1 illustrates, the top-ranking individuals in terms of occurrences are almost all from the LoN first and then the ICIC, while a number of individuals affiliated with the IIIC rank higher in terms of structural measures – both the number of co-occurrences (degree centrality) and their total number of connections (weighted degree).

But what kind of panoramic overview does such a graphic representation allow us to make? In reality, the purpose of such a method is not necessarily to

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21 The literature on the application of network analysis to historical sciences is the subject of a public bibliography with more than 1000 titles, available here: https://historicalnetwork research.org.

22 A full description of this process of the "datafication" (Clavert 2013) of these archives can be found in Grandjean (2018a, 69–103), along with the complete, downloadable dataset: https:// github.com/grandjeanmartin/intellectual-cooperation (Grandjean 2018b).

23 The network was produced with Gephi (Bastian, Heymann, and Jacomy 2009) and its spatialisation algorithm Force Atlas 2 (Jacomy et al. 2014). We have produced a comprehensive tutorial for this software (Grandjean 2015).

Shared contacts:

ICIC **776** contacts

League of Nations **1681** contacts

267   822

17

24   468

124

822

IIIC **1438** contacts

Example: there are 124 people (black dots) who are connected to at least one League of Nations member and one IIIC member (and have no connection with a member of the ICIC).

League of Nations (Geneva)

ICIC (Geneva)

IIIC (Paris)

Two people are connected if they appear in the same document in the ICIC archives.

Edge size: number of co-occurrences (max = 175)

Node size: number of appearances in the archives (max = 902)

Members of the League of Nations Secretariat: 158 people

Members of the ICIC (and sub-committees): 66 people

Members of the IIIC (and delegates): 101 people

Others: 2878 people

Fig. 3: Network of actors in the documents of the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation between 1919 and 1927, accompanied by a diagram summarising the overlapping contacts of the three main groups (top left).

Tab. 1: The 10 most central individuals in the network (out of 3000) according to three metrics: occurrences, degree, and weighted degree. Degree centrality counts the number of other people to whom the node is connected, while weighted degree centrality counts the number of times they co-occur (one can be connected to the same person several times).

Actors			Occurrences		Degree		Weighted degree	
Sender or receiver of the documents			Number of appearances in the archives		Number of unique co-occurrences (number of contacts)		Total amount of co-occurrences	
Last name	First name	Affiliation	Value	Rank	Value	Rank	Value	Rank
Oprescu	Georges	LoN	902	1	1141	2	3602	1
Nitobe	Inazo	LoN	584	2	724	7	2181	3
Drummond	Eric	LoN	471	3	629	8	1695	4
De Halecki	Oscar	LoN	361	4	583	9	1567	5
Luchaire	Julien	IIIC	248	5	1268	1	2663	2
Harada	Ken	LoN	159	6	338	12	618	18
Destrée	Jules	ICIC	130	7	392	11	1258	7
De Reynold	Gonzague	ICIC	109	8	322	13	985	11
Bergson	Henri	ICIC	104	9	249	17	778	13
Hallsten-Kallia	Arnie	LoN	103	10	246	18	500	22
Vos v. Steenwijk	Jacob Evert	IIIC	49	21	1028	3	1322	6
Prezzolini	Giuseppe	IIIC	35	30	947	4	1078	8
Rothbarth	Margarete	IIIC	10	110	925	5	1011	10
Picht	Werner	IIIC	9	128	876	6	939	12
Dupierreux	Richard	IIIC	44	24	431	10	654	17
Murray	Gilbert	ICIC	100	11	293	14	1038	9

demonstrate something that is immediately evident; rather, it is used as part of a research process to test and confirm hypotheses and facilitate the emergence of questions that are absent from traditional approaches. In our case, the overrepresentation of administrative actors from the League of Nations and the Institute compared to experts from the ICIC and the scientific community might seem obvious to the researcher who regularly uses these archives, but precisely establishing the role of each actor in the structuring of exchanges over the years is a way to overcome the natural reflex to take their presence for granted and focus only on the period's brilliant political or academic personalities. This first list alone (Tab. 1) thoroughly demonstrates that people like Georges Oprescu, Oscar de Halecki, and Ken Harada occupy an essential place in the structure, even though they are generally in the shadow of experts like Bergson, Curie, or Einstein.

In concrete terms, we can see in Fig. 3 that the network does have the Committee cluster (in white) at its centre, but this cluster is only the interface between the two main hubs of the graph – the Secretariat of the League on the one hand and the Institute on the other. It is as if the ICIC was the point" of contact between Geneva and Paris: it is at once topographically central and structurally peripheral, because the relational activity of the two administrations is much more intense. This observation is reinforced by an overlap analysis of the contacts outside these three groups, which is summarised in the Venn diagram (Fig. 3, top left). Indeed, if we focus on the multitude of black spots in the network – the 2,878 individuals who do not sit on a body that is directly active in the organisation of intellectual cooperation, who make up the overwhelming majority of the actors despite their small size – we can calculate the three groups' capacity to connect with the scientific, literary, artistic, and diplomatic communities of the 1920s. This calculation enables us to verify our visual intuition about the poor connectivity of the ICIC group. Only a handful of people are connected only to the experts on the Committee (17), while both the Institute and the Secretariat have large communities of contacts (822 each). However, the central position of the ICIC becomes meaningful in the overlap analysis, as it appears in more than 80% of the cases where an external actor is simultaneously connected to the LoN and the IIIC (468). The Committee shares more common contacts with the LoN Secretariat (267) than with the IIIC administration (24) – quite logically, since their history together is longer.

3.2 The Notion of "Betweenness Centrality": A Clue for Reinterpreting the Role of International Civil Servants

The notion of betweenness centrality disrupts the conception of what the "centre" of a network might consist of. Because of its capacity to reveal fundamental structural elements at the interface between large, dense, and highly visible groups, this family of concepts has been particularly prized in the social sciences since the debates around the notion of "weak ties" (Granovetter 1973). Like degree centrality, which counts the number of contacts linked to each vertex, it has nothing to do with a "centre" in the geographical sense of the term.

Betweenness measures a node's ability to be at the intersection of several distinct groups. It is based "upon the frequency with which a point falls between pairs of other points on the shortest or geodesic paths connecting them" (Freeman 1979). The name of this centrality metric, "betweenness", serves to remind us that the intuition that forged it is closely linked to the notion of circulation in a graph: to calculate the shortest paths between points and highlight their steps

to identify the intermediate "bridges" is the domain of the analysis of "key passages" that are capable of opening or locking certain portions of the network to others. Depending on the application, these nodes are therefore both positions of power and vulnerable places. Freeman (1979, 221) makes this filiation explicit when he recalls that twenty years before him, Bavelas (1948) and Shaw (1954) "suggested that when a person is strategically located on the communication paths linking pairs of others, that person is central". He adds that betweenness is "useful as an index of the potential of a point for control of communication".

Who are the "bridges" in the intellectual cooperation network? Here, if an actor is at the intersection of two communities – of two groups that have little or no relationship with each other – it is because he or she is indexed in files that deal with themes that are distant enough from each other that they do not gather the same list of correspondents. Rather than "intermediary" individuals, we should speak of "generalist" personalities who participate in exchanges in various fields; in fact, the term "controllers" or "gatekeepers" would be more appropriate for describing these individuals. In contrast, having a low betweenness indicates that an individual is probably very specialised. We notice in Fig. 4 that high betweenness centrality is a rare characteristic that only the main administrators of intellectual cooperation possess. Out of 3,000 individuals, only about 30 have a significant betweenness value (vertical axis of Fig. 3) – or 1% of the individuals. Among this small group, a few dozen stand out. For example, the secretary of the Section and the ICIC, Georges Oprescu, appears nearly 900,000 times on the shortest theoretical path between two points of the graph. This value does not reflect the number of times he transmits a message, but rather the statistical potentiality that his position offers him. Clearly, the general secretaries, undersecretaries, and section secretaries are the actors who touch all areas of the organisation, because of their political and technical coordination activities. Unlike the experts who sit on the plenary committee and on some subcommittees, this secretarial work involves all areas without distinction.

This apparently trivial information about the importance of international civil servants in a documentary network[24] is not the only lesson to be learned from the use of betweenness centrality. By looking at the opposite side of this observation, we can ask another question: Who are the actors who we would have initially imagined to form part of the neuralgic centre of the exchanges

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24 The study of the administration of the League of Nations is a recent practice in its own right – see Gram-Skjoldager and Ikonomou (2017 and 2019). If it seems trivial to recall the importance of the role of the civil servants and "little hands" of this great bureaucratic machine, we should not forget that for half a century the ICIC was considered almost solely from the perspective of its own experts.

The betweenness centrality shows how many times a vertex is on the shortest path between two other vertices of the graph. A high betweenness centrality generally indicates that this point is a "bridge" in the network.

Betweenness centrality

Oprescu

Luchaire

Dupierreux

Drummond

Vos van
Steenwijk

Prezzolini

Nitobe

Rothbarth

Harada   Picht

Halecki

Hallsten-
Kallia

Reynold

Murray

Destrée

Size = number of appearances
in the archives

Weighted degree centrality
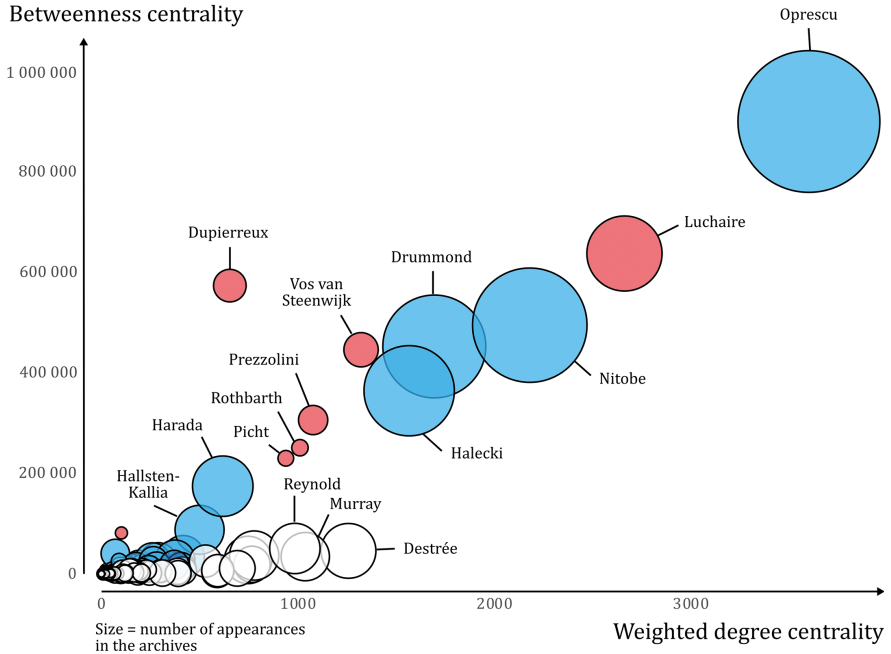
The degree centrality is a simple counting of the number of edges around a specific vertex (number of vertices that are connected to it). The weighted degree centrality takes the weight of the relation into account (if two people co-occur more than once).

Fig. 4: Comparison of the distribution of two metrics, weighted degree centrality and betweenness centrality: both are correlated in most cases for IIIC members (red) and the Secretariat (blue), but not for ICIC members (white).

who are not, in the end, people who create links? Of course, most of them are members of the ICIC itself.

The difference between the members of the Committee, the Secretariat of the League of Nations, and the staff of the Institute is even more glaring when we compare weighted degree and betweenness in a systematic way. Indeed, it is striking that the interpretation of this measure as an opposition between "experts" and "generalists" applies perfectly: all the actors identified as being part of the Committee (in white in Fig. 4) appear below the trend that runs through the scatterplot composed of the members of the Section and the ICIC (in blue

and red). In the whole network, the betweenness centrality of a given actor is on average 80 times higher than that actor's weighted degree – an unsurprising correlation, since the more contacts one has, the more likely one is to be on the information path. This ratio rises to 130 times higher for the 500 most connected actors. Yet within this network, the betweenness of ICIC members is only 30 times higher on average than their weighted degree. In Fig. 4, although they have a weighted degree that is quite comparable to that of the three section heads of the Paris institute – Jacob Evert Vos van Steenwijk, Giuseppe Prezzolini, and Margarete Rothbarth (on the horizontal axis) – and they appear much more often in the committee's archives (the size of the circles), prominent individuals such as Jules Destrée, Gilbert Murray, and Gonzague de Reynold appear ten times less often in the position of "intermediaries" (on the vertical axis). IIIC officials benefit greatly from their institution's desire to make contact with as many people as possible as quickly as possible. One can find traces of this proactivity in the ICIC archives: in most cases, these were large-scale "networking" campaigns with the scientific and cultural world, started in order to understand this terrain and establish the Institute's legitimacy in the eyes of these future partners.

This result does not call into question the influence of the members of the Committee, whose massive presence in the documents shows that they are central actors in intellectual cooperation, but it qualifies their presence according to the presence of other actors who are more "unavoidable" than them, even if they are less present or less well known. This is typical of a structural perspective, which simply highlights the fact that the although the ICIC's members are very active, they are only marginally involved in the wide range of intellectual cooperation issues dealt with by the League of Nations.

This analysis of betweenness centrality more explicitly demonstrates something that was already visible in the network: the ICIC's experts are the centre of gravity of intellectual cooperation, but they are paradoxically on the periphery of the two-headed LoN-IIIC system, which contains the actors who are really the link creators. In other words, the ICIC is indeed a "bridge" between the LoN and the IIIC (as seen in Fig. 3, top left), but not outwardly. Of course, this chapter only addresses the period around the creation of the ICIC and the IIIC, and we are observing this situation through the prism of the League archives.[25] It is therefore particularly interesting to note that by 1927, even though it has only

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25 And not that of the IIIC, even if this bias is largely compensated for by the fact that the archives contain many copies of documents from Paris, just as the IIIC archives are full of copies of documents from Geneva.

been active for a handful of years, the Parisian Institute is already an essential hub. It will continue to strengthen this position until the 1930s, when things took a turn.

4 Intellectual Cooperation After the 1930 Reform: Temporarily Regaining Control?

In order to understand the reasons for the structural change that took place during the 1930s, it is necessary to take the measure of what the IIIC becomes after only a few years of activity under the direction of Julien Luchaire. On April 1, 1927, the Institute has no less than 69 officials.[26] However, the Institute's offices are also filled with a host of trainees and temporary employees who are rarely counted in the reports sent to the League of Nations. This short-term workforce, made up of young men and women from all over Europe and beyond,[27] boosts the number of employees: in fact, the IIIC has 119 employees in 1926, and 143 in 1928 (Renoliet 1999, 187–88) – double the number announced by Julien Luchaire at the time and three to four times more than the ICIC projected when it drew up the first plans for its executive body. Moreover, as it grew, the IIIC took over the liaison with the National Committees for Intellectual Cooperation, thus mechanically increasing its potential number of delegates, correspondents, and relationships.

4.1 Challenging the Parisian Institute

The cumbersome nature of the IIIC's administration is remarked upon from the very first years of its activity. As early as March 1927, Alfred Zimmern, Professor of International Relations at Oxford and head of the Institute's General Affairs Section, expresses his disagreement with the current governance to the Under-Secretary General in charge of the International Offices Section, Alfred Dufour-Féronce. Pleading for a lighter Institute, a "centre of intellectual life and stimulus" organised as a permanent and organic conference of intellectuals rather than an office set in stone, he confides that the IIIC should be "a comparatively small body

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26 List of the Institute's employees, transmitted to the LoN in a letter from Gilmore to Oprescu, 1 April 1927, IIIC Document A.VII.4.
27 It should be noted that half of them are French. On this subject, see Manigand (2003).

of officials [. . .] who will play something the part of the wandering scholars of the age of humanism, maintaining at Paris, and conveying in frequent journeys, both a high intellectual standard and a sense of close association between science and peace".[28] Zimmern's conception of an institute as a place of exchange is clearly opposed to Luchaire's vision of a proper international organisation.

The first signs of a desire for more in-depth reform emerge in the summer of 1928. Preparing for the July session of the ICIC, Gilbert Murray, who has succeeded Hendrik Lorentz as president of the Committee, observes that "the Institute is still regarded with a certain lack of sympathy", noting that "the bureaucratic façade, with its complete list of sections, its special Information Service and its meetings of State Delegates, seems to these critics somewhat too stately for the work done inside".[29] The machine is imposing, but it does not produce much. The Under-Secretary General assures Murray of his support when he replies that "it will be difficult to clip the branches of the tree which has grown too fast but, if you so desire, I will do my best to assist you".[30] Is this a "plot against the IIIC" by an ICIC president who, upon assuming this position after the death of Lorentz, wishes to bring it "out of its lethargy and restore its primacy within the [organisation]" (Renoliet 1999, 86)? This analysis would reinforce our hypothesis about the pendulum swing between Paris and Geneva, but it may misunderstand the intentions of Murray, who seems to seek above all to make the great enterprise of intellectual cooperation viable in the long term, since he explains to Dufour-Féronce that "if we tackled one of these [modifications of policy] one of the American foundations would give us the funds".[31]

The debate about the Institute culminates the following year, in the July 1929 conference of representatives of the National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation. This is a key moment for the organisation, and one that can be seen as the official starting point of the reform that will keep the ICIC on its toes for the next two years. In his opening remarks, Murray politely comments that the criticisms are not "made against the preponderant French influence that was to be feared in the work of the Institute", adding that "this observation is to the credit of the Director of the Institute".[32] It is clear, however, that many actors indirectly point out the IIIC director's style of governance and the freedom he has taken in orchestrating the bureaucratic expansion of his institute. Luchaire is in an uncomfortable position: as Renoliet writes, "the wind of criticism is blowing too hard

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28 Letter, Zimmern to Dufour-Féronce, 13 March 1927, LoN Archives 13C/37637/62388, 2.

29 Note, Murray (to Dufour-Féronce), 15 June 1928, LoN Archives 5B/396/5614, 1.

30 Letter, Dufour-Féronce to Murray, 22 June 1928, LoN Archives 5B/396/5614, 2.

31 Letter, Murray to Dufour-Féronce, 18 June 1928, LoN Archives 5B/396/5614.

32 ICIC Minutes, 11th session, 6th meeting, 24 July 1929, C.342.M.121.1929.XII, 44.

and Luchaire has to make the best of it and accept the reform [. . .] while trying to limit its scope" (1999, 94).

The delegates agree to create a "committee of enquiry" in charge of auditing the IIIC, but this committee is nevertheless forced to spare French interests, as stipulated by the president of the Committee. "In this small committee", he declares, "the French point of view should be fully represented".[33] France is given veto power, even if it is difficult to imagine that it will directly oppose the coming reform. Moreover, the mere fact that Murray explicitly mentions the "French point of view" implicitly reveals that antagonism does indeed exist.

4.2 The Turning Point of 1930: The "Intellectual Cooperation Organisation"

Although the creation of the committee of enquiry in charge of the audit is not debated, its vote at the Assembly of the League of Nations in September 1929 leads Julien Luchaire to make a new mistake. In a column for the *Journal de Genève*, he anticipates the results of the reform by writing that "it is therefore probable that we will continue along the path followed up to now, with the corrections of detail that experience will have suggested".[34] Commenting on this risky strategy, Lord Hugh Dalton clearly implies that the British delegation does not share the same interpretation when he threateningly declares that

> It is possible that the Director has slightly misunderstood the meaning of the resolution now before the Assembly. The resolution does not necessarily imply a vote of confidence in all those engaged in the work of intellectual cooperation; it emphasises the need for an investigation, and I think it would have been better if the Director had reserved his observations for later, to be communicated to the Committee [of enquiry] which is to be established.[35]

In the spring of 1930, the reform process has been underway for almost a year and French support is gradually cracking under Julien Luchaire's feet: the director of the Institute seems to be losing the support of the head of the League of Nations department at the Quai d'Orsay, René Massigli (Renoliet 1999, 99–100), and of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs itself, where the opinion is spreading that

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33 ICIC Minutes, 11th session, 7th meeting, 25 July 1929, C.342.M.121.1929.XII, 56.
34 Julien Luchaire, « La coopération intellectuelle », *Journal de Genève*, 18 Sept. 1929, no. 255, 1.
35 Tenth Assembly, 16th plenary meeting, 21 September 1929, LoN Official Journal, special supplement no. 75, 137.

in order to preserve French influence over the IIIC, a change of leadership is necessary.

The fears are justified: the audit report makes a severe judgement on the administration of the Institute, and while it concludes that "the integrity of Mr. Luchaire does not seem to us to be in doubt", it underlines that "it is not doubtful nevertheless that a certain fantasy and a great prodigality inspired most of the acts of his management".[36] The financial report is so explosive that the committee of enquiry decides out of modesty to simply append it to its own text without comment.[37] If everyone seems to agree on the need to preserve Luchaire from the potentially disastrous public consequences of the disclosure of such an audit, it is because his resignation is already almost certain. On April 27– one day before discovering the contents of the financial report – Luchaire writes to Roland-Marcel to confide in him his desire to "offer next July [. . .] the termination of his contract". In a letter to Paul Painlevé, the president of the committee of enquiry admits that Luchaire's resignation "is indispensable" and that "if he had not taken the initiative, we would have recommended it to him".[38] He also adds that the committee is asking the former president of the Council of Ministers to obtain the French government's guarantee that Luchaire will regain his position as Inspector General of the Ministry of Public Education, which he left in 1925, as compensation, and so that he can still have the opportunity to "serve the cause of intellectual cooperation". This is a more-than-symbolic victory for those who are contemptuous of the IIIC, the end of a glorious era, and the concrete beginning of a rebalancing of the organisation as a whole towards Geneva.

While the names of the sociologist André Siegfried and the co-director of the Graduate Institute of International Studies Paul Mantoux come up in conversations about who will take over the direction of the IIIC, it is very clear that Henri Bonnet, who has been with the Information Section for ten years, is the favourite of the main actors involved in reforming the Institute. For the French government, Bonnet, an administrator who benefitted from experience in the Secretariat of the League of Nations, is an ideal compromise candidate. In the end, Bonnet's appointment shows that the Paris/Geneva oscillation is implicit in the negotiations over the future of the organisation for intellectual cooperation. His personality – and above all his background in the secretariat and as Joseph Avenol's chief of staff for many years – guarantees that he will not be resistant to any instructions from the League as the new director, even if he is

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36 Vivaldi Report, 25 April 1930, LoN Archives 5B/13977/19193, 23–24.

37 ICIC Minutes, 2nd meeting, 23 July 1930, C.428.M.192.1930.XII. 19.

38 Letter, Roland-Marcel to Painlevé, 1 May 1930, LoN Archives 5B/13977/19528, 1–2.

less well known than some of his competitors.[39] Comparing him to Julien Luchaire, whom he calls "a high French civil servant devoted to his country", Renoliet describes Henri Bonnet as "one of these new international civil servants secreted by the League" (1999, 329).

From the fall of 1930 to the summer of 1931, the executive committee and the new director proceed to reorganise the Paris Institute. In the end, there is only limited reduction in its personnel, but the reform, which defines the ICIC and the IIIC as a homogeneous whole under a common direction, is a step forward that lays a solid foundation for the decade to come. One indication of the maturity of the new structure is that the League of Nations accepts the term "Intellectual Cooperation Organisation" (ICO) to refer to the system as a whole, although this has no budgetary or official impact.

In concrete terms, as Fig. 5 illustrates, the IIIC and ICIC are thus simplified by the same unifying dynamic, which breaks down the overly hermetic divisions between their components to allow for better consideration of the overlaps between them. In the previous rigid system, it was possible for some sections to be underemployed while others received all the requests (this is expressed graphically in Fig. 5 by ensembles rather than purely hierarchical relationships, since the *ad hoc* services are no longer permanent bodies). However, it should be noted that under the guise of simplifying the ICO's functioning, the flexibility introduced by this reorganisation largely benefits the Institute, since a non-negligible part of the activity of the sub-committees will henceforth be taken over by committees of experts who meet in Paris for practical reasons. In addition, its director is still French, despite the initial recommendation.

4.3 Preparing for the Post-League of Nations Era

In the second half of the 1930s, the diplomatic context and the inability of the League of Nations to impose itself on the political terrain pushes the Intellectual Cooperation Organisation to seek to guarantee its durability by preparing to disassociate itself from the Geneva institution. The study of this dynamic is central to the works of Renoliet (1999) and Bekri (1990), who both endeavour to show the continuity between the ICO and UNESCO. This approach is also advanced by Pemberton (2012); by Pernet (2014), who takes a slightly more focused look and

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39 Paul Painlevé contacted the following people in addition to Henri Bonnet: the sociologist André Siegfried, the philosopher Célestin Bouglé, the historian Paul Mantoux, the professor of literature Fernand Baldensperger, and the Germanist Edmond Vermeil.
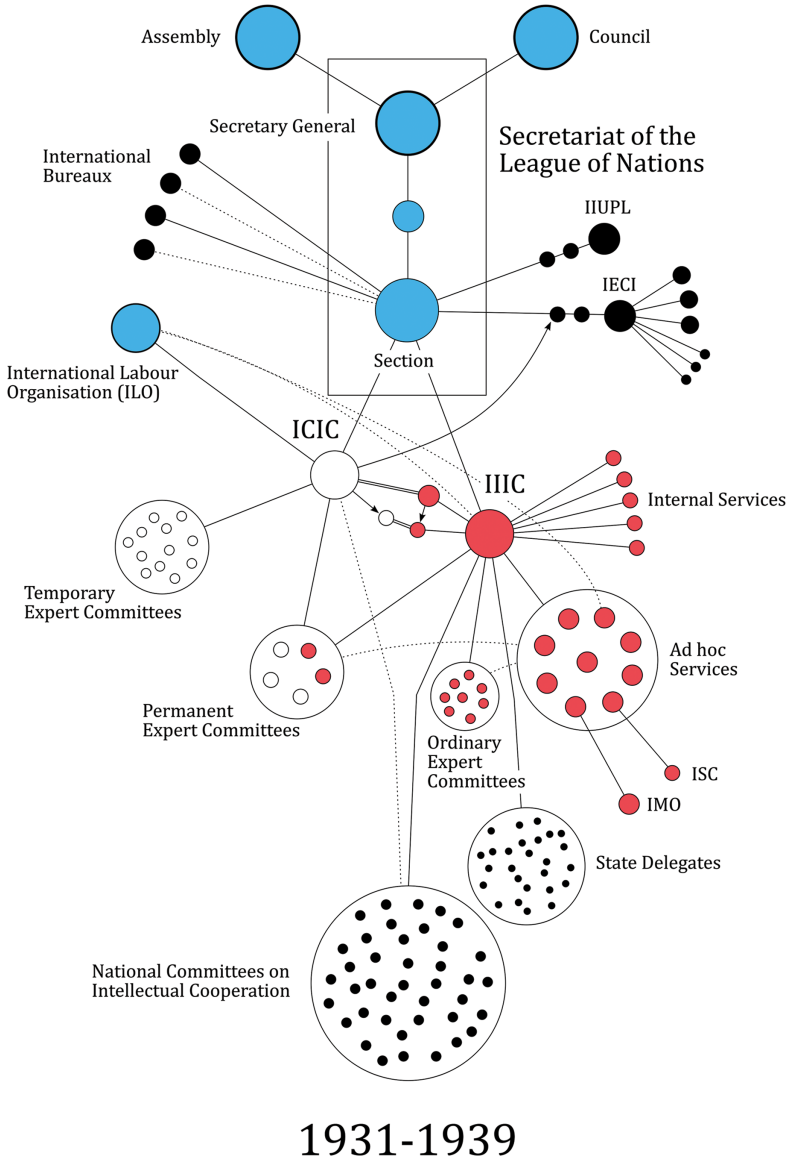
Fig. 5: Organisational chart of the third stage of the Intellectual Cooperation Organisation (continued from Fig. 1 and Fig. 2).

nuances the continuity somewhat; and in Pita González's (2015) work on the evolution of the concept of cooperation. For this reason, we propose to focus here on the last surge of the "base": a reform initiated in 1938 that would have given new life to the ICO if the Second World War had not permanently interrupted its work.

In July 1936, Gilbert Murray laments: "Perhaps are we like workmen carefully decorating the ceiling of a house that is about to be blown to pieces by artillery".[40] But attempting to "raise the Intellectual Cooperation Organisation above politics and even above the political League of Nations" – to "prevent the League of Minds from being dragged into this failure"[41] – also means preparing for the post-LoN world. This reflection takes a concrete form a year later during the great gathering of the 43 national committees for intellectual cooperation, held from July 5–9, 1937 in Paris. It was during the previous meeting of this kind that the reform of the Institute was initiated, which shows that despite their very marginal position in the organisation, the national committees are capable of collectively triggering major reforms. This is an important moment that convenes more than 125 official participants – a kind of "intellectual general assembly",[42] as the Danish minister Peter Munch points out. In Munch's view, it is necessary "to open a supplementary act to the 1924 agreements, which would be proposed for signature to States and which would give the Institute the character possessed by other international organisations founded by collective agreements or treaties, while preserving its closer connection with the League of Nations". Gonzague de Reynold agrees, recalling that "the first idea of intellectual cooperation was not to put intellectuals at the service of the League of Nations, but the other way around".[43] The spirit of 1929, when everyone agreed to ask the League of Nations to strengthen its control over the Institute, is long gone.

The act is not opposed at the ICIC, and it is approved by the League of Nations in the fall of 1937. Invited to take the lead on this project, it is now France that has the initiative and holds the future of intellectual cooperation in its hands. It

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40 ICIC Minutes, 18th session, 1st meeting, 13 July 1936, LoN Archives, ICIC volume 1935–36, 5–7.

41 Letter, Reynold to Tewksbury, 27 April 1953, LoN Archives LO 004 R 46, 3.

42 Report, Munch, "Structure de l'organisation de coopération intellectuelle", included in "Actes de la deuxième conférence générale des commissions nationales de coopération intellectuelle", Paris, 5–9 July 1937, C.530.M.369.1937.XII, LoN Archives 5B/14390/32496, 49–50.

43 Report, Reynold, "Rôle de la coopération intellectuelle dans l'organisation du monde contemporain", included in "Actes de la deuxième conférence générale des commissions nationales de coopération intellectuelle", Paris, 5–9 July 1937, C.530.M.369.1937.XII, LoN Archives 5B/14390/32496, 58.

convenes a diplomatic conference at the Quai d'Orsay in Paris from November 30 to December 3, 1938, and some fifty delegations respond.[44] Everyone agrees about the technical issues related to the international act, but what will happen to the relationship with the League of Nations and its Committee on Intellectual Cooperation? Although the ICIC is implicitly included in the third paragraph of the preamble of the act, which mentions that the governments have "noted the value of the efforts made [. . .] by the International Intellectual Cooperation Organisation and the various organs constituting it", the official document itself does not mention the Committee.[45]

Indeed, the new organisation has now virtually cut its ties with the League of Nations, as shown in Fig. 6. The president of the ICIC, despite being "a convinced supporter of the League of Nations" and seeing "in the principles of this League the hope of the world", nevertheless betrays a certain discouragement when he notes that "it must be admitted [. . .] that, in the great affairs of the politics of war and peace, the Geneva machine, for the time being, does not work".[46] The rebirth of a new intellectual cooperation thus appears to have taken place on the ashes of the old one, and one can only conclude that France, by being the depositary of the act, has finally dispossessed the League of Nations of a body that it once strove to create within that League. But for how long?

On May 1, 1939, 37 states sign the act.[47] However, only Portugal ratifies it. France, Switzerland, Norway, Latvia, and Romania follow suit by the summer of 1939, in a race against the clock that starts as soon as France enters the war, since the act requires eight ratifications to enter into force, and any subsequent denunciation that brings the number of high contracting parties below this figure suspends its validity. When Poland and the Netherlands join those first six nations in January 1940, the international act officially enters into force on January 31, 1940, and it is promulgated by the French government a month later. But the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation is already a shadow of its former

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44 « Communication du Gouvernement Français au sujet de l'Acte international concernant la Coopération intellectuelle », communicated to the Council, 14 January 1939, LoN Archives 5B/33863/36476, 1.

45 « Acte International concernant la Coopération Intellectuelle », made in Paris on 3 December 1938, LoN Archives 5B/33863/36476, 2.

46 Minutes of the Diplomatic Conference concerning Intellectual Cooperation, 4th plenary meeting, 2 December 1938, Paris, LoN Archives 5B/33863/35946, 70–71.

47 Albania, Argentina, Belgium, Brazil, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Finland, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Mexico, Monaco, Netherlands, Norway, Paraguay, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Spain, Switzerland, Thailand, Union of South Africa, Uruguay, Venezuela and Yugoslavia (Renoliet 1999, 146).

IIIC

Internal Services

State Delegates

Ad hoc
Services

ISC

IMO

Ordinary
Expert
Committees

National Committees on
Intellectual Cooperation
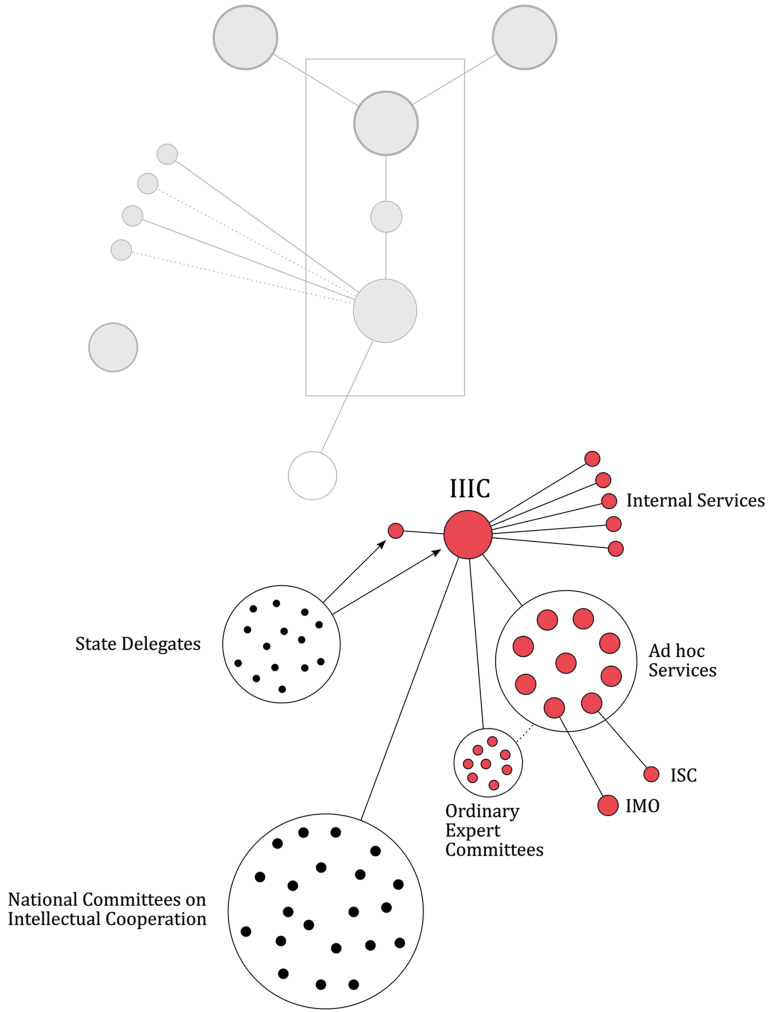
1940

Fig. 6: Organisational chart of the last stage, planned but not realised, of the Intellectual
Cooperation Organisation.

self, and most of its meetings have been postponed. Subsequent ratifications by Egypt, Mexico, and South Africa in the following months are not enough to enable it to resume its activities, and it closes on June 9, 1940.

5 Conclusion

In this article, we have proposed to combine two approaches in an attempt to understand the pendulum swing in the world of intellectual cooperation between Geneva and Paris from 1919 to 1939 – the shift from centre to periphery and back again. The first is a study of the institutional phases and the changes of equilibrium in the organisation of the bodies in charge of this question. The second is a network analysis of the tens of thousands of documents in the Committee's archives, which enables us to gain an overview of the structure of relations between groups and individuals.

In reconstituting the organigrams of the four phases of the institution by means of a simple codification, we have developed an additional tool for understanding the object of our study. While administrative inflation may have been part of the ICO's downfall, its dense structure and well documented organisational evolution makes it a rich case study for the history of international cultural and scientific institutions. Fig. 1, Fig. 2 and Fig. 5 allow us to grasp the structural evolution of the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation and its organs. One can clearly trace the lack of resources at the beginning, the bureaucratic inflation that followed the creation of the IIIC in the late 1920s, and the flexibilisation of the reform at the beginning of the following decade, when the Institute's committees of experts and services became ad hoc tools and ceased to be fixed bodies in the organisational chart. The last phase, which was never carried out, shows that the logical maturation of such an organisation goes through an autonomisation, like the international bureaux that pre-dated the League of Nations, which the latter generally failed to integrate into its "system". In the background of these organisational charts, we see the back and forth between the two geographical clusters of activity: the centre is in Geneva first, even if the creation of the ICIC owes much to the French delegates, then it moves to Paris when they decide to shift into a higher gear; then it returns to Geneva again, with a less independent Institute in the hands of a very "Genevois" Frenchman, only to leave permanently for Paris when the organisation separates from the League of Nations.

In addition to enabling a global reading, modelling the ICIC archives as a network has made it possible to extract graph metrics and compare them in

order to derive a kind of measure of the diversity of the subjects in which individuals and groups intervene: the relationship between number of connections and betweenness (the ability to make "bridges"), explained in Fig. 4, clearly distinguishes the members of the Secretariat from the members of the ICIC. And the representatives of the IIIC in Paris occupy a very similar position to the international civil servants of the League of Nations, despite the fact that they appear much more rarely in the archives. This illustrates that the Institute played an important role in the activity and structure of intellectual cooperation from its creation. Structurally, it is worth noting that the very notions of centre and periphery are renewed by the central position that the two secretariats (LoN and IIIC) occupy in relation to a Committee that is clearly peripheral in terms of its ability to create connections with the outside world.

What conclusions can be drawn from France's involvement in intellectual cooperation? Essentially, French efforts partially created intellectual cooperation and then saved it by offering it an Institute, at a time when it was still only concretised by a temporary committee within the League of Nations. At the same time, French control, both in terms of form and content – i.e., the very definition of intellectual cooperation and its technical and bureaucratic organisation – seemed to compromise the Institute's progress with all the partners who were opposed to France, such as the non-Latin countries and the American philanthropic foundations. Until the end, even the British Gilbert Murray struggled to get his own circles to adopt intellectual cooperation; in 1938, he wrote to the former Prime Minister of South Africa, Jan Smut, that "unfortunately the British Empire still maintains its mistrust of all that is intellectual".[48] It is probably because the French definition of intellectual cooperation prevailed from the very first hours of the discussions about its own creation that the Committee was never able to seduce the British and the Americans, whose support it needed to reach its effectiveness threshold. This analysis is shared by the Swiss Gonzague de Reynold, who writes retrospectively that "England's hostility to cooperation" was one of the main factors in the Committee's failure, and could be explained by the fact that England "saw it as a French idea, a French work, at a time when it feared that a victorious France – or one who believed herself to be victorious – would take on too much importance in Europe".[49] The installation of the League of Nations in Geneva, a secondary, "peripheral" European city, was precisely intended to neutralise the "centres", the great European capitals. At no price did the other powers wish to see Paris take over this position and impose the primacy of its

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48 Letter, Murray to Smuts, 8 December 1938, cited by Smith (1960, 200).
49 Letter, Reynold to Tewksbury, 27 April 1953, LoN Archives LO 004 R 46, 4.

cultural diplomacy. The "League of Minds" was definitively not able to rise above the political tensions of the "League of Nations".

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Juliette Dumont

Chilean Cultural Diplomacy and Cultural Internationalisms: An Entangled History (1927–1940s)

In 1940, Chilean diplomat Francisco Walker Linares argued that, "intellectual cooperation is, by nature, international as well as national; its generous aims, which tend to make culture a heritage of humanity, are not incompatible with the mission of exalting local spiritual values" (Hernandez, Walker Linares 1940, 15). He thus highlighted the interconnections between the disinterested and long-term objectives of international cultural relations and the more concrete objectives of policies aimed at serving the interests (cultural, but also commercial and diplomatic) of the state.

The emergence of Argentinian, Brazilian and Chilean cultural diplomacy in the interwar period was closely correlated to the institutionalisation of what was then called "intellectual cooperation" (Dumont 2018). With the creation of the International Organisation for Intellectual Cooperation,[1] under the aegis of the League of Nations, and the transformation of the Education Section (which had existed since 1917) of the Pan-American Union into the Division of Intellectual Cooperation, led to the establishment of structures, networks and practices that these three countries, considered peripheral, mobilised to make their voices heard in the concert of nations and to make their names known to public opinion in other countries. Although Argentina, Brazil and Chile began to set up their cultural diplomacy at the end of the 1920s, it was during the 1930s that they were really consolidated their positions and begun to participate in a dynamic that saw nationalisms – defined by Daniel Laqua (2018, 60) as "a belief in the existence and importance of nationhood" – and cultural internationalisms fuel one another (Iriye 1997; Sluga 2013; Laqua 2018). If internationalism refers to "an idea, movement or institution that seeks to reformulate the nature of relations between nations through transnational cooperation and exchange," then cultural internationalism is "the promotion of international cooperation through cultural

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1 This article focuses on the International Commission on Intellectual Cooperation (ICIC, established in Geneva in 1922) and the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC), which was founded in Paris in 1926.

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activities across national boundaries" through "exchanges of ideas and people, through academic cooperation, or through efforts to facilitate transnational understanding" (Iriye 1997, 3).

The Chilean case is of particular interest insofar as its cultural diplomacy best illustrates how, in Latin America, Genevan internationalism and Pan-Americanism were intertwined in a history that played out as much on the regional as on the continental and international level. This article thus argues that Santiago de Chile may not have rivalled the great cultural capitals of the time (Paris, London, and New York), but nonetheless can be considered an active centre of the cultural internationalism that unfolded in the 1930s and the first half of the 1940s. At the foot of the Andes Mountains, Santiago became a meeting point during this troubled period for (Latin) Americans and Europeans in a synthesis of the Old and New Worlds. To do this, Chileans had to make their country known to the outside world and to demonstrate how Chile was both unique and universal.

To this end, the first two section of this chapter highlight the structures and actors involved in Chilean cultural diplomacy, while the third is devoted to the main instrument of cultural diplomacy during this period: educational exchanges. This analysis covers the late 1920s to the end of the Second World War and is based on sources from the Chilean Ministry of External Relations, held at the Archive Centre of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs (La Courneuve) and at La Contemporaine (Nanterre), and on publications by the Chilean Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, available at the Biblioteca Nacional de Chile and the Archivo Andrés Bello (University of Chile), as well as the archives of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC), held at the UNESCO headquarters in Paris.

1 The New Deal of the Chilean "Diplomatic Machinery"

1.1 Reforming and Modernising Chile's Diplomacy

1927 marked a turning point in the history of the Chilean Ministry of External Relations and of the Chilean "diplomatic machinery" (Frank 2003). Conrado Ríos Gallardo, then head of the Ministry, promulgated an "Organic Statute of the Ministry" that established the Foreign Service School and the Information Service. At the same time, 30 circulars were sent to personnel posted abroad to inform all Chilean diplomatic actors. Circular No. 14, dated 25 March 1927, specified what was expected of a diplomat posted abroad, emphasising the professional and not just

honorary nature of the position of foreign representative and, above all, insisting on the role of culture and its actors in building a positive image on the international stage:

The Chilean diplomat must understand that his usual environment is not only the narrow circle of the high social classes which may have constituted the ordinary sphere of his personal relations in other times. The sociability of a country, and consequently the various environments in which effective diplomatic action must be carried out, must be known and approached in its richest, most interesting and significant aspects. It is therefore essential for the diplomat to make himself known and appreciated by intellectuals, university professors, writers, artists, press people, in short, by all the elements that have an influence in the formation of public opinion. In this way, it will be easy to rectify the false or biased ideas that are being circulated to discredit our country.

In the spirit that inspires the actions of the Government, it is also my duty to suggest to diplomatic agents that they extend their activity to ever wider circles. Chile needs its representatives to penetrate very deeply into the soul of the peoples where they are in office, and for this reason it is recommended that they familiarise themselves with the centres of culture, artistic and literary circles, the great workers' organisations, scientific and sporting institutions. To all these bodies, which are generally ignored by Chilean diplomats, we wish to provide an accurate knowledge of what Chile is, and to draw from them useful ideas that will nourish reciprocal experience and make it possible to consolidate and understand the good relations that our country wishes to maintain with all peoples. (Van Buren 1991, 72–73)

In this text, the establishment of networks, solid social contacts and a working knowledge of the host country appear as the pivot of all diplomatic activity – the basis upon which foreign policy objectives can be achieved. The emphasis placed on the world of culture as the best vehicle for conveying "the exact knowledge of what Chile is" undoubtedly constituted a paradigm shift in the way diplomatic action was conceived. Conrado Ríos Gallardo, a former journalist, was thus part of an international movement of "open diplomacy," born in the aftermath of the First World War, in which chancelleries were no longer the only places of action, but should "follow with the greatest attention all the movements of public opinion and discover all the great currents of popular instinct and national feeling."[2] This emergence of a Chilean cultural diplomacy

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2 Parliamentary report nr. 6339 for the 1919 budget, by Raiberti, 19/06/1918 (Vaïsse 1985, 146–147).

demonstrates that the incorporation of culture into the international agenda was not only a matter for central and globally powerful states.

According to Mario Barros Van Buren, this reform was also part of a modernisation of the Chilean state, in which existing structures were adapted to a new and changing world, with a new foreign policy marked by the seal of internationalism – an internationalism "that sought to strengthen national identity, creating the conditions for internal peace and peace with its neighbours, so as to be able to act in the international arena without the fear of being absorbed by [a] great power" (Van Buren 1984, 41).

1.2 The Information Mission and its Instruments

In order to engage in this internationalism, the Chilean Ministry of Foreign Affairs implemented a systematic information policy about Chile by providing Chilean diplomatic missions with appropriate informational material. The ambitious objectives of Information Service were described in the pages of the magazine *Chile*, published by the Ministry since 1925: "It contributes to raising the name and the idea of the nation in definitive and reliable terms, destroying at once the erroneous and biased judgments that have been maintained by an old inertia linked to indifference, which fortunately no longer exists."[3] To carry out this informational mission, the Section sent out newspapers, publications from various ministries, university and scientific publications, and newsletters reporting on the activities of various ministries and public bodies. Officials in the Ministry of External Relations also produced material, including "synoptic brochures" published in Spanish, English, French and German that covered "all the economic, cultural and social aspects of the country" and were "based on perfectly accurate figures," to be distributed "widely".[4] It was the responsibility of diplomatic agents to select the most interesting information, translate it and ensure that it was published in the media outlets of their host country. Two magazines, *Chile* and *Información Económica de Chile*,[5] completed the informational package.

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3 *Chile. Boletín consular del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores*, año III, vol. 3, nr. 43, September 1928, 31.
4 "La propaganda del país en el extranjero", *Chile. Boletín consular del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores*, año III, vol. 3, nr. 43, September 1928, 12.
5 The latter was also published in English as the *Monthly Economic Survey of Chile*.

Chile was presented as a "national organ of economic expansion" and as the "consular bulletin of the Ministry of External Relations." It predated the reform of the Information Service, which, from 1927 onwards, lent it "firm moral support." The magazine was conceived as a means to regularly draw up a complete panorama of Chile:

In its pages, all the national activities, magnificently illustrated, pass by in a pleasant and varied way, from those related to mining, industrial, agricultural and commercial activities, the foundation of the economic progress of the peoples, to those related to intellectual and spiritual fermentations and which reside in the field of science and letters where we count literary values that stand out in the world intelligence of the nations.[6]

It is important to note that the magazine circulated not only abroad but also inside Chile,[7] aimed at both a Chilean and a foreign audience, underlining the fact that foreign policy is always conceived for internal as well as external purposes. In the case of Chile, as for other Latin American countries in the 1920s and the 1930s, the process of creating "an identity for the outside world" occurred concurrently with the (re)definition of national identity (Dumont 2018).

1.3 Promoting a Modern and Authentic Nation

The magazine pages devoted to the Chilean pavilion at the Ibero-American Exhibition in Seville (1929) reveal the image of Chile that cultural diplomacy actors wished to project abroad:

Over there, the Chilean pavilion with its three floors and a tower, harmoniously evoking the glories of the past and the impulses of progress, between massive, arrogant walls, decorated by the brush and chisel of our artists. Looking at the façade, the main entrance appears, with a stylised stone condor on the pediment, which seems to symbolise the majesty of our mountain range. This façade, with its sober profiles in the style of America, is a dominant motif. And this sturdy base, also made of dark stone, stands out clearly

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6 Archives of the Chilean Ministry of External Relations (ACMER), Memorias, 1927, 629.
7 "It circulates widely in the Ministries, in the National Congress and in the Official Services; in the Legations and Consulates, in the Chambers of Commerce, in the Industrial and Financial Companies; in the Libraries, in the Hotels, in the Steamboat Companies, in the Railroads; among the merchants, the Importers, the Exporters, the Farmers and in the main magazines and daily newspapers of the Republic and abroad." (ACMER, Memorias, 1927, 628).

against the fresh luminosity of these simple walls that embrace the sky with our country tiles.[8]

Past and future, modernity and tradition, "*americanidad*" and "*chilenidad*," art and nature: these were the themes that the architecture and decoration of the Chilean pavilion were expected to highlight. In the wake of the intense debates on national identity that emerged during the commemorations of the Centenaries of Independence and intensified following the rupture sparked by the First World War, the Seville exhibition was an opportunity for Chile, as for other Latin American countries, to present itself to the outside world in a way that did not imitate Europe (Compagnon 2014), but revealed a Chile that was attractive to foreign investors, importers and potential qualified candidates for emigration. It was also hoped that "Chile would not only be represented by its participation in this international event, but would also be embodied" (Dümmer Scheel 2010, 89). Indeed, both the organisers and the Chilean press argued that the pavilion symbolised the "national soul" and brought something "truly [Chilean]," "completely intimate and indigenous" to Seville (Dümmer Scheel 2012, 3).

The emphasis placed on the dissemination of economic information in the Chilean information campaigns was mirrored in the material produced by the Argentinian government (Dumont 2016): It was of vital importance for both countries, their economies highly dependent on the export of raw materials, to publicise their production and demonstrate the efficiency and innovation of their infrastructure and institutions. The materials also reveal an insistence on the truthfulness of the information provided: In the game of promoting itself on the world stage, Chile presented itself as a country that did not put on a show, but played the transparency card, thus constructing a specific image of itself for the outside world, but also, as in the pages *Chile* and its multiple audience, both internal and external, for its own citizens.

Ultimately, the world economic crisis and the political upheavals that shook the Chilean political scene in 1931 and 1932 undermined the country's international ambitions. The 1929 crisis had a lasting effect on the finances of the Chilean state and thus on the budget allocated to foreign policy. The Information Service suffered significant staff cuts and was threatened with closure. There is no mention of the Service in the 1932 *Memorias* and only very brief ones in those of 1933 and 1934, except to mention the lack of resources. Only in 1936 was the question of information on Chile mentioned again, before the Service reappeared in 1937 as the Information and Propaganda Service.

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8 Luis Harding Carrasco, "El pabellón chileno en Sevilla", *Chile. Boletín consular del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores,* año III, vol. 3, nr. 43, September 1928, 43.

2 Chile at the Crossroads of (Latin) America and Europe: A Meeting of Cultural Diplomacy and Internationalisms

2.1 The Chilean Commission of Intellectual Cooperation or the Intersection of the League of Nations and the Pan-American System

In the 1943 *Memorias*, reference was made to "the importance finally acquired by international activities of intellectual cooperation" which "placed a greater responsibility on [the] Section" and to "the thirst for cultural progress which animates the peoples of the whole world,[9]" which mainly took place at that time within the Pan-American framework. That being said, the history of Chilean cultural diplomacy was also closely linked to intellectual cooperation promoted from Geneva (ICIC) and Paris (IIIC).

In September 1923, the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations passed resolutions to encourage the creation of national commissions in countries wishing to participate in the work of the ICIC. The aim was both to make relations with each country more effective and to encourage the organisation of intellectual life by promoting bilateral and multilateral relations. As early as 1925, Chile showed an interest in intellectual cooperation as it was being established in Geneva and then in Paris. Emilio Belo Codecido, President of the Chilean Delegation to the Sixth Assembly, argued that, "Chile attaches great importance to the work of the Commission on Intellectual Cooperation, which is now taking on greater importance thanks to the generous contribution of the French government, which has made possible the creation in Paris of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation."[10] In his speech, Emilio Bello Codecido pointed to the aspects of intellectual cooperation that were of particular interest to Chile: inter-university relations, student and professorial exchanges, and educational reforms. These aspects were therefore at the heart of Chilean interest in the Organisation of Intellectual Cooperation (OIC) in 1925, but also, as we shall see, at the centre of the activities of the Chilean Commission for Intellectual Cooperation. This commission was, however, not created until 1930; until that year, as in the majority of Latin American states, Chilean participation at the OCI was limited to the

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9 ACMER, *Memorias*, 1943, 892.
10 Archives of the UNESCO (AUN), A III 46, Report by Francisco Walker Linares presented to the Ministry of Public Education and the University of Chile to promote the creation of a Chilean commission, June 1930.

appointment of a delegate – usually a diplomat already in post in Paris or in Europe[11] – to the IIIC.

The constitution of the Chilean Commission for Intellectual Cooperation (CCIC) was a two-stage story, closely linked to the trajectory of Chilean national history. The first steps were taken by Francisco Walker Linares,[12] Chile's delegate to the League's Secretariat, who sent a report to the Ministry of Public Education and to the University of Chile in June 1930, in which he described the work of the OIC and the IIIC and advocated for the creation of a Chilean commission:

It is essential that a National Commission for Intellectual Cooperation be created in Chile in order to bring the intellectual community of our country into contact with the outside world and thus make our literary, artistic and scientific production known beyond our borders; this will enable us to break our isolation, to combat ignorance about our culture and, in the academic and educational fields, to participate in the inter-university work established by the IIIC in Paris.[13]

In an article on 24 June 1930 annoucing the constitution of a Chilean commission, the author described the steps taken by Walker Linares and pointed out that the Dean of the Faculty of Law, who had attended the (Pan American) Congress of Deans and Rectors of Havana (1930) as a delegate for the University of Chile, was analysing the implementation of the principles adopted at the 6th Pan-American Conference (Havana, 1928) in the field of intellectual cooperation.[14] He concluded: "This double action in the field of International Cooperation can only have the best effects and Chile welcomes the efforts being made in this direction."[15] It was thus under the dual auspices of Genevan internationalism and Pan-Americanism that the CCIC was born. In a speech given in 1940, Juvenal Hernández, rector of the University of Chile from 1933 to 1953, on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Commission declared that,

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11 The first Chilean delegate was Joaquín Edwards Bello (1926–1927), a member of the Chilean Delegation to the General Assembly of the League of Nations. Gabriela Mistral, a member of the commission in charge of the Ibero-American collection launched by the IIIC, replaced him in 1927. Her duties as consul of Chile in France, Italy and Spain from 1932 onwards left her little time to dedicate herself to the work of the IIIC.

12 On Francisco Walker Linares, see Wehrli 2013.

13 AUN, A III 46, Report by Francisco Walker Linares presented to the Ministry of Public Education and the University of Chile to promote the creation of a Chilean commission, June 1930.

14 This conference precipitated the foundation of the Pan-American Institute of Geography and History and a resolution for the proposed creation of an Inter-American Institute of Intellectual Cooperation. On this –failed – project, see Dumont (2015).

15 AUN III 46, Translation and summary of an article published in *El Mercurio*, 24/06/1930.

Following the same principles as those of the IIIC, our commission hopes to make its contribution to the construction of a common consciousness among the 21 brother peoples; it seeks to eliminate the obstacles that stand in the way of mutual understanding, to lay the foundations of an education inspired by Americanism, to erect everywhere monuments that remind future generations of the common heritage of the race [. . .]. (Hernandez, Walker Linares 1940, 11)

Here, as on other occasions, Juvenal Hernández took up the rhetoric of commonality specific to Pan-Americanism. This internationalism, which Richard Candida-Smith defines as "an unstable synthesis of utopian ideals and the rise of the United States as a world power" (2017, 3), underwent a "cultural turn" with, on the one hand, the transformation of the Education Section of the Pan American Union into the Division of Intellectual Cooperation in 1928, and on the other hand, the Good Neighbour Diplomacy launched by Franklin Delano Roosevelt, which was intent on building a solid basis for continental solidarity in the face of the rising perils in Europe. In this dual movement, Latin Americans were far from passive and participated fully in making intellectual cooperation and cultural exchanges an essential part of the Pan-American agenda (Dumont 2020, 2022), culminating in the adoption of the "Convention for the Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations" in 1936 at the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace (Buenos Aires), one of 21 resolutions and recommendations on the subject of intellectual cooperation.

The 1930s were thus for Chile, as for the other Latin American countries, a decade marked by the entanglement of two cultural internationalisms during which some tried to create a synthesis of regionalism and universalism. Chile is perhaps the most successful example of this process, welcoming not only the First Inter-American Conference of American National Commissions in 1939 but also the first regional conference of the International Labour Office in 1936 (Plata-Stengler 2015).

2.2 Rebirth and Expansion of the CCIC

The CCIC was however not able to expand its activities due to the political, social and economic situation in Chile. Only in September 1935 was a meeting held, during which the University of Chile, and its activities in the direction of an intellectual rapprochement with other Latin American countries, was placed at the centre of the re-founding of the CCIC – as can be seen in the list of participants, the majority of whom were linked to the University. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs nonetheless remained a central player, as its contribution constituted the bulk of the commission's budget. The CCIC also received occasional subsidies

from the Ministry of Education and "permanent assistance" from the University, which produced its publications, provided conference rooms and a working room that served as its headquarters.[16] The commission was chaired by Juvenal Hernández and managed by an executive committee made up of the pedagogue Amanda Labarca, a representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, a representative of the Ministry of Public Education, a member of the Rotary Club, and a general secretary (Franciso Walker Linares).

Several documents emphasise the autonomy of the commission; the presence of representatives from the Ministry of Public Education and the Ministry of Foreign Relations in no way signified its instrumentalisation by the government: its activities were "inspired by the great ideals of intellectual cooperation" and it was the responsibility of the commission "to coordinate the work of intellectuals, to publicise it, to support it and to encourage it by all the means at its disposal."[17] While the aim, as with any commission for intellectual cooperation, was to "establish contacts and coordinate the country's various cultural activities, to create spiritual links with the outside world, to make Chilean culture known abroad and foreign cultures known in Chile" (CCIC 1953, 5), the interweaving of the disinterested aims of intellectual cooperation and national interests was nonetheless apparent. The CCIC became not only a cog in the wheel of international and inter-American intellectual cooperation, but also a real "centralising department of national culture" (CCIC 1953, 14). For this purpose, it could rely, from December 1935, on the Office of Intellectual Cooperation created by the University of Chile, whose main function was to serve as an interlocutor for all those, individuals or organisations, Chilean or foreign, who requested information on the country's cultural activities.

2.3 The Work of the CCIC: An Abundance of Activity at Multiple Levels

The CCIC quickly became the heart of a group of organisations dedicated to intellectual cooperation. Thus, in 1937, the Institute of Higher International Studies was founded under its authority, whose aim was "the disinterested study of problems of international interest" and the participation in the Permanent

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16 In 1939, its budget was $81,178, with the Department of External Relations contributing $75,000. (Comisión chilena de cooperación intelectual 1939, 24–25).

17 AUN, A III 46, undated, "La comisión chilena de cooperación intelectual", Informe colectivo del Comité ejecutivo de la comisión de cooperación intelectual.

Conference of Higher International Studies. The CCIC also founded autonomous institutes to develop cultural relations between Chile and many countries in Latin America, as well as Europe.[18]

This group of organisations engaged in a plethora of activities, on a national, inter-American and international scale, recorded in a number of the reports and publications already mentioned, as well as the *Boletín Bimestral*, published by the commission from 1937 onwards, which noted all the facts of any cultural significance: the creation of libraries, the organisation of new scientific, literary or artistic institutions, the renewal of their management; a chronicle of art exhibitions; a summary of the conferences held during the six-month period; the mention of journalists, writers, artists and scientists who visit our country; a bibliography and many other sections whose aim is to provide other peoples with a panorama of our culture. In other sections, mention is made of facts relating to American intellectual life and documents relating to international cooperation are inserted.[19]

This bulletin was sent to other national commissions for intellectual cooperation, Chilean and foreign personalities, and various cultural, scientific and academic institutions, both in Chile and abroad. The Chilean Ministry of Foreign Affairs also delivered it to its embassies, legations and consulates.

All of this documentation shows that the Americas, and in particular South America, were the prime audience for the CCIC's activities, even if it took to heart its relations with the institutions of intellectual cooperation in Geneva and Paris. Its main achievement, in connection with the IIIC, was the organisation, in January 1939, of the First Inter-American Conference of American National Commissions. This initiative, which the Commission accompanied with *Entretiens* on the theme of "America's cultural mission as a factor of peace," revealed a desire to appear as the link between Europe and America, thus reinforcing its moral prestige in the eyes of neighbouring countries (Dumont, 2019).

In a book published in 1953 that reviewed the work of the CCIC, the author argued that the Commission and its Office constituted the centre of the Chilean intellectual cooperation system:

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18 In 1943, 14 bi-national institutes existed under the aegis of the Chilean commission, two linked to European countries (France and Great Britain), one to the United States, and 11 to other Latin American countries (Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Cuba, Costa Rica, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, Panama, Uruguay and Venezuela). (*Boletín Bimestral*, nr. 35, July-September 1943, 62–63).
19 AUN, A III 46, n.d., "La comisión chilena de cooperación intelectual", Informe colectivo del Comité ejecutivo de la comisión de cooperación intelectual.

International relations in favour of the rapprochement of cultures constitute one of the fundamental aims of the Commission, and for this reason it works intensively with foreign countries, producing innumerable studies, providing information on many subjects, sending out books, publications and curriculas. The Government of Chile, especially the Ministry of Foreign Relations, the University of Chile and other entities constantly request information on cultural matters of an international nature. (CCIC 1953, 6–7)

There was therefore a real complementarity between the Ministry on the one hand and the CCIC, closely linked to the University, on the other. Two factors help explain this state of affairs: one, the role of Francisco Walker Linares as a link between the diplomatic and academic spheres,[20] and two, the significance of the University of Chile in Chilean state building processes beginning in the nineteenth century (Jaksic and Serrano 1990). In the 1930s, the University was a linchpin for the construction of Chilean nationalism, and thus played a leading role in the development of Chile's "identity for the outside world." The participation of Chilean intellectual and academics as actors of cultural diplomacy was not unique to Chile (see for example the French, but also Mexico, Argentina or Brazil), but the key participation of a university – as an institution – in the conceptualisation and development of such a policy is distinctive and deeply intertwined with the history of this institution itself. This specific configuration, which closely entangled diplomatic and academic spheres, was a particularly fertile and efficient means to serve both national interests and cultural internationalisms.

3 Making Chile a Great Nation: The Role of the University of Chile

3.1 Presenting Chile as an Educational Model: Goals and Issues

The Commission devoted a large part of its activities to academic exchanges: half of its budget went to scholarships for Latin American students who wished to

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20 Appointed in 1929 (a position he held until the dissolution of the League in 1946), Walker Linares, former delegate to the International Labour Conferences, former head of the potassium nitrate lobby in France and Belgium, lawyer and professor of social economics at the University of Chile, enjoyed a positive intellectual and social reputation in Chile, maintaining relationships with politicians and the press across the political spectrum.

come to Chile.[21] It also organised trips for Chilean students to universities on the continent.[22] Gradually, the commission became the central body for managing university exchanges and the distribution of scholarships. The Commission's eagerness to attract foreign students and professors to Chile under favourable conditions stemmed from the conviction that the latter were "the best agents for international collaboration and for the dissemination of Chilean culture."[23] On the occasion of the Second Conference of American Commissions for Intellectual Cooperation in Havana in 1941, Walker Linares stated that,

Chilean educational institutions have always welcomed foreign students, and countless young people from American countries, especially from the Pacific coast, have taken courses there. [. . .] Chilean university graduates have held high positions in their respective countries, and in our American wanderings we have had the good fortune to meet some of these graduates who remember Chile with the sweet nostalgia that one feels for the pleasant hours of student life.[24]

He reiterated this image in a letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1942, in which he mentioned a delegation from the Liceo de Niñas de Antofogasta in Northern Chile, consisting of four teachers and 25 students, who had traveled to Bolivia together. The trip was marked by a series of cultural lectures given by the teachers. From this experience, he concluded: "This Commission believes that well-funded and organised student and teacher trips are cultural embassies that contribute to [Chile's] prestige." [. . .][25]

Thus, for Walker Linares, university and school exchanges were an undeniable asset for Chile's national prestige and for its reputation as an expert in the field of education. However, these "tours" must be "well financed and well organised." The Chilean diplomatic archives contain letters exchanged by the CCIC and the Ministry of External Relations, and between the latter and the Ministry of Public Education, that list the conditions under which such initiatives could be truly beneficial to Chile. One of these letters drew lessons from a Chilean educational mission to Venezuela:

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21 AUN, A III 46, n.d., "La comisión chilena de cooperación intelectual", Informe colectivo del Comité ejecutivo de la comisión de cooperación intelectual.

22 Although the Commission did not finance these trips completely, it worked to facilitate them by taking care of consular formalities and attempting to obtain reductions in transport costs. It was forced to deal with various difficulties, including a lack of funds from the universities, exchange rate problems, etc.

23 *Boletín Bimestral*, nr. 33, January-March 1943, 29.

24 Speech reprinted in *Boletín Bimestral*, nr. 28, 1941, 65–66.

25 ACMER, Ministerios Chile, 1942, Santiago, 16/06/1942, Letter from Francisco Walker Linares to the Minister for External Relations.

As you know, the previous educational mission was not as successful as had been hoped, because the professors, a group composed of individuals of different social status who did not know each other well enough in Chile, brought their ideological and professional rivalries to Venezuela, did not present themselves to this country with the required cohesion, and perhaps were not sufficiently concerned with representing Chile and its intellectual life. Some of them allowed themselves to be involved in polemics in the press on matters of an internal nature.

[. . .] Moreover, it is appropriate that the person who comes to this country takes into account two things: On the one hand, Venezuelan pride based on its historical tradition, which is currently one of the ideas developed by the Government presided over by General López Contreras; on the other hand, despite the disorganisation of Venezuelan public education, there is a large educated class of professionals and families here who, thanks to their numerous trips to Europe and the United States, have a general understanding of the problems and a great liveliness that prevents them from being deceived. Venezuelans will not accept a foreigner pointing out their shortcomings in public, and wanting to treat them as a backward nation. It is probably the most thorny country in this part of America. Therefore, this requires skilled people.[26]

The letter thus underlined two important aspects of cultural diplomacy: those acting as representatives of Chilean culture, in this case teachers, were to be carefully selected so as not to damage the image of their country, and were also to be familiar with the public they were addressing so as not to offend.

In parallel, Ernesto Barros Jarpa, Minister of Foreign Relations,[27] warned of another issue, namely the competition Chile faced in the area of university exchanges: the flow of students coming to Chile had to be greater than the flow of Chilean students to other countries, in order for Chile not to stand in a position of "intellectual vassalage."[28] The Chilean case thus reinforces Ludovic Tournès and Giles Scott-Smith's arguments about exchange programs during the internationalist moment from the late 1910s to the end of the Second World War: "exchange" means "reciprocity" and exchange programs "were conceived [. . .] to demonstrate national prowess and strength" (2017, 14–15). In line with Alex Fortes, Chile was also forced to confront the external as well as internal purpose of

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26 ACMER, Ministerios Chile, 1938, file 1700, Santiago, 06/09/1938, Letter from Gallardo to the Minister of External Relations.

27 He held this position from 2 April to 20 October 1942.

28 ACMER, Ministerios Chile, 1942, Santiago, 29/08/1942, Letter from Ernesto Barros Jarpa to Juvenal Hernández.

(cultural) diplomacy: "One of the fundamental aspects of nation building is the definition of the place it claims to occupy on the international scene" (2003, 3).

3.2 Making the University of Chile into the "University of America"

The *Memorias* record a panorama of foreign students at the University of Chile in 1940: of 617 foreign students, 141 (22,8 percent) came from Europe, 455 from Latin America (73,7 percent), 12 from the United States (1,9 percent)[29] and 9 from "other countries" (1,45 percent).[30] The number of Europeans may come as a surprise. Germans (35) and Spaniards (26) were the most numerous to come from the Old Continent, revealing privileged relations with these two countries. As far as Latin Americans were concerned, the number of Bolivians (104), Peruvians (107) and Colombians (83) highlights the Chilean sphere of influence in South America. Finally, the fact that 50 Argentinian students were included in this total can be seen as the result of the various intellectual cooperation agreements signed between the two countries in 1935 and 1938.[31]

Only one Brazilian appears on this list however, a fact deplored by Francisco Walker Linares, who replied to a letter from the Ministry in 1942 about the offer by the Brazilian government of scholarships for Chilean students. He considered this initiative to be particularly opportune "in view of the industrial and commercial power of that country and the relations that should in all probability be strengthened [with Chile]." He listed the fields that would be interesting for Chilean scholarship holders to study in Brazil: tropical medicine, rural medicine, "modern industries" and commerce. The study of physiology was also to be encouraged, "because Brazil has excellent laboratories in this scientific field." In order for this exchange to be successful, the CCIC believed that a Portuguese language course should be offered at the University of Chile, "because Brazil's industrial growth and its current international situation, as well as the post-war context, requires a greater cultural and commercial understanding with that country.[32]" These considerations are evidence that academic exchanges, and

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29 With Manuel Suzarte (Université Sorbonne Nouvelle/CREDA), the author is currently developing a research project on academic exchanges between Chile and the United States from the late 1920s to the early 1960s.

30 According to the figures in the *Memorias* (1940, 459–460).

31 The list of these agreements is included in the *Memorias* (1935–1936; 1938–1939) of the Argentinian Ministry of External Relations.

32 ACMER, Ministerios Chile, 1942, Santiago, 21/12/1942.

cultural diplomacy more broadly, was able to support the objectives of "classical" diplomacy, and that economic interests were far from absent from the ways in which intellectual cooperation was engaged in. Chile was also active in the field of exchange agreements, such as the one signed with Bolivia in 1941, despite a serious territorial dispute that had poisoned their relations since the War of the Pacific (1879–1884): the promotion of student exchanges was clearly a tool at the service of Chilean diplomacy. Internationalist ideals of mutual understanding were, as we can see, complementary to the country's "functional agenda" (Iriye 1997, 34).

According to a text produced and circulated, liekly in the late 1930s or early 1940s, by the Information and Propaganda Service, no less than 5,000 students from Central and South America had attended the University of Chile in the previous forty years. The institution had undoubtedly become key to Chilean cultural diplomacy and to the country's openness to the world – at least in its continental dimensions. The text ends with an anecdote that highlights the centrality of the University of Chile in America: "Out of 25 students grouped around a microscope in a medical laboratory, 14 were foreigners, which led the distinguished North American educator Mr. Waldo Leland, who witnessed this, to exclaim 'The University of Chile' can call itself the 'American University par excellence.' This is the pride of the institution.[33]" In his 1953 consideration of the "Escuelas de Verano" (summer schools) launched in 1936, Juvenal Hernández echoed these sentiments:

Soon these courses, whose level was rising, ended up filling a higher national and international mission for a better knowledge of Chile. Scholarships were created, and American governments were encouraged to send graduates for further training. And so Santiago was filled with Americans for whom Chile was their destiny, and our university was named 'University of America.' The country is better known thanks to this attractive, cultured and influential element, which is the most effective agent for our cultural interests. Invitations are exchanged and organisations are created to ensure reciprocity and interrelation in the other countries of the continent [. . .] The Chilean Commission for Intellectual Cooperation, also an American model, with its bi-national institutes, still in full operation, performs the same function (Hernández 1953, 9).

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33 ACMER, Información y Propaganda, Conferencias de divulgación, nr. 1, "La Universidad de Chile".

3.3 All Roads Lead to Santiago de Chile?

"And so Santiago was filled with Americans for whom Chile was their destiny": the academic diplomacy of the University of Chile was not the only element that explains the attractiveness of the Chilean capital. From the late 1930s onwards, the city was no longer just a university centre, but became the "restless and cosmopolitan Santiago of the Popular Front." Within an international context marked by Italian fascism, Nazism and the Spanish Civil War, Santiago took its place in the network of anti-fascist movements. Bernardo Subercaseaux notes that, in addition to Spanish republicans, many Latin American intellectuals left countries marked by authoritarian regimes and "went to Chile as if to a South American France" (2008, 224).

Moreover, as part of a nationalist modernisation project, the leaders and intellectuals of the Popular Front emphasised the role of culture in the building of a more inclusive and genuinely Chilean national identity (Pernet, 2004, 257). This process became intertwined with a Pan-American dynamic that valorised folklore – nurtured by the Good Neighbour Policy of the United States, which aimed to develop "a consciousness of a Pan-American identity" and "to assert independence from Europe" (Pernet 2004, 255; 2008). The University of Chile and the CCIC participated in this national/American dynamic with an inaugural event in 1938 during which the commission organised an exhibition of Chilean folk art. The success of the event led the University of Chile to set up a Chilean Institute of Popular Art. A few years later, on the occasion of the centenary of the university's founding, this institute curated an exhibition of American popular art, thereby continuing the work of the University and the CCIC in making Chile a cultural centre of the Americas (Dumont, 2019). In the light of the international context of the Second World War, the foundations of *chilenidad* thus became not only the expression of a broader American culture, but also the guarantee, in the face of the collapse of *Madre Europa*, of the preservation of the identity of (Latin) American nations. (CCIC 1943, 7). As Juvenal Hernández, in his preface to the exhibition catalogue, put it:

In accepting the idea of staging this exhibition of Popular Arts as American, the University of Chile largely took into account the significance of an exhibition of this nature at the present time. With the direct links with the living centres of European civilisation suspended – links of which we, the peoples of America, are the heirs – an examination of our vital resources is necessary. More than that, it is necessary to stimulate a will to assert our existence by returning to ourselves and our past. Once we have gone beyond the stage of political independence, which involves an attitude of rupture with that past, we

must now recover the heritage that is inseparable from our own way of being in order to assume the responsibility that is incumbent upon us. (CCIC 1943, 7)

After the Second World War, a new stage was reached with the establishment of the Museo de Arte Contemporáneo at the University of Chile in 1947, the first "contemporary art" museum in America, whose misson Juvenal Hernández described as "catching up with time and overcoming tradition."[34]

In short, the "academic diplomacy" of the University of Chile was part of a broader movement that involved national, regional and international dynamics and made the University, through its educational exchanges and cultural events and institutions, into a major player both in building an "identity for the outside world" as part of Chilean cultural diplomacy and in redefining the contours of national identity as the concepts of modernity and tradition evolved from the late 1920s to the late 1940s.

4 Conclusions

The emergence of Chilean cultural diplomacy clearly took place in two stages. The first, at the end of the 1920s, occurred under the exclusive aegis of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and appeared to be far more developed than the activities of its Argentine and Brazilian neighbours. This precociousness is underlined in the pages of *Chile*: "There is probably no department in America, with the exception of the United States, that is better organised technically and exercises its functions with greater efficiency and dynamism than the Information and Propaganda Section of the Ministry of External Relations of Chile.[35]" The need to resolve the disputes with Chile and Peru and the desire to play a substantial role in the League of Nations were undoubtedly not incidental to this state of affairs. But above all, even more than the conquering Argentina and the gigantic Brazil, Chile needed to assert its existence and its singularity in order to find its place in the concert of nations and to look after its national, in particular economic, interests. It was precisely its economic weakness, however, that made it – even more so than Argentina or Brazil – vulnerable to the 1929 crisis and consequently reinforced the precarity of the Ministry's activities, which would resume several

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34 These elements were provided by Matías Allende Contador who is currently completing a dissertation on this Museum at the University of Chile (Santiago, Caracas y París. Derroteros del concepto de arte contemporáneo en América Latina entre 1930–1948).

35 "Chile se está dando a conocer universalmente por medios activos y profusos", *Chile. Boletín consular del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores*, año III, vol. 3, nr. 43, September 1928, 12.

years later, but in a different form. Within this new partnership between the diplomatic and academic spheres, the University of Chile was central to the promotion of Chile abroad. Indeed, Ruth McMurry's typology of the different national modalities of cultural diplomacy, published in 1947, devoted the chapter on Chile to "Chile: An Approach Through Schools and Universities" (1947, 182).

As culture became a central element in the ideological battles between democracy and totalitarianism during the 1930s, states that had not engaged in the field of cultural diplomacy (the United States, Great Britain) or had done little (Argentina, Brazil, Chile) began to change course, provoking two developments: "cultural relations are no longer so much moored to representations based on the idea of the international community as they are anchored in formulations of national interests" (Irye 1997, 92), which ultimately strengthened the dynamics of cultural internationalism. The case of Chilean cultural diplomacy not only perfectly illustrates Akira Irye's argument, but also provides non-European or non-US answers to Daniel Laqua's introductory questions in an article dedicated to the dialectics of nationalism and internationalism in the interwar period: "How did agents of intellectual cooperation confirm or reinforce national categories, even when ostensibly doing something very different, namely promoting transnational exchange? And how did they reconcile the tensions that were intrinsic to their endeavours?" (2018, 61–62). This analysis of the Chilean case demonstrates that cultural internationalism was, in fact, a necessary requirement for the establishment of cultural diplomacy. While, within Latin America, this is not unique to Chile (Dumont, 2018), no other country engaged in such efforts to articulate its national interests with not one, but two cultural internationalisms – perhaps because it was faced with the challenge of making Santiago not the capital of an "end-of-the-world country,[36]" but a cultural crossroads able to assert its existence as a nation both inside and outside its frontiers.

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36 From the title of a book by Joaquín Fermandois (2005).

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Alexandra Pita

Peace? Debates on Intellectual Cooperation in America. Santiago, 1939

1 Introduction

Studying the ties between American countries and the Intellectual Cooperation Organisation in America is no easy feat. One first would require an understanding of the organisation in general, its members (across various phases), and the scope of its projects and proposals. Within its mostly European framework, as the organisation revolved around Geneva and Paris (and, to a lesser extent, Rome), the organisation faced multiple problems from its incipience in 1921 until its great transformation in the 1940s, with the birth of the UNESCO. Keeping this in mind, we must geographically locate certain regional tensions for which simply distinguishing between the United States and Latin America would not suffice. These two blocks may allow us to broadly understand foreign policy, but not the numerous agreements and shifts in power among Latin American countries that sought regional influence (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Mexico).

One way of approaching the issue is to study the intellectual cooperation conferences held in America. These spaces of sociability for cultural diplomacy would allow us to observe the tensions between Europe and America, as well as among American countries. Only a few Intellectual Cooperation Organisation meetings were ever held in the American continent. The two we are studying here took place in Santiago, Chile, in January of 1939: the First Conference of Committees of the American Continent and the "Entretien." The former was important because it marked the first time that a conference brought together national committees for intellectual cooperation in America. This casts light on the interest, both in Europe and in America, of involving American countries in European proposals. Meanwhile, the Entretien would allow us to consider the realm of symbols and representations. Its suggestive title makes an impression: "Misión de América en el plano intelectual como factor de organización de la Paz," or "America's Mission in the Intellectual Plane as a Factor for the Organisation of Peace." But why speak of the American continent as a single entity? How was understanding America as a bastion of peace justified? What was the role of intellectuals? As we will try to demonstrate in the following pages, the Entretien brought back older, utopic ideas about America that were updated by intermixing them with the contextual and emergent idea of the European crisis. However, while all of the participants

shared this principle as a foundation and defended the notion of American peace, their interpretations of it differed.

In contrast to the Entretien held in Buenos Aires in 1936, which has been broadly studied (Pita 2021; Giuliani 2020; Colombi 2011; Pernet 2007; Manzoni 2005), Santiago's Entretien has been relegated to oblivion. "Classical" authors of the study of Intellectual Cooperation have dedicated a few pages to the Conference in Santiago. Nonetheless, they suggest that, in Europe, there were concerns over paying more attention to regional preoccupations, given that the number of extra-European national committees had increased considerably. This notion has been associated with Intellectual Cooperation's strategy to survive the League of Nations' crisis as it sought greater autonomy and stability with the direct support of States (Kolasa 1962, 66; Renoliet 1999, 128). More specifically in terms of the subject at hand, Juliette Dumont has dedicated a thesis chapter to explaining the transition from the Buenos Aires conference to that in Santiago (1936 to 1939). In this chapter, she shows how, in the face of international turbulence, Latin American countries communicated the need to rethink their role in Intellectual Cooperation. She highlights the seriousness with which Chile organised the conference in 1939, as this event would allow the country to showcase itself as a main actor that could play a key mediating role between Europe and America. On the Entretien, she highlights a few key points for discussion (Dumont 2019, 501–522).

With this case study, we hope to contribute to the study of the Intellectual Cooperation Congresses that unfolded in the American continent as spaces of cultural transfer in which intellectuals from said continent articulated, through language, their ideas on the national and the international. However, before seeking answers by analysing the ways that people participated in the Entretien, we must describe the context of these national committees within the Organisation of Intellectual Cooperation in order to understand why the American conference was held in Santiago.

2 American National Committees

The League of Nations (LoN) sought to boost moral disarmament. To do so, it brought together intellectuals, writers, artists, and scientists in an international space of cultural diplomacy. Its participants perceived their work as a selfless activity whose goal was to change society's mindset (at least among the young) in order to eradicate the hate that nationalism had ignited during the First World War. Paul Valéry defined it as a "society of spirits." This initiative was different from prior ones because not only did the speeches exploit pacifist sentiments,

but various tasks were also coordinated on the international scale (De Lanux 1950, 159–160). As the Chilean Walker Linares defined it, this cooperation would bring together people who were capable of building "stable peace" through their "international spirits." Citing Henri Focillón, Walker noted that, had this intellectual work on an international scale not taken place, European countries would be destined to repeat their meagre efforts, while those in America would remain unfamiliar with the culture of their "sibling countries" (Walker 1943, 3–4).

While cultural diplomacy was not a priority for the LoN (which prioritised repairing the economy as well as regulating military disarmament), a cultural diplomacy strategy was developed through Intellectual Cooperation (Grandjean 2020, 65). Its functioning was complex. It was comprised of the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (ICIC), based in Geneva as of 1922; the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC), with headquarters in Paris, France, as of 1926; and the International Educational Cinematographic Institute (IICE), established in Rome as of 1928. The National Committees also participated through their agents, who mediated with local governments. As the president of the Polish committee, Karol Lutostański, put it, the committees were to function as a network that would seek internationalisation (Castro 1944, 24).

The national committees were created beforehand, as an initiative of the ICIC in 1922, but by 1926, they had come to depend on the IIIC. At the time of their foundation, the Commission only issued a few recommendations regarding the organisation of national committees, basically giving them free rein. In July of 1929, the First Conference of Committees on Intellectual Cooperation came together in Geneva, with 25 of the 29 committees that had been founded by that time participating. At that point, European countries prevailed: 25 of the members were from Europe, while four were from America: Brazil (with the committee founded in 1922), Cuba (1925), the United States (1926), and El Salvador (1928). The discussion at the conference addressed the Organisation of Intellectual Cooperation as well as the reforms needed to simplify coordination work (Kolasa 1962, 25–26). For the ICIC, the meeting was of vital importance, because it succeeded in approving a measure to create its executive committee, which pointed to the successes following a dispute between the Committee and the Institute in Paris.[1]

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[1] It is no coincidence that Renoliet has called 1928 the time of the "attacked institution" and 1929 to 1930 the period of the "endangered institution." In his explanation, the disputes included the secretariats of three areas: the LoN, Committee, and Institute. These leaders were influenced by the interests of the rival countries within the LoN (England, Germany, and France) in turn. In fact, the president of the Commission, the British Gilbert Murray, influenced

The Second Conference of Committees on Intellectual Cooperation took place in Paris in July of 1937. Just like the one before, it was held at a moment that required drastic changes in order to keep Intellectual Cooperation afloat. Just one year prior, the LoN's and Intellectual Cooperation's outlook had changed. Germany and Japan's exit, on top of the criticism the international organisation was under, created political and financial problems. To shield itself from being discredited and given its lack of resources, Intellectual Cooperation had to ensure direct financing from participating countries. Thus, the perfect solution was to involve the national committees and reinforce the direct ties between them, governments, and Intellectual Cooperation (Renoliet 1999, 127).

Representatives from 41 countries came together in Paris, including 8 American countries: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Cuba, the United States, Mexico, El Salvador, and Uruguay (Peru attended as an observer). Not all of America's committees participated.[2] At the Conference, they reviewed the work they had carried out and discussed the committees' functioning, as there was plenty of diversity among them. Some had been formed via laws or decrees, while others were the initiatives of academies, societies, or universities. Still others were conceived by foreign affairs ministries or by departments of education. The number of members and the functioning of each committee (and their relationship to the State) also varied. Because of these differences, some enjoyed state support, others were funded through mixed grants, and some were entirely private (Kolasa 1962, 27–29).

While only a few representatives from the American continent participated in the Conference, their percentage within the group of extra-European national committees was significant. By 1937, these non-European committees ascended to 46.7 percent of the total. While they comprised a significant proportion of representatives within Intellectual Cooperation, they perceived Intellectual Cooperation as a fundamentally European organisation that did not make room for other continents' specificities. It was thus not surprising that representatives

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the Conference's debates by inviting delegates to share their criticisms. The latter mainly questioned the institute by accusing it of "dispersion, bureaucracy, and inefficiency." England's goal was for the executive committee of the International Committee of Intellectual Cooperation to take over much of the management that the Institute had been undertaking, thus limiting the Institute to becoming a body for scientific consultation alone. France understood the dangers of this proposal and pushed for the election of certain committee members who would study the creation of the Executive Committee (Renoliet, 1999, 91–96).

2 There were 14 American national committees: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, the United States, Haiti, Mexico, Salvador, Uruguay, and Venezuela. Their inner workings varied. Argentina: 19 members; Brazil: 42 members; Chile: 32 members; Mexico: 11 members (*L'Institut International*, 1946, 554–555).

from Australia, Chile, and Mexico recommended reassessing the actions of Intellectual Cooperation (as an organisation) to account for geographically distant and economically disparate countries (Renoliet 1999, 128).

Miguel Ozorio de Almeida, a member of the Brazilian committee, was invited to speak about cooperation in America, and he made it clear that while American intellectual cooperation did exist, Europe could rest assured that it would not evolve into a "separatist movement." Touching upon the most critical point, he affirmed that, even if an inter-American institute of intellectual cooperation were created, it would include the same national committees tied to the institute in Paris, meaning that it would serve as a liason. He made it clear that its purpose would be complementary rather than that of a competition or race (Comisión Chilena de Cooperación Intelectual 1939a, 45–62).

Chile sent Gabriela Mistral, who had collaborated with the IIIC as of the 1920s. Furthermore, a group including Alfonso Reyes and other Latin Americans americanised the Committee of Arts and Letters by publishing the Ibero-American Collection, a series of classical volumes within Latin American culture that was translated to the French, with prologues by recognised writers of the time, in order to make known the value of these countries' culture and thus legitimise said countries as equals (Pita 2019a). It was thus no surprise that she travelled to Paris frequently in order to participate in collection and committee meetings. A few months before the conference was held in Paris, she had lunch with a group of distinguished personalities who expressed their concerns over Latin American countries retiring from the LoN as well as over the Pan-American Union gaining more influence than them. Mistral cleverly did not disavow the rumours, but she highlighted that, if ties to Europe were to be reinforced, then many scholarships would be needed in order to secure cultural exchange.[3]

One of the main resolutions of the Conference of National Committees that met in Paris (1937) was an agreement to sign the Intellectual Cooperation Act. The role of national committees was defined therein, as was the IIIC's financing, which would be in the hands of member countries. This would allow Intellectual Cooperation to remain independent of the LoN. To conclude the signing process, a new conference was held in December of that year, in which 45 delegates were expected, including 16 from Latin America. The composition of delegates was different than in the past meeting. The most important contingent there was the Latin American one, with Francisco García Calderón designated

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3 The lunch included the Institute's director, Henri Bonet; the Minister of Education in France; the intellectual Paul Valéry; Count Reynolds, and the Baron of Montenach (the latter two being representatives of Intellectual Cooperation in Geneva) (BNDCH, AE, letter from Gabriela Mistral to the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Commerce in Chile, Lisbon, January 30, 1937).

as the conference's vice president. Despite the number of attendees, only 10 countries signed the Act. Thus, when Chile proposed another conference of American national committees, the motion was quickly accepted, given that the conference would pose an opportunity to reinforce ties to Latin America and thus guarantee that all American countries would sign or ratify the Intellectual Cooperation Act (Grandjean 2020, 83–84; Brzezinski 2017, 68).

It thus makes sense that Juliette Dumont would call this conference the "American hour": the Entretien held in Buenos Aires in 1936 marked the second time that Latin American conferences manifested the region's will to belong and participate in Intellectual Cooperation from an Americanist stance that presented these countries as "the spiritual children of European culture." This meeting started being planned in 1934, when the Institute's president, Henri Bonnet, sent all national committees a letter requesting suggestions for the conference. The main Latin American committees (Brazil, Chile, Mexico, and Argentina), responded by enlisting their concerns regarding the fees they paid, the American continent's role in Intellectual Cooperation, and the autonomy they sought before the LoN (Dumont 2013, 193–194).

The Organisation of Intellectual Cooperation's concern over American autonomy was nothing new, and neither was the complaint on behalf of Latin American countries that the organisation needed to pay more attention to these countries. This complaint dated back to the signing of the treaty by which the LoN was created in 1919, when some Latin American countries complained to the organisation given that the treaty included an article that accepted the Monroe Doctrine as substantial to hemispheric relations. Many countries manifested their discontent in this regard, with Mexico delaying its entry into the LoN due to this complaint the longest.[4]

Though the United States was not a member of the LoN, it became affiliated to Intellectual Cooperation, as, in US policy, intellectual exchange was considered an "acceptable goal" (Gatling 2016, 12). Its national committee was founded

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[4] Reactions varied from country to country. For example, Costa Rica requested that the LoN clarify Article 21, which referred to the Monroe Doctrine. In 1928, it received a clarification, but it was not deemed enough, pushing the country to abandon the organisation because it doubted that the LoN could put a stop to the "dangerous influence of pan-Americanism" (Pernet 2020, 210). Mexico did not join the LoN until 1931 and reserved its right not to recognise said article. This did not bar the country from participating in Intellectual Cooperation as of 1926, as agreed upon by the diplomatic intellectual in 1926, though the Mexican committee was not created until 1931 (Toledo 2019; Herrera, 2009). This delay did not keep the country from participating in Intellectual Cooperation as of 1926, however, as negotiated by Alfonso Reyes from the Paris legate, convincing the Mexican government of the importance of participating in Intellectual Cooperation even if it had not yet joined the LoN (Pita 2014).

in 1926, with historian James T. Shotwell at the helm. Shotwell was rather critical of the ICIC, believing that it did little for peace and was more concerned with the arts and sciences than with solving the problems (be they political, economic, or social) between nations. The US committee served as an information centre on international topics, but considered social, artistic, and scientific matters nonetheless. It concerned itself with intellectual property, the use of radio and film as educational media, the review of history books, and inter-American cultural relations. Furthermore, the national committee persuaded President Roosevelt to create a specialised cultural relations office in 1938 in order to amplify intellectual-cooperation relationships, especially inter-American ones (Josephson 1975, 191–230). This office's predecessor dated back to 1917 and was known as the Department of Cultural Affairs, which was dedicated to systematising the exchanges between university professors and students travelling to and from the United States. These trips were seen as contributing to regional understanding. In 1929, its name was changed to Division of Intellectual Cooperation, broadening its functions to include further cultural activities. To develop its activities, it maintained contact with national intellectual-cooperation committees in the American continent (Romero 1939, 1–4).

Meanwhile, the Pan-American Union evidently aimed to strengthen inter-American cooperation without eschewing European cooperation. After the Pan-American Conference in Havana (1928), the Pan American Institute of Geography and History (1929) was founded, and the creation of an Inter-American Institute for Intellectual Cooperation was approved but never actually established. The initiative was taken up again in 1930, when the Congress of Rectors was held, and in 1936, when the Inter-American Congress was hosted in Buenos Aires. To European representatives, this proposal constituted a threat, but they abstained form "openly criticising it." The reason the initiative never bore fruit was that Latin American countries hesitated to support it out of fear that it would strengthen the United States' influence and provoke unease among Europe's Intellectual Cooperation offices, given that it could seem like an act of independence (Dumont 2015, 156–157).[5]

Meanwhile, the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation also received support from the Carnegie and Rockefeller foundations. Thus, it was no surprise that the article accepting the Monroe Doctrine in the LoN's constitutive act was never amended. Furthermore, the Organisation of Intellectual Cooperation was characterised by wavering between rivalry (hedged by sympathetic

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5 For a more detailed analysis of this proposal, we may view Dumont (2015).

discourses) and collaboration, given the way that America and Europe operated and shared information (Dumont 2013, 264).

Furthermore, the Inter-American Conference held in Buenos Aires in 1936 at the behest of US president Franklin D. Roosevelt (who attended the conference), marked a moment of political rapprochement under the auspices of the good-neighbour policies by which, in the 1933 Pan-American Conference in Montevideo, the United States had already assured that it would not use force to intervene in its neighbours' affairs. This decision was a much sought-after milestone for Latin American countries, which had been pushing for this organisation to be a less unequal space. Indeed, they had sought this ever since the Pan-American Conference of 1910 (held in Buenos Aires), in which Pan American Union (PAU) membership was approved for countries with no representation in the United States. This policy of negotiation and rapprochement was reinforced in the Pan-American Conference held in Lima (December, 1938), in which Latin American countries negotiated with the United States regarding its support for the Declaration of Solidarity, which the United States had pushed in order to create instruments for hemispheric security in the face of external threats (Carrillo 2018, 267, 368–371).

3 Santiago, 1939

3.1 The Conference

It was not by mere chance that Chile was elected to host the First Conference of Committees of the American Continent. Indeed, Europe saw it as an ally of Geneva-style internationalism. In 1923, Santiago had hosted the Pan-American conference, which toyed with the idea of the United States creating a League of American Nations. This rumour spread further at the Havana Conference of 1928, in which the Chilean delegate to the International Labour Organisation, Moisés Poblete Troncoso, communicated that a Pan-American working office would not be created (Yañez 2014, 46).

Choosing Chile also reinforced its role as a mediator for intellectual cooperation between Europe and America, as Chile vied for leadership with Brazil and Argentina regarding "American vocation," an idea by which America would not break ties with Europe but would nonetheless strengthen Pan-Americanism from Latin America. Leaving the breadth of the Conference and Entretien's program aside, Chile evidently took advantage of the 1939 conference to position

itself within a regional scenario that faced a new, international juncture: that of war (Dumont 2019, 290–293).

The reunion took place from January 6 to 12, 1939, and was organised by the Chilean Committee for Intellectual Cooperation, which had been operating for a few years.[6] The Chilean Committee for Intellectual Cooperation was backed by Francisco Walker Linares, a fundamental figure to understanding Chile's rapprochement with the LoN.[7] In July of 1937, Walker informed the Institute of his interest in organising a conference for exclusively American national committees, and his proposal was unanimously approved and subsequently funded. The only requirement it was given was to include universal, rather than exclusively regional, cooperation in its agenda (Dumont 2019, 512).

Fully aware of its symbolic value, the Chilean Committee sent its counterparts a pamphlet stating that the two meetings' goal was to "create spiritual ties among the various American states and connect our culture with Europe's in a broadly universalist effort." Indeed, this meeting was expected to be a "beautiful work of moral disarmament and pacifism." Its agenda included issues that were of particular interest to American States: organising Entretiens, using radio and film for education and entertainment; drafting a pacifist manual on the History of America; organising student and professor exchanges; documentation; bibliographical information; organising libraries and archives; creating Cultural Institutes that would rely on the national committees; and,

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6 The Chilean Committee for Intellectual Cooperation was founded in July of 1930 through Francisco Walker Linares's initiative, with the support of Armando Quezada, rector of the University of Chile (both had represented their country before the LoN). It enjoyed support from the national government in developing cultural activities within and outside the country. In 1935, after undergoing reorganisation, a new phase began in which numerous cultural activities were carried out through the creation of binational institutions. Presided by an executive committee of five members (the committee had more than 50 members), the Committee focused on maintaining a certain degree of equality among "ties to European and North American cultures" (Walker 1943, 27–28, 37–39, Comisión Chilena de Cooperación Intelectual, 1953, 14–25).

7 The Chilean Francisco Walker was a correspondent for the LoN in Chile between 1919 and 1946. His role was to promote a favourable attitude toward the Genevan organism among the public by disseminating its activities and ideas. At the same time, he was to inform Geneva of what he perceived as challenges for Chile's permanence in the LoN. He was an "intermediary" and a "facilitator." Walker performed very well thanks to his broad network of intellectual and political contacts. He came from an elite Chilean family. His father had a diplomatic post as minister of Chile in Bolivia, where he married the daughter of a former president. Francisco was born of this marriage, studied in France, and returned to Chile in 1915 to study at the University of Chile soon after. There, he collaborated with Moisés Poblete Troncoso, who brought him in to work at the International Labour Organisation (under the LoN) (Wehrli, 2013, 65, 7).

lastly, "America's Mission in the Intellectual Plane as a Factor for the Organisation of Peace."[8]

The IIIC financially supported this initiative with 10,000 Swiss francs, as, after a series of requests and negotiations, the LoN financed the Conference. In preparation for the event, the Chilean Francisco Walker Linares travelled to Geneva in mid-1938. Most of the suggestions on the program were taken into account, and the Chilean committee refused to retract its points on the Levillier Collection, considering that the project of creating a collection of History and Ethnography in America had garnered plenty of interest in Chile and that, even if the LoN did not provide its support, American countries would. The interest was such that there was a request for Argentina to send Roberto Revillier as an official representative but, since it didn't, Chile decided to name him the Conference's guest of honour.[9]

All countries in the continent sent their representatives, except for El Salvador and Honduras. This was also the first time that Canada's delegate participated after the creation of the country's national committee. The United States participated with the most numerous committee, sending four delegates from the national committee as well as representatives from special institutions.[10] Meanwhile, Intellectual Cooperation sent Luis A. Podestá (with no vote), while the IIIC sent Daniel Secrétan, and the International Labour Organisation sent Moisés Poblete. The amount of public servants who had travelled from the Pan-American Conference (held in Lima just one month prior) was notable, while diplomatic

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8 AHGE-SRE, 38, Exp: III–17076. From Chile's Intellectual Cooperation Committee to Mexico's, Santiago de Chile, 16.V.19.

9 LNA, National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation – Conference of Committees of the American Continent, 1938–1939, R3976/5B/33194/318/jacket 1. Letter from Francisco Walker Linares to María C. Cantilo, November 7 and 17, 1938. Though the collection was never published, the proposal and debate around it generated an interesting discussion not only in disciplinary terms but also diplomatic terms, making the need for American countries to occupy a space within the Intellectual Cooperation Organisation's projects manifest once again. For a study on the matter, see Pita (2019b).

10 The delegates of the national committee were Edith E. Ware, William Sanders, Irving E. Leonard, and Herbert E. Bolton. The following special accredited institutions had representatives, too: Smithsonian Institute, Clay P. Butler; Department of State, Ben M. Cherrington; Division of Intellectual Cooperation of the Pan-American Union, Concha Romero James; Committee of Intellectual Cooperation for the Catholic Union of International Students, Francisco Vives; Instituto Internacional Iberoamericano de Literatura, Luis Alberto Sánchez, Mariano Latorre, and Armando Donoso (National Committee of the United States of America of International Intellectual Cooperation 1939, 1–3).

representatives in the city also attended.[11] Some public servants declined to go because they believed the meeting wouldn't be relevant, given that certain key figures in the diplomatic and intellectual world would not be attending.[12]

Very few members of the continent's national committees participated, namely, Alberto Zum Felde (Uruguay), Edith E. Ware (United States), and Juvenal Hernández, Amanda Labarca, and Francisco Walker Linares (Chile). Brazil sent Abelardo Bretahna Bueno do Prado (chief of the Intellectual Cooperation Division at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) and Edgar Roquette Pinto (director of the Institute of Educational Cinematography). We may also note those delegates from international institutions who served as representatives within the LoN as well as the Pan-American Union: Luis A. Podestá Costa (delegate from the LoN's Secretary General), Secretán (Secretary General of the IIIC), Concha Romero James (director of Intellectual Cooperation at the Pan-American Union), and Moisés Poblete Troncoso (delegate at the LoN's International Labour Organisation). Other cultural institutions were also invited (Comisión Chilena de Cooperación Intelectual 1939b, 49).

The inauguration was organised by President of Chile Pedro Aguirre Cerda, with the Chilean Juvenal Hernández and Francisco Walker Linares designated as president and secretary of the conference, respectively. The more than 50 attending representatives were divided among six committees, with the most active being those on the Universal Statute on Copyright, Intellectual Cooperation

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11 The Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Haiti, and Venezuela were only represented by each country's respective official diplomate in Chile. Ecuador, Colombia, and Cuba sent a representative in addition to the official diplomat living in Chile. Seven countries sent delegates who travelled from Lima to Santiago: Guatemala, Argentina, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, and Peru (National Committee of the United States of America on International Intellectual Cooperation 1939, 2).

12 Mexico sent two representatives to the Conference: Luis Chávez Orozco, Subsecretariat of Public Education, and Mexican Ambassador Francisco Castillo Nájera. Both had participated in the Lima Conference, making their travel expenses modest. Plus, Chávez's experience was seen as ideal in terms of creating expectations around Chile's intellectual environment, given its experience in the educational field. Despite this, the ambassador decided not to go to Chile, excusing himself due to previous engagements. He confidentially told the Secretariat of Foreign Affairs that, excepting Cuba and Costa Rica's ministers of foreign affairs, the other attendees "were little known among intellectual and diplomatic circles." AHGE-SRE, Telegram from Francisco Castillo Nájera (23.XII.1938) and letter from Francisco Castillo Nájera to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs (24.XII.1938), Exp: III–1707-6. See Pita (2014) for an analysis of Mexico's participation in the conference.

in the National Field, and Intellectual Cooperation in the International Field (Walker 1943, 17).

The conference's final act reviewed 51 resolutions and recommendations. Regarding the Cooperation Act, only ties to the European organisation were re-affirmed. The act's ratification was recommended given that it would yield "autonomy to intellectual cooperation," and countries that had not yet signed the act were reminded to do so. The rest of the resolutions addressed American topics with the goal of tightening cooperation between countries. One of its resolutions bore the same title as the Entretien: "America's Mission in the Intellectual Plane as a Factor for the Organisation of Peace." This resolution included a hopeful note, stating that with the help of the Permanent International Studies Conference and the national committees of Intellectual Cooperation, it could:

> promote in their respective countries the scientific study of economic, demographic, and ethnic questions which are most directly concerned with the relations between the countries of America, and the countries of other continents whose international life is more intimately linked with the life of the American countries. It is also recommended that in the program of the future International Conferences of American States, the Governments include a special topic on the aid and cooperation which American nations can give to other nations in the solution to the great problem of general interest to all mankind.
>
> (National Committee of the United States of America on International Intellectual Cooperation 1939, 27)

It is interesting to note that the report from the US committee speaks of the Americas in the plural, rather than in the singular that the Chilean committee employs. Also interestingly, the resolution reinforces the idea of studying problems that aren't exclusively cultural (and this proposal may have been influenced by the past criticism that this committee had made of European intellectual cooperation). Lastly, we may note that it refers to like-minded continents and countries, without naming Europe specifically. The analysis that this committee produced for its authorities expressed that, while the meeting had been important, given that it systematised a concrete action plan for inter-American intellectual cooperation (issuing a specific order of operations for what had been expressed at the Lima Conference), it still suffered from three shortcomings. First, many of the delegates were not "the best cultural elements in each country." Second, the results weren't sufficiently discussed and subsequently failed to be sufficiently understood. The third shortfall was the lack of a process for issuing recommendations. In sum, lacking experienced actors in the field, and with little structured discussion, it was hard to arrive at conclusions that would abet an intellectual cooperation program. Regarding the Entretien, the committee suggested holding it after the conferences' conclusion (rather than in parallel). The US Committee of Intellectual Cooperation members stated that the Entretien could provide a very

useful space, but that it would need more participants from the Conference. Lastly, they suggested giving more participative faculties to the IIIC and PAU, which could review the preliminary agenda and issue their perspectives before the next conference (National Committee of the United States of America of International Intellectual Cooperation 1939, 42–44).

3.2 The Entretien

This was also the second time that the American conference had organised an Entretien, or a *Plática*, for Intellectual Cooperation. The first Entretien in the American continent was held in Buenos Aires (1936). International tensions were palpable in its discussions, as was the debate on the role that intellectuals in America would play in the face of the crisis of Western civilisation. It was no coincidence that Alfonso Reyes was designated as the first speaker, which led his colleagues to declare that American intelligence "had conquered the right to universal citizenship" and reached adulthood. Both of these meetings were held in a brief period (in a little over two-year span), which demonstrates Intellectual Cooperation's interest in securing ties to American countries. Beyond recognising the eurocentrism pervading in the organisation, or the interest in reinforcing the idea that America could replace Europe in times of crisis, the Entretien aimed to reinforce the bond between national committees and the Institute in Paris. The goal was to put a stop to the growing influence of inter-Americanism. We may even glean a number of self-representations in the title itself: "America's Mission in the Intellectual Plane as a Factor for the Organisation of Peace." However, in contrast to the first conference, the second unfolded at a historical juncture, just a few months before the outbreak of the Second World War. This fact makes this conference a key vantage point from which to understand regional negotiations, on the one hand, and American representations of European conflicts, on the other.

The Entretien lasted three days (from January 9 to 11, 1939), while the Conference was still in session (January 6 to 12). Thus, certain countries did not participate in the Entretien, namely Argentina, Costa Rica, El Salvador, the United States, Mexico, Panama, Venezuela, and several Caribbean countries. The following country representatives did attend: Baldomero Sanín Cano (Colombia), Luis Rodríguez Embil (Cuba), Gerónimo Ramírez Brown (Nicaragua), J. Gabriel Navarro (Ecuador), Virgilio Rodríguez Beteta (Guatemala), Edgar Roquette Pinto (Brazil), José G. Antuña (Uruguay), Luis Alberto Sánchez and Luis Alayza de Paz Soldán (Peru), Diómedes de Pereyra (Bolivia), and Amanda Labarca, Marta Brunet, Mari Yan, Enrique Molina, Ricardo Latcham, Julio Barrenechea, and

Ernesto Montenegro (Chile). This group of 17 participants mostly came from South America, with Chile sending the most people. This group also included far more men than women. Sanín Cano was named its honorary president, as he had presided the Entretien in Buenos Aires in 1936, while Francisco Walker Linares was designated as secretary. Three session directors were assigned at random. The sessions allocated 15 minutes for each speaker. After each speaker, five minutes were given for debate, though, in practice, there was very little debate. More than an intellectual debate, these sessions ended up constituting spaces for politicians and officials to give long speeches. A total of 14 of participants were speakers, and the remaining three (the representatives of Guatemala and Nicaragua, as well as the Chilean Barrenechea) only issued brief commentary. After the third session, Pablo Neruda and Narciso Garay were given a chance to speak (Comisión Chilena de Cooperación Intelectual 1939c, 5–6).

The group included a few young writers and journalists. Two Chileans and one Peruvian served in public posts and had experience in political militancy. At the time, Barrenechea was a representative of Temuco in the Chamber of Deputies and had presided the Student Federation of Chile in 1930. Meanwhile, Latcham was a representative of Santiago at the Chamber of Deputies, and Sánchez had been a militant in Peru's American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA), leading him to be deported to Chile in 1934, where he directed Ercilla publishing house and taught at a university. Most were seasoned players (born between 1860 and 1890), meaning that they had consolidated their academic and diplomatic careers. This was the case for Molina, who had been involved in education (founding Universidad de Concepción and becoming the rector of Universidad de Chile). Meanwhile, Rodríguez Embil had collaborated in the press and been a distinguished diplomat as of 1903. Ramírez was a lawyer, diplomat, and had held several ministries in Nicaragua. Pereyra, who took advantage of the fact that he was the consul of Bolivia in Santiago de Chile at the time to participate in the Entretien, was also a diplomat, writer, and journalist. Meanwhile, the Ecuadorian Navarro was a distinguished diplomat and historian, as well as a professor and director of higher education. Rodríguez Beteta was a reputable lawyer, historian, writer, and diplomat of Guatemala in many countries as well as before the LoN in Geneva. Roquete Pinto was a member of the Brazilian Academy of Letters and was known for his work in educational radio in Brazil. The Uruguayan Antuña also boasted ties to diplomacy, both in the LoN and in the PAU. Of all of them, Sanín Cano was the eldest and most renowned. By then, he had already consolidated a prestigious journalistic career, had published several books, and had been a teacher and diplomat, representing his country in Argentina in 1934.

Only five of them participated in the Santiago Conference (Labarca, Sánchez, Roquet Pinto, Alayza, and Antuña), and, excepting Sanín Cano, none had previously participated in the Paris Conference of 1937, nor in the Buenos Aires one in 1936. Chile sent the largest national committee, including the only women. María Flora Yáñez Bianchi de Echeverría (better known as Mari Yan), a writer born into an influential family of journalists (her father founded the newspaper *La Nación*), had already published three novels. Marta Brunet, also from a wealthy family, had published stories and many articles in a number of magazines. Amanda Pinto Sepúlveda, known as Amanda Labarca after she cut ties with her family and took on her husband's last name, had dedicated herself to education and mostly published on the latter subject. As of 1935, she had presided the executive committee of the Chilean Committee for Intellectual Cooperation.

This information should lead us to not only consider the lack of resources to transport members of national committees to these meetings, but also the marked differences between the Conference and the Entretien. While the first concentrated diplomatic representatives and addressed political issues, the second involved people of letters. This separation was not unusual for the time. Within the logic of Intellectual Cooperation, regular meetings were seen as academic spaces for dialogue, in which the "sages" of various nations came together to create intellectual networks. These sages mainly interacted in three ways. First, through correspondence, continuing the old tradition of the republic of letters by which epistolary exchange was used to share different points of view. The other two were in person, either through the Conferences of experts or the Entretiens. These spaces had few participants, were normally conceived as elite events, and thus did not seek large audiences: the events were seen as "polite conversations" that large audiences would find "incomprehensible." Nor was the press appreciated at these events, as it was believed that it would limit the intellectuals' freedom to express their ideas. As for the Entretiens, eight had been held by 1939, all in Europe except for the one in Buenos Aires (Pernet 2007, 5–6).[13]

As we will now explain, even though the IIIC conditioned its funding upon the event discussing universal subjects, the discussions actually focused on America. There were no European writers in the debate to defend European culture as the cradle of civilisation and remind Americans of the cultural brotherhood between the two continents. Also, in contrast to the Buenos Aires Entretien, Americans made no diagnosis regarding the European crisis and the need to take

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13 On Goethe (Frankfurt, 1932); The Future of Culture (Madrid, 1933); The Future of the European Spirit (Paris, 1933); Art, Reality, and the State (Venecia, 1934); The Creation of the Modern Man (Nice, 1935); For a New Humanism (Budapest, 1936), Europe-Latin America (Buenos Aires, 1936); and The Future Destiny of Letters (Paris, 1937).

up the task of defending Western civilisation. Though the 1939 Entretien was strictly American, no one mentioned what the Mexican Alfonso Reyes said about how American intelligence "had conquered the right to universal citizenship" upon "reaching adulthood," meaning that Europe would soon have to treat Americans as equals (Pita 2021). As we will now see, internationalism in the American continent was secured through the rhetoric of American peace.

3.3 American Peace?

At the Entretien's first session, dedicated to "the work of bringing peoples together" and "its pacifist mission," four speakers participated: Rodríguez Embil "a well-known Cuban novelist," Sánchez, a "professor, essayist, and eminent Peruvian literary critic," Diómedes de Pereyra, "Bolivian novelist," and Mari Yan, "one of the most outstanding Chilean writers." Its title alluded to the coming together of peoples, an expression that could elicit manifold interpretations but that, within the IIIC, would refer to the proximity between American countries and European ones. However, this was not discussed and, instead, the collective self-representation of Americans shined through, possibly with the goal of differentiating themselves from Europeans. Speakers focused on defining what they understood as intellectual and what peace meant to them, but never reached a consensus on either topic.

Rodríguez Embil defined intellectuals poetically as "expressers" and "creators" of the "human soul." His take on peace was a bit more specific. Firstly, to him, it wasn't an end but a means (as with war). He stated that the term "lasting peace" should not be understood as the wellbeing of the mere individual at a given moment, which would be an optical illusion, like the one that Europe was in the midst of before the First World War. The Americans would have to reflect upon that war and the current one and ask themselves why they wanted peace, he stated. When the debate was opened to other representatives, only the delegate of Nicaragua said he agreed with the idea of "American peace," whose moral content was based upon the idea of justice. To this statement, the Cuban speaker replied that America was being called "to be an example in the world, with an external concept of peace that had probably never existed" (CCHCI 1939c, 9–11).

Then it was the Peruvian Sánchez's turn, who radically changed the tone. His words reflected the Peruvian APRA's stance; he stated that the American Peace was an idealisation of continental justice and attacked its defenders as people wanting "a peace of stillness where nothing moves." Instead, he claimed to seek "true peace," by which, despite disagreements, people could live together. He

recalled that intellectuals should be critical in order for liberty and democracy to exist, and, citing Thomas Mann, he noted that the powerful should be disobeyed. The justice that his cohorts had referred to, he stated, would not exist without Liberty, and Liberty necessitated Democracy as a political regime based on dignity as a moral principle. The intellectual should become involved in politics "because keeping silent is a way of getting rid of a stillness that's disturbing to all," he stated. Thus, he noted that without democracy there was no peace, adding that "only with peace and democracy will there be intellectuals; otherwise, there'd be nothing but a choir" (CCHCI 1939c, 12–13).

To soften the debate, the Ecuadorian Navarro reiterated the importance of intellectual cooperation as a way of moving beyond the national, adding that the key was not to discuss war or peace, but "bellicosity" as a feeling stemming from a lack of understanding and from excessive, misguided patriotism. Likewise, he defined intellectuals as workers "of the spirit and intelligence." Then, the Chilean Enrique Molina disagreed with Sánchez in terms of the "intellectual mission" (implicitly recalling Benda's notion) as a "supreme priest" who is so honourable that he keeps his spirit open and might go against the powerful, but also against the masses. The intellectual was to fight for liberty and truth as "sacred values," rather than against those in power. Sánchez responded to both with new criticisms. He manifested that the cooperation being alluded to did not exist and that abuse of power could come from the State, the people, and the "maximum pontiff" (or supreme priest). This led to a short but harsh exchange between the two. Meanwhile, Molina argued that every person was a "maximum pontiff" but that that did not mean that everyone would have their own chapel. Then, Sánchez stated that, "everyone aspired to a chapel of their own" out of mere vanity. To conclude, Sánchez recalled that the intellectual was tasked with the high mission of securing European and American peace (CCHCI 1939c, 13–15).

Following this, the Bolivian novelist Diomedes de Pereyra changed the subject and alluded to a political, economic, and "spiritual" action program for writers to "put culture at the service of peace throughout the continent." Politically, he based his discourse on international American law, which had been discussed at the Pan-American Conferences. Economically, he alluded to boosting consumerism and production in the region in order to gain independence from "foreign tutelage." Spiritually, he seemed to inexplicitly allude to Intellectual Cooperation's project on revising history tomes and proposed creating an American magazine and cultural guide (similar to *Who is Who*), which, as a journalist with experience in Europe and the United States, he believed could feasibly be undertaken that year.

Nobody commented on the proposal, but Julio Barrenechea (Chile) then spoke to defend international peace through a communist political stance. He questioned "effective continental peace" and called it nothing more than a farce. There was no unity or peace in America, he said. To him, countries had grown apart due to imperialism, which relied on dividing peoples to "sustain its economic hegemony." To reach authentic peace, intellectuals would have to take an antifascist, antiimperialist, and antioligarchic position and join the political movements of "national majorities" in opposition to "governing minorities, which tend to promote war" to defend their class interests. The task of the American intellectual was thus to fight for democracy. Nobody replied to this political call, and the Chilean orator and writer Mari Yan concluded the session with her own speech. She briefly alluded to the need for humanity to acknowledge the dangers of the new war machine, operated by technicians who were unaware of the death and destruction they would produce. She also called for Christian piety so that civilisation would wake up and understand the reigning moral problem. To fight this problem, the intellectual's mission would have to be to build a desire for existence to be "sacred" among men. By joining this crusade, the writer's pen could reach "eternity" (CCHCI 1939c, 16–22).

The second session saw the participation of the "historian and specialist in American art," the Ecuadorian José Gabriel Navarro; the "distinguished Brazilian writer and man of science, member of the Brazilian Academies of Letters and Sciences, and author of numerous literary and scientific works," Roquete Pinto; and the "writer, journalist, and essayist," the Colombian Baldomero Sanín Cano, who was also considered "one of the most emblematic figures in Ibero-American literature" and had presided the Entretien in Buenos Aires in 1936. Lastly, the Chilean Marta Brunet, a "brilliant writer" who was also the president of the Institute for Journalists and had participated in the Intellectual Cooperation Conference, also attended. Two topics would be discussed: "the ties between intellectuals from various nations in America" and "the education of children and the masses in the spirit of Americanism and human fraternity." Unlike the former, this exposition saw little discussion, though a few participants questioned the speakers. The first to speak presented no new proposals, focusing on the origins of the LoN and Cooperation as a foundation. He defined intellectuals as "workers of intelligence" and intellectual cooperation as "persistent, orderly, and methodical" joint work that could effectively be used as a weapon for moral disarmament. Intellectual cooperation would have to be "a well-armed campaign, with a specific program, perfect soldiers, [and] adequate and effective resources for efficient action." These spiritual soldiers were to teach their respective subjects in order to tie countries together and generate this much sought-after understanding, while also participating in summer courses, exchanges, and (as per the aforementioned

Cooperation project) the revision of history, geography, and civics. In response, Rodríguez Beteta (Guatemala), questioned intellectuals by calling them men who were proud to live in their ivory towers, accusing them of being responsible for the Great War in Europe, either because they wrote to glorify it, or kept quiet and retreated into isolation. Intellectual cooperation, as a way of organising, forced them to talk among themselves and ask themselves how to save the world from chaos. To Americans, this was an unparalleled moment because, as recently stated at the Pan-American Conference in Lima, a hemispheric understanding had been reached. Thus, now there was an expectation to expand this understanding to general cooperation, inverting the prior order by which Europe was the teacher and America, the student (CCHCI 1939c, 23–29).

The next speaker (from Brazil) slightly changed his speech in the beginning so that he could respond to the previous speaker; he expressed his disagreement with the idea that certain subjects were more useful than others when it came to bringing peoples together. He thus distinguished two kinds of peace: the kind that "is supported but not felt" and the true kind, which "is not reasoned: it is felt." In his view, the latter should be taught to children and was the key to that "swelling peace," which wasn't cerebral, but emotional. To him, educating the adult masses would be more difficult, since they rarely changed their feelings or prejudices. One could only count on children to be educated in terms of this awareness of peace, and, to that end, specialists would have to disseminate their knowledge to children through other means, like the radio (in which he had ample experience). He noted that, when children ask adults for help to do their homework, they actually help educate the masses (CCHCI 1939c, 29–32).

Sanín Cano was next, having substituted an absent participant. Thus, his speech was about the "supranationalisation of culture," the subject outlined for the following day. He defined culture as a process by which man adapts to his environment. In the absence of "civilising effort," cultures would come to an end and disappear. Regarding American culture, he saw its origin as tied to the cultures of Spain, France, and even England (considering that commerce also led to the circulation of English culture). According to him, pre-Hispanic cultures were "primitive" but pacific, with the Spanish bringing in the notion of war and conquest. The wars of independence had their cause, while the civil wars of the nineteenth century were "wars of freedom" to found new states, he said. Thus, he considered Americans pacifists. The last speaker, the Chilean Brunet, focused on educating children, noting the importance of circulating American texts among them, such as the PAU's pamphlets on American landscapes – she considered them a good sample of popular, American folklore. Though her brief participation might be read as apolitical, her last few words

shifted in tone, underscoring that Americanism should be consolidated on the continental level via democracy so that children wouldn't become too fragile, since, at any moment, they would have to join together to yell, "¡No pasarán!" or "They shall not pass," the antifascist battle cry of the Spanish Republic (CCHCI 1939c, 32–39).

The last session hosted the most speakers and was dedicated to "the supranational and human character of culture," eliciting a number of definitions on culture and humanism. Participants included Enrique Molina, "rector of Universidad de Concepción and delegate of Chile at the Conference"; the Uruguayan José Antuña, "senator, writer, publicist, and copyright specialist"; the "distinguished" Chilean writers Ricardo Latcham and Ernesto Montenegro; the Peruvian "historian and novelist" Luis Alayza and Paz Soldán; and, to close the Entretien as president of the executive committee of the Chilean Committee, Amanda Labarca. Molina recalled Sanín Cano's words to expand upon the concepts of civilisation and culture, which he did not consider synonymous. In disagreement with the German Oswald Spengler's concept, he did not see civilisation as a moment of decadence in which culture would dissolve. He defined culture as man's domain over nature, while, to him, civilisation had social and political significance. Then he added a third concept, that of progress, to explain the historical process by which man had created a "material" and "spiritual" world that was reflected in art, science, and philosophy. When progress is left unattended, imbalances follow, he stated. He then proposed seeking out a new humanism in America that would not overlook Europe's intellectual and cultural values but would take a certain distance nonetheless, so as not to be carried away by the tide of its decadence. Eliciting no comments, the next speaker took the stand. Unlike the former, Antuña focused on sharing practical examples to define culture's supranational character. Though short and disorganised, his speech drew comments from other participants. The Guatemalan delegate recalled that Mayan culture had been discovered by Europeans and US Americans and that, as such, if peoples were to seek knowledge of their own, they would need professional, unbiased, American journalism (CCHCI 1939c, 40–48).

The next three speakers were Chilean. Latcham reconsidered the question of whether America had or could develop a culture of its own. Citing Keyserling, he proposed that civilisations could flourish in the continent because the seed was there, but that ties to Europe should not be cut, so as not to divest the continent of Western culture. Drawing on Molina's humanism, he stated that this was the most significant challenge that Americans faced. Meanwhile, Montenegro started with the idea that America was a single nation and thus, like Brunet, he believed that children needed to be taught to love this cultural unity. He alluded to the Bible in mentioning that the LoN's peace needed to

promote unconditional love between all people. When the first Chilean speaker in this session finished, Molina took the stand to accuse his conational, Latcham, of taking his words on humanism out of context. He then took up his debate with Sánchez from the first day and clarified that he considered culture a continuous creation, and not something static. Sanín Cano then clarified his thoughts on humanism, arguing that its meaning needed to change because material conditions had changed and one could not possibly know everything that man produces. To close the Entretien, Amanda Labarca thanked everyone for their participation. She recognised that, when Walker Linares suggested organising the Entretien in Santiago, she had said that it would be a mere exercise in rhetoric, but that after hearing everyone, she had changed her mind, as the Entretien had helped to bring the continent's thinking to "the great public, the great masses" and rekindle intellectual debate.

Two of the guests were given time to speak toward the end. The first was the Chilean Pablo Neruda, who spoke for the Chilean Intellectual Alliance for the Defence of Culture, which had been founded after the controversial Second International Congress of Writers, which Neruda organised in Valencia and Madrid in July of 1937. That conference, unlike the one at hand, denounced "the monster" of fascism and declared that intelligence was the guardian of the people and the Republic.[14] Neruda referred to that conference, which had unfolded in a country in tatters, to harshly compare it to the current one. He criticised Enrique Molina, who despite being a respected professor, eluded the problem by spewing his old-fashioned rhetoric. Neruda pushed for "social realism," the kind that would conquer "the peace of humanity," and closed his statement with the rallying cry "No pasarán" (CCHCI 1939c, 61–63). Then, Panama's delegate, Narciso Garay, took a diplomatic stance by clarifying that intellectuals had to contribute to "universal peace" for moral disarmament, but should leave

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[14] Neruda's stay in Spain ended after the start of the Spanish Civil War, when he was deposed, but, thanks to the support of Chile's Communist Party and of President Aguirre, he was designated as the consul in charge of Spanish immigration. While he was asked that Spanish immigrants brought to Chile not be intellectuals, politicians, and former combatants, Neruda selected various militants from the Communist Party, excluding anarchists and Trotskyists. This disobedience ultimately cost Neruda his post. When he came back to Chile, he founded the Chilean section of the Alliance for the Defence of Culture on November 7, 1937. The Alliance brought together some 150 Chilean intellectuals (including some foreign residents, like the Peruvian APRI-aligned exile Luis Alberto Sánchez). This founding nucleus included Guillermo Labarca, husband of Amanda Labarca, who was the president of the Chilean Committee for Intellectual Cooperation. The Alliance included a broad spectrum ranging from communists to liberals. They published the anti-fascist magazine *Aurora de Chile* as of August 1938 (Moraga and Peñaloza, 2011, 57, 67–69, 73–74).

the final decision to governments and their foreign affairs ministries. He noted that, in this respect, the American continent favoured "the exercise of the vocation or ministry of universal peace." To him, due to the progress in international American law, no other continent had its moral authority nor the ability to take away its "sceptre of peace" (CCHCI 1939c, 64–69).

4 Conclusion

Rather than concluding with determinist statements, we may posit that the Intellectual Cooperation Organisation must be conceived as a construct of multiple interests. As such, the unfolding of an international conference of this tenor in one place or another should lead us to consider the circumstances and interests of the principal actors involved. In this sense, we may take the two meetings held in Santiago in early 1939 as revindicating a certain American regionalism that had been absent in – markedly European – intellectual cooperation. The old and prolonged tensions between the PAU and the IIIC became manifest at these meetings in several ways. Thus, even though the agreements that took place in the Conference as well as the ideas expressed in the Entretien highlighted the ties to Europe, it was clear that, to participants, intellectual cooperation was in need of Americanisation. While the Entretien in Santiago focused on intellectual debate, it can also be seen as a step in the process of reaching inter-American agreements. Likewise, the Act of Intellectual Cooperation served to show the Organisation of Intellectual Cooperation that America's national committees were quite advanced, meaning that they could now act as equals before other committees – and these American committees were more concerned with reinforcing inter-Americanism than internationalism. While affiliation with Intellectual Cooperation was not eschewed, there was not much progress in terms of Intellectual Cooperation's main concern: signing the act. The Conference's program and resolutions were American, both in form and in substance. A strange balance was struck, which was much needed given the imminent war.

The Entretien did not prove a fertile space for debate. This Entretien was not like the past one, in 1936, when people discussed controversial topics: the Spanish Civil War, totalitarian governments' persecution of intellectuals, and intellectual autonomy in America. Rather, it was quite opaque: there were few participants, with almost no debate and very few dissident voices among the participants, who were characterised not only by their youth, but also by their politicisation (in terms of communism and socialism). Notwithstanding the few times that the Peruvian Sánchez and the Chilean Barrenechea, Neruda, and

Brunet chimed in, the Entretien was overwhelmingly neutral in terms of politics. The debates avoided all national, binational, regional, and international conflict. The word "war" was rarely used, and when it was, it was mostly in relation to the First World War rather than to the imminent Second World War. The outbreak would come to mark the end of the "civilising" Europe and give way to a Europe in crisis. Notably, Germany was never directly mentioned, neither in terms of its expansion nor in terms of the flows of people experiencing exile due to Germany's persecution of the Jewish people. The war was absent from the speeches and was only indirectly referred to with the motto "¡No pasarán!"

European decadence was barely addressed, though the need to keep a distance from Europe in order to avoid being dragged into the imminent crisis was reiterated in many ways. The old continent would remain the cradle of progress, culture, and civilisation – and the participants in the event viewed these values as essential – but was unable to perform its usual role, meaning that America had to take its place. In this sense, old features of utopian America, in the singular (not the plural, as the US American committee insisted on calling it at the Conference) were brought to the fore. Notwithstanding a few dissident voices that recalled certain tensions between the United States and other American countries, most participants referred to America as a great nation in which conflicts could be peacefully resolved through discussions. This was the main idea people rallied behind, as well as the most important argument in the Entretien. The peace in international American law was proclaimed as a legal, political, and moral bastion. The law, which was kindled at the Pan-American Union, was what sustained, for most participants, America's right to become a bastion of "lasting peace." Influenced by the modern international law founded by the International Law Institute in the nineteenth century, said Institute tried to distance itself from the utopic in order to "embody," among other ideas, peace. In this view, violence was tolerated as a "fair balance of power" (Tenorio 2018, 161, 164).[15]

Thus, to most speakers, the American peace existed given that the legal tools existed. While this was not considered an act of faith but of pure pragmatism, an

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[15] Chile had been a great defender of international American law through legalist Alejandro Álvarez, who, in association with the US American James Brown Scott, founded the American Institute of International Law (Washington, 1912). Though there were debates within, they both saw the Monroe Doctrine as a guarantee against possible European interventions more than as an imposition of US hegemony. To find a principle of non-intervention in the doctrine, the Chilean Alejandro Álvarez brought together Latin American and US American legal traditions. On this matter, see Scarfi (2020).

idealist tone impregnated the speeches, with peace referred to as a means to reach the truths of justice, liberty, and democracy. It is thus no surprise that phrases like "swelling peace" were in the hearts of Americans. Only a minority declared this representation a farce, stating that the peace that was reached was far from lasting or even real. To them, conflict marred all countries and all classes. This minority critically viewed the American peace as nothing but stillness among those who kept quiet. While all the speakers referred to the role of the intellectual and defended her importance in the consolidation of this "American peace," the definition was never fully clear. Symbolic power was emphasised (with priests and spiritual workers) as was its reign over culture as a space in which the human would commit to the spiritual, rather than the material. This marked elitism and anti-ultraism was shared among intellectual cooperation actors in Europe. Thus, we may conceive of this community as a utopian minority that developed cultural internationalism.[16]

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16 Jay Winte coined the term "minor utopia" to explain historic moments in which some people raised their voices to dream up new ways of doing. Cultural internationalism was used by Akira Iriye to describe the ICIC's work. Both were reconsidered by Gatling when studying the LoN's Intellectual Cooperation (Gatling, 2016, 15–16).

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Camila Gatica Mizala

Cinema and Education: Translating the International Educational Cinematographic Institute to 1930s Chile

1 Introduction

In 1915 the magazine *Chile cinematográfico*, which specialised in cinema, published an article titled "La acción civilizadora del cinematógrafo" (The civilising action of cinema) (No. 2, 31–32).[1] The piece highlighted the cosmopolitan and transnational aspect of cinema, which was directly linked to the idea that the cinematograph allowed people around the world to learn about themselves through films. In the first instance, these films did not have to be documentary-style films (often a genre equated with education and learning) to be able to fulfil the educational aspect, because the stories they told and the spaces (natural or human made) they captured on camera said something about culture and how people lived in other countries. In this respect, the article also argued that cinema had challenged the stereotypes of certain nations, which were nothing more than falsifications of reality. Thus, cinema dismantled audiences' state of ignorance, promoting tolerance and good morals. In other words, the civilising character of cinema offered the possibility of opening the minds of its viewers and "educating" them with respect to new realities. The idea that a civilised person was someone who had a moral character and who could distinguish between good and evil was a notion that appeared repeatedly in relation to questions about the educational capacity of cinema. This discussion on the civilised character of people was not exclusive to cinema but echoed broader societal debate and interrogation throughout the world.

The history of educational cinema is intertwined with ideas about prohibition and civility. The discussions around these ideas were very prominent during the first half of the twentieth century, particularly during the interwar period. This was a conversation that was happening beyond national borders, and it did not depend on the size of national cinematographic industries. The focus of the discussion was the content of the films being watched by global audiences. In the specialised cinema press, the arguments fluctuated between thinking of cinema solely as entertainment and the possibility of it being an

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educational tool. Given the strong relation between cinema and society, it was frequent to find these questions linked to those related to ideas of censorship, particularly in the specialised cinema press.[2] The need to regulate cinema went beyond any political position. Both left-wing and right-wing groups thought that cinema might be a tool that had the ability to influence the masses because it could mirror reality. The issue of realism was also linked to the belief that watching immoral or criminal scenes could ruin people's minds, particularly people whose minds were already thought of as feeble (mainly women and children), pushing them towards a life of indecency. Therefore, controlling what audiences watched became fundamental to the project of creating better citizens. Scholars like Orellana and Martínez have stated that since the nineteenth century, the school in Chile played a similar "civilising" role in relation to the working classes, aiming to "rescue them from ignorance" (2010, 25).

At the same time, during the interwar period, education became an indispensable tool that encouraged peace internationally because of its ability to generate dialogue through mutual understanding (Pita González 2014, 115). The discussion around the educational character of cinema focused on its capacity as an exceptional medium that was believed capable of promoting ideas about internationalism and cultural cooperation. To respond to these preoccupations and contribute to the development and strengthening of intellectual cooperation, the League of Nations (LoN) supported the creation of the International Educational Cinematographic Institute (IECI), which was based in Rome (Italy) and active between 1928 and 1937. Benito Mussolini's government, which was in the middle of its *ventennio fascista* (1922–1943), recognised the potential of cinema as a communication tool for the masses (Sorlin 2007, 111–117).[3] Besides Italy, countries like Germany, France, and Switzerland had also set themselves up as major defenders of educational cinema. Italy turned itself into a key actor in educational cinema by financially backing the foundation of this cinema institute (FRMAE 242QO-1889; Druick 2007, 83). Although in spirit the IECI aimed towards internationalism understanding among nations and peoples, the funding of the IECI could be understood as a cultural diplomacy strategy (and as soft power) on Italy's behalf, one that was aimed to create a strategy that fitted the LoN's aims.

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2 Censorship is understood to involve the efforts of local or national governments to ensure that society remains principled and virtuous and operates within acceptable (or decent) moral parameters (often falling under the Catholic conception of morals).

3 In 1925 Mussolini decided that the state was to oversee the Istituto Luce, a small cinematographic enterprise that became a powerful propaganda centre with its own newsreel and also produced documentaries and photography. For more information on the Istituto Luce, see Lussana (2018).

In this context, cultural internationalism became a central concept, gaining a wider scope beyond Europe and North America (Iriye 1997, 51). The LoN was designed to be an institution that could secure and promote cooperation as well as preserve peace among a wide number of nations (Iriye 1997, 57). However, for cultural internationalism to have an impact, mutual understanding needed to be the base, and cultural elites needed to play an important role by developing and strengthening a network of active cooperation, turning them into what Iriye calls "modern crusaders" (1997, 60–61). These cultural elites were meant to be a group that transcended the culture of one nation (Iriye 1997, 60). In other words, the project depended on the ability of cultural/intellectual actors to form cultural international networks and to move cultural goods across national borders. Agents of cultural internationalism were inspired by a certain promise of universality and collective improvement that could be reached through developing and thinking about culture being part of an international body, such as the IECI.

This chapter explores the exchanges between the IECI and the Chilean government and the subsequent development of the local Instituto de Cinematografía Educativa (Educational Cinematographic Institute, ICE). The aim is to discuss the ways in which international dynamics informed local policies, taking a life of their own by shedding light on how Chile translated into the local context the ideas and projects of cultural internationalism that were put forward by the IECI. Moreover, by focusing on a Latin American nation that joined the LoN in 1920, this chapter aims to include this region in the discussion of cultural internationalism from the perspective of a country's agency and to think about the ways in which nations used and appropriated ideas that came from supranational organisations, such as the League of Nations and the IECI, developing their own local versions of these international projects. To this end, I will discuss two case studies: first, the role of Chilean Gabriela Mistral within the IECI, and second, the development of Chile's ICE. Both cases allow us to understand the involvement of Chile in the international project of educational cinema from different scopes (international and national).

In this respect, one concept that is useful to understand these international dynamics is that of soft power (Nye 2004), which is often defined as the ability of nations and other groups to exert power abroad through attraction rather than force. In many cases this attraction came in the form of cultural displays. In this sense, soft power helps to analyse the ways in which nations aim to take part in the international arena, particularly thinking on the way they are perceived internationally. This chapter will navigate the link between soft power and cultural relations, by placing the focus on cultural diplomacy, defined as a "promotion abroad of 'national culture' and interactive international cultural exchange" (Gienow-Hecht 2010, 10). Moreover, and particularly with the case

of Mistral, cultural diplomacy will entail an attempt to promote the culture of a country (and/or a region) while identifying as part of it (Gienow-Hecht 2010, 10). In this case, diplomatic activities carried out by actors could attempt to accomplish a change in the way a country or region was perceived.

The chapter will focus on the period between 1928 and 1937, which was when the IECI was active. The archival approach includes using data from the United Nations archive (UN), the Archives of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs (series 242QO) (FRMAE), and the Administration National Archive in Chile (series MEDU and MREL) (ARNAD), as well as correspondence preserved in the Digital National Library of Chile (DNLC). The annals of the Universidad de Chile, the institution which housed the Chilean Cinema Institute, are held digitally on the University's website, and *Cine Educativo,* the ICE's publication, is also available online thanks to the digital archive Memoria Chilena (MC).

2 The IECI and Gabriela Mistral

The IECI was created "to encourage the production, dissemination and exchange of educational films in order to promote international understanding among the world's peoples" (UN, C-694-M-291-1930-XII). As part of its work, the IECI actively collaborated with many of the LoN's sections, producing educational films for the Health Section, for example (Tollardo 2016, 32). The Institute also served as an office for the collection of information about educational movies, associations, and organisations that were involved in educational films around the world, as well as information about practices used in cinema in educational settings. An example of the type of information being collected is revealed in a survey letter sent in late 1928 by Luciano de Feo, Director of the Institute, asking the different countries to help to collect data on cinema legislation and cinema industries (FRMAE 242QO-1895, 1). According to Zoë Druick, the IECI was "extremely active in the realms of both film studies and international politics" (2007, 80). The IECI also published several journals, the most important one being *The International Review* (RICE), which was intended to be the medium through which the Institute could communicate its day-to-day activities and those it promoted (Alted Vigil 2016, 25). Perhaps one of the main accomplishments of the IECI was securing circulation of educational films without having to pay customs duties (UN, C-350-M-163-1934-XII). This project was the biggest and most ambitious the IECI put together and came to fruition after years of research and study, gathering the support of film producers and

distributors (FRMAE, 242QO-1895). The project even surpassed the Institute's existence.[4]

Akira Iriye has stated that the IECI was "one of the most successful interwar experiments in cultural cooperation" (1997, 71). One of the reasons why the IECI was so successful was its ability to reach many members of the League of Nations, as well as to extend invitations to participate to states that were not, at the time, active members of the international body, such as Mexico (Herrera León 2009, 172). However, scholars like Susan Pedersen have stated that the efforts of these "technical" sections of de LoN were "more symbolically significant than effective" (2007, 1109). Looking at Latin America, and Chile in particular, can help to understand such a claim.

The first time the International Educational Cinematographic Institute was mentioned in the Chilean archives was in the memoires of the Eighth Assembly and Council of the League of Nations, held in September 1927. The information was sent, translated into Spanish, to the foreign minister by the Chilean delegation (and dated November 1927) (ARNAD, MREL, V. 2637, No. 112/26). The document briefly described how the Italian government was inspired by "opinions presented in different meetings and international congresses on the application of cinema to the intellectual education of nations, as well as its use as an auxiliary system for teaching in all public schools" (ARNAD, MREL, V. 2637, 74–75). The Italian proposal was unanimously supported by the Assembly, and the Italian representative Vittorio Scialoja) was invited to present organisational details and draft statutes at a later meeting. A draft project regarding statutes was presented in January 1928 by Vittorio Scialoja (UN, C-63-1928-XII_EN) and discussed throughout the year (FRMAE, 242QO-1890).[5] One of the main ideas that was constantly reinforced during the discussions was how important the IECI was, as a medium, for the idea of collaboration not only between the different Institutes and Commissions that made up the LoN (such as the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation) but also between the different nations

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4 This IECI law project was intertwined with the foundation of the Venice Film Festival in 1932, which Luciano de Feo created and organised (Tollardo 2016, 32). There are two issues that stem from this festival and the IECI's involvement: (1) the way in which "educational films" were being conceptualised in the law project and how that would be read in the context of a film festival, as it would mean an "incursion upon the realm of fiction movies, with which the institute started to deal from 1934," where the idea of education was extended to also include "cultural films" (R4016-5B-8169-2450); (2) how festivals would change the circulation of films, particularly because the Venice Film Festival was taking advantage of the network and circulation that the IECI had developed (Tollardo 2016, 33).

5 The director of the International Labour Bureau and the Committee for the Protection of Children were involved in the process of developing the statutes.

(FRMAE, 242QO-1890, 113–114). The fact that Italy moved quicker than other states that were interested in the subject by proposing to fund and create the IECI, revealed that educational cinema was indeed a tool for Italy's soft power, and a way to place themselves among the nations with important roles within the LoN. After the discussions regarding the statutes had been settled, the IECI held its first meeting between November 5th and November 9th, 1928, in Rome (UN, C-573-1928-XII_EN).

The members of the IECI's governing body were Professor Alfredo Rocco (Italy), who became the president of the Institute in his role as the Italian representative on the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (ICIC); Professor Gonzague de Reynold (Switzerland), also a member of the ICIC; Professor Ragnar Knoph (Norway), a member of the Sub-Committee on Intellectual Rights; Don Pedro Sangro y Ros de Olano (Spain), a member of the Child Welfare Committee; Dr. R.P. Paranjpye (India), former Minister of Education in Bombay and a member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, London; and Gabriela Mistral (Chile), former principal of a girls' college and author (UN, R2229-5B-7316-3135). The IECI's governing body unanimously decided to name Luciano De Feo Director of the Institute, who had many administrative and technical qualifications, particularly as the former director of L'Unione Cinematografica Educativa (The Educational Film Union), also known as Istituto Luce (Light Institute) for its Italian acronym.

The inclusion of Gabriela Mistral as a member should not be taken lightly. She had previously been director of the Section for Literary Relations at the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation between 1926 and 1928, although this previous role was not mentioned in this context. Following the list of members present in the first session of the IECI, she was there as "Director of a School of young girls. Woman of Letters," meaning an educator first and an author second (UN, R2229-5B-7316-3135). Gabriela Mistral, the pseudonym of Lucila Godoy Alcayaga (1889–1957), was born in the town of Vicuña, in the north of Chile. She started teaching in the early years of the twentieth century in a small school near La Serena (north of Chile). In 1910 she was certified as a teacher by the Escuela Normal No. 1 in Santiago and worked in many towns across Chile. Her activity as an author began in the early twentieth century, when she wrote op-eds and articles for different local newspapers while still living in the north of the country. In December 1914 she won Santiago's Juegos Florales (Floral) with *Sonetos de la Muerte*.[6] This was the beginning of a very productive writing career. In 1918 she

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6 The Floral Games were a spring celebration that used to be organised by the Student Federation of the University of Chile.

became director of the Girls' High School in Punta Arenas (the capital city of Magallanes, Chile's southernmost region). Between 1922 and 1923 she was invited by José Vasconcelos, Director of Mexico's Secretariat of Public Education, to take part in the design of the educational reform, in which she included documentary films in her work as a teacher in the rural schools in Mexico (Orellana and Zegers 2008, 103–120). In 1923 the University of Chile awarded her the title of teacher of Spanish. In 1927 the Chilean government proposed her as liaison between Chile and IIIC as she already was "part of the committee in charge of the Ibero-American collection" (Dumont 2018, 62). From the 1930s onwards she worked as a consul in different countries, a role that was given to her for life in 1935 by the Chilean government. Her biggest achievement as a writer was receiving the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1945.[7] As Nicola Miller has pointed out, Mistral followed "the standard women's routes into the intellectual arena, working as a schoolteacher and publishing poetry in local periodicals, gradually building up a national and then a regional reputation" (2005, 135).

In a letter sent to the Chilean minister of education dated October 4, 1929, Mistral defined her role within the IECI in the following terms: "in the Institute of Educational Cinema I represent my country in the first place, and Spanish America second" (ARNAD, MEDU, V. 5463, No. 5411). This idea offers an interesting answer to the question posed in relation to cultural internationalism about whether intellectuals as agents of peace and dialogue could work effectively beyond national borders. Mistral had a clear sense of who she was representing and had established hierarchies within that representation. Something that becomes clear is that she saw herself as part of a cultural network where Spanish America could be a key actor. This claim is not a minor one. Juliette Dumont (2018) has pointed out that Latin American countries had an interest and desire to join international organisations, such as the LoN, because it was seen as a way to integrate international (European) networks. It would also translate into the "possibility of conferring a certain recognition on States which, not having the status of power, aspired likewise to exist on the international scene, to appear on the 'planisphere of intellectual life'" (2018, 55). To this respect, Mistral wrote in 1927 about the need for the region to contest Europe's "superficial judgements" on Spanish America, by securing "information about herself that [was] frequent, orderly and honest" (Mistral, *El Mercurio*, 13-07-1927 in Dumont 2018, 55). Thus, by situating herself within the Chilean and

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7 For more details, see https://www.uchile.cl/portal/presentacion/historia/grandes-figuras/premios-nacionales/literatura/6670/gabriela-mistral (21/01/2022).

Spanish American cultural network, she was aiming to work towards bringing down those damaging judgements in her capacity as cultural agent.[8] In 1933 Mistral was re-elected as a member of the IECI. The information that follows helps to understand how seriously she took her role within the IECI. Although she was appointed Chilean consul in Madrid, the new appointment had its perks, as the Chilean government had given her permission to be absent from Spain at any time she needed to be, and this allowed her to attend the sessions of the IECI "more punctually" (DNLC, AE0020105, 1). Overall, the letter shows a strong commitment to and involvement with the aims of the Institute and its goals, a commitment that is further reflected in Luciano De Feo's reply, where not only the latter mentions how pleased he is about her reelection, but also how grateful he is to her "for all the useful propaganda [she is] making in [the IECI's] favour" (DNLC, AE0020817).

The other letters between De Feo and Mistral focus on general information regarding activities of the Institute. However, there are a couple of letters that are worth exploring in terms of the IECI's attempt to exert soft power. One letter, from December 1934, points out the need for the Institute to use more propaganda of the "objective and expositive" kind so that the Institute's activities and work would come to be more widely known (DNLC, AE0020843). The reasoning behind the need for such propaganda was the perception that there were many misconceptions about and critiques of the work of the IECI precisely because its work had limited circulation. A possible explanation has to do with the fact that the Institute was based in a fascist country, so some people in liberal democracies might have been more suspicious of what was produced by the Institute. As a solution, De Feo proposed that Mistral should put together a diagram showing the activities that the Institute had organised so far and the work currently being developed (DNLC, AE0020843), possibly due to her being a well-known diplomatic figure and author. The plan was to circulate this information in periodicals to generate positive propaganda concerning the Institute and, more particularly, about educational cinema. This mention of propaganda links to the perceived need to reach a wider audience with information about the IECI's activities and create "favourable conditions for the development of production and the use of this kind of film" (UN, R3982-5B-6704-646, 55). Among the elements listed as means of propaganda was "the formation and extension of a whole network of corresponding bodies of the I.C.E.," as well as "moral support for the constitution

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8 For more on Mistral and the tensions between Europe and Latin America within the LoN see Pernet 2015, 135–154 in McPherson and Wehrli 2015.

of National Institutes of Educational Cinema, or by our entry into immediate relations with these Institutes" (UN, R3982-5B-6704-646, 55).

Mistral was very aware of the relevance of communicating the importance of education cinema in periodicals as a work of propaganda. In March 1930 she published the article "Cinema documental para América" ("Documentary Cinema for America") in the journal *Atenea* (1924-present). The piece conducted a geographical and spatial tour through the Americas, poetically discussing the landscape that makes the continent: the *cordillera* and the different types of plains (*llano-selvoso*, *llano-estepa*, *llano-pradera*, *llano-jardín*) [plain-jungle, plain-steppe, plain-prairie, plain-garden]. Once the psychological landscape was set, she moved on to discuss cinema and what cinema could and would do for America: help to organise it and to present it to others. By drawing on the same criterion – the idea of movies as a tool to open minds to new realities – documentary cinema was called on to show the possibilities of what people could watch, and in this case,

> documentary cinema will verify our definite admission in the European mind, and it will be superior as an informative force than all written propaganda, almost always trivial or ruined by exaggeration. It will say our excellencies without the need of hyperbole and without the possibility of make-believe. (Godoy Alcayaga 1930, n/p)

The article then moves on to discuss the IECI and what it could do to benefit the continent. The main element that Mistral signals is that the Institute could do what no other European institution has done before: "excite businesses to graphically disseminate our continent; (. . .) and purify, with the sole increment of geographic and historical documentary cinema, the plague of the stupid or perverse cinema that floods our markets" (Godoy Alcayaga 1930, n/p).[9] For Mistral, the topics of these documentary films were going to be enough to fulfil the latter function, since American topics, landscapes, customs, and history were sufficiently colourful to compete with other types of films. In this sense, the poetess goes back to the idea that she was not only a representative of Chile but also of Spanish America as a whole, which is the landscape that she discusses in this piece.

The correspondence between De Feo and Mistral (1933–1935) is an example of the cultural mediation role that figures like the two of them could play in the context of the League of Nations project and how it got translated into local

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9 Mistral names the type of cinema that she perceives as stupid or perverse counter-education or counter-school cinema, which was, mainly, the kind of cinema that told stories about famous crimes, functioning more like a school for crime that did nothing other than corrupt the masses (Orellana and Zegers 2008, 177)

projects in particular countries. The letters showcase Mistral as a cultural mediator who was considered an expert on the subject, as well as someone personable who was able to develop work, which was planned, strategic, and professional. From her position, which she defined very clearly as being a Chilean representative first but also a representative of Spanish America, she could help to build relations between these geographical spaces and the IECI's projects. As a cultural mediator, Mistral used her official roles to create active cultural networks that would benefit what she identified as her main duty of representation: Chile and Spanish America. Thus, Mistral's work, as discussed through the correspondence with De Feo and her articles, is understood as that of a cultural actor who was active across "cultural and geographical borders, occupying strategic positions within large networks and being the carrier of cultural transfer" (Roig-Sanz and Meylaerts 2018, 3). Following Nicola Miller (2005), through her work, Mistral was able to challenge the roles often played by women in the 1930s by positioning herself as a key figure in the LoN because of her knowledge on education and as an author. She developed her role as an education expert, an intellectual, and a diplomat, filling positions that would have made her male Latin American counterparts envious. Moreover, her devotion to cultural and political life, which can be appreciated when examining her work, was part of her construction of herself as a public intellectual according to her own understanding of what being an intellectual meant (Miller 2005, 137). This understanding is prevalent in her *Atenea* article, where she develops a description that is both technical and poetic, appealing to knowledge and the cognitive character of the senses through her language skills and highlighting the possibility of using documentary film in education. By enacting a different approach to intellectual life, she was able to shape her roles as she saw fit, which is illustrated in the letters.

3 The Chilean Instituto de Cinematografía Educativa

In the Latin American context, Chile was perhaps one of the most constant members to take part in the LoN, and IECI in particular, within the region (Dumont 2018; McPherson and Wehrli 2015, 3). Chile did not have an active cinema industry and produced only a few films per year, which were the result of private initiatives (Ossa Coo 1971, 29–30). The Chilean government founded the Instituto de Cinematografía Educativa (ICE) in December 1929 (*La Nación* 21 Dec 1929), which initially depended on the Ministry of Education and was later set under the management of the Faculty of Fine Arts of the University of Chile.

However, the project of the ICE began a year before, in 1928, and it had a link to the reformulation and modernisation of the Section of School Decorations and Projections (Álvarez et al. 2014, 24). This project was part of a wider reorganisation of the education system carried out by Carlos Ibáñez del Campo, a young military officer who came to power by force in the second half of the 1920s, becoming the Head of State. Ibáñez carried out many reforms in the state, all of them aiming to establish more social and political control, and education played a big part in this project (Correa et al. 2001, 103–107). One of the main elements of the reform of the education system was the reorganisation of artistic education at a national level, which came to include the use of cinema in the classroom (Serrano et al. 2018, 271–289).[10]

A direct precedent for the work of the ICE was the implementation of fixed images (paintings, murals, and prints) in schools from the 1880s, which showed the efforts made by Chilean education officials and teachers to follow the main pedagogical trends coming from Europe and the United States (Orellana and Martínez 2010, 27). By 1911, reports coming from authorities linked to the Ministry of Public Education were already discussing the advantages of using "luminous projections" in class, seeing doing so as "a higher form of teaching," for example using magic lanterns (Alvarez, Colleoni and Horta 2014, 22–23). The use of visual didactic tools was part of the objectives set for the Section of School Decorations and Projections, created in January 1913, and was the first attempt to institutionalise working with images in the classroom (Alvarez, Colleoni and Horta 2014, 23). Between 1924 and 1925 the Ministry of Public Education bought cinematographic projectors from the Krupp-Ernemann-Kino-Apparate-G.m.b.H for the Department of Primary Education, which were "the most appropriate models for teaching, because they are easy to use and have no risk of film inflammation" (ARNAD, MEDU, Vol. 4737). Besides the technical arguments, there was the idea that the projection of images had become an important element when teaching "in all of its stages," facilitating the teacher's job because images presented a "quick, clear, and enjoyable way to imprint lessons in the student's minds" (ARNAD, MEDU, Vol. 4737).

However, examples like those just mentioned seemed to be isolated attempts to integrate moving images into the classroom and were often hindered by budgetary issues. The ICE, as a project, was the result of the modernisation of the Section of School Decorations and Projections undertaken by Ibáñez del Campo's

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10 From the 1930s until the 1973 coup d'etat, the Universidad de Chile became the main institution in charge of cultural diplomacy (Dumont 2018).

regime. As part of the educational reform, art needed to be oriented towards the material and intellectual progress of the country. According to Alvarez, Colleoni, and Horta (2014), the body that became the ICE began to be developed in 1928. In 1929 the Ministry of Education gave administrative powers held by the Section of School Decorations and Projections to the University of Chile, and the Section was renamed the Instituto de Cinematografía Educativa (2014, 28). In December 1929 the Ministry of Education attached funding to the ICE, which allowed it to have laboratories and workshops and to produce educational films (2014, 28). The ICE was part of the newly inaugurated School of Fine Arts of the University of Chile, which was created by decree in December 1929 (ARNAD, MEDU, Vol. 5488, Decree No. 6348). The school was to be the centre for artistic instruction in three different fields, represented by different organisations: the Academy of Fine Arts, the National Conservatory of Music, the Department of Artistic Extension, and the Institute of Educational Cinematography. The regulations under which the ICE was created stated that its main task was to "progressively implant in all educational establishments in the country the use of the cinematograph and other projection systems" (Anales Universidad de Chile, 1930, 702), making it dependent on the university (administratively and economically) but with general freedom to carry out its own projects. This freedom was permitted because of the Estatuto Orgánico Universitario (University Organic Statute), which gave the university autonomy and freedom from the government's interference; this meant that the university had responsibility for the arts and the administration of them and that the state or external institutions could not intervene (Anales Universidad de Chile 1929, 1469–1498). From February 1931, however, the administration of the ICE became dependent on the University of Chile's Faculty of Philosophy and Educational Sciences (Anales Universidad de Chile 1931, 135), which meant linking the Institute directly with the space within the university that involved thinking about how to teach and studying how to teach, which involved a move away from the arts.

Despite the link with the IECI, the Chilean ICE was a small organisation. The job roles it included were as follows: director, submanager, machine manager, laboratory manager, two operators, a mechanic-electrician, a copy manager, five lab workers, and a motorcycle rider (Anales Universidad de Chile 1930, 206). By the end of 1930 the following jobs were added: photography technician, cartoonist, secretary, doorman. The type of work titles and the number of people required indicate that it was a small operation, but it had the capacity to produce and develop its own films. Information found in the annals of the university suggest that there was very little extra money to spend, and that any personnel or budgetary change needed to be approved by the Central University, giving the institute very little leeway in this respect. Maintenance was

key when it came to artefacts and materials, particularly projectors. In a short note, teachers are asked to please be careful with the De Vry projectors, as the lightbulbs were very delicate and broke easily, and each new one required was expensive for the Institute (*Cine Educativo,* 1932, No. 2, 3).

Armando Rojas became the director of the ICE as well as the main actor within the local Chilean education cinema scene, and his films were closely associated with the ICE's work. Among the information that can be found about the Instituto de Cinematografía Educativa, there are three newsletters published by the ICE and called *Cine Educativo* (Educational Cinema), which are dated from 1932 through to 1935. The aim of the publication was to "encourage the development, in Chile, of cultural film and the popularisation of scientific films" (UN, R4016-5B-8169-2450, 1). Besides these publications, there are a few of the films produced by the ICE available today, mainly those directed by Armando Rojas. These films are focused more on the modernisation of the city. In her inventory of documentaries, Alicia Vega (2006) includes *Educación física* (1929), *El cerro Santa Lucía* (1930), *Santiago* (1933), and *Estadio Nacional* (1938). The focus on the topic of modernisation and the city was not uncommon in Latin American film in the first decades of the twentieth century. City symphonies became a popular genre that allowed viewers to watch and experience through film one day in the life of a city. Scholars like Pablo Corro (2021, 130–131) have mentioned that there is a corpus of films on geography and landscape (in the vein that Mistral encouraged in her *Atenea* article). Corro (2021), in the same way as Alicia Vega (2006) and www.cinechile.cl, has established that the films that focused more on these other topics were *La pesca en alta mar* (1941), *Antártida chilena* (1943), *La Tirana* (1944), and *El hombre y la montaña* (1953). A more complete list can be found in Vergara, Krebs and Morales's *Sucesos recobrados* (2021).

During 1931 there were 6,207 screenings of films in classrooms, films that were provided exclusively by the ICE and were associated with the pedagogical plan that had been prepared for a particular lesson. This is not a minor detail – the use of cinema was deliberate and was organised accordingly, with skills and learning objectives determined by teachers. These films were shown in 80 public schools. To carry out these projections, the ICE had 79 projectors (MC, *Cine Educativo*, 1932 No. 2, 1). During 1932 the ICE wanted to extend its work further by starting a "crusade of cultural dissemination through popular neighbourhoods of Santiago and nearby towns of the province" (MC, *Cine Educativo*, 1932 No. 2, 4). The plan was to use a truck equipped with everything to show the films (including a generator in case of a lack or shortage of electricity). The exhibitions were going to include synchronised music and a conference that were played through speakers.

A year later the ICE reported the figures shown in Tab. 1 regarding the screenings of the films.

Tab. 1: Statistical for the ICE, 1932 and 1935.

	1932	1935
Working projectors	79	93
Classes using cinema in Santiago	6,259	10,212
Classes using cinema in Provinces	1,017	2,482
Classes using cinema in private schools in Santiago		243
Private exhibitions and before corporations	57	249
Total of exhibition in the Republic	7,333	13,186
New teachers with membership card	54	30
Total of teachers with membership card	182	212
New films in circulation	12	
Total film copies in circulation		312
The teacher that used cinema the most in their class, exhibitions	554	1,164

Source: MC, *Cine Educativo* 1932, No. 3, 2; *Cine Educativo* 1935, No. 4, n/p.

By 1933 the number of pages in the newsletter had increased from 4 to 24, and it included long articles and photos of the organisation's activities and films (and in 1935 the newsletter reached 50 pages). The articles were more varied and included descriptions of the experiences of teachers who were choosing to use film in their classes. The newsletter also included (as did No. 2) a series of articles about experiences from abroad with educational film, as well as news about educational film in other countries.

Tab. 2: Number of screenings organised by the ICE from 1930 to 1934.

Screenings shown in 1930	2,487
Screenings shown in 1931	6,207
Screenings shown in 1932	7,333
Screenings shown in 1933	10,935
Screenings shown in 1934	13,186

Source: MC, *Cine Educativo* 1935, No. 4, n/p.

None of the films were longer than 10 minutes and the aim was to make them relevant to the current educational programmes. The ICE also used foreign films, making sure that the themes fit the curriculum. The idea was for teachers to be able to manipulate a film as much as they needed to get the most out of the experience of integrating moving images into the classroom (*Cine Educativo*, 1932 No. 3, n/p). Moreover, there is a guide from 1931 in the annals of the university that was developed for teachers who wanted to integrate moving images into their classes. This "Guía confidencial" (Confidential Guide) was to be accompanied by the "Guía para el alumno" (Guide for students) (Anales Universidad de Chile 1931, 1:3, 359). Both guides were aimed to be companions to films and to spark debates and discussion in the classroom.

One of the main objectives of the ICE was to be able to expand beyond the schools located in the capital into the ones located provinces, which it was slowly able to do. Moreover, the circulation of information allowed the ICE to compare and contrast its activities with those of other similar organisations around the world. It could use examples of what worked in other countries to work out whether those experiences could be replicated in Chile.

One major issue had to do with the way educational films were being classified in Chile and in its censorship laws. At the beginning of this chapter, censorship was discussed in relation to the interest that the IECI had in the different ways in which cinema was regulated around the world. This was particularly relevant in the case of Chile, because once a national censorship law was passed in 1925 (Law No. 558), censorship and the application of it became the responsibility of the Ministry of Education.[11] The main classifications that could be given to films were "rejected," "suitable for people aged 15 and older," and "suitable for adults and people under 15 years old." In 1928, with Carlos Ibáñez del Campo as head of state, a tougher and more restrictive Censorship Regulation was passed. Besides making certain amendments to Law No. 558, it added two classifications to the existing three: "not suitable for ladies" and "approved only for scientific centres" (Reglamento de Censura Cinematográfica 1928, 628–629). Scientific centres were defined as "those in which this scientific quality predominates over any other and which are exempt from any spirit of profit; these centres will be able to exhibit in private the films approved for them" (629). These new regulations kept the focus on the moral side of censorship, and the only distinction that could make the law flexible was if a film was classified as "scientific." This

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11 The Censorship Board was to be funded by cinema businessmen. It was to be based in Santiago and composed of a director of libraries, who would preside over it, plus two people appointed by the president of Chile and two people chosen by the Municipality of Santiago.

would have allowed films that focused on themes deemed inappropriate to be projected in schools because they were labelled as scientific (thus, having an educational character), highlight the relevance of the educational character of films over sheer morality, by understanding that education was a way of civilising and moralising.

Another issue was law decree 337, passed in May 1931, which stated that

> films of scientific dissemination, geography and history, natural sciences, hygiene, physical education, pure art and application, industries, customs, vocational, and of a general instructive character will be considered cultural. The Censorship Board will rule over the films that fulfil these requisites. (Anales Universidad de Chile 1931, 395)

The director of the Institute needed to advise the boards when it came to what the law defined as cultural films. However, this law decree was not perceived as positive within the ICE, but as one that needed to be abolished, which was set as one of its aspirations in 1935. Another of the aspirations in the same year was to reform the Censorship Law to allow "the intervention in its functions by competent educational authorities," especially when it came to the classification of films for children under 15 (*Cine Educativo*, 1935, No. 4, 1). However, one of the things that is worth highlighting is that, thematically, the decree had the same areas of focus as those the IECI had defined as subjects to which film could really contribute in terms of the pedagogy in the classroom: geography, sciences, arts, languages, history, and maths (Taillibert 1999, 183–188). Thus, linking ideas on topics in which cinema was a particularly helpful tool when it came to the classroom.

A notion that can help understand the relationship between the ICE and the IECI is that of "translation," which is taken from Barbara Cassin's (2014) work on untranslatables. The notion of translation provides an interesting take on the exercise of translating ideas from one part of the world to another, especially when those ideas become policies and cultural practices. Language has its own rules and nuances, making the national specificity relevant when thinking about the role language plays in everyday life (Cassin 2014, xix). In light of this, and building from the idea that "translation" means "to lead across" (Cassin 2014, 1139), the way in which ideas travel and are introduced and adapted to a new context through a process of translation from the original context (in this case the IECI) to a new local setting (Chile and the ICE) also presents a supranational project that is communicated and translated into that new reality in which these ideas need to be embedded. Like language, these ideas are not designations of the same thing, but different perspectives and visions of the world (Cassin 2014, xix). In this sense, the dialogue between the supranational

and the national elements are key to understanding the process and conditions in which the ICE was developed.

The creation and inauguration of Chile's ICE was not carried out in coordination with the IECI. However, by June 1930 (six months after its inauguration), the IECI had already been made aware of Chile's local efforts concerning educational cinematography through the Information Section of the LoN. In a letter signed by Carlos García Palacios (a Chilean national working in the Information Section) and sent to Pierre Comert, head of the section, it is confirmed that the Council of the University of Chile had approved a project for "the organisation of the Chilean Institute of Educational Cinematography, a project recently presented by Director, Mr. Armando Rojas Castros." The correspondence includes a clipping from the newspaper *El Mercurio*, and says "I think that the Intellectual Cooperation Section or the Institute of Educational Cinema in Rome would have interest in knowing the future organisation of this new Institute" (UN, R2239-5B-7056-20400).[12] The information quickly reached Luciano de Feo, who confirmed that the IECI was already in contact with the Chilean Institute.

Although the ICE emerged from the efforts of the state and a university, it was designed to be a transnational collaborative enterprise and needed to be in contact with similar institutes throughout the world (Anales Universidad de Chile 1930, 703). This contact was vital because it allowed for a circulation of films within countries besides the films they could produce, which were limited to those that the ICE was not able to get through exchange (Anales Universidad de Chile 1930, 703). In a way, the ICE worked both as a production space, as well as a distributor and exhibitor for Chilean schools. Thus, the Chilean institute was thought of as part of a wider international cultural network of collaboration, in the spirit of the LoN and the IECI, that followed the ideal of cultural internationalism and intellectual cooperation that the LoN had put in place for this type of organisation. A clear example of the latter ideal was the list in the report given by Luciano de Feo to the Section of Information in the LoN's Secretariat in October 1933; he listed the activities of the corresponding national bodies of the institute in the different countries it was part of, stating that, "[t]he Chilean Institute Educational Cinematography of the University of Santiago, our corresponding institution, works actively" (UN, R3982-5B-6704-646, 13).[13]

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12 The newspaper *El Mercurio* (1900–present) was printed in Santiago, Chile and had the largest circulation of all newspapers, making it one of the most important in the country. This is still an important publication, and it has a conservative and right-wing political inclination.

13 Although there is a University of Santiago, the correspondence is clearly referring to the University of Chile, where the ICE was based. The mention of Santiago rather than Chile in relation to the university appears in several other documents.

The connection with the IECI was further confirmed in a note prepared by the IECI in November 1933 regarding its relations with Latin American nations. The document highlights the relevance of working on creating centres of culture and cinematographic propaganda and the relevance of the local actions of these centres, particularly when it came to the topics of language (Spanish) and "traditions of the race," as well as "the formation of committees in connection with the IECI," which are intended to work "in favour of a greater diffusion of the cultural and educational film" (UN, R4016-5B-8169-2450, 1). The first local centre that is mentioned is the Chilean ICE, and it is stated that "in agreement with the authorities of the Chilean government, the Institute for Educational Cinematography at the University of Santiago, directed by Mr. Rojas Castro, was recognised as an official organ of the IECI by the Chilean Republic" (R4016-5B-8169-2450, 1). The two institutes began working together in early 1932.

The ICE's active link with the International Educational Cinematographic Institute was always mentioned in the ICE's newsletters, and it was stressed that the local institute was its representative in Chile. The ICE included a summary of the work done by the IECI during its first phase (*Cine Educativo*, 1935, No. 4, 44–46). One of the elements that had been mentioned as key to the success of the international project of educational cinema was "favouring and supporting the constitution of national centres of coordination, which meant the best medium to obtain a wide international collaboration" (*Cine Educativo*, 1935, No. 4, 45). The acknowledgment of the relevance of international cooperation emphasised ideas about both cultural intermediaries and cultural internationalism, as educational cinema was seen as a project that needed networks to be set in place for it to fully work. Although the ICE was not created as part of the IECI, it was soon integrated into that network. Moreover, the IECI did not dictate which local institutes should carry out their projects but invited them to be part of the international institute. This meant that Armando Rojas Castro could develop the institute so that it fitted more closely with what suited Chile best, while still linked to the work being done in Rome.

The International Educational Cinematographic Institute was closed in 1937, which meant that from 1938 onwards, Chile's Instituto de Cine Educativo lost its official international network. The ICE produced many scientific films beyond those mentioned above and directed by Armando Rojas Castro, and between 1940 and 1944, the ICE began to film newsreels, thanks to the support of Chile Film.[14] In 1948 the institute was linked to the Ministry of Education. When collaborating with the ministry, it produced several newsreels, the last of which was produced in the 1960s.

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14 To find out more about Chile Films, see Peirano and Gobantes 2015.

4 Conclusion

This chapter aimed to give an idea of the ways in which international dynamics, particularly those that had to do with educational cinema, could be read under the concepts of soft power linked to cultural diplomacy. The two case studies explored in this chapter aimed to explore through the notions of cultural mediators and translation, how cultural projects (international and local) could develop and have an impact on the way a country or region was perceived.

The role that Mistral played as a representative of Chile in the IECI allowed her to lend her expertise within an intellectual and political project where her interest in education became intertwined with her interest in the potential role that cinema could play in the classroom. Reading her letters and articles from a cultural mediator perspective allows us to consider the ways in which she was linking herself, from her diplomatic and international persona with a national project, which later became the ICE. In this sense, Mistral's work was key to translating ideas about film and education into the Chilean context, and she was one of the first supporters of the idea to create the Chilean Instituto de Cinematografía Educativa.

Although the ICE initial project was done independently from the IECI, the rapid interest shown by the international body to incorporate the Chilean institute into their network, is telling of the relevance that the IECI saw in building a network that extended beyond Europe. In this sense, the transnational element of educational cinema was quite extensive and central to its success at local/national level. The translation of the aims and scope of the IECI to its Chilean counterpart allowed to understand the dynamics between national and international and the extent to which cultural diplomacy helped to build these networks.

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Adam Humphreys

Articulating Britishness: Cultural Mediators and the Development of the British Institute of Florence

1 Introduction

Throughout the early twentieth century, the perpetuated mythologisation of a "golden ring" of Anglo-Florence encouraged residents and visitors, native and foreign, to respectively internalise or impose the imagined idea of a cohesive Anglo-Florentine community (Artom Treves 1956). This chapter focuses upon the establishment of the British Institute of Florence (henceforth, BRI) as a site that was, and remains, a product of and contributor towards a physical and conceptual manifestation of localised attempts to articulate a coherent British identity. Previous scholarship relating to the BRI has presented British residents in Florence as uniformly affected by the toils of war and later fascism in Italy, and as homogenous in their attitude towards cultural activities (Loong 2012; Richet 2018, 40). However, this oversimplification of attitudes and relations has served to blur the lines of difference between the variously patriotic, belligerent, and imperialist motivations of Britons towards the BRI. Furthermore, following from Whitling's (2019) reassessment of foreign academies' trivial and often hagiographical histories, analysis of the BRI in this chapter counters Loong's claim that war had shattered the internationalist ideal among Britons in Florence. Instead, it serves to highlight the presence of progressive internationalism among key local figures, female and male, who stood in opposition to imperialist and chauvinist influences. Moreover, the development of the BRI between the years 1917–1922 represents a period accented by local and individual competition rather than a rigid institutional framework. Although political ideologies and personal rivalries bubbled thinly under the surface and could be viewed as inhibitive, a deeper examination nonetheless reveals how conflict and negotiation during those years instead helped to shape and test the constitutional structure of the BRI, crucial during subsequent periods of radical political and cultural polarisation (Colacicco 2018, 7).

Before discussing the establishment of the institute we need to look at the factors and actors that facilitated and generated support for the broad conception of an institute. The first section of the chapter looks at the years immediately prior to the BRI's establishment, to show how despite a local desire towards collaboration and a supporting network of intellectual Italian and British residents, the creation

and success of such a space remained far from assured. Instead, local support did not rally behind a universally accepted vision. It was not simply a matter of achieving financial security, but of also overcoming differing ideological convictions connected to sensitive contemporary issues, from gender, relating to the roles of women in society, to religion and political convictions, each fuelled by a cocktail of perceived urgency, obligation, and patriotism, sparked into life upon the outbreak of the First World War (Sluga 2016, 63–82). The second section of this chapter seeks to highlight how certain actors nonetheless came together, bound by a shared belief in the value of the project, in spite of different visions for the BRI. This illustrates how, whilst this contestation kept the BRI in a precarious state of existence over its initial years, it also encouraged the development of an organisational structure which would improve accountability and impartiality ahead of a period in which the institute would face unparalleled challenges in maintaining and fostering relations with an increasingly authoritarian state.

Consequently, this chapter's analysis of the BRI's early conceptualisation, reveals what Irving (2021) identified as a "broader range of power dynamics," as cultural mediators utilised their privileged and networked social agency across various spheres of influence to further their specific vision of its development. This included the engagement of non-state actors with government officials, observed also by Taylor (1981, 10–20), and co-opted towards state funded activities, allowing this case study to contribute towards the 'complicated and diverse' understanding of cultural diplomacy and policy articulated by Clarke (2020, 5–6). Following from Meylaerts (2020, 55), it is apparent that the development of the BRI from a small Anglo-Italian library to an internationally recognised space for cultural exchange and education was not a uniform process of administration and correspondence, but rather one which was negotiated through consensus among concerned actors. This chapter therefore emphasises the complex locally contested origins of the BRI and recognises the crucial role this played in defining the phenomenology of an Anglo-Florentine society (Meylaerts 2020, 58; Bhabha 1994, 1–2); a process which has been obscured by the subsequent reification of a cohesive Anglo-Florentine Britishness. Furthermore, understanding this process and its key actors provides a nuanced view of this hugely significant institution, acknowledged by Rex A. Leeper, founder of the British Council, as the blueprint for subsequent British institutes (The National Archives, TNA from now on, FO 431/1, *Memorandum on Cultural Propaganda*, 18th June 1934, 20–22). The formation of the BRI, contested in its purpose and position within both Florence and the British imperial world, forms but one snapshot of a broader continual process of negotiation in between polarising attempts to define community, culture, and self-identity. As such, it should be simultaneously understood as a key influence upon

British state propaganda and cultural projection into the 21st century, and representative of the overlapping processes of mediation and translation that underlie the internal phenomenon of cultural and national identities (Clarke 2020, 8).

2 The Landscape of Florence: 1914–1916

In many ways the BRI was a product of its immediate urban environment, shown below to have been influenced in part by Italian and British political ideas and social trends, as well as by the pre-existing model of a French cultural institute in Florence, the first of its kind. By 1907 the permanent population of Britons in Florence had already swelled to twice that of the German and French (TNA, FO 881/8919, *Report by Mr. Wellesley on his Tour of Inspection of Consular Posts in Italy*, 13; UCLA, No. viii, 11th July 1918). Yet Britain was the only nation of these without a cultural institutional presence. Held up as the cradle of the renaissance Florence was, at least symbolically, a key site of European civilisation among the colonising nations that sought to be recognised as its cultural successor (Clarke 2020, 9). Moreover, as home to British intellectuals such as Violet Paget (a.k.a. Vernon Lee), contemplative of *Genius Loci* and their place within it (Lee 1907, 7), the lack of a defined space for Britons and Italians to explore and develop cultural, political and economic bonds was a stark absence. This was only to be exacerbated as wider demand for English-language literature in the city continued to grow (Desideri 2010, 71). Prior to the BRI's establishment in 1917, it was acknowledged that there had been informal talk of the need for an Anglo-Italian library for almost ten years (TNA, FO 395/99, 234333). Considering that successive meetings and committees had attempted but failed to agree on how to proceed with any project, this section seeks to illustrate how in the years before 1917 an alignment of social and political factors across London and Florence helped to heighten awareness of the potential value of a British cultural space in the city.

The outbreak of the First World War in 1914 played a crucial role in shaping British political perceptions towards the necessity of propaganda in neutral and allied nations (Taylor 1981, 8–10). However, whilst the British were still debating how best to oversee and execute propaganda (Taylor 1981, 9), in Florence initial support for a British institute came instead from a Frenchman, Julien Luchaire. Concerned that the political elite in Tuscany were more favourable towards Germany – a commonly held view at the time – the absence of a British cultural centre served to exacerbate Luchaire's fears that a breakdown of inter-governmental as well as personal relations was inevitable between Italy

and the Entente Cordiale (TNA, FO 800/66, *George Mounsey, Rome, to Theophilus Russell* [Diplomatic Secretary to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs], 1ˢᵗ November 1915). Consequently, Luchaire, as founder and director of the Institut Français de Florence, offered his support towards the creation of a British counterpart in the hope that the two institutions could present a collaborative force for improving cultural relations.

The overlapping engagement of Italian, French and British individuals in this mesh of pre-existing institutions and voluntary organisations decisively contributed towards effective collaboration in Florence. The interweaved compositions and support for the BRI from groups such as the Leonardo Society afforded continued support towards the perceived importance of coordinating a transnational intellectual effort between Britain and Italy (ACGV, Or.1.1185.2).

2.1 The "Aristocracy of the Mind": Intellectual Collaboration and Activism

In the opening decades of the twentieth century, the international and cosmopolitan flare of Florence came of age. Where the search for arcadia in Tuscany had created a "véritable topos symbolique" for many grand tour visitors, instead, modernist cultural movements and political ideology spread across the city (Renard 2010, 153–159). Florence gained renewed intellectual allure as the moral and cultural capital of Italy (Caruso 2018, 39). It was due to this that Julien Luchaire had chosen the city as the seat of this new type of French institution, the Institut Français de Florence (IFF), officially inaugurated in 1908. Under the auspices of the University of Grenoble, Luchaire pioneered a focus upon cultural interests, promoting transnational intellectual cooperation. As notable avant-garde figures engaged with Luchaire and the IFF, the presence and potential of a supportive intellectual network in Florence was realised (Renard 2010, 154–159; Richet 2018, 37; Luchaire 1965, 141–189).

Although Luchaire's vision for the IFF was fundamentally built around academic and cultural pursuits, its political potential had always existed in the background (Grange 2010, 3). As an increasingly influential 'intellectual consulate in Italy', in receipt of 30,000 francs annually from the French government, it is not surprising that Luchaire found himself having to 'put on a propagandist's habit' from 1914 (Grange 2010, 11; Renard 2010, 154–160). Attempting to sow disapproval towards Germany among Italians, Luchaire, along with Belgian Jules Destrée, began to promote awareness of German atrocities in Belgium through printed material. At the same time Luchaire hoped to promote positive Franco-Italian relations by producing a lecture tour across Italy. Following from

this, Destrée further independently liaised with British Foreign Office officials, collaborating with prominent British resident, Mary Augusta Ward (a.k.a. Mrs Humphry Ward), with whom he helped to produce, *England's Effort* (1916), for which "very full materials were supplied by Wellington House [the Foreign Office propaganda department]" (TNA, CAB 24/3/2, 4–5). The outbreak of war had highlighted the necessity and political value of nationally-bound institutions such as the IFF in Florence, both for intellectual networks and for governments. Having moved from via San Gallo to its permanent and more prominent home on Piazza Ognissanti, the IFF and Luchaire were keen to support the establishment of a British counterpart with which to collaborate against pro-German sentiment in Italy.

When, in a 1917 Piedmont edition of *Avanti!* Antonio Gramsci called for socialists to create and support new cultural institutions, "[that] would deal a fierce blow to the dogmatic and intolerant mentality created by Catholics and Jesuit education," sympathetic Florentine contemporaries were already well positioned to follow through with this directive. Reflective of this atmosphere and the innovative example of the IFF, the key figures behind the Anglo-Florentine proposal were a heterogeneous mix of both Italian interventionist intellectuals and British residents. Egalitarian and academic concerns broadly coalesced around the hope that a British library would serve to end the drought of English literature available in Italy, which had been otherwise restricted by German-controlled distribution agencies over the course of the war (Waterfield 1961, 167; TNA, FO 395/99, 234333). Meanwhile, enthusiastic Marxist and liberal contemporaries in Florentine diplomatic and academic circles, such as Gaetano Salvemini, Guido Ferrando, and later Marion Cave, sought to encourage a transnational institutional presence as a counterpoint to conservative and nationalist movements (Richet 2018). It was clear from all parties that, whatever their reasoning, a British institute was seen as having a specific and significant purpose within the city and for wider cultural, political or economic ties between these nations.

Supportive Italians like Salvemini were well recognised and respected scholars, as well as social and political figures across Italy (*Times*, 14th July 1925). Their awareness of the "structural limits" of Liberal Italy, which had been encouraged by Gramscian and Mazzinian belief in the "self-inflicted" denigration of the Italian character, should not be underestimated as a factor in their support for closer ties to Britain and its empire (Marcuzzi 2020, 20–22). Moreover, favourable intellectual attitudes towards Britain loosely formed around its support for Italian unification in 1861 and the subsequent development of considerable commercial ties. From this emerged a unique perception of Britain in Italy as a special partner, with closely related liberal values and shared interests (Marcuzzi 2020, 15). Engaged in political, cultural and civic societies and commissions such

as the Società Leonardo da Vinci (Leonardo Society), the Accademia della Crusca, Società Dantesca Italiana (SDI, not to be confused with the Dante Alighieri Society), the Italian Red Cross, and the Commissione Esecutiva per l'Edizione Nazionale delle Opere di Dante (Executive Commission for the National Edition of Dante's Works) these intellectual actors were essential to the successful and lasting establishment of a truly multilateral organisation. In the "remarkably unique melting pot" of Florence, the recurring influence of actors would prove to be a catalyst for both coordination and friction over academic approaches to shared social and political interests (Tellini 2018, 82).

Angiolo Orvieto and the Leonardo Society's early ideas towards a British version of the IFF were heralded by British residents Herbert Trench and Lina Waterfield. However, the Society's significance and influence as one of several key venues can only be appreciated within the wider context of this intellectual network. In 1916, President of the Leonardo Society, Orvieto, was a member of the SDI, alongside fellow Leonardo members Pio Rajna and Guido Biagi (Annuario Toscano 1916, 6–7). Based in the church of Orsanmichele, "i più bei nomi della cultura e della politica italiana," featuring Isidoro Del Lungo, Guido Mazzoni and Pasquale Villari had founded the SDI as an immediately significant national cultural organisation (Garulli 2016, 72). Overlapping aims and membership of the SDI and the Dante Alighieri Society as a "semi-official purveyor of cultural propaganda" underlines the importance of Florence, more specifically Dante and Tuscan dialect, in the then ongoing construction of *italianità* (Bosworth 1979, 48–52). More significant still was the role of the *Accademia della Crusca*, founded 1583, which worked until 1923 to codify and preserve the Italian language, sifting out those "parole e locuzioni antiquate, straniere, corrotte e incerte della nostra lingua" (*Storia dell'Accademia* 2011). In 1916, the Crusca's committee, based in the Palazzo Mediceo Riccardi, consisted of Del Lungo as President alongside two future presidents in Rajna and Mazzoni, as well as Villari and Biagi (Annuario Toscano 1916, 3, 5, 37). The recurring presence of these actors (including also Ugo Ojetti, Aldo Sorani and Arturo Linaker) in numerous commissions, as well as in the wider intellectual social network that existed between them, formed an influential "aristocracy of the mind" (Richet 2018, 43–67; Hughes-Hallett 2013). With influence across the highest levels of local and national political office, as well as being the chief arbiters of cultural identity, the authority they held cannot be overstated.

Although it was ultimately Orvieto (as the Italian propagandist most closely aligned with the local British operations) to whom credit for the concept of the BRI's would be given, this prevailing atmosphere of pro-Entente, and specifically anglophile, feeling within the aristocracy of the mind was also essential to the Italian support afforded to Lina Waterfield and Edward Hutton as actors

engaged in the early foundation of the project. As suggested, of the many writers and politicians within this network during the war, Biagi and Orvieto most prominently engaged in political and social activism in Florence. Due to his position as a member of the Accademia della Crusca, Biagi was approached by Waterfield, a British resident, with a short piece she had written called *Perché Siamo in Guerra*. Despite Biagi declaring Waterfield's work as "Too British," he nonetheless saw the value in it, as Waterfield recalled:

> He made some alterations and turned the whole thing into terse Tuscan, each phrase like a cannon shot. He gave it to the mayor of Florence, but without betraying my share in it, and soon it was on all the walls and eventually it spread throughout Italy.
>
> (Waterfield 1961, 163)

Just as Luchaire had moved towards the role of French propagandist, Biagi's crucial translation, supporting Waterfield's independent efforts, catalysed Waterfield's deeper engagement with Florentine propaganda production and British Foreign Office agents in Italy (Waterfield 1961, 163–164; TNA, FO 395/98, 21st January 1917). The perceived success of Waterfield's work was such that she commenced working under Angiolo Orvieto at the propaganda bureau, Assistenza e Resistenza (Assistance and Resistance), in offices above the church of Orsanmichele. They focused on producing leaflets and postcards to warn of the effects of Bolshevism in Russia, to counter Austro-German criticism of the Entente, and to maintain popular support in Italy for the war. Orvieto's efforts to acquire and disseminate material had been aided by friendly British contacts in Florence, such as Janet Ross (Lina Waterfield's aunt), who was able to acquire copies of the British report "The Horrors of Wittenberg," which she handed on to Orvieto (ACGV, Or.1.2057, 1–7; ACGV, Or.1.2253.1). Meanwhile, Biagi's continued involvement with pro-Entente propaganda saw him work further with Foreign Office propaganda agent Edward Hutton, using covert British funding to facilitate the local printing and distribution of manifesti such as those of Waterfield and the British Italian League (Henceforth BIL; TNA, FO 395/98, 9274). Contrary to the IFF and Luchaire, however, the simultaneous development of propaganda agents and a British institute in Florence would become a significant point of contention as local actors sought to maintain a clear distinction between cultural diplomacy and government-funded propaganda.

3 The Convergence of Policy and Public Interest: War and Identity

In the case of the BRI's establishment, the existence of isolated local support had proved insufficient in the years prior to 1916, whilst local British diplomatic figures complained of feeling "so out of touch with everything going on in the world" (TNA, FO 800/66, 1st May 1916). Consequently, more than two years of private committee meetings, similar to those held by the Leonardo Society, came to nothing. Instead, it was determined that the proposed scheme could only succeed with significant government support (TNA, FO 395/99, 2nd December 1917). Fortunately for those British and Italian figures, Ambassador Rennell Rodd and the British embassy in Rome continued to push for greater coordination and communication with central government and the Foreign Office. Concerns submitted by the embassy throughout 1915 and 1916, warned that popular feeling in Italy was much less anti-German than it was against the neighbouring Austrians (TNA, FO 800/66, 1st November 1915). However, it was not until Italian entry into the war, and the apparent ambivalence of the Italian public, that British government officials reactively accepted the need to directly address the strength of German influence in Italy. Even though Rodd had stood alone in his Italophile position, it became inescapably clear for British officials in London that more resources had to be provided to local actors' initiatives if Britain had any chance of fomenting positive associations with Britishness and overturning the dissension and suspicion being sowed against them (Waterfield 1961, 165; TNA, FO 800/66, 1st May 1916, 20th May 1916).

3.1 1917: Edward Hutton and Lina Waterfield: Competing Agency, Conflicting Agendas

As merging local and governmental concerns gained momentum, 1917 saw proposals for an 'Anglo-Italian Institute', including offices, reading rooms and libraries reach the British Foreign Office, sent by propagandists both in Florence and Milan. Further discussions considered the possibility of sites in Rome and Naples, although with no local impetus (TNA, FO 395/97, 7th March 1917). The proposed projects naturally drew comparisons to the work of Luchaire, having been directly inspired by the IFF, and were met with great interest. From the perspective of the British Foreign Office, in early 1917 Edward Hutton was their key liaison in Florence. Locally however his role was less significant as the wider propaganda activities of Orvieto, and Waterfield operated more broadly

across an influential and intellectual Anglo-Italian social network. As conflict in the working relationship between Hutton and Waterfield worsened across 1917, doubts over Hutton's suitability in Florence reached London with increasing volume. Critique from Florence regarding the usefulness of his work as a mediator had amplified a pre-existing awareness of the "slight snags" that came with his character. In July 1917 officials considered the possible amalgamation of his role with other projects, to be brought under central coordination (TNA, FO 395/97, 13th August 1917). Waterfield continued otherwise as she had before, harmonising her work with that of Orvieto and his Assistenza e Resistenza, seeking to provide humanitarian aid and cultural exchange.

In August 1917, Hutton and Waterfield collaborated on the proposed development of "an unofficial Italian Committee in Italy with branches throughout the different provinces, to advise on general matters of propaganda." Significantly, they agreed that "this committee might have as its nucleus the chief British residents but should be mainly composed of sympathetic Italians" (TNA, FO 395/97, 5th July 1917). At the same time, they also spoke of reviving Orvieto's idea for a library as a complementary project. Following a constructive meeting with Romeo Gallenga Stuart (the newly appointed Italian undersecretary of overseas propaganda) and General Mola (Italian Military Attaché at the Embassy in London), Hutton and Waterfield were optimistic that any Florentine organisation would be supported by Italian diplomatic agents in London (TNA, FO 395/99, 18th September 1917). Buoyed by the positive response, Waterfield took the opportunity of an invitation to a House of Lords committee meeting (on the issue of book distribution in Italy) to raise awareness and support for the library project.

Following this, Waterfield wrote excitedly to Orvieto, having seemingly acquired from Gallenga Stuart funds for the propaganda committee (ACGV, Or.Waterfield.21). Meanwhile Hutton informed John Buchan, author and Director of Information at the Wellington House, of this new "Institution" even though at this point it remained unclear what form this would come to take. In hastily setting out his bold and yet quite unspecific view of the institute, Hutton attempted to position himself as central to the direction of the project (TNA, FO 395/99, 192494). However, by November 1st, at odds with Hutton, Waterfield's vision for the library changed, preferring rather that it would be "run according to the advice of my Italian friends" (ACGV, Or.Waterfield.22). Despite good standing with officials in London throughout Autumn 1917, this was the beginning of the end for Hutton's local utility. Following the spectacular collapse of the Isonzo line to Austro-German forces at the Battle of Caporetto, Italy shifted on to the back foot militarily and diplomatically (Marcuzzi 2020, 207). As entente forces rallied to prevent total Italian capitulation, a subsequent influx of refugees in Florence re-emphasised for Waterfield and Orvieto the need to

abandon abrasive, belligerent propaganda. Hutton's Florentine fate was sealed: the library project and Hutton's propaganda offices could no longer co-exist.

In response to movements against him, Hutton sought to use his contact with the Foreign Office to stem the flow of information between Florence and London. In a move against Waterfield's committee, Hutton delayed forwarding a proposal for the Anglo-Latin library to Buchan at Wellington House. Instead, he sent his own alternative version. In it Hutton announced that he had rented "in the Piazza Purcellai [Rucellai]," and would be opening "a circolo or club, society, institute, which I am calling: Circolo del Fronte Unico" (TNA, FO 395/98, 221994). Against local interests, Hutton's proposal was primarily a propaganda centre, complete with press bureau, obscured from the public view by the thin veil of a library and lecture room. In sending his own proposal, Hutton, previously mocked in Whitehall for acting like "a mediaeval conspirator" attempted to utilise his self-perceived position as a key intermediary in order to exert influence and control over the project (TNA, FO 395/98, 150838). In fact, Hutton referenced only one Italian colleague (Aldo Sevani [Sorani]) as a future lecturer and made no mention of Waterfield, Orvieto, or the Leonardo Society more widely, as a crucial body of actors. Had Hutton been able to gain recognition for his proposal from Buchan and the Foreign Office, he would have asserted himself as their leading agent in Italy. Furthermore, the institute project would have been open for him to shape as he saw fit, with emphasis upon the continuation of printed literature, reviews and pamphlets (TNA, FO 395/98, 221994).

In the withheld proposal, later received by Buchan, the co-signatories, consisting of the Florentine aristocracy of the mind, did not wish in any way for the institute to interact with Hutton's propaganda (TNA, FO 395/99, 234333). Hutton's unsubtle and solitary manner was juxtaposed with the coordinated efforts of Waterfield, Orvieto and Biagi, highlighting his unsuitability among local actors.[1] In addition, it was reaffirmed in this proposal that credit for "[the idea] originated some years ago with Commendatore Orvieto, but which the public-spirited energy of Mrs Waterfield has now revived" (TNA, FO 395/175, 2228). In contrast to Hutton's outline for an institute, this proposal criticised Hutton's contribution throughout 1917 with most Hutton's local acquaintances having adjudged him as inferior to his "assistant" Lina Waterfield (TNA, FO 395/98, 98786; TNA, FO 395/98, 217349). Given his popularity and praise as a

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1 TNA, FO 395/175, 2228, Thorold to Buchan, 22nd December 1917, "[Waterfield] has enlisted the services of practically all the Professors & men of Letters who are favourable to the Entente in Florence. Anything in which she interests herself is sure of support from the best Italian element in the place."

prolific travel writer on Italy, this verdict was certainly difficult for Hutton to accept, if indeed he ever did. Herbert Trench's assertion that "[. . .] Waterfield is the only real 'liaison officer' between English residents of the higher class here and cultivated Italians" did little to dampen Hutton's self-confidence, later promoting himself as "the one Englishman who really knows somethings of the Italian people" (TNA, FO 395/275, 1ˢᵗ May 1919).

Trench's indications that Hutton was not to be considered as an effective agent were directly addressed in a subsequent letter five days later. For Trench, Hutton was neither literate in Italian nor a good leader. Ultimately, the Foreign Office's positive perception of Hutton's contributions in Italy (aided by their general disinterest in the topic), proved insufficient to insulate him from frustration felt by those working with and around him (Rodd 1925, 370; 505). As other local actors reached consensus over the role of the future institute, Hutton remained an awkward figure. Having viewed himself as the foremost propagandist and British expert on Italy, Hutton struggled to accept a diminished position under Waterfield. Hutton opted instead to immediately disassociate himself from the BRI project in any professional capacity (Waterfield 1961, 168–169). In withdrawing his direct involvement with the library, Hutton also demanded that Waterfield provide a full reimbursement of the considerable funds he had lent the project. With the future of the project existentially threatened by Hutton's ultimatum, Waterfield offered a scathing assessment of Hutton's legacy, emphasising to Buchan the harmful way in which Hutton had gone behind her back in attempts to implement his "jingo ideas," alienating Waterfield and other local supporters of the library (TNA, FO 395/175, 2227). Furthermore, she emphasised how it was instead her friend, Commendatore Casardi, as owner and director of Haskard's Anglo-Italian bank in Florence, who was able to advance her the necessary funds. Confirmation came from Buchan at Wellington House the day after the official opening of the library that Hutton, although still respected for his knowledge of Italy and its people, was deemed "no longer suitable in Florence" and would be kept at a distance from the management of the institute (British Institute of Florence Archives [BRI], WAT.I.G.90, f. 4).

Waterfield's ability to mobilise the financial, social and political support of her contacts mitigated the threatening actions of Hutton in comparison to the wider complexities and vulnerability of the project. The subsequent inclusion of this episode in her memoirs allowed Waterfield to put on public record Hutton's withdrawal and obstructiveness whilst others had worked tirelessly to set up a "very delicate piece of machinery at a critical moment" (TNA, FO 395/175, 2227). The specific intention to denounce the role of Hutton in the foundation of the BRI was not a slight born of Waterfield's lingering resentment, but rather aimed at challenging Hutton's continued self-promotion of his essential role. A

narrative later continued in London, where, as a member of the BRI's council, he boldly claimed that he "set up the British Institute" (BRI, WAT.I.E.3, 25th Jan. 1921).

Within this Anglo-Florentine context, Waterfield was representative of "[t]he generation of women who came of age during the Great War" identified by Belzer (2010, 2). In pursuit of her selfless aims, Waterfield was ready to call upon her "oasis of friendships," including the likes of Eleonora Duse, Marion Cave and Ray Strachey, each a vivid local or national example of a wider movement "away from older models of womanhood [towards a new balance of] independence and family" (TNA, FO 395/175, 23109). With Hutton removed from the Florentine scene and his involvement in the BRI project marginalised, albeit with his wider reputation intact, it was clear that the development of the BRI project over 1917 had been due to the sincere and considerable efforts of Waterfield as a humanitarian, influenced by her intellectual friends and fellow propagandists (TNA, FO 395/175, 2228). Subsequently, John Buchan showed no uncertainty in requesting that Waterfield become the new "official representative in Tuscany," powerfully direct in affirming: "I want you to take his place" (BRI, WAT.I.G.90, f. 4).

3.2 1918–1919: Support for a British Institute in Post-War Florence?

With a physical locus, supply of books, furnishings, and funding, from January 1918 the BRI's future was ensured for the short remainder of the war (Waterfield 1961, 170). Official recognition of Waterfield's role, taking over as a British propaganda agent, had been a necessary adjustment away from the likes of Hutton who, carried away in their own self-importance, "[became] diletante [sic] and useless, and in some cases actually harmful." (TNA, FO 395/175, 63274). However, as a result, the BRI needed a new leading figure, one that would not upset the "extreme sensitiveness of the Tuscan mind towards even the appearance of being financed by H.M.G. [Her Majesty's Government]." It was unanimously agreed in Florence that whilst Waterfield's secretarial role remained invaluable to the BRI alongside her propaganda work, "there should be a man [. . .] to take charge of the management of the Institute & to represent it in the eyes of Italians." (TNA, FO 395/175, 35257). Consequently, the BRI appointed its first Honorary Director Arthur Spender to oversee the urgent development of the Institute's educational facilities and resources (ACGV, Or.1.2253, No. 4, No. 6). Furthermore, in a move which more clearly delineated the BRI from wider propaganda concerns, responsibility for overseeing the BRI was taken from Algar Thorold as Director of Propaganda in

Italy, and instead transferred to John Buchan as Department Chief in London (TNA, FO 395/175, 13876 and FO 395/175, 23870; ACGV, Or.Waterfield.26).

Like Waterfield, Arthur Spender was selected as a figure who could maintain ties both to the British government through Algar Thorold, as well as with Orvieto and the Florentine intellectual network. With this strong local committee, effective collaboration in Florence allowed the BRI to plan for further expansion (BRI, I.D.128, ff. 8–9). Meanwhile, Waterfield and Thorold could focus on developing their respective propaganda aims, enhancing the British Foreign Office liaison role vacated by Hutton, and working towards greater control of Florentine press (TNA, FO 395/175, 8092). Based out of the Hotel Baglioni, Waterfield continued to coordinate with Italian propagandists, Orvieto and Gallenga Stuart, whilst remaining distinct from the BRI project (ACGV, Or. 1.Waterfield.30).

The institute under Spender was reaffirmed in its role as a learning centre for Italians, but it was shown to have greater considerations also for its English audience. Alongside the articles of the BRI's new journal, *La Vita Britannica*, the commencement of lectures and seminars allowed the BRI to bring to the forefront topics outside of the usual awareness of 'Anglo-Florentine' residents and passing visitors. For the first time, as a unique space within the multinational community of the city, the BRI's potential towards the mediation and translation of knowledge and experience was utilised (ACGV, Or.1.2253, No. 7).

However, the presence of the BRI and its *La Vita Britannica* journal were not wholly positive for transnational collaboration in Florence. Contrary to local support, Spender, as the journal editor, appeared to spurn Luchaire and local French cordiality in his first volume with inclusion of an article by Gaetano Salvemini (1918) titled "Le origini dell'alleanza italo-inglese" (The origins of the Anglo-Italian alliance). Specifically, Salvemini cited French Italo-phobic arrogance and anti-English bias as the "migliore ausiliaria della influenza tedesca in Italia". In this moment, Spender signalled his intention to promote a bilateral Anglo-Italian relationship, ahead of and even in opposition to a multinational network within which the "aspirazioni di egemonia della Francia" could otherwise be exerted; a tension in Florence and Italy that Salvemini claimed had shown itself over the course of the war.

Spring of 1918 saw the movement of the BRI to larger premises at Via dei Conti, 18. Yet this failed to provide greater security for the project as the prospect of the war's conclusion brought new uncertainty, with talk of budgetary restrictions from the Treasury department reaching Florence (BRI, I.D.128, ff. 8–9). Likewise, unresolved local concerns for the BRI's continuation were exacerbated by increasing socio-political tension as wider fears of Bolshevik sentiment spread across Europe. In Italy, defeat at Caporetto had given impetus to further political polarisation and disaffection, encouraged by prominent irredentists like Gabriele

D'Annunzio, and leading to demonstrations and violent clashes in major cities including Florence (Foot 2009, 33–35). However, these tensions and their accompanying debates were crucial in defining the precise purpose and direction of the BRI in the immediate post-war years. As Ballantyne similarly identified, through conflict and opposition the institutional purpose and social identity of the BRI would be clarified (2012, 263–264). Backed by the belief that British cultural influence might counter the incivility of extremist doctrines, it was through these external and internal processes that a more resilient institute emerged into the interwar period.

The effectiveness of the BRI's wartime work in providing English language education, gaining "Italian friendships" and helping to retain British prestige, had not gone unnoticed by Foreign Office officials (TNA, FO 395/274, 00211). The closeness of the BRI project to Wellington House and the embassy in Rome through its various engagement with diplomatic and private agents, ensured that a decision had been made prior to December 20th 1918 to allow for the short-term continuation of the financial support which Buchan had organised at the beginning of the year (TNA, FO 395/274, 210180).

Despite this modest support, as public awareness of the BRI grew in Britain and Italy, so too did the knowledge that it could "never be self-supporting." Correspondence celebrating this exceptional institute was dampened by fears for its longer-term security (TNA, FO 395/274, 00211). Indeed, any relief that had been felt in December 1918 was short-lived, with Director Spender reporting an urgent need for funds "to meet outstanding liabilities" as early as February 22nd, 1919 (TNA, FO 395/275, 00827). The need to acquire new funding streams, whether public or private, became critical over the course of 1919 as Geoffrey Young, a visitor to the BRI, recorded that "shifting changes" – the Wellington House Propaganda Bureau had controversially become the Ministry of Information, and dissolved altogether in January 1919 – had since left them "without a penny" (BRI, I.D.128, ff. 8–9).

3.3 1920–1922: Towards an Independent British Institute: Private Fundraising and Royal Charter Recognition

With Waterfield and Thorold employed in official propaganda roles, the retired Rennell Rodd reluctantly accepted duty of care for the institute which he had encouraged during his years as Ambassador to Italy (Rodd 1925, 311). Although responsibility may have fallen at Rodd's feet, "the burden of fighting for its maintenance" was not his alone. Instead, Janet Trevelyan, daughter of prominent Anglo-Florentine author and social activist Mary Augusta Ward, helped

consolidate the BRI's structure through the development of an application for a Royal Charter, whilst helping to promote awareness of the BRI.[2] Trevelyan's position as Honorary Secretary of the British Italian League (BIL), based in London, brought her into contact with resident fascist figures including Luigi Villari, Antonio Cippico and Harold Goad (Richet 2012, 128). Importantly, Trevelyan transcended political partisanship. Her focus upon cultural and educational exchanges was well-suited to Waterfield and Thorold's BRI, especially as cordial relations with Benito Mussolini became a vital consideration for benefactors and BRI council members (TNA, BW 40/2, IT/2/1). Positive relations with the early fascist government, based upon mutual educational ambitions, instead facilitated the wider recognition of the BRI as a leading language centre (BRI, I.D.105, f. 4).

Uncertainties over British government payments from early 1919 were soon alleviated following pressure from Rodd and Trevelyan (BRI, I.D.105, f. 10). In particular, Trevelyan's written request that the BRI would not be overlooked, ensured that government support continued until the end of the following year (TNA, FO 395/275, 00827). As such, 1920 would mark another significant milestone in the development of the BRI as it faced the possibility of closure. The further provision of private funding would present an opportunity to influence the autonomy of the institute (Quinn 1997, 130). In this moment, Trevelyan and Hutton would act as key mediators, working towards the implementation of an executive council between London, Rome, and Florence.

In London, the search for funding saw Edward Hutton play a significant role once more. Despite how strongly his prior actions had been perceived by Waterfield, Hutton's knowledge of Italy and utility as a writer saw him transferred directly from Florence to work for the Italian Military Attaché in London. Belittling the entire Florentine affair in 1918, then Ambassador Rennell Rodd had explained to Foreign Secretary Arthur Balfour, that "quarrels among the members of this community are not infrequent." (TNA, FO 395/176, June 1st, 1918). Subsequently, through his own independent journal, the *Anglo-Italian Review*, Hutton raised awareness of the BRI's plight (Vol. IV, No. 16 1919, 268). In response, Arthur Serena, a wealthy British-Venetian, requested Hutton's guidance in donating to the BRI and in supporting cultural and educational ties between Britain and Italy (Limentani 1997, 877–892). As the task of organising Serena's legacy grew, the first formation of what would eventually become the

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2 TNA, PC 8/997; BRI, I.D.113, f.2, *Stevenson to Rodd*, 4th August 1924, Trevelyan also fundraised, acquiring financial support for the BRI from Renée Courtauld, whom had been dedicated to improving women's access to education. Courtauld's support contributed to the institute's financial security over the following decades.

BRI's council came about in the form of the "Serena Endowment Committee." This body consisted of Italian academics and figures closely tied to the BIL and the BRI, with Rodd assuming the position of committee chair and Trevelyan naturally incorporating her role at the BIL, acting as Honorary Secretary of the committee (BRI, I.D.14, ff. 5–6). An immediate consequence of this committee was the confirmation of Serena's intention to provide the BRI with a donation of 500,000 lire (BRI, I.D.105, ff. 1–10).

As discussions over Serena's endowment progressed, the decision was made to formalise the committee into an incorporated society, the Serena Foundation (BRI, I.D.11, f. 8). Throughout this heavily administrative process, Serena praised Trevelyan's secretarial work, which, despite reassurances from Serena, led Hutton to believe he had been overlooked and underappreciated in his work just as in 1917 (BRI, I.D.11, ff. 1–2; BRI, HUT.I.B.35, ff. 14–15). However, his frustration with the "farcical" co-ordination of the Serena endowment and the BRI would prove to be a crucial influence upon their organisation (BRI, I.D.11, ff. 9–12). Aggrieved, Hutton singled-out the BRI director, Spender, openly questioning his capability. Acknowledging Hutton's concerns, the Serena Foundation requested an audited balance sheet for the BRI from its treasurer, Hutton's friend, Baron Charles de Cosson. In this way, the Serena Foundation, a formal body of key actors closely linked to the BRI, gained an overview of the institute's operation for the first time, narrowing the scope of the director's role. The overlapping interests of actors, particularly Rodd, Trevelyan, and Hutton, made it a crucial forerunner to the BRI Council, setting in motion the gradual installation of a systematic structure of governance and financial accountability.

Alongside the Serena Committee, Sir Walter Becker, whom through Rodd as ambassador had previously supported George Macaulay Trevelyan's Red Cross ambulance unit in Italy, expressed his interest in supporting the BRI (BRI, I.D.105, ff. 1–3). As negotiations began, Hutton's familiarity with all parties saw him travel to Florence to assist in the discussions (BRI, I.D.14, f. 6). Following from this, Hutton submitted a formal proposal to Spender in January 1921 outlining Becker's preferences regarding the general operation of the BRI and offering 75,000 lire per annum for 3 years (BRI, I.D.104, f. 2; BRI, I.D.105, f. 10). As with the Serena Foundation's audit of the BRI, Hutton's influence over Becker's proposal saw similar scepticism targeted towards the director's use of government funds in the previous year. Additionally, it cited Becker's concerns over the use of the institute as a social space for Britons, rather than for the primary goals of language education and cultural exchange which had been envisaged in 1916 (BRI, I.D.105, ff. 1–3). Accordingly, the proposal called for the autonomous authority of the director and treasurer in their respective roles. It was advised that the director should be focused on "academic and social activities" without

"interference or disturbance," whilst "absolute control" of financial and business matters would remain that of the treasurer (BRI, I.D.104, f. 2). Subsidising the movement of the BRI to larger premises at Palazzo Antinori and aware that no local committee member had directly donated money to the BRI, Becker was well-positioned to enforce the educational focus of the BRI and encourage further rigidity regarding expenditure, insisting to Trevelyan that any events serving "the Florentine Colony" should be raised from "wealthier Anglo-Florentine residents" by the director (BRI, I.D.104, f. 2; BRI, I.D.105, f. 10).

Having achieved the necessary financial support and influenced by the formalisation process of the Serena Foundation, Trevelyan and Rodd initiated the application process for Royal Charter incorporation of the BRI. Summarising the work of the previous six years, the text of the charter itself focused upon Anglo-Florentine and British financial backing. In confirming the primacy of Serena and Becker's support, the charter enshrined their requirements for the institute through the continuance of "member and student fees, plus committee fundraising [to] make up supplementary funds." Additionally, however, in its preservation of a "General Library of books illustrating English and Italian culture," and by "providing opportunities for intellectual and social intercourse," as envisaged by Lina Waterfield and Angiolo Orvieto, the charter also served to reaffirm the aims which had arisen from the uniquely transnational cultural environment of Florence (BRI, Royal Charter of the British Institute of Florence, 14th May 1923). The importance of the manifold positions held by Hutton, Trevelyan and Rodd across committees, councils and leagues afforded them the possibility to also acquire and direct institutional support for the BRI. Consequently, the charter noted the support of the "Serena Foundation (Incorporated) and [. . .] the British Italian League," both of which also undoubtedly owed their success to Trevelyan.

4 Conclusion

In previous scholarship, Loong's treatment of the Anglo-Florentine identity as definite and stable has served to overlook archival evidence across institutions in Florence which demonstrates clearly the sometimes fractious, transnational, and complex realities of the quasi-colonial relationship between the supposed Anglo-Florentines and Britain. Elsewhere, the astute work of Colacicco (2018) has highlighted the role of the BRI in the 1920s and 1930s as an organised institutional space which once more saw internal and local conflict under its British fascist director. The BRI in this later period would influence the nature of

diplomatic relations, including shaping British public perception of Mussolini's Italy and, in part, the creation of the British Council in 1934. However, this chapter has sought to emphasise the initial multi-level development of the British Institute from 1917–1922, contributing towards the need for a wider analysis of the vital role that multi-level actors and institutional agents played between Britain and Italy in influencing propaganda and cultural diplomacy, revealing the development of this unique institute as both a product of, and influence upon, early conceptions and manifestations of 'cultural propaganda' among British intelligence and government.

The Anglo-Florentine community, primarily an imagined yet dominant representation of British stereotypes, was asserted and reinforced by a minority of elite British and Italian social and intellectual figures. Recurring local processes of identity construction and association led to the cultivation of a particular image of Britain and its representative culture. In this way, the creation of the BRI was both a product of, and contributor towards this sense of Anglo-Florentine Britishness through its establishment, but also through lectures and publications on preferred cultural subjects. At the periphery of British imperial influence and control, during a period in which the supposed "special relationship" between Italy and Britain came under intense scrutiny, the institute represented a concretisation of cultural difference between Italians and Britons, as perceived by key actors and benefactors (Marcuzzi 2020, 50).

Specifically, Lina Waterfield, Edward Hutton and Janet Trevelyan navigated between Italian and British socio-cultural worlds. Operating in spaces not yet overseen by governmental structures such as the British Council, they blurred the lines between private independent and state-funded ventures, coordinating various expectations for the BRI alongside other propaganda and diplomatic concerns (van Kessel 2021, 433–434). In doing so, these figures mediated between the supposed core and periphery of an intangible Britishness (Schwarz 2011, 22–23). Having "positioned themselves in contemporary debates and [. . .] intricately connected on an international level through institutional networks" these cultural mediators lobbied in London for greater financial aid, also utilising experience from local situational approaches to instruct and influence government bodies and figures on policy and best practices (Roig-Sanz and Subirana 2020, 4). As geo-political debates on war settlements began to unravel Anglo-Italian diplomatic relations, Waterfield, with Rodd and Thorold helped to ensure that the distinct value of the BRI as an educational and cultural centre would continue. Alongside the influence of private benefactors, they bridged physical and cultural gaps between core and periphery, instilling greater accountability to the BRI through its executive council of governors. This served to protect and promote

what Ménard (1995) has identified as the "stable, abstract and impersonal" institutional characteristics of the BRI, set out in its royal charter.

As seen by the appointment of a fascist sympathising director and later policy pressures exerted by the British Council, the institute remained vulnerable to shifting contemporary political and social contexts (Colacicco 2018, 5–7). Over the decades prior to the Second World War, from safeguarding against supposed attempts to create a solely British "cultural club for their own benefit," to motivating local Britons to end their boycott of the "too Italian" institute between 1937–1938, the institutional structure of the BRI, with Italian and English co-operation at its core, ensured that its governors, the British Council and Foreign Office officials necessarily continued to recognise its finely balanced transnational obligations (TNA, BW 40/2, IT/2/1, 13th August 1937; TNA, BW 40/3, *Goad to Bridge*, 14th February, 1938; TNA, BW 40/2, 237/37/37 *Ingram (on behalf of the Ambassador) to Bridge*; TNA, BW 40/2, *Trevelyan to the British Council, RE: Goad's Successor*). Consequently, the BRI as a physical space held, and continues to hold, great symbolic importance as a shared space of cultural translation and transculturation for Anglophone and Italian residents in Florence today. For resident and visiting individuals, membership and engagement with such an institution serves as a reaffirmation of one's self-identification as Anglo-Florentine. In this way, they not only acknowledge an historic 'British' cultural and social element within the fabric of the city, but endorse the idea that there is a particular value to Anglo-Florentine perspectives regarding discussions on the present shape and future development of the city.[3]

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3 Recent examples include the *Firenze Now* series, https://www.britishinstitute.it/en/library/harold-acton-library/cultural-programme-in-the-library/FIRENZE-NOW, late 2020. Hosted by the British Institute, these events have sought to contribute towards significant discussions regarding Florence's development, from how to "identify priorities for the city to build a better socio-economic future" (3rd December) and "build stronger research collaboration between the University of Florence and the international programmes?" (22nd October) to "regulatory and infrastructure changes" relating to the development of a 'greener' economy (24th September).

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Simona Škrabec and Jaume Subirana

From Catalan PEN to the World: Writers, Activists, and Diplomats

> How it is that one group can generate the conditions for complexity under heterogeneity while another cannot depend [. . .] on the ability of the relevant group to maintain an industry that is rarely discussed and analysed – the industry of ideas.
>
> Itamar Even-Zohar

PEN International celebrated its centenary in 2021, while Catalan PEN reached this anniversary in 2022. The PEN centres are part of a close-knit network that brings together people of letters from around the world. Their literary activism has maintained productive relationships "on a larger-than-the-domestic scene" (Even-Zohar 2000, 390) for a century and it continues to influence important political events in practically all four corners of the world. The loose but, at the same time, highly committed structure of this international writers' association is a good example of "soft power," the transformative energy that is generated by cultural projects.[1]

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1 The PEN International website is continuously updated with accounts of the organisation's activities in more than 150 countries. Also of interest is the Writers and Free Expression blog (writersandfreeexpression.com), run by the researchers Rachel Potter and Peter McDonald, who have created a wide-ranging project with funding from the UK's Arts and Humanities Research Council, in order to study the global influence of PEN. To mark the organisation's centenary, a richly illustrated and carefully documented book has been published that recounts its history (Torner and Martens, 2021). PEN functions like a rhizome: the organisation has the capacity to weave together global trends while at the same time acting decisively at a local level. Despite all of its efforts, it is possible that readers in the academic community are not aware of the challenges taken on by the organisation and they may not even be familiar with its activities. PEN International quickly became an institution that was active in the defence of freedom of expression on a global scale. Even though the organisation has been led by well-known writers and has worked with prominent intellectuals, its operational approach has kept it, and continues to keep it, at a distance from the literary hierarchy in an academic sense. This article intends to help form a connection between literary activism and academic study, with the aim of showing that literature can be a powerful agent for social transformation.

1 PEN International: A Close-knit Network of People of Letters

Many believe that one of PEN's theoretical mainstays is that its delegations are not drawn from countries but from languages, and its congresses are not attended by states but instead by literary communities. Variations on this theme, which is so favourable to Catalonia's interests and the need for international recognition of its culture, can be read in all the texts describing the organisation's history in Catalonia. Although the rules have gradually changed over the course of these hundred years, and there has certainly been some debate about the best way of defining cultural representation in the international arena, the fact is that PEN International owes its longevity and incredible vitality to its pragmatism and its capacity to adapt. There are only two fixed rules governing the creation of a PEN centre. The first is that each new member must be willing to sign up to the constitutional principles of the PEN Charter in support of freedom of expression and a world without frontiers or exclusion. The second requires that the initiative for creating a new centre must come from the writers-activists themselves and that there must be at least twenty members who are able to organise themselves as a group. The remaining criteria are and always have been very pragmatic and linked to the political and social realities of each individual location.

Catalan identity, defined by its culture, saw in this organisation an opportunity for recognition and legitimisation from its very beginnings (Subirana 2011, 63). And it is true that in May 1923 the Catalan writers attended its inaugural dinner in London as equals. "Madrid" and "Barcelona" were given tables alongside those of Belgium and Czechoslovakia and the other eleven centres. This comparison with two other countries with a culturally complex structure is particularly important: both Belgium and Czechoslovakia were, in the 1920s, states with two different cultures and two languages, in addition to having other cross-border cultural links. A section of the population in Belgium speaks French, one of the most influential languages in the world, a fact that tips the scales when it is compared with Flemish, which also has its links with the Netherlands. In Czechoslovakia, Czech culture experienced one of the most vibrant renaissances in Europe, but there were also the Slovaks, and in 1923 a lot of German was still spoken. This was eventually to have grave consequences, and we could say reached the point of no return with the Second World War and the annexation of the Sudetenland. The diplomacy practised by PEN, that agile hand with the capacity to calm tensions and at the same time indicate a potential way forward, led to the inclusion at that first dinner of states that accepted their multiculturalism in their own name. By contrast, the

state that was incapable of acknowledging its own internal structure, Spain, was left with the names of the two cities that represented, albeit in attenuated form, the country's latent political tensions: "For many years, the records held at the headquarters in England (I have personally checked this) talked about "Spain, Madrid" and "Spain, Barcelona." It was very difficult for us to be known as the "Catalan centre," but we achieved it!" (Artís-Gener 1978, 67).

The question of whether a language that does not form part of a whole territory can be entitled to its own PEN was discussed for the first time at the Brussels Congress in 1927. Although it was decided at that time that it could not, and the Belgian centre had to be organised as a single body representing both cultures, Flemish PEN was established in 1930, and from that moment on the country has had two centres that operate independently (Jauniaux 2021, 306–317). The solution for Spain that involved naming the centres after their respective cities took root because in this way a lot of disputes were avoided. In 1933, *PEN News* provided a list of the following places with more than one centre: in Canada there were the Montreal and Toronto centres, in Yugoslavia there were centres in Ljubljana, Zagreb and Belgrade, Scotland (sic!) had centres in Edinburgh and Glasgow, while in Switzerland there were centres in Basel, Geneva and Zurich. This creation of multiple centres also spread to monolingual cultures: in Germany there are centres in Berlin Freiburg and Hamburg, in South Africa, they can be found in Cape Town and Johannesburg, while in the USA there are centres in New York, Chicago and San Francisco, thus confirming the loose organisational structure that has existed at PEN International since its beginnings.

The Catalans' belief that they have a "right" to be a member of an international forum (based on the conviction that Catalan is a language that is comparable with all others and that Catalan culture provides a passport for entry into the "club" of nations working towards a better world) has had huge consequences, and not only in Catalonia. Once the country had attained a certain level of stability following the end of the Franco dictatorship, its efforts to position itself among the players that resolve the world's most important questions never ceased. In 1993 at a meeting of PEN International's Translation and Linguistic Rights Committee, chaired at that time by Isidor Cònsul, it was decided to support the preparation of a Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights (UDLR). Approved in May 1996, this Declaration has still not been recognised by UNESCO or any other similar body. However, the capillary nature of the NGO networks, as Carles Torner has observed, has offered access to the international arena by communities that normally find themselves excluded: the Berbers, the Aymara, the Kikuyu and the Kurds. Representatives from these communities were involved in drafting the Declaration and it was approved by them. The legitimacy of the Declaration springs from the broad level of support it has received,

through all those individuals and groups that have made use of it in order to direct their efforts towards the acceptance of these ideas as a valid template for improving their living conditions. In this connection, Catalan PEN has helped make it possible for a once Utopian idea to become a strategy for action that still provides drive and motivation in the never-ending struggle to change the rules of the game (McDonald 2018).

Based on an analysis of the history of the early years of Catalan PEN's operation following its establishment in 1922, through to its re-establishment in the country in 1973 (even though the Franco dictatorship remained in place), we will attempt to show why these activities with a clearly international outlook have the capacity to create cohesion within a group over a long period of time and in circumstances as difficult as those experienced in Europe and Catalonia during the 20th century.[2]

2 The Establishment of PEN Català (1922–1923)

In Catalonia, the first meeting of the writers' association we now know as PEN was held in April 1923. It was attended by twenty-two members, including Carles Riba and Caterina Arderiu and many of the most important names from the Catalan literary community of that time: Josep M. de Sagarra, Joan Puig i Ferrater, Carles Soldevila and Pompeu Fabra, the oldest member and the person who would become the organisation's President (Subirana 2015, 26).[3] The Catalan organisation had begun life a year earlier with a letter written by Josep Maria Batista i Roca on 28 February 1922 and addressed to an unidentified member of English Pen, in which he reported that Catalan writers had formed themselves into a group and were beginning to organise themselves (Safont 2018, 13). Following this, the first documented activity was a dinner, held at the Ritz Hotel in Barcelona on 19 April 1922 and attended by Josep Maria López-

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2 The article works from the premise that certain specific people play an important role in the construction of a culture, and it takes the culture of Catalonia as an example. Certain people, certain mediators, have made a conscious, highly complex intellectual effort that merits investigation in terms of the individual actions and decisions taken. It is impossible to omit references to specific names and events, even though an international reader may not be used to seeing such detailed information about a non-dominant culture.

3 The publications that give an historical overview of the association are Cid 1992, Cònsul 2002, Subirana 2011 and Safont 2018. The association's records are kept at the *Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya* (National Library of Catalonia). Some come from the PEN International archive kept at the Harry Ransom Centre (HRC) at the University of Texas, Austin.

Picó, Joan Crexells, Josep Maria Batista i Roca, Josep Millàs-Raurell and a young English, probably the Catalanophile John Langdon-Davies, who in the same year had published a collection of poems, *Man on Mountain*, printed in English in Ripoll.[4] López-Picó wrote to his mentor, Carles Riba: "On the 19th. First dinner of the PEN Club, Catalan branch, at the Ritz. Poets, publishers, essayists, novelists, contemporary cosmopolitan show-offs who want to ensure the boredom of a monthly dinner in the company of gossips. We have modestly begun, however, thanks to Crexells, Millàs-Raurell, Batista and a young English teacher whose name we do not recall" (Safont 2018, 14).[5]

Was there only one intermediary behind the establishment of Catalan PEN in 1922 with the international contacts required to establish such a direct and effective connection with British intellectual circles? Probably not, but the presence of this mysterious guest at the table in the Ritz Hotel allows us to suggest the reasons that must have led to this need for Catalan culture to play a role in international forums: "I have already hinted at the attraction that Langdon-Davies must have had," writes his biographer, "among that *band* of *nationalist* intellectuals with their *ideals further fired up* by the news they were hearing about the independence process in Ireland" (Berga 1991, 45) [emphasis added]. This "band" of fired-up intellectuals represented some of leading protagonists of the Catalonia of that time. During his first stay in remote Ripoll during the 1920s, Langdon-Davies had already become close friends with writers and politicians like Ventura Gassol, Marià Manent, López-Picó and Tomàs Garcés. He also played an active part in conferences on Irish independence, as part of the

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4 Langdon-Davies (1897–1971), having withdrawn from "mechanical civilisation," had a long association with Catalonia. He worked as a correspondent for the British press, reporting on both the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera and the Spanish Civil War. He is the author of some remarkable books about Catalonia which nevertheless remain practically unknown among Catalans. During the years of the tourist boom he managed a hotel on the Costa Brava which became a hub for British intellectuals like the author and travel writer Rebecca West, lover of H.G. Wells. During the Spanish Civil War, Langdon-Davies also successfully organised a network to assist refugee children, which eventually became the NGO Plan International, an organisation that remains active to this day. All of this is well documented in Miquel Berga's biography, *John Langdon-Davies (1897–1971). Una biografia anglo-catalana* (1991), which does not, however, confirm the journalist's involvement in the founding of Catalan PEN.

5 We offer a large number of quotations throughout the article, and this is for two reasons. The first is that very little information on these events and their leading players is available to an international audience, and we believe that it would be interesting to give these activists and authors a voice. The second and more important reason is that we have frequently worked with documents that are very difficult to access, fragments extracted from primary sources that have never before been translated. For us, therefore, these quotations are of clear documentary importance.

activities organised by Acció Catalana throughout the territory. Acció Catalana, the movement that was born in the Spring of 1922 as a breakaway group from the Lliga Regionalista youth organisation, was led by the poet Jaume Bofill i Mates, *Guerau de Liost*, and it brought together "the youngest intellectuals who, while originating from the Lliga Regionalista, advocate a kind of nationalism that is purer and more radical or, if you like, less pragmatic than that of the Lliga" (Berga 1991, 48). The signatories to the party's founding Manifesto included two of the four Catalans who had attended the inaugural PEN dinner, López-Picó and Crexells, along with many other writers, some of them doubling up as politicians, who in the next few years would play a prominent role in coordinating the activities of the Catalan Centre, such as Carles Pi i Sunyer, Ventura Gassol, Lluís Nicolau d'Olwer, J.V. Foix and Francesc Trabal.

Those present at the Ritz Hotel dinner were young intellectuals, committed to Catalan literary culture who, in addition to being writers, translators and activists, [. . .] were open to the events occurring beyond our borders (Subirana 2011, 62). Even if we include Carles Riba, who was away studying in Germany, López-Picó, founder of *La Revista*, was the only person over the age of thirty, having been born in 1886. These were young, active people who were committed to the literary world. The fact of their youth is in this case a clear indication of the profound transformation taking place in the world of Catalan letters and culture. PEN reflected and amplified an ongoing dynamic and it attracted a new generation based on the idea of crossing borders, obviating differences. An idea which, in fact, forms the basis for all literary activity: literature only exists in the sense of a deeply interconnected network that does not recognise any linguistic barriers or even the passage of time: literature has constantly nourished and been nourished by other literature from around the world, and if there is any area in which human collaboration is a reality it is in the world of letters.

3 From One Dinner to the World (1923–1933)

PEN's first International Congress was held in London in May 1923, with eleven centres in attendance. The Catalan "Club" sent two delegates, Josep Millàs-Raurell and Pompeu Fabra, respectively its Secretary and President. A diagram showing the table layout for the banquet of honour shows the long high table and then a first row of tables, the one on the far left marked "Barcelona." This table was presided over by PEN's founder, C.A. Dawson Scott, and the two Catalans sat either side of him. Then came the tables for Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark and France, with a second row of tables for Italy, "Madrid" and,

alongside them, Norway, Romania, Sweden and the USA. The young men from the Ritz dinner had come a long way: PEN had included them alongside all the other delegations. Catalonia had now been accepted as a culture *inter pares* by a leading international organisation that had only recently been created (Subirana 2011, 64).

The Catalan centre did not have a presence at the second PEN International Congress in New York in 1924, though it was present at the third Congress in Paris in 1925. It was represented by Professor Lluís Nicolau d'Olwer, one of the founders of Acció Catalana and a member of the *Institut d'Estudis Catalans* (Institute of Catalan Studies) and the Union Académique Internationale, who at that time was a Barcelona city counsellor and would subsequently become Spanish Minister for the Economy (in 1931, with the establishment of the Republic). The delegate for Spanish PEN at that 1925 Congress was Miguel de Unamuno, who had been exiled to Fuerteventura by the Primo de Rivera dictatorship. It seems that he had obtained support from French writers, though it was not sufficient for the organisation to begin developing an aid programme. In 1925, PEN International did not have a clear position regarding the repression of freedom of expression, nor did it know how to tackle the cases of writers who were being persecuted for their ideas. The PEN "Club" was viewed by the European press as a literary association that was able to bring together some famous names, though without delving too deeply into specific issues. The British newspaper, *The Morning Post,* for example, reported that the people present at the Congress included "many prominent French writers, Heinrich Mann from Berlin, Pirandello from Rome, James Joyce, the Irish-American author of the novel *Ulysses*," ending with a reference to "Unamuno, the Spanish *martyr*, who is such an admirer of the French revolutionary faction" (23-V-1925). In the Europe of that time, the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera was not seen as a bad omen for the continent: these were events that were taking place on the margins and were only of interest to the "revolutionary factions." This was, of course, a perception that would soon change.

The Congress of 1926, PEN International's fourth such event, was held in Berlin. According to official sources, the Catalan PEN delegate was the philosopher Joan Crexells, though his name does not appear on the list of attendees held in PEN International's archive at the Harry Ransom Center (HRC). It is possible that the original plan was for him to attend but that he could not make the trip in the end, due to the illness which eventually led to his death that same year. In 1920, Crexells had studied under Rudolf Stammler in Berlin, where he would later also become a correspondent for the newspaper *La Publicitat*. Josep Pla wrote that "he was perhaps the best, most cultured, most complete person, one of finest of nature's young (very young) men ever to breathe this country's air" (Pla 1969, 437). Crexells was a good friend of Nicolau d'Olwer, who wrote the following

about him in his book of memoires, *Caliu*: "I should like to talk about Joan Crexells, as if the balsam of time has healed the wound that his passing, swift and brutal like an amputation, left in the hearts of his friends. Those who are loved by the gods die young, says Menandre. But if the gods now have him with them forever, why do they jealously fight with us mortals, who also love him, for the sake of a few miserable years?" (Nicolau 2012, 123).

The delegate who attended the fifth International Congress, held in Brussels, was Ventura Gassol, now thirty-four years old and both poet and politician. Gassol had been a member of the political party *Acció Catalana* and, with the arrival of the dictatorship in 1924, he went into exile in France. There he joined the more radical *Estat Català* party and participated in a failed plan to liberate Catalonia (*Fets de Molló*), for which he was arrested and tried in Paris alongside Francesc Macià. After the trial, in 1927, he went into exile in Belgium and then, with Macià, left for America.

The sixth International Congress, held in Oslo in 1928, marks a particularly important moment in PEN's history. The Catalan delegates were Carles Riba and Josep Obiols, a painter and good friend of Riba and his wife Arderiu, who had travelled with them to Italy in 1920 and 1922. They were accompanied by PEN Secretary, Josep Millàs Raurell. The delegates were received by King Haakon VII, and among the more famous attendees were Jules Romains and Benjamin Crémieux, as well as PEN founder, C.A. Dawson Scott. The Catalan trio were surprised by the Norwegians' warm hospitality, the country's financial prosperity and the trust that they were shown. On their return to Barcelona, Josep Navarro Costabella, a reporter for *La Veu de Catalunya*, interviewed both Riba and Millàs-Raurell, who commented that, until now these congresses have been quite pointless affairs, but they would now seem to have entered a more practical phase. Furthermore, an initiative for specific actions had been introduced, such as obtaining the creation of a grand International Literature Award from the League of Nations and the appointment of PEN as advisor to the Institute for Intellectual Cooperation in Paris as regard the books to be translated and their translators. They also underlined that their experience in Norway included "the encouragement of relations between intellectuals, and our unequivocal treatment. People are interested in our literature. What is more, they know it. Indeed, when the issue of regional literature was raised, ours was not mentioned because it was regarded as forming part of the European group" (Navarro Costabella 1928). Those open minds came home with ideas on how to manage their cultural heritage, how to ennoble something that had formerly been regarded as an out-of-date rural legacy and open people up to artistic innovation.

This was followed by four years (and four Congresses) in which the Catalans played no part in the organisation's international life: the seventh Congress in Vienna in 1929,[6] the eighth in Warsaw in 1930, the ninth in Amsterdam in 1931, and the tenth in Budapest in 1932. It was perhaps for this reason that PEN's International Secretary, Hermon Ould (who on 10 January 1928 had written to Millàs Raurell and said, "Alas, I never hear from you but I hope that this does not mean the Barcelona P.E.N. Centre is not thriving"), remarked in a letter to Millàs on 18 January 1933 that he had spoken with the novelist Henrietta Leslie, who had just returned from Barcelona and had mentioned him: "I am delighted to think that you have not forgotten me, and that the Catalonian P.E.N. Centre is not dead. I will confess to you that the absence of news troubled me somewhat" (HRC archive, 10-I-1928). Things had changed in Spain and Catalonia with the advent of the Second Republic in April 1931, the approval of the Statute of Autonomy in September 1932 and the appointment of Francesc Macià as President of the Catalan Government (*Generalitat*) in December 1932, with Ventura Gassol as Minister for Culture.[7] Ould was surprised to learn of the Catalans' intention to host an International Congress,[8] though the proposal would be confirmed at the Dubrovnik Congress in 1933, another key moment in PEN International's history, though for different reasons, as we shall go on to explain.

4 In a Europe on the Verge of Collapse (1933–1939)

The eleventh PEN Congress in Dubrovnik in 1933 marked a turning point for the international organisation. The ancient city of Ragusa provided the venue for an historic milestone: "The burning of books in Germany and the fact that the greater number of well-known German writers are living in exile cannot be ignored by an association which has always worked for the free interchange of ideas through literature" (*PEN News* 1933, 6). Following Adolf Hitler's victory in the elections of January that year, Germany had in a very short time become a place that was hostile to any kind of intellectual activity. Indeed, one of the

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6 Safont, quoting a report in *La Veu de Catalunya*, says that the Catalan delegate was the philosopher Joaquim Xirau (1895–1946), though we have not found confirmation of this elsewhere.

7 He held this post until October 1934 and then again between March and December 1936.

8 In the letter of 18-I-33 to Millàs Raurell, mentioned above, he also said that "The news that you would like to have a P.E.N. Congress in Barcelona is very intriguing. You ought to send a delegate to the congress in Yugoslavia with a formal invitation" (HRC archive).

first targets for this purification of ideas was PEN Germany. The three delegates who attended the Dubrovnik Congress were not writers but mere emissaries from the Nazi party (Matvejević 1984; Matan 1993; Škrabec 2019).

The delegate representing Catalan PEN at that 1933 Congress was the poet and journalist J.V. Foix. He was sent to Dalmatia with instructions to persuade the organisation to hold its Congress in Barcelona two years later, a mission in which he was successful. Foix's presence in Dubrovnik was also significant because the poet cast one of the ten votes that confirmed PEN's founding principles following a moving speech from Ernst Toller. Henri Saydel Canby brought with him from New York a resolution that extended and refined the founding principles approved at the Brussels Congress in 1927. This acceptance of the PEN Charter was all that was required of the delegates who were present, though it was only approved by ten delegations. Sixteen delegates abstained, and two centres voted against, Germany and, probably, Austria (Barbian 2013; Aman 2014). As an illustration of the tense atmosphere of this encounter, it is worth quoting the telegram from the Union of German literary figures abroad, which Foix passed on to *Mirador* magazine: "The men of German literature, worthy of such a title, are condemned to remain silent: half of them are in concentration camps, and the other half have no possibility of expressing themselves whilst living "freely" in Germany" (Cid 1992, 13).

All of these open questions reverberated around the Congress held the following year in Edinburgh. The Catalan delegates at this Congress were Marià Manent and the centre's Secretary, Josep Millàs-Raurell. The writers who had been forced into exile from Germany had managed to organise themselves into a PEN centre. Aside from creating this Yiddish centre, which was regarded from the outset as a cross-border organisation, the German writers were the first people who needed to establish effective strategies for communication between the members who were scattered all over Europe and would also soon travel to the Americas. It was Paul Frischauer, who had also been present in Dubrovnik in 1933, who succeeded in turning PEN International into an organisation to help writers in danger. The letter that requested funds to make it possible temporarily to provide refuge for threatened writers was signed jointly by Secretary General Hermon Ould and English PEN President Margaret Storm Jameson and sent out on 16 June 1938. This solidarity between writers from around the world in the face of serious crises has continued from that moment right through to the present day (Škrabec 2019).

From 20 to 25 May 1935, PEN International held its 13th Congress in Barcelona. As a result of the political events of October 1934, the organisers had had to warn the organisation's headquarters in London that "the political situation in our country is, unfortunately, not normal" (Subirana 2011, 66). Even though

Catalonia's autonomy had been suspended and Spanish was now the language of government, with Parliament turned into a barracks and Catalan politicians arrested and imprisoned on a ship in the Port of Barcelona, PEN's thirteenth International Congress boasted a splendid programme of activities: a bus tour of the city, a visit to the museum of Romanesque art and tea at Pedralbes Palace among other events. There was also a reception at the Sala Parés and a private concert by Pau Casals. The programme for Wednesday was a trip to Poblet, lunch in Sitges and tea in Tarragona followed by a tour of the city. On Thursday there was a trip to Montserrat and opera at the Liceu in the evening. Friday was taken up with a trip to the Costa Brava (for which a supplement had to be paid), while on Saturday there was a farewell dinner at the Ritz Hotel and a concert at the Palau Nacional de Montjuïc. A trip to Mallorca was offered on Sunday. The working sessions were held at the Casal del Metge. The situation in Germany was once again discussed, as were PEN's general principles. Henri Saydel Canby, the delegate from the USA who was highly active at the Congresses held during the 1930s, raised the issue of Haitian author Jacques Roumain, who had been imprisoned as the result of an "administrative error." The meeting agreed to contact the government of Haiti and put pressure on it to release him. At this meeting in Barcelona, the organisation also began to take action on the world stage (Torner and Martens 2021). Given the violation of freedoms observed in much of Europe at that time, PEN President H. G. Wells asked the meeting whether PEN clubs were limited to being a "society of banquets and leisure trips, or if they should form a society of International Intellectuals of sorts" (Cid 1992, 16).[9]

The person who presented himself as the Catalan PEN delegate at the Buenos Aires Congress in 1936 was Joan Estelrich (Riquer 2011). The Centre's delegates should have been Carles Soldevila and Pere Coromines, but they were unable to attend.[10] The Congress was held in September, but Civil War had broken out in Spain on 18 July 1936. Estelrich travelled to the Congress first class by ship, but on arrival was presented with a letter from PEN Barcelona cancelling his authorisation as delegate (Estelrich 2012, 265). He had no further public involvement, other than "a brief and moving speech explaining the circumstances why Catalonia had enjoyed so little visibility at the Congress" (HRC archive).[11] It is interesting that the

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9 J.V. Foix described the atmosphere and the discussions held over these days in an article in *La Publicitat* (22-V-1935), which was reproduced in *Els lloms transparents* (1969).

10 The letter sent to H. Ould on 9-VI-1936 in relation to this matter is held in the HRC archive.

11 The press made only brief reference to Estelrich's contribution. "The Catalan delegate speaks," *La Nación* (I5-IX-1936), 9. "The International Writers' Congress will hold its first sessions in its general assembly. A Catalan member of parliament and writer". *La Prensa* (7-IX-1936), 12.

author of a book like *Per la valoració internacional de Catalunya* (1920) should do everything possible to participate in a PEN Congress. The aims of the writers' organisation were clearly at odds with his idea of "influencing economic expansion through idealistic and political propaganda." PEN International could also not be accredited with any attempt to closely align political ideals with artistic creations, industrial production and scientific discoveries. Less still could PEN's activists subscribe to the central idea of that ambitious project with totalitarian overtones that excluded any intellectual activity from all political questions: "This technical element is not suited to the pure intellectual but rather to someone who has prepared specifically for the purpose. Unhappy the intellectual who wishes to replace the politician in his regulation and action!" (Estelrich 1920, 29).

Nevertheless, the international organisation remained unsure of how it was to behave in the face of the increasingly serious threats to peace. F. T. Marinetti's proposal at the Buenos Aires meeting to hold a Congress in fascist Rome was rejected, though with regret, because many delegates would still have liked to visit the city. The proposal to confront the author of "War, the world's only hygiene" and demand that he leaves the organisation did not receive much "open support," as the minutes of the Congress record. It was clear that if Marinetti were forced to resign, PEN would not find any other intermediary in Italy, and Italian writers would most probably follow their German; Hungarian and French counterparts and other fascist writers who had already joined the International Writers' Federation established by Nazi writers following the tensions that had arisen at the Dubrovnik Congress in 1933.

The Catalan delegation to the Paris international Congress were Clementina Arderiu, Josep Millàs-Raurell, Carles Riba, Carles Soldevila and Joaquim Xirau. Over the course of those few days in 1937, all of the concerns with which the organisation had been confronted throughout the 1930s came to the fore. At the Paris Congress, Corpus Barga (Andrés García de la Barca) and Enrique Díez Canedo submitted a motion seeking condemnation of the killing of Federico García Lorca and all the "pure victims" of the civil war, along with a tribute to the "people of Spain who are faithful to the principles of freedom, which are also the principles of PEN" (HRC archive). This phrasing rather covertly sought support for the Republican cause. The proposal was strongly rejected by the President of Pen International at that time, Jules Romains, because any explicit political positioning was to be avoided. Both Carles Riba and Octavio Paz, as delegate for Mexico, supported Barga's proposal, but in the end two separate resolutions were adopted regarding Spain. The wording of both declarations was vague and, particularly in the second case, pompously rhetorical, in order to ensure avoiding taking any kind of position. The first said that "Federico García Lorca, who had never involved himself in politics, had been shot in Granada by rebel soldiers

acting against the legitimate government," while the second was addressed to the "whole of Spain," expressing "sincere sympathy for all victims from the intellectual community" and hoping that, in Spain, "the use of violence will be set aside and the freedom of expression and rights of the individual respected and safeguarded," until Spain succeeded in realising "*the depth of its Spanish spirit through mysticism and heroism*" [emphasis added]. At that same 1937 Congress, the delegate from PEN Argentina had asked whether the "thousands of innocents massacred in government-run Spain and also in Catalonia were not also pure victims?" (HRC archive). In addition to the resolution on Spain, the Congress also approved a resolution objecting to the persecution of minority groups, particularly Jews, stressing that "human culture cannot advance in an atmosphere of hate and persecution" (HRC archive). Another declaration was adopted against the persecution of writers in Germany, and there was an attempt, though ultimately unsuccessful, to arrange for the pacifist Carl von Ossietzky, who was under arrest in Germany, to attend the Nobel Peace Prize award ceremony in Oslo and give his speech. This Congress saw a repetition of the tensions between Yiddish PEN and Polish PEN, because Jewish authors felt that intellectuals in Poland were not doing enough to prevent the persecution. However, the final resolution that was approved supported the establishment of an "international book exchange," and it asked the PEN Centres to send foreign books to libraries in other countries. PEN's naïveté is sometimes overwhelming.

After the Paris Congress, PEN International became aware of the seriousness of the situation in Spain: in addition to playing an active role in the campaign that succeeded in obtaining the release of Arthur Koestler, condemned to death in Seville for insurgence, it organised the collection of funds for Catalonia, which took the form of the direct sending of food parcels to members of the Catalan Centre. It also used the same channels to provide paper for printing, which at that time was in very short supply.[12] By 1938 therefore, Pen was operating as an organisation with the capacity to offer effective aid.

Carles Riba planned to attend the sixteenth Congress in Prague in 1938, but in the end, he was unable to travel. He nevertheless prepared an address to the Congress, "To the writers of the world," which consisted of a clear assessment of the Spanish Civil War and the historic role of Catalan writers. The text that was read out in Prague was published, with some alterations, in *Meridià* magazine.[13] That same year, Carles Riba and Clementina Arderiu did attend a meeting of PEN

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12 It was thanks to these donations that three thousand copies of *Revista de Catalunya* were able to be printed (Subirana 2011, 68–69).

13 Reproduced in: Carles Riba, *Obres Completes* 3. Crítica 2. Enric Sullà and Jaume Medina (eds.). Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1986, 291–293.

International's Executive Board, which was held in London on 8 and 9 November 1938. Riba took advantage of the stay in England to give seminars on Catalan literature in London, Cambridge and Oxford, and to act as propagandist for the Republican and Catalan cause. He explained this in a letter sent from Cambridge on 16 November 1938 to the young poet, Joan Vinyoli: "We are acting as sort of intellectual ambassadors for Catalonia, its republican beliefs and its desire to remain as a spiritual value in the world. I don't think I exaggerate when I say that our actions are not without effect. Others have come before us and they give us encouragement. Still more must come. We will succeed here too, and not only through the use of arms" (1990, 507). Although he was working in the service of his government, the task that interested Riba most was that of maintaining culture in a time of war. This was just two months prior to the fall of Barcelona, and preparations for the exile of those supporting the republican cause had already begun.

In the end, the Catalan delegates who travelled to Prague were Francesc Trabal and Mercè Rodoreda.[14] "A few months ago, in the middle of the summer, the PEN Club Congress was held in Prague," explained Mercè Rodoreda in a talk she gave on the radio, and she ended with the following promise: "Like the poet [. . .] who allowed his emotions to flow, waiting patiently for them to come with time, I will speak (once many things have happened, and when the pain in the heart of Europe has been set aside, as if there were no war) of the charm of a garden in the light of the sun and under the moon" (Rodoreda 1994, 121). During the interwar period, Europe was marked by an intense contrast between light and shade. All around the continent one could be living without a care and then, in an instant, find oneself immersed in terrible suffering, almost without warning. In 1938 one section of the continent was still living in the light, while other places, like Catalonia, were already suffering war or relentless repression.

On 15 December 1944, Trabal, who was already in exile in Santiago in Chile, wrote to PEN Secretary General Hermon Ould: "We were the first to arrive at PEN's French headquarters in the Rue Pierre Charron; we were immediately able, however, to greet the Czech writers, who were next to arrive. They were followed by our Bulgarian and Romanian colleagues, who are witnessing turbulent times in their own countries. The Belgians, Danes, Norwegians and Dutch were not far behind. The PEN headquarters in the Rue Pierre Charron would shortly not provide a refuge even for French writers" (Trabal 1944). Trabal wrote this note on learning of the death of Benjamin Crémieux at Buchenwald concentration camp

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14 To learn more about the importance of women writers in Catalan PEN's activities over this period, see the article by Neus Real (2022).

near Weimar, the city regarded as the birthplace of classic German literature. The author's tragic end was terrible evidence of the collapse suffered by the whole of Europe. Crémieux had been the right-hand man of Jules Romains, elected President of PEN International in Buenos Aires in 1936. In contrast to the Jewish author, who died in a concentration camp, "Jules Romains spent the war in New York, as the director of the French Institute, defending *la France Immortelle*," as Gabriel Ferrater acerbically remarked (1987, 15). Carles Riba had observed Romains handling delicate matters like the condemnation of the Franco regime at the Paris Congress in 1937 and the motion by the Czech delegates against England's and France's betrayal in ceding the Sudetenland to the Nazis in the Munich Agreement of 1938 (Subirana 2011). Romains's impeccable "neutrality" at that time might have seemed a sensible approach, though in retrospect it now seems more like a demonstration of the disappointing powerlessness of people of letters, especially in the period between the wars.[15]

Do all these examples undermine the power of a forum like PEN? On the contrary, it required a great deal of effort, even within the organisation's own ranks, to define the ideas and attitudes that would best ensure peaceful coexistence in the world. Far from the option set out, for example, in *A League of Minds* (1933), a document prepared by Paul Valéry and Henri Focillon for the International Institute on Intellectual Cooperation, PEN delegates are not a collection of sages who always find the correct position to adopt at each turning point in history. The lesson that writers can teach governments is quite different, that of remaining completely open to opinions, assuming that dialogue will always involve tense confrontation and that the solutions that are finally

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15 The disintegration of European society at the time and the many intellectuals who fell victim to its consequences are difficult to imagine when seen from our comfortable viewpoint as academics in a united and peaceful continent. We would, however, be doing a terrible disservice to their suffering if we interpreted the "circulation" of people at that time as merely providing a stimulus for the construction of a network for international collaboration, or if we defined the deprivation they suffered as providing inspiration for their literary work. It is clear that the suffering endured by all of those authors and the persecuted communities to which they belonged is reflected in their literary output. But it is also clear that an intellectual exodus as huge as that of the Catalans had a decisively adverse effect on relations between forces in the cultural system. It would be insensitive to discuss these issues using the sterile language of academia and to talk about "displacement" or the "circulation of people" when referring not only to past experiences but also to current events which other, more assiduous scholars have described as "necropolitics" (Mbembe 2003). In this regard, the difference between the way that Romains and Crémieux respectively ended up is chilling. The anecdote recalled by the Catalan poet Gabriel Ferrater leads to a serious reflection on the fact that some intellectual circles adapt quickly to the worst of circumstances in order to preserve their own privileges.

reached would not be possible if one did not listen to all the parties involved, especially those that are not in a position of power.

In this connection, Heinrich Böll, PEN International President during the dark days of the Cold War, criticised the hypocrisy of the idea of "non-intervention in the internal affairs of other states" in a provocative article written in 1973. According to Böll, concealed behind this approach is the risk that "conscience will become no more than a faded flower." To prevent this, the President issued a call to the literary community: "As writers we are born interventionists; we intervene in the administration of justice, in cultural politics, in the Soviet Union, in Czechoslovakia, in Spain, in Indonesia, in Brazil, in Portugal, and we also intervene in the terrible discord in Yugoslavia, where false accusations are once again flying and where we once again have to bury our latest hopes. We also intervene in the People's Republic of China, in Cuba and in Mexico. We may seem to be idealists, but we are not. Intervening is the only way to be relevant" (Böll 1973).

5 Breaking the Silence (1939–1973)

"Breaking the silence, though without making any kind of concession, since they appeared secretly and were sold from person to person, there was no shortage of publications. With false printer's marks and publication dates, etc.," books such as *Nabí* (1941) by Josep Carner, *L'aprenent de poeta* (1943) by Josep Palau i Fabre, and *Elegies de Bierville* (1943) and *Versions de Hölderlin* (1944) by Carles Riba "acted as a unifying force" (Castellanos 2013, 245). These slender volumes, along with underground magazines like *Poesia* (1944–1945), to which J.V. Foix and Marià Manent contributed along with the authors mentioned above, all of them members of PEN, show that the network of Catalan writers living both in exile and at home was quite extensive under the dictatorship.

The resistance of a culture like that of Catalonia can only be explained by this non-negotiable commitment that binds society together: culture, especially literature, took on the role of preserving cultural activity in the face of a savage assault. The Franco regime tried to turn Catalan literature into local folklore, "preserved in a tin for small groups of people" as Castellanos remarked. Books intended for wide circulation could not obtain the permits required in order to be published, and translations of contemporary writings into Catalan encountered particularly insurmountable obstacles. In this regard, the link with international literary activism, which the PEN network at least made conceivable, was a sustaining force. Knowing that literature knows no frontiers, as the PEN

Charter states and was printed on its members' membership cards from the time of the organisation's foundation, became one of the ideas that allowed them to imagine a different world. Far from being a pastime or folk emblem, Catalan literature took on the promise of possible change: Hölderlin's poetry could be read in Catalan, and Catalan emissaries could detail the repression of their language in important foreign forums in which they found solidarity and understanding. Even though it was forced to operate in secret, Catalan literature could still face up to the challenges it shared with other cultures, and the Catalan language could continue to be used as a tool to confront the present in all its complexity.

The list of the members of PEN Club Barcelona in 1939, which is kept at the Harry Ransom Centre, contains forty-six names, of which thirty-two went into exile with the fall of the Republic. A small cross alongside their names, probably marked by the then Secretary, Armand Obiols, indicates their departure. This single sheet of paper provides chilling evidence of the extent of the repression and the level of commitment of these writers (Subirana 2011, 71–73). Neither the writers who went into exile, nor those that remained, nor those that returned relatively quickly like Carles Riba, abandoned a language and culture with the capacity for cohesion. Catalonia's own internal literature resisted, despite all the immense obstacles in its way, and the links within PEN and its international network were not unimportant in this fabric of cultural resistance. Following Riba's death in 1959, the position of President of the centre, now essentially a symbolic role, passed to Josep Carner (Cònsul 2002).

Like other institutions and associations that were banned inside the country but had representative bodies that were consolidated to a greater or lesser extent outside Catalonia, Catalan PEN managed to establish a busy agency in the United Kingdom. It was run by one of the founders who had become the organisation's secretary, Josep Maria Batista i Roca, a Professor at Oxford. We should also mention other activists in this context, like the publisher Joan Gili, along with the fact that Batista i Roca was, at that time, Secretary to the National Council for Catalonia, a body created by President Companys following the dissolution of the Generalitat, and thus had close links with its President, Carles Pi i Sunyer. Pi i Sunyer had been the Mayor of Barcelona who had promised support for the holding of the 1935 Congress, though when the event happened, he was in prison, along with other politicians who had taken part in the events of October. Batista i Roca regularly attended PEN International's Congresses and executive meetings, such as the one held in July 1945. There he explained that, "the problem lies deeper. The entire country is a concentration camp. Writers may enjoy freedom of movement, but the mind has no freedom to think or to express its thoughts . . . The great task that now confronts writers

of all nations, is the spiritual reconstruction of Europe. No effort, no contribution is too small to be neglected. As a first step, it is our common duty to secure the rights of the mind in all countries and to ensure that no barbarians are left anywhere free to use force to destroy the mind" (*PEN News* 1945).

The exiled writers were often able to integrate themselves into the cultural life of the country that had taken them in while at the same time maintaining their links with Catalan culture, participating from a distance and contributing to its development. Among the authors that would be tasked many years later with reviving Catalan PEN, particular mention should be made of Josep Palau i Fabre and his experiences in Paris. Francesc Trabal and Joan Oliver worked on cultural reconstruction from Chile. Oliver, who worked under the pen name Pere Quart, was the first President of Catalan PEN once it had been re-established back in its own country. For his part, Trabal, regularly corresponded with his friend Hermon Ould at PEN in London, from his exile in Chile. And we should not forget Avel·lí Artís-Gener who, once he had returned from Mexico, would play a key role in restoring the activities of the Catalan Centre just before Spain returned to democracy.

The most important feature of Catalan PEN was its continuity, because this intellectual network has made it possible to carry the ideal of constructing a country with a robust and diverse culture all the way from the 1920s through to the present.

Here, Catalan culture has demonstrated its capacity for resilience: the extreme situation of having overcome a mass exodus of the most creative minds became an opportunity for opening up and renewal. The Catalan literary canon as a whole cannot be imagined without the contribution made by its exiled authors. Rather paradoxically, the wounds caused by the long period of repression under the Franco regime actually strengthened and revitalised energies and imbued Catalan culture with that wide range of viewpoints that is essential in order to understand the world and interact with it.

Josep M. Batista i Roca, interviewed in 1978, recalled his activism during the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, even acknowledging his involvement in the creation of a secret society ("propaganda, espionage, helping prisoners"). Batista i Roca was the founder of Palestra, a movement that wanted to forge "men of action, men with character," because "the Catalan people were a morally defeated people with no backbone; everything had to be rebuilt." Batista i Roca's patriotic and militarist scouting organisation found its inspiration in national renaissance movements like those in Ireland and Czechia.[16] With this kind of training, Batista

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[16] In 1935, he was imprisoned together with Pompeu Fabra, as President of this patriotic and sporting body, as a result of the scouts' participation in the events of 6 October 1934 (Mascarell 1978, 12–16).

i Roca was entirely capable of ensuring that a Catalan delegation enjoyed a visible presence at PEN and other international bodies. At the 1953 Congress in Dublin, he had Pau Casals prepare a speech, which was read to the assembly by Batista i Roca himself. Taking advantage of his considerable reputation, the cellist declared in this emotive statement that "freedom is indivisible" (Cid 1992, 60). Batista i Roca's reports on cultural repression in Catalonia under Franco are historically important documents and they are beginning to become known (Batista i Roca 2013). In a letter sent to Marià Manent on 2 July 1964, Batista i Roca made a highly important observation: "I have acted [. . .], as far as has been possible, on behalf of the writers who remain in the country. For this reason, I have always refused to affiliate Catalan PEN or myself to the PEN centre for Exiled Writers" (Cònsul 2002). The institutional continuity and its hundred years of uninterrupted activity depended for three decades on the *sangfroid* of an activist trained in the fight of the intellectual guerrilla. The organisation's Secretary was aware that he represented that thin thread that was not to be broken in any way.

As the years passed, however, this situation of just one man taking all the decisions became problematic. Furthermore, Batista i Roca was becoming increasingly disconnected, not only from the country but also from new literary trends, if he could ever actually have been regarded as a man of letters. His marked anti-communism, for example, meant that he was unable to comprehend the way that contemporary literature was evolving around Europe and the Catalonia of his time (Cònsul 2002). The lofty aims of cultural resistance became outdated. Its individual protector became an obstacle (Subirana 2015, 29). Tísner mentioned this turning point in his memoirs: "Our centre had a secretary who was untouchable, most highly venerated, and I was aware of this from the very beginning. Doctor J.M. Batista i Roca's position was immovable" (Cònsul 2003, 348). The group of writers who met at the beginning of the 1970s to re-establish the centre in Catalonia decided unanimously to "go to Cambridge and take the bull by the horns." After their first meeting with the acting secretary, Avel·lí Artís-Gener noted with his characteristic irony that "The man was completely steadfast [. . .]. He blindly believed that all those of us who lived in Catalonia under Franco's yoke did so because we were Francoists" (Artís-Gener 2003, 349; Cònsul 2003, 347–355).

A Permanent Committee of the Executive had been established at a private address in Barcelona on 17 December 1965 at the proposal of Rafael Tasis. On 9 July 1968 there was another meeting at the Palau Dalmases, the headquarters of Òmnium Cultural, which was attended by among other people, Marià Manent, Maria-Aurèlia Capmany and Jordi Sarsanedas, with the idea of "organising a PEN delegation in Barcelona" (Cid 1992, 32). In April 1970, this group of activists was responsible for organising the First Popular Festival of Catalan Poetry, with the noted participation of Joan Oliver, *Pere Quart*. And on their instruction,

Avel·lí Artís-Gener embarked on his trip to London to agree the regularisation of the Catalan Centre with Pen International. On 4 February 1973, an assembly was held (on a bus!) at which PEN was "organically" reconstructed within Catalonia, with the idea that the centre should become "operational for all purposes." Joan Rendé, one of the leading participants at that strange meeting, which was designed to evade the ban on secret gatherings, explained the following anecdote: "To avoid any kind of interference from the police, I carried some of the assembly documents myself, in my Citroën Dyane-6, which I was driving some kilometres ahead." The other attendees were travelling on a bus that had been hired to make a tourist outing, and "once in Espluga we all had lunch together at the Hostal del Senglar, like ordinary day-trippers" (Rendé 1997, 20).

6 Conclusion: Intellectual Ambassadors

From its establishment in 1922 through to its re-establishment in the country in 1973, Catalan PEN pursued its desire for Catalan culture to operate on the international stage as an equal among equals. The relaxed and changing rules on affiliation with the network of PEN International centres have meant that the Catalans have been able to achieve a recognised presence within this international forum, without any kind of restriction.[17]

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17 Going beyond the "Industry of Ideas" (Even-Zohar 2018), it is difficult to identify a direct influence on the international diffusion of Catalan literature during the decades examined. In Barcelona in 1935, the Dutch delegate, Johan Konig, aroused great interest with his proposal to create a veritable crusade against "inferior [sic] translations." Under his proposal, PEN International would have to bring translators and literary critics together in a combined action via the press in order to bring pressure to bear on publishers and force them to stop paying derisory fees and applying inadequate practices. Even before the war, Holland had specialist translator magazines that had the power to force publishing houses to withdraw books that had already been translated, even if they had been printed and were awaiting distribution, in order to prevent the embarrassment resulting from poor translations. They also demanded that 10 per cent of royalties be paid to the translator.

In the 1930s, with the Second World War just around the corner, PEN International cultivated the idea of close collaboration with the Society for Intellectual Cooperation within the League of Nations, in order to promote the circulation of translated literature. July 1932 saw the publication of the first volume of the Index Translationum (now an inaccessible digital database held under the supervision of UNESCO which needs an urgent review of its criteria for inclusion and systematisation). To date, this dream of an organisation of independent writers who might promote good practices and high-quality translations has not yet been realised. Promoting translation without borders remains a Utopian ideal. Individual States have gradually created their own institutions for external diffusion, based on the Dutch model from the

Over the last hundred years, Catalan intellectual ambassadors (to use Riba's words) armed only with a pen have shown the world that theirs is a vibrant culture. Delegates from Catalan PEN have helped to define and consolidate a world that has the capacity to build bridges through intellectual collaboration. In 1932, PEN International General Secretary Hermon Ould, referring to both Nazi Germany and the USSR, pointed out that these two countries "were refusing to subscribe to two very simple principles, namely friendship without arbitrary reservation and the free exchange of intellectual ideas; without these there could be no PEN centre. Indeed, without them no civilisation could survive" (HRC archive). For all the Catalan "connectionists and facilitators" (Sommer 2014) that we mentioned in this study, it is no small achievement to have helped construct and consolidate a civilisation that friendship without reservation and the free exchange of ideas must have made it more lasting.

Making a distinction between "culture-as-goods" and "culture-as-tools," as proposed by Itamar Even-Zohar, allows one to analyse one of the most elusive aspects of culture: its complexity.[18] Complexity is not some vague and indefinable element that can only be understood when seen in contrast to that which is simple. For Even-Zohar (1997, 2000, 2016, 2018), complexity is a component that is substantial, even essential, for a society to be able to function and prosper. In this regard, culture as heritage and culture as creative energy operate as two opposing forces. The former has the stability of a noun, while the latter displays the transformational properties of a verb. Complexity is clearly not a static phenomenon, a measurable value that can be added to the heritage that has already been acquired: culture seen as a creator of complexity can be

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1930s, and this has led to the predominant construction of a solid national literary canon, often with criteria that are preclusive and politically conditioned. Publishing houses have also taken over from organisations with a more voluntary approach and imposed rules that will ensure greater commercial success. For this reason, the strategy of "unexpected" discoveries, literary works with an exotic flavour that are so slight that they will not have the power to change anything or stir any conscience, so frequently grace the international book trade. The debate about literary translation that was heard at the conferences in Brussels in 1927, Edinburgh in 1934, Barcelona in 1935 and Buenos Aires in 1936 still remains open-ended.

18 In social sciences, the idea of complexity emerged from chaos theory and the need to be able to study and describe non-linear relationships (Byrne 1998). In literary studies, going beyond the Polysystems of Even-Zohar, we can find the inspiration for this in the work of Franco Moretti (1988). All of these ideas are united by the need to abandon the simplified abstractions of reality aimed at "isolating" infallible rules. We are thus not seeking to identify a methodology that demonstrates predictable, standardised modes of behaviour. Instead, we have used the case of the Catalan cultural mediators to illustrate the difficulty of the task of preserving the internal complexity of a culture, a complexity that is fundamental to its growth and evolution.

characterised by its capacity to transform. When culture operates as a tool, it creates the "energy" required as the driver for action. And action creates cohesion, while cohesion in turn creates the conditions for a mental willingness to act.

This forward motion, this desire for change, can become a very powerful binding element. The cultural repertoire makes it possible for the group to provide justification, content and *raison-d'être* for the separate and distinct existence of the entity. The greater a culture's capacity for creating activity, the more entrepreneurial energy is created within that same group. Through its dynamism, cultural energy is capable of generating conditions of prosperity for the whole of society. In this connection, Even-Zohar makes provocative use of the concept of "wealth" from Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations* (1776), contradicting the all too widespread disregard for culture among economists. It is, in fact, culture that has the capacity to create cohesion because through this adoption of a shared repertoire, groups, large and small, are both created and survive (Even-Zohar 2000, 395–396). Cohesion on its own is not sufficient to ensure a society's capacity to adapt and innovate. It is the complexity of its culture that allows its activities to be more widely distributed within the group as a whole. A diverse and complex culture creates "greater chances for a more *shared wealth*" (Even-Zohar 2000, 400) [emphasis added]. And it is worth pointing out that complexity is not exactly the same as heterogeneity, but is instead a specific variable that provides solutions for coping with changing or unrecognised circumstances (Even-Zohar 2018, 2).

In this regard, a state of complexity is particularly important for non-dominant cultures like that of Catalonia, the subject of this study. A complex culture that includes antagonistic options and is able to manage its own internal tensions provides the conditions that enable a society to find solutions to unexpected problems. During the 20th century, Catalonia was subjected to a serious historical ordeal but came out of it reasonably well in competition with the contiguous world, as Even-Zohar (2018, 3) remarks about other cases that he has studied (Italy, Israel, Galicia, Iceland, Quebec). There is a tendency to believe that the main reason that a national culture becomes consolidated is because of its internal homogenisation. The cases examined by Even-Zohar, however, indicate otherwise. A state of active opposition creates the necessary dynamics within the culture to generate continued argument about desirable repertoires (Even-Zohar 2018, 6). This conclusion about a continuous state of complexity echoes the reflections of Yuri Lotman (1990), who places the areas that are culturally most fertile and capable of innovation and adaptation at the interstices of society, the place where tensions are created. When the canon is not taken as given but must instead be constructed in a continuous and difficult search for options and solutions, plain culture acquires the ability to confront adversity.

Culture-as-tool is firstly a set of procedures with the help of which 'reality' is analysed, explained and made sense for and by humans. It is not enough to have a "passive" understanding of the complexity of the world. What we want to uncover here is how abstract ideas (PEN's strapline is "culture knows no frontiers") become strategies of actions that operate as "organisers of life" (Even-Zohar 2000, 392). The history of the organisation in terms of specific individual actions, viewed in their historical context, demonstrates how static cultural values became tools for triggering change.

We could reach a similar conclusion using Pierre Bourdieu's analytical tools. The positions that one adopts within a social space also include one's own presumptions about how that space should be. We cannot observe society from the outside; we form part of the space that includes us and that we help to define with our own contributions. We cannot see all of this reality that surrounds us unless it is from the perspective that we ourselves occupy within it. Social space is therefore the first and last reality, because the view that social agents have of their own society is determined by themselves (Bourdieu 1979).

Culture operates by means of repertoires that are "used in ready-made bundles" (Even-Zohar 2000, 393). For this reason, any lasting change must be achieved by changing the established set of models. And to make it possible for established repertoires to be changed and allow an effective renovation of living conditions, one must first have a firm hand at the wheel, something that frequently comes from an individual or a very small group of people with the capacity to point in a new direction and ensure that simple cultures leave behind their outdated templates that merely operate through inertia.

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Margarita Garbisu

The *Europäische Revue* and the European Cultural Union: Culture and Soft Power in the Interwar Period

In 1922, the Austrian Prince Karl Anton Rohan created the European Cultural Union (or *Europäischer Kulturbund*), an organisation based on international cultural cooperation as a means of facilitating understanding among Europeans after the First World War. Three years later, in 1925, Rohan founded the journal *Europäische Revue* with the aim of disseminating the ideas and activities of the European Cultural Union and bringing German-language culture closer to the rest of Europe. These were not isolated cases: the *Kulturbund* was not the only organisation that emerged during the period with similar objectives, nor was *Europäische Revue* the only internationally-oriented journal. As Roig-Sanz and Subirana explain, after the spiritual crisis into which Europe had been plunged by the War – reflected by Paul Valéry in "The Crisis of the Mind" (*The Athenaeum*, 1919) – various organisations came into being, such as PEN International and the International Committee of Intellectual Cooperation (ICIC), founded in 1921 and 1922 respectively, which sought to recover the values of civilisation and culture of the old continent (Roig-Sanz and Subirana 2020, 5). In this context, we cannot fail to mention the Pan-European movement, created by Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, another Austrian nobleman like Rohan, following the publication in 1923 of the *Paneuropa* manifesto. But whereas Coudenhove-Kalergi had a political outlook, Rohan's perspective was shorn of ideological bias, at least at the beginning; being instead based on cultural criteria (Müller 2004, 103).

Similarly, as regards publications, *Europäische Revue* was part of a conglomerate of journals that shared a vision of culture sustained by a cosmopolitanism that embraced other traditions.[1] These journals included the French *La Nouvelle Revue Française*, the English publication *The Criterion* and the Spanish *Revista de Occidente*. The aim of this paper is to examine some of the actions that both the European Cultural Union and the *Europäische Revue* carried

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[1] The concept of "cosmopolitanism" should be understood as José Ortega y Gasset, director of one of these publications, *Revista de Occidente*, defined it in the article "Parerga: Cosmopolitismo" (1924). Ortega y Gasset pointed out that, after the First World War, in the face of the failure of "political internationalism," an "intellectual cosmopolitanism" had been born, which lay in the hands of select minorities, who needed to feel themselves among equals, regardless of the country to which they belonged (Ortega y Gasset 1924, 346–348).

out in favour of this cooperation between nations and the revitalisation of German culture in Europe, thus turning both institution and journal into instruments of soft power. In this chapter, we will highlight specific examples that illustrate this, although we will particularly focus on one: the holding of an international award for short stories organised by *Europäische Revue* in 1929, with the aim of disseminating new literary values, including German ones, in Europe. The objectives of the initiative became confused and it ended up failing; but had it succeeded, it may have become an important means of transmitting contemporary youth literature to the West and represented an unprecedented dissemination of Western culture.[2] Likewise, the European Cultural Union lost momentum over time and ceased to function in the 1930s, but in the 1920s it produced a remarkable amount of work that fomented the circulation of knowledge and the recovery of German prominence in the European framework.

1 The European Cultural Union

On 10 September 1919, after the end of the First World War, Austria signed the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye with the Allied powers, whereby the former Austro-Hungarian Empire was dismembered and the new Austria, curtailed in territory and power, became "a second-rate state" (Cook and Stevenson 1994, 332). Three months earlier, the Treaty of Versailles had forced Germany to take the blame for the war, to pay large sums of money in reparations and, above all, to cede colonies and border regions (Alsace and Lorraine) to France, which led to great animosity between the two nations. In this historical context, as mentioned, in 1922 Rohan founded his European Cultural organisation, which was opposed to "frontiers based on nationalities or races," and sought "a new concept of Europe as a supranational homeland"[3] (Martín Gijón 2012, 4).

The institution was based in Vienna, which was intentional because the city symbolised Rohan's deeply held beliefs. He was aware of Austria's historical past (the former Austro-Hungarian Empire), and the cultural tradition (in German) of its capital, and with his initiatives he intended, if not to restore the

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2 To appreciate the importance of the prizes from a cultural, sociological, and economic perspective see English (2005).

3 Author's translation. All literal references to this article by Martín Gijón, which were originally in Spanish, will be included in the English translation.

former glory of the Habsburgs, at least to restore Austria's prior status by re-claiming its role as a link between the old continent and Germany.

In 1924, the European Cultural Union became the *Fédération Internationale des Unions Intellectuelles* (International Federation of Intellectual Unions), which was also joined by other intellectuals from Austria and Germany: the writer Hugo von Hofmannsthal, the economist and theorist Alfred Weber, and the impresario Georg von Schnitzler and his wife Lilly von Mallinckrodt-Schnitzler. The Feder-ation, of which Rohan became secretary, had offices in a number of different European countries: France, Italy, Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Scandinavia, Portugal and Spain (Schulz 2010). As Müller points out, "its members formed a European network reaching as far as Portugal and the Baltic States" (2004, 103), and Rohan, as its secretary, became an outstanding cultural mediator, facilitating activities that crossed "linguistic, artistic and geographical borders"[4] (Roig-Sanz and Fólica 2021, 559).

In this respect, one of the most important activities of the Federation was the organisation of an international congress, to be held between 1924 and 1934 in the main European capitals: Paris in 1924; Milan in 1925; Vienna in 1926; Heidel-berg and Frankfurt in 1927; Prague in 1928; Barcelona in 1929; Krakow in 1930; Zurich in 1932; and Budapest in 1934 (Schulz 2010). The goals of these conferen-ces were those forged by Rohan's initial idea: the elimination of national borders and the creation of a European community, to promote understanding between people, Franco-German reconciliation after World War I, and the construction of a united Europe through international cultural cooperation. To achieve this, Rohan also proposed attracting the European intellectual elite, and, in fact, man-aged to get some of the most important voices of the time to take part in the Fed-eration's events: Thomas Mann, Paul Valéry, Eugenio d'Ors, Carl Gustav Jung and Le Corbusier, among others. Not all of Rohan's attempts paid off; for exam-ple, he did everything he could to persuade José Ortega y Gasset to attend the event in Barcelona, but was unsuccessful (Martín Gijón 2012, 8).[5]

From a thematic point of view, some of the issues addressed at the conven-tions included "The purpose of history in the consciousness of the people" in Heidelberg and Frankfurt, "The elements of European civilisation" in Prague, "Culture as a social problem" in Barcelona and "The role of the spiritual in the construction of Europe" in Vienna (Schulz 2010).

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4 Author's translation.

5 Note that many of the names mentioned here were involved in similar actions carried out by other organisations such as Pen International or IIIC (see Roig-Sanz and Subirana 2020.)

For the Vienna conference, Rohan invited Hugo von Hofmannsthal to deliver the inaugural lecture. Hofmannsthal was Austrian like Rohan and, like Rohan, longed to restore some of the status of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Specifically, he wanted Europe to be the model of the "*imperium* with mediaeval roots" as the bearer of a "supra-national idea [. . .] capable of uniting even opposing traditions: the old Europe, which relies on the synthesis of Western Christianity and Antiquity, and a Russia tending towards Asia"[6] (Ramas San Miguel 2019, 472–473). That is why, in his speech, he argued for the importance of his nation in the old continent "presenting Austria as an example for Europe and stressing the importance of a right balance between national and European thinking" (Vanheste 2007, 200). It is unlikely that this was a coincidence, as Rohan sought soft power: Hofmannsthal was a recognised intellectual, with an international platform and propounded a discourse well-suited to Rohan's beliefs and interests.

Although superficially it would appear that the organisation was exclusively based on cultural foundations, far removed from the political, the truth is that conservative bias helped shape Rohan's Europeanist project, as he, like so many other intellectuals of the time, feared an 'invasion' by Eastern peoples, Islam and Bolshevik ideology.[7] Hence, the institution's supposed apoliticism soon began to echo certain fascist ideals. As Müller states, "actively supporting the idea of a conservative revolution, Karl Anton Rohan and a majority of the *Kulturbund's* partisans were attracted by Italian fascism" (2004, 103)

It is not surprising, therefore, that Mussolini's government showed its affection to Rohan and the institution and that, in 1925, the congress held in Milan had "an overwhelming official Italian presence." So much so that Rohan was invited to "move the headquarters of his movement to Rome," a proposal that the Austrian rejected (Martín Gijón 2012, 6). The 1927 congress, held between Heidelberg and Frankfurt, was also tinged with ideology "by the bitter discussions between Germans and Italians about the policy of the Fascist regime in South Tyrol" (Martín Gijón 2012, 7). However, it seems that, at the 1928 Prague meeting,

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6 Author's translation.

7 Rohan's ideas were similar to those of, for example, the French writer Henri Massis. In 1926 he published "Défense de l'Occident" in *La Revue Universelle*, which he edited. In this article he argued that Western culture (based on the principles of Greece and Rome and Christianity) was at that time endangered by the rise of Bolshevism and the Eastern peoples, who were dangerously spreading their anarchic influence throughout Europe. However, Massis considered that the culprits of this expansion were Russian and German intellectuals. It should not be forgotten that the author belonged to the circle of Charles Maurras and the ultra-nationalist and reactionary *L'Action Française*. "Défense de l'Occident" would be the preamble to a volume with the same title that was published in 1927 (Garbisu 2017, 175–179).

it was possible to maintain a certain ideological neutrality, thanks to the interventions of Jung and Le Corbusier; and the same happened in Barcelona.

The Barcelona Convention took place from 16 to 18 October 1929, as part of the Universal Exhibition. It was held at the University assembly halls with the theme "The social issue of cultural vulgarisation." Four months before its inauguration, Rohan had visited Barcelona to finalise preparations for the event. During his stay, he gave an interview to the newspaper *El Sol* in which he stressed the pacifist, non-political and integrating goals of the Federation: "I have devoted my entire life to a single purpose, which takes up all my energies: intellectual rapprochement between different people around the globe," he stated. "It is my obsession and I devote, and will continue to devote, every minute of my life to that idea." He also added, gently referring to the possibility of Franco-German reconciliation:

> I am proud to think that this work of true pacifism, which, as you know, is one of ideas, has emerged, incubated and developed in one of the defeated countries, and has come to bear fruit in the cradle of the victors. What I mean by that is that ideas have no geographical homeland; this homeland is as large as the world.[8]   (*El Sol*, 6-06-1929)

Despite these appeasing words, by October 1929 Rohan's thinking had clearly already turned toward fascist principles, a shift that would become increasingly pronounced from the beginning of the 1930s, when Rohan "initiated a clear rapprochement with the National Socialists" (Martín Gijón 2012, 8). Only two more congresses were held in this decade, in Zurich in 1932 and Budapest in 1934. In parallel to the Zurich congress, the Italian faction of the association organised a congress in Rome, approved by Rohan, at which irrationality and racism were the keynote of the papers and speeches.

As Müller states, "the Kulturbund's annual meetings involved around 300 participants," which, in addition to numerous local meetings held in each country, "turned Rohan's association into the most important intellectual network on the continent" (2004, 104); but in the 1930s, Rohan's initially apolitical and conciliatory project succumbed to ideology. Eventually, with the Budapest

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8 The original text reads as follows: "He consagrado mi vida entera a un solo fin, que absorbe todas mis energías: el acercamiento intelectual entre los distintos pueblos del globo. Es mi obsesión, y en pro de esa idea sacrifico y sacrificaré gustoso todos los minutos que viva. [. . .] Estoy orgulloso de pensar que esta obra de verdadero pacifismo, que, como usted sabe, es de las ideas, haya nacido y se haya incubado y desarrollado en uno de los países vencidos, yendo a dar su primer fruto en la cuna de los vencedores. Quise así significar que las ideas no tienen una patria geográfica, sino que esta patria es tan grande como todo el mundo."

congress of 1934, held under the Nazi shadow, the activities of the International Federation of Intellectual Unions came to an end.

2 *Europäische Revue* and the Cultural Journals of the Interwar Period

A key role in the consolidation of the Cultural Union as an intellectual network was played by *Europäische Revue*, which, as said, linked up with other similar European journals. In the 1920s a number of publications were launched or consolidated in Europe which, despite their differences, had a number of points in common: a vision of culture based on a cosmopolitanism that would transcend geographical borders, a non-political stance and highly-cultured readers as their ideal audience. Beyond those already mentioned were the Italian publications *Il Convegno* and *La Fiera Letteraria*, the Swiss journal *Neue Schweizer Rundschau* and the German-based *Die Neue Runsdchau*.

In order to achieve their goal of a cosmopolitan vision, the journals published cultural and critical pieces (mainly on literature and thought) from other countries; for example, it is well-known that *Revista de Occidente* introduced Franz Kafka to Spain by publishing the stories *The Metamorphosis*, *A Hunger Artist* and *First Sorrow* (López Campillo 1972, 222). Likewise, *La Nouvelle Revue Française* published the essay "James Joyce" by Valery Larbaud in the April 1922 issue. Additionally, in their quest to break down national barriers and promote cultural dissemination, these publications also chose to establish a close connection in three interesting ways: by exchanging copies of their issues, sharing texts and swapping collaborators. This phenomenon can be better understood by looking at specific cases.

In the case of exchanging copies, it was common for each journal's offices to receive issues of the others, which were then mentioned in the sections that many of these publications included for this purpose, e.g. *The Criterion* would receive copies of *La Nouvelle Revue Française* or *La Fiera Letteraria*, which would then be mentioned in the "Foreign Reviews" or "Foreign Periodicals" section. The sharing of texts was also common; the same piece would often appear translated in several of the journals, e.g., Larbaud's essay on James Joyce could also be read in *The Criterion*, as well as *La Nouvelle Revue Française* (Larbaud 1922). Finally, it was also quite common to see the name of writers from one journal among the pages of one of its sister publications. Furthermore, some of these names became cultural correspondents for their countries in foreign publications, as was the case of Antonio Marichalar, a regular contributor

to *Revista de Occidente*, and Max Rychner, editor of *Neue Schweizer Rundschau*, who became the chroniclers of Spanish and German culture, respectively, in *The Criterion*.

This phenomenon has already been studied by scholars such as Jason Harding (2002), Roig-Sanz (2013), Gayle Rogers (2012), and Jeroen Vanheste (2007), who have analysed this cultural transfer in specific papers; or from a more general perspective, such as that of German professor Hanno Ehrlicher (2014), who recently addressed the phenomenon of literary journals, describing them as a "privileged medium for understanding the mechanisms of production and dissemination of world literature"[9] (Ehrlicher 2014, 5). However, by 1946, the poet T.S. Eliot, also editor of *The Criterion* from 1922 to 1939, referred to this at one of the three lectures he gave on German radio under the title "The Unity of European Culture"; specifically in the latter, he stated:

> I mentioned in my last talk that I had started and edited, between the wars, a literary review. [. . .] In starting this review, I had the aim of bringing together the best in new thinking and new writing in its time, from all the countries of Europe that had anything to contribute to the common good. Of course, it was designed primarily for English readers, and therefore all foreign contributions had to appear in an English translation. [. . .] Second, I tried to establish relations with those literary periodicals abroad, the aims of which correspond most nearly to my own. I mention, as instances, the *Nouvelle Revue Française* [. . .], the *Neue Rundschau*, the *Neue Schweizer Rundschau*, the *Revista de Occidente* in Spain, *Il Convegno* and others in Italy. (Eliot 1962 [1948], 115–116)

He went on to explain that there was a fluid relationship between the editors and contributors[10] of these publications, making it possible for them to exchange their opinions and ideas. They used to communicate with each other through personal meetings and, mostly, letters; this correspondence therefore became one of the key tools for sharing information among this network.[11] During the interwar years, therefore, these publications developed a strong cultural network for the circulation of ideas, as Eliot himself said in his lecture:

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9 Author's translation.

10 In European journals, the majority of contributors and editors were men. In the United States, on the other hand, there were cases of women at the helm of similar journals: for example, between 1924 and 1925, Alyse Gregory was managing editor of *The Dial* and was replaced by Marianne Moore, who took the reins of the journal until its closure in 1929 (Ozieblo 2002). To this should be added the figure of the Argentinean Victoria Ocampo, creator of *Sur* in 1931.

11 According to Espagne and Werner, a "network" designates a group of people between whom a circuit of epistolary or oral exchanges functions, justified, for example, by the aim of publishing a journal on a regular basis (2008, 209). In this respect, the T.S. Eliot's correspondence, which Faber and Faber has been publishing in recent years, is of vital importance. To date, nine volumes of his letters, covering the period 1898–1941, have been published.

> I am still of the opinion, twenty-three years after I began, and seven years after I ended, that the existence of such a network of independent reviews, at least one in every capital of Europe, is necessary for the transmission of ideas -and to make possible the circulation of ideas while they are still fresh.
>
> (Eliot 1962 [1948], 116)

Eliot did not explicitly mention it, but this network of journals also included the German publication *Europäische Revue*. The first issue of *Europäische Revue* was published in April 1925. With the patronage of Lilly von Mallinckrodt-Schnitzler and a monthly periodicity, it was first based in Leipzig and then in Berlin, although Rohan's initial choice was, as for the *Kulturbund* and for similar reasons, the city of Vienna, as he wrote in a mission statement, in French, enclosed in a letter to José Ortega y Gasset on 13 July 1924:

> For the same purpose I am in the process of founding an international journal in Vienna. The contemporary Austria, having no imperialist desire, seems to me by its old historical tradition the right place for an enterprise of this kind, since it has been able to obtain the confidence and support of all the great nations of Europe. Vienna is a German-speaking city, and an old centre of Germanic culture. It is the only place that can serve as a bridge between the Western countries and Germany. The events in Germany demonstrate, without further comments, the great danger that would arise from the continued psychic isolation of Germany. The journal is intended to be a platform through which Western politicians and writers can come into immediate contact with the German-speaking countries. For these reasons the journal will be called *Europäische Revue* ("European Review") and will be published in German. For these reasons, too, it will not be bound to any party and will confine itself to providing information. It is a journal, in the true sense of the word, of the thoughts of all specialities and parties, always with the aim of creating an atmosphere of understanding.[12]

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12 Archivo de la Fundación José Ortega y Gasset-Gregorio Marañón, sig. C-97/37b. The original text reads as follows: «Dans le même but je suis en train de fonder à Vienne une Revue internationale. L'Autriche actuelle n'ayant aucun désir impérialiste me semble par sa vieille tradition historique l'endroit indiqué pour une entreprise de cette sorte, étant donné qu'elle a pu obtenir la confiance et l'appui de toutes les grandes nations de l'Europe. Vienne est une ville de langue allemande, et un vieux centre de culture germanique. Elle est le seul endroit qui peut servir comme trait d'union entre les pays occidentaux et l'Allemagne. Les évènements en Allemagne démontrent sans commentaire le grand danger qui proviendrait de la continuation de l'isolement psychique de l 'Allemagne. La Revue en question a le but de devenir la plateforme par laquelle les hommes politiques et les écrivains occidentaux pourront entrer en contact immédiat avec les pays germaniques. Pour ces raisons, la Revue portera le nom *Europäische Revue* ("Revue Européenne") et sera publiée en allemand. Pour ces raisons aussi elle ne se liera à aucun parti et se contentera d'accomplir son œuvre d'information. Revue, dans le propre sens du mot, de la pensée de toute spécialité et partie, toujours dans le but de créer une atmosphère de compréhension.»

In the same letter, Rohan asked Ortega y Gasset for his own contribution, as well as the names of Spanish writers who might submit pieces for this new journal. He also included a list of possible contributors from other countries, including André Gide, Thomas Mann, Stefan Zweig, Romain Rolland, and Paul Valéry.

This letter made Rohan's intentions abundantly clear: on the one hand, he was once again reaffirming Austria's historical past and its role as a bridge between Germany and Europe; on the other, he was conducting an intensive campaign to promote his journal, in order to give it an international character by including in it a possible list of contributors (no doubt, as with the *Kulturbund* congresses, another form of soft power). Moreover, in 1926 he hired the Romanist and journalist Max Clauss as the journal's editorial secretary (editor-in-chief, to all intents and purposes), and it was he, Clauss, who was responsible for giving the *Europäische Revue* the international character that Rohan sought.

Clauss was a very enthusiastic 24-year-old at that time. He had studied in Paris and Heidelberg and was a student of two important German intellectuals: the Romance language literary critic Ernst Robert Curtius and the economist Adolf Weber, who had helped him forge his ideas. He was firmly pro-European and committed to Franco-German reconciliation (Henry 2017, 48). As editorial secretary of *Europäische Revue*, he promoted this pro-European philosophy: he reinforced collaboration with his European colleagues and insisted on including foreign pieces, encouraging the journal's *Dans junge Europa* section that covered contributions from young writers, who reflected on the concept of Europe and the situation of the old Continent. Mostly, however, Clauss strove to build close links with other similar publications and create a network of inter-war cultural journals.

This is seen in another letter to Ortega y Gasset dated 16 June 1926, in which Clauss explained to the Spanish philosopher that, in order to keep his readers informed about European intellectual activities, *Europäische Revue* wanted to include a permanent section under the title *Aus den Zeitschriften*, which would review articles from other Western journals; in short, it would be similar to the "Memento de revistas" or "Foreign Reviews" sections in *Revista de Occidente* and *The Criterion*, respectively. To this end, he proposed to Ortega y Gasset that they could start exchanging copies of *Europäische Revue* and *Revista de Occidente*. Clauss wrote:

> From the first of July we have introduced a permanent section in our journal, *Aus den Zeitschriften*, in which we quote articles of European importance, indicating their title, author and the journal in which they appeared.

> We would be very happy to mention the studies that appear in your journal and to this
> end we propose that you send it to us regularly in exchange for ours. We would be grate-
> ful if you could give us an affirmative answer on this matter.[13]

Clauss also contacted *La Nouvelle Revue Française*, *Nuova Antologia* and *The
Criterion*, among others. And he launched an interesting initiative with these
four journals: the "Five Reviews' Literary Award," a project whose aim once
again was to strengthen cultural collaboration between different European
countries and to give prominence to the German tradition in Europe. This repre-
sented one more example of soft power through culture.

3 The "Five Reviews' Literary Award"

On 13 May 1929, Clauss wrote to T.S. Eliot, inviting *The Criterion* to join the proj-
ect, which seven days later the Englishman accepted "with great pleasure"
(Eliot 2013, 501–502). Clauss would go on to write to Ortega y Gasset, Jean Paul-
han and Tommaso Tittoni, then editors of *Revista de Occidente, La Nouvelle
Revue Française* and *Nuova Antologia,* to extend the same invitation. Just like
Eliot, all of them accepted.

The initiative comprised a storytelling award, in which each year one of the
five journals would run the contest: the prize was open to any European citizen
who wished to take part, regardless of nationality, although the text had to be
written in the language of the organising journal; the theme of the story was
open, but it had to have a "European scope" and highlight "the profound ten-
dencies of our time"[14] ("Un experimento europeo" 1929, 279–280); the jury
would consist of two prestigious intellectuals from the country of the organis-
ing journal plus a further five members, one per publication. Finally, the win-
ner would receive a sum of money as well as simultaneous publication in the

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13 Archivo de la Fundación José Ortega y Gasset-Gregorio Marañón, sig. C-60/16. The original
text reads as follows: « A partir du premier juillet nous avons inauguré dans notre Revue une
rubrique permanente, *Aus den Zeitschriften,* dans laquelle nous citons les articles d'importance
européenne en indiquant leur titre, leur auteur et la revue dans laquelle ils ont paru. Nous
serions tous disposés à faire mention des études qui paraissent dans votre Revue et à cet effet
nous vous proposons de nous la faire parvenir régulièrement en échange de la nôtre. Vous
seriez bien aimable de nous donner votre réponse affirmative à ce sujet. »
14 The original text reads as follows: "Arraigada en el suelo del país de su autor, tendrá un *al-
cance europeo,* siguiendo, así, la ley de toda obra de primera línea. El tema queda, por entero, al
arbitrio del autor. Sin embargo, se concederá la preferencia a las novelas que [. . .] sepan mani-
festar *las tendencias profundas de nuestra época.*"

five participating journals, i.e. in German, English, Spanish, French and Italian. While the proposal was not without risk, if it was successful, it would create a close connection between these five publications for at least five years (and therefore an extraordinary coexistence of different cultures and languages as well as a considerable amount of translation work); and, above all, the opportunity to promote new prose writers in Europe.

The initiative began well, and the first edition of the contest went ahead. Naturally, it was organised by *Europäische Revue* (by Clauss) and the entries were therefore in German. As agreed, the journals published the call for entries, although some with more enthusiasm than others: while *Revista de Occidente* merely published the entry requirements in its May 1929 issue, *The Criterion* announced the contest in "A Commentary," a section written by Eliot himself, devoted to reviewing the issue's highlights. On this occasion, in the July 1929 issue, one of the headings of his *commentary* was entitled "An International Award," where Eliot detailed the entry requirements and praised the contest's pro-European spirit, that "European scope" demanded by "our times" requested in its bases:

> *The Criterion* is to cooperate with four other European Reviews in presenting a new form of literary prize. [. . .] It is obvious that such an enterprise is sympathetic to a review like *The Criterion*, which has always tried to make known in England the best of foreign thought and literary art. We feel some pride in the fact that *The Criterion* was the first literary review in England to print work by such writers as Marcel Proust, Paul Valéry, Jacques Rivière, Ramón Fernandez, Jacques Maritain, Charles Mauras, Henri Massis, Wilhelm Worringer, Max Scheler, E.R. Curtius, and others. We welcome the opportunity of association with reviews of the same standing and of similar ideals in their respective countries. (Eliot 1929, 577)

The announcement in the five publications resulted in close to 300 entries. On this first occasion, the jury consisted of Curtius and Mann, plus a representative from each journal, and the prize was awarded to *Der Hauptmann von Kapernaum*, by Ernst Wiechert, with five votes in favour, one against, and one abstention. The result was announced in the December 1929 issue of *Europäische Revue* and the accompanying explanation stated that none of the submissions "fully met the objective of the contest" and that this was instrumental in the choice of *Der Hauptmann von Kapernaum*, a Prussian military-themed novel, which focused on "the conception of great human and contemporary tension" and the "search for formal perfection"[15] (quoted in Golaszewski 2017, 9–10).

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15 Author's translation.

As stipulated in the competition's terms, the next step was supposed to be simultaneous publication of the winning entry; but not all the publications did so. *Europäische Revue* and *Revista de Occidente* both published the work in their December 1929 issues: the former in its original version and the latter under the title "El Centurión de Cafarnaum," with no named translator; *The Criterion* published it in 1930 under the name "The Centurion," translated by Marjorie Gabain; and *La Nouvelle Revue Française*, in February 1930 under the title "Le Centurion de Capharnaüm," translated by Pierre Isler. For unknown reasons, however, it appears that *Nuova Antologia* never published the winning entry.[16]

Once the first edition was finalised, it was now time to organise the second edition of the event, in 1930, this time under the guidance of *The Criterion* and, therefore, in English. Eliot himself took the reins as, from the beginning, the English poet had been very enthusiastic about the project. He had described it as "An International Award" and had praised it again in "The Five Reviews' Award," another *commentary* published in *The Criterion*'s January issue in 1930, in which he presented the winning story of the first edition and announced that *The Criterion* would be organising the second. He was also proud of publicising new prose written in other languages with this initiative, and reiterated the pro-European spirit that the prize demanded, expressed in the previous commentary:

> We take particular pleasure in the inception of this form of international activity [. . .] It is not merely a means of bringing to notice new prose writers in five languages, or a means of comparing the methods and views of the writers of five peoples. We remark upon it still more as visible evidence of a community of interest, and a desire for cooperation, between literary and general reviews of different nations, which has been growing steadily since 1918, and which is now so much more pronounced than at any time before the war as to be almost a new phenomenon. All of these periodicals, and others, have endeavoured to keep the intellectual blood of Europe circulating throughout the whole of Europe. (Eliot 1930, 182)

In order to effectively organise the second edition, Eliot corresponded with Clauss repeatedly between October 1929 and January 1930. In several of his letters he put forward new ideas for the contest: on the one hand, the publication of the five winning entries in a single volume, five years later (Eliot 2013, 628–629); on the other hand, the involvement of another publication in the

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16 It is possible that it was not published because the journal experienced very turbulent circumstances between 1929 and 1931 (during which several of its directors died), which may have led to a lack of interest in the project.

contest: the American journal *The Hound and Horn*, which had shown interest in the project; and finally, the possible participation of Latin American publications in future editions (Eliot 2013, 718).

Eliot's ideas were both ambitious and exciting, because extending involvement to a North American publication and, over time to journals from Latin America meant, firstly, making a five-review contest into six (or over the years, seven) and secondly, making a continental award intercontinental; and in doing so converting a European project into a Western one, extending cultural and literary exchanges across the Atlantic, and broadening and enriching the existing intellectual network. However, Eliot's proposal remained just that, as none of it transpired and there was no second edition of the contest. The reason? A likely, but still speculative explanation, may have been a clash between the German and French journals and, more specifically, between their editors Max Clauss and Jean Paulhan.

Correspondence, in particular a letter from Eliot to Lincoln Kirstein (editor of *The Hound and Horn*), dated on 14 October 1931, shows that the "Six Reviews Prize" –as he already called it– was not going ahead due to issues between the two editors. He wrote: "I should have let you know long ago that the Six Reviews Prize has been abandoned. I am not quite clear what the trouble was, but I gather that Max Clauss and Jean Paulhan failed to agree about some detail of [the] arrangement" (Eliot 2014, 687).

Eliot's enthusiasm and commitment to the "Five Reviews' Literary Award" would continue over time and with it, that network of journals fell by the wayside because the leaders of *Europäische Revue* and *La Nouvelle Revue Française* did not see eye to eye. It is not known exactly why the two publications disagreed; it is difficult to explain given that one of the main goals of *Europäische Revue* was rapprochement between France and Germany through culture. However, the most likely explanation is that the divide between the two publications was ideological.

Vanheste suggests this when he alludes to "international circumstances," although he does not provide precise details to corroborate his hypothesis (2007, 36). But the fact is that, as with the *Kulturbund, Europäische Revue* also became increasingly radicalised. We have already mentioned that in the early 1930s Rohan's fascist sympathies increased and in fact approached that of National Socialism, which also manifested itself in *Europäische Revue. La Nouvelle Revue Française*, on the other hand, showed a tendency far removed from this ideology. We need only look at specific data to confirm this: in 1932, while *La Nouvelle Revue Française* published pro-Soviet texts by André Gide (Hermetet 2013, 114), *Europäische Revue*, reflecting the congress held in Rome that year, devoted "a laudatory monograph to the ten years of fascism in Italy and even

an issue on the Jewish problem" (Martín Gijón 2012, 8). A few months later, in 1933, the German journal openly supported Hitler's Germany and in 1934, Joseph Goebbels' Ministry of Propaganda took control of the journal. By this time Clauss had already resigned in the face of this clearly politicised drift.

4 Conclusion

Rohan created the European Cultural Union in 1922 with aims that were in principle conciliatory and apolitical: a bringing together of the peoples of Europe through culture and a rapprochement of the German tradition with France and the rest of the Continent. It used the soft power of culture to achieve its aims by opening branches in different countries, organising annual congresses at which the revival of old European values were debated, enlisting the most prestigious intellectuals and, in summary, succeeded in creating an important European network for the transmission of ideas. But the yearning for former Austrian glory, the fear of Bolshevism and Rohan's subsequent rapprochement with fascism meant that, after the Milan congress of 1925, the organisation's initial aims began to falter and, by the end of the decade, it had veered towards extremism. The soft power of culture had turned to ideology.

With the *Europäische Revue*, the drift of the *Kulturbund* seemed at first to be contained, thanks to the work of Clauss. The young editor succeeded in publishing leading foreign figures in its pages, managed to create a network of knowledge with other similar journals by exchanging texts, journals and contributors, and in 1929 launched an important initiative linking, in principle, five journals from five countries (two Anglo-Saxon and three Latin: Germany, England, France, Italy and Spain), with five different languages in the "Five Reviews' Literary Award."

The "Reviews' Literary Award" initiative could have been a beacon of European cooperation as envisaged; strengthened the link between German culture and the rest of Europe, as intended by the organisation and the journal; and above all, could have consolidated a network of reviews for the promotion of that circulation of "the intellectual blood of Europe [. . .] throughout the whole of Europe" that Eliot called for in his 1930 *commentary*. Yet the ideological extremes sown in Europe in the 1930s eventually also bled into culture, the press, journals and literary initiatives like this, which failed in its second edition. Once again, the soft power of culture turned to ideology.

Eliot acknowledged in 1946 on German radio that political motivations had disrupted the flow of ideas between the publications:

> And I attribute this failure chiefly to the gradual closing of the mental frontiers of Europe. A kind of cultural autarky followed inevitably upon political and economic autarky. This did not merely interrupt communications: I believe that it had a numbing effect upon creative activity within every country. (Eliot 1962 [1948], 116)

The literary journals involved in the fiction award, apolitical in their initial purpose, ended up becoming ideological to a greater or lesser extent; and not surprisingly all of them either closed or were shut down during the 1930s or 1940s because of impending conflicts: *Revista de Occidente* stopped operating in 1936 with the outbreak of the Spanish civil war; followed by *The Criterion* in 1939, *La Nouvelle Revue Française* in 1940, and *Nuova Antologia* in 1943, due to the Second World War. While the latter two, along with *Revista de Occidente,* were revived and continue today, the *Europäische Revue*, the driver behind the contest, disappeared forever in 1944, while Europe and the rest of the world crumbled around it.

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Lucía Campanella

Two Anarchist Cultural Agents Forging the Twentieth-Century Uruguayan Cultural Field: Publishing as Soft Power

This chapter seeks to explore a phenomenon within Uruguayan culture through the lens of soft power, as defined by Joseph Nye (1990, 2021). Orsini Bertani and Benito Milla were anarchist cultural agents who operated in Uruguay's literary field at two key moments in the twentieth century. Both men were foreign to Uruguay, and both exerted their influence over local culture for a certain time period after having engaged with politics and culture in other countries. As anarchists, they participated in politics through their actions and words. In Uruguay, where they were not involved in direct military action, they took on plenty of critical work as agents, booksellers, publishers, printers, and magazine editors. This cultural work is what I'm interested in investigating through the notion of soft power. By analysing archive materials that allow us to address two specific life episodes in which the oscillation between hard and soft power is especially evident, I conclude that the latter concept is befitting when considering anarchist cultural internationalism, as embodied through these two agents who transited the local cultural field.

1 Two Anarchists in the Uruguayan Cultural Field

Orsini Bertani (Cavriago, 1869–Montevideo, 1939) was born in Italy, and after several stays in Argentina and France, he settled in Montevideo around 1902, where he published many authors of the "Generación del 900." Meanwhile, the Spanish Benito Milla (Villena, 1918[1] – Barcelona, 1987) arrived in Montevideo in 1951, and through his magazines as well as his publishing house, Alfa, he ultimately shaped the "Generación crítica," also known as the "Generación del '45," following his painful exile in France and Argentina. Both anarchists (Milla being a lifelong one while Bertani's case was more complex, as we will see later on), were internationalists, multilingual, boasted transnational projects and

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[1] Here, I am following Karina Jannello (2018, 202), who acknowledges the lack of certainty around Milla's birth date but nonetheless choses the year 1918, as, in an interview, he claimed to have been born that year.

contacts, and were on the frontlines of the anarchist battles of their times: Bertani during the so-called "anarchist terror" of the late nineteenth century in France, and Milla in the Spanish Revolution. Orsini Bertani was involved with illegalising French groups from 1892 to 1894, facing trial and condemnation in one of the world's most paradigmatic cases against anarchists. Benito Milla actively participated in the anarchist bloc during the Spanish revolution, as a combatant and as secretary of Juventudes Libertarias (The Iberian Federation of Libertarian Youth) within Durruti's column from 1936 to 1937 (Peirats 2009, 345; Jannello 2018, 202), until his exile in Toulouse, where he continued his propagandist work. Both of these men's publishing work in Montevideo was relatively short-lived, for about fifteen years each. In Bertani's case, it spanned from 1902 to 1917, when his publishing house closed (though he participated in publishing work elsewhere, editing the magazine *La Pluma*, for instance). Meanwhile, Milla's publishing work in the city unfolded from 1951 to 1967, when he moved to Venezuela. In these short years, their influence over vernacular culture and the ties they established with key foreign actors were quite notable.

However, studies focusing on the two's roles as editors and actors in the Uruguayan cultural field (Torres Torres 2014, 2015; Rocca 2012, 2018) do not consider their "anarchist sympathies" in depth, and, in Bertani's case, some of these studies even include serious mistakes regarding his anarchist affiliation. Recently, Karina Jannello's research on Milla (2013, 2014, 2018) has repositioned his work within a well-defined ideological framework, while certain findings from my research on Bertani's transit through France would allow us to reconsider his political position and transnational connections. In both cases, certain archival work[2] can help reconstruct a significant portion of both their trajectories in order to consider how politics unfolded in their publishing work. The expansive Orsini Bertani, named after the Italian revolutionary who

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2 During a research stay financed by CSIC – Udelar en la Université Rennes 2, hosted by Joël Delhom, the following dossiers were reviewed: "Révolutionnaires et anarchistes italiens à Paris, jusqu'à 1911" (BA 913); "État nominatif des anarchistes italiens en fuite 1897" (BA 913); and "Procès intenté pour affiliation à une association de malfaiteurs dit Procès des Trente" (BA 1505), among others (Archives de la Préfecture de Police de Paris); as well as "Bertani, Orsini" (19940434/279) (Archives de la Sûreté Fonds Moscou – Archives Nationales, Paris) and "Bertani, Orsini" (4 M 493) and "Affaire relative au Cercle de la Méditerranée" (4 M 1246) (Archives Départementales des Alpes-Maritimes). More recently, regarding Benito Milla, I consulted the International Association for Cultural Freedom Records 1941–1978 – Hanna Holbron Gray Special Collections Research Centre in University of Chicago Library, specifically several boxes labelled "Series VI: Latin American Institute of International Relations (ILARI), 1954–1972."

attempted to murder Napoleon III in 1858 with what would come to be known as the "Orsini bomb," and the discrete Milla, whose past as a militia member was unknown to many of his clients and acquaintances in Montevideo, incarnated two forms of anarchist militancy through their work in the cultural field. While their paths never crossed in the city where they both lived (Bertani died a few years before Milla arrived in Uruguay) they both made their mark in terms of the cultural tradition they generated, which we may understand in terms of anarchist soft power.

2 The Orsini Bomb

Beyond a few isolated mentions of Bertani in the histories of anarchism (Suriano 2001; Zaragoza 1996) and in the anecdotal narrations of militants (Fabbri 2005; Camba 2015), the Italian printer and bookseller Orsini Bertani has also piqued the interest of several biographical researchers (Rocca 2012, 2018; Tarcus 2007) who have described him as a major actor in Uruguay's turn-of-the-twentieth-century culture (known as the '900) ever since he settled in Montevideo in the early twentieth century. Alongside his family, which became politicised in Italy, Bertani moved to Buenos Aires, where he took on militant activities in the anarchist realm from 1886 (Rocca 2018) to 1902. According to Diego Abad de Santillán (Tarcus 2007, 68), it was in that city that Bertani embodied "the soul of *El Perseguido*," a multilingual individualist anarchist newspaper published from 1890 to 1897. The period he spent in France from 1892 to 1894, which has been briefly mentioned in the literature (by Ferrer 2017 and Rocca 2018, though the latter's description of the dates and features are presumably erroneous), cannot be overlooked when reconstructing Bertani's ties to transnational anarchism and his relationship to major actors in anarchist culture.

Understanding what motivated Bertani to return to Europe is no easy task, but police records – first in Nice and then in Paris – suggest that he took part in illicit activities in order to contribute to the anarchist cause. Notwithstanding the care with which such sources must be handled, these records, when combined with the press of the time, provide details on Bertani's singular trajectory, which was nonetheless typical of the Italian anarchists who were in France at the time. This trajectory culminated with Bertani being tried in one of the French state's most salient prosecutions of anarchists of the nineteenth century. Indeed, the *Procès des Trente* trial that unfolded in Paris in August of 1894 – in which the French judiciary attacked the anarchists' top brass through

the *loi scélérate*[3] – jointly processed some thirty anarchists. Thus, as France deployed a new judicial construct, namely, criminal association, Bertani was tied to the likes of Jean Grave, Sébastien Faure, and Félix Fénéon. He was accused of stealing and possessing stolen goods but was ultimately condemned for arms possession. Bertani was one of the only three people who were condemned in the process, and he was thus expelled from France.

By examining the French intelligence's dossier on Orsini Bertani, we may note that the authorities already considered Bertani a person of interest in 1892. One report by Commissioner Court (1st Division, Maritime Alps region), presents him as "a militant anarchist who was very well known in Nice."[4] The report provides dates and exact addresses regarding Bertani's stays in Nice as well as details on the places and people he frequented, even though Bertani used a fake identity. This high level of surveillance must be understood within a broader framework. Italian immigration to the Maritime Alps had intensified for economic reasons, especially given the shared land border between the two countries. While most of the Italians who settled in the region were perceived as illiterate workers and artisans looking to survive, a few individuals who were identified as anarchists drew immense attention from the authorities. According to Gastaut (2007), this interest can be explained by the generalisation of attacks on French soil starting in 1890, especially with the bomb set off by François-Claudius Koeningstein, also known as "Ravachol," at the Véry restaurant in Paris on March 30, 1892, as well as the involvement of Italian anarchists in violent, high-impact events that marked French society: in 1894, the Italian anarchist Sante Caserio assassinated the president of France, Marie-François Sadi Carnot. The stereotype of the Italian, anarchist terrorist drew interest from the authorities, who coordinated several surveillance measures, some in cooperation with other countries. Bertani's dossier in *Fonds Moscou* includes information on the communications between the French, Italian and Monacan authorities of the time regarding Bertani's alleged illegal activities. Specifically, the accusation that Bertani forged currency – a claim that was printed in numerous reports but never proved – originated in the Italian Consulate, as Commissioner Court describes in the previously cited report. These

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3 This is what detractors of the law called it (*scélérate* means scoundrel). It comprised three separate laws: that of December 12, 1893, which modified the prior press law, that of December 18 of the same year, on criminal association, and that of July 28, 1894, on the repression of anarchist associations.

4 "Rapport à Monsieur le Préfet des Alpes Maritimes, Nice, le 26 avril 1894. Affaire Bertani Orsini." Dossier "Bertani, Orsini," Fichier central, Direction générale de la Sûreté, Fonds Moscou, Archives Nationales, France.

records of police surveillance were key to Bertani's arrest in March of 1984, in Paris, where he had moved the year prior.

It is possible that the reason Bertani moved to Paris had to do with his militant activities. In 1893, during a sweep at the offices of *La Révolte*, the police seized a letter in which Bertani was introduced to Jean Grave, dated December 23, 1893 (Davranche and Campanella 2021). Ten years before, the Russian anarchist Pyotr Kropotkin and the French anarchist Élisée Reclus had designated Jean Grave, a former shoemaker, as the director of the most widely read anarchist weekly in the world at that time, *La Révolte*,[5] and Grave thus took the helm of its incredibly important literary supplement. Grave stood at the epitome of "immobile transnationalism" (Bantman 2017) and was a central node in a global network of militants that was structured through the exchange of writing, especially letters and the press. Even though, during the trial, Bertani claimed to know nothing of the letter (which, incidentally, cannot be found among the letters of Jean Grave that had been saved to date), its existence, and the consequent relationship among the two men, seems plausible. In fact, a few months before it was seized, in September of 1893, a brief article in *La Révolte* mentioned the newspaper that Bertani published in Buenos Aires, *El Perseguido*, noting how after its inauguration in 1890 it had increased its print run from 500 to 3,500.

In March of 1894, Bertani was arrested in his home in Paris, where the police found the plunder of a band of thieves under another anarchist, Léon Ortiz, who had also been arrested, as well as a woman who introduced herself as Bertani's lover, the Italian Maria Zanini. These arrests took place amid a judicial process that was made possible by a series of laws that the French Parliament had just recently passed. As Joan Halperin recalls, the second *loi scélérate* grouped two different classes of anarchists affiliated to two separate modes of militancy – that is, the "ideologues" and the "de facto propagandists" (1991, 297–298) – under the same umbrella given their shared anarchist goals. These massive arrests (with more than 400 accused in 1894) led to the famous trial of August of 1894, demonstrating the State's intention to legally establish a certain continuity between "bomb anarchists" and "idea anarchists" (Bantman 2014). In so doing, the difference between the exercise of hard and soft power crumbled, as the press, debates, and even anarchist songs were criminalised. Thus, the accused adopted the judicial strategy of attempting to reestablish the historic difference between the pen and the sword, and between the exercise of hard and soft power. With his acute sense of language, it was none other than Stéphane Mallarmé who, through a declaration at the trial in support of the art critic Félix Fénéon, questioned this

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5 Formerly, *Le Revolté*.

umbrella grouping by appealing to a metaphor: "On parle, dites-vous, de détona-teurs. Certes il n'y aurait pas pour Fénéon, de meilleurs détonateurs que ses ar-ticles" ["You are speaking, as you say, of detonators [explosives and detonators had been found in Fénéon's office in the Ministry of War]. Of course, regarding Fénéon, there would be no better detonator than his articles"]. Féneon then rein-forced this idea by pointing out that he only set off literary bombs (Halperin 1991, 418).

The side of "de facto propagandists," the group composed of Ortiz and Ber-tani, among others, followed a parallel and opposite strategy, distancing them-selves from anarchist thought as the origin of their actions: it was better to be seen as common delinquents than as illegalist anarchists. The press's descrip-tions of Bertani's interrogation show this. To the question of whether Bertani had already been involved in anarchist activity in Buenos Aires (the prosecutor bases this interrogation on the aforementioned letter to Jean Grave), Bertani replied that he did not know of the letter and alleged that he was part of an association for the study of social issues, nothing more. He called himself a wine seller and when asked, "Are you an anarchist?" he replied, "Si j'ai des convictions anar-chistes je ne les ai jamais manifestées en France, et la loi française ne peut me condamner. Je n'ai jamais fait la moindre propagande, je suis un commerçant et voilà tout" ["Even if I were to have anarchist convictions, I never manifested them in France, and French law cannot condemn me. I never made the least bit of propaganda. I'm a merchant, and that is all"].[6] Later on, and very signifi-cantly, he argued that he could not be accused of possessing any anarchist mate-rial at the time of his arrest, though he did admit to bearing a weapon.

The strategy paid off, at least for the "ideologues," who were absolved. The "delinquents" bore the brunt (several decades of forced labour for Ortiz and an-other accomplice, Chericotti), while Bertani was only sentenced to a few months in prison, which he had already completed while awaiting trial. In September of 1894, he was expelled from France and taken to the border with Belgium. This apparent judicial triumph did not imply that the "delinquents" eschewed politi-cal activity – quite the contrary. In fact, Ortiz published an anarchist newspaper in London, *La Tribune libre*, with a print run of 3,000 (Bantman 2013, 75) be-tween 1890 and 1891, while also selling the goods he had stolen in France in the English capital. Ortiz's activities in London, in which Bertani may have taken part,[7] were directly related to financing the anarchist cause. Even Jean Grave,

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6 "Interrogatoire de Bertani." *Gazette des tribunaux*, August 8, 1894, year 69, n° 20890.
7 Constance Bantman traced Bertani's presence in London to certain police sources that I have been unable to personally consult to date (Bantman 2007, 678).

who insisted that he did not know the delinquents at the trial, admitted, in his memoirs, that his actions may have financed anarchist propaganda (Grave 2009, 402). The division between action-taking and idea-based anarchists was thus quite blurry, even though the anarchists themselves attempted to draw the line at the trial. With this in mind, I would propose observing Bertani's work as a cultural agent just a few years later, in Montevideo, in a different light. My goal is to understand the extent to which Bertani's anarchism and the time he spent in France, in direct relation to the artifices of end-of-century anarchist culture, may have influenced his operation as an agent in Uruguay.

In 1902, Bertani was already living in Montevideo, where he owned the bookstore Librería Moderna and the press El Arte, while serving as the editor of O. M. Bertani ediciones from 1904 to 1917. His publishing work has been rightly described in terms of its three "facets" (Rocca 2018), among which his work as "editor of the 900," publishing Delmira Agustini, Julio Herrera y Reissig, and Florencio Sánchez, among others, stands out. I would like to layer on another grid, spanning all of his activities as an agent, in which we might glean the mark of anarchism. For starters, as an editor, he published authors who identified with anarchism, either temporarily or permanently, such as Florencio Sánchez and Ángel Falco. Indeed, the influential Spanish-Paraguayan anarchist thinker Rafael Barrett published seven books at Bertani's press. In 1911, Bertani also published a book by the Uruguayan Enrique Erserguer *La anarquía ante la civilización: sociologías muy amargas*. Second, while most of the foreign books in his catalogue aim to entertain (with four titles by Gastón Leroux and one by Maurice Le Blanc), Anatole France, who was much admired by anarchists, also featured one title, and, very notably, two of the libertarian French philosopher Jean-Marie Guyau's works from 1889 were published in Spanish translation in 1912: *Les Problèmes de l'esthétique contemporaine* and *L'Art du point de vue sociologique*. The absence of other foreign books by anarchist thinkers can perhaps be explained by the abundance with which books published under the Valencian Sempere imprint circulated in Uruguay. As of 1900, Sempere published an astonishing amount of revolutionary and politically committed writers. At cheap prices and with haphazard translations, books by Bakunin, Kropotkin, Stirner, Proudhon, Nietzsche, and others "were in everyone's hands, they'd reach the most humble homes, share the darkest little rooms, and would have a seat at the tables of all the bohemian cafés," Zum Felde notes in his *Proceso intelectual del Uruguay* (Pérez de la Dehesa 1969, 251). This leads us to a third element: Bertani, a bookseller, would organise special sales at low prices (Zum Felde especially recalls a "famous sale" of Sempere books at 15 cents), with frequent book clearance sales (Rocca 2018). As a bookseller, he also promoted his bookstore and his publications in the

anarchist press; for instance, he paid for publicity in the social and literary maga-zine *Futuro*, published from 1904 to 1905.

In a movement he shared with many other anarchists (Virginia Bolten and Domingo Arena, for instance), after 1910, Bertani committed to the political-party movement behind José Batlle y Ordóñez, who would become the presi-dent and founder of modern Uruguay. This turn from anarchism to following Batlle ("batllismo") was so pronounced and generalised that the phenomenon came to be known as *anarcobatllismo* (Peterson 2015). In the testimonies of two Italian-Uruguayan anarchist thinkers, Luigi and Luce Fabbri (cited in Rocca 2012), we may read that, in the 1930s, Bertani was already a public servant, having left militancy behind. However, he still considered himself an anarchist. In a letter to a well-known anarchist thinker and revolutionary, Errico Mala-testa, Luigi Fabbri refers to Bertani's past, in the 1890s, saying that "un tempo era molto cattivo (como individualista)" ["for a time he was very bad (as an in-dividualist)"]. Bertani's trajectory from illegalist anarchy to following Batlle's social politics (all while considering himself an anarchist at heart – even Luce Fabbri referred to him as a "*quasi-compagno*" or "quasi comrade") no doubt has caused his contributions to the Uruguayan literary field to rarely be consid-ered in political terms. However, by leaning into the concept of soft power, we may note that Bertani adopted this exercise of persuasion after having partici-pated many other forms of exercising power that might not have been violent, but were definitely illegal. Though drawing conclusions on the political effects of cultural practices is always a risky endeavour, we may argue that, as an agent, Bertani exerted specifically anarchist influence through the publication and circulation of key volumes for the dissemination of such ideas.

3 The Discrete Don Benito

Benito Milla (Villena, 1918–Barcelona, 1987) has recently garnered attention from critics. Alejandra Torres Torres (2014, 2015) has mostly studied him in terms of his editorial work, rarely touching upon his political facet. However, Karina Jannello's studies (2013, 2014, 2018) have contributed to reconceiving Milla's role as a politicised "cultural organiser" (Jannello 2014, 99) while under-scoring his relationship to anarchist networks as a decisive element of his tra-jectory (Jannello 2018, 80). Having committed to the Iberian Federation of Libertarian Youth at a very young age by serving as its secretary within Durru-ti's column during the Spanish Civil War, he participated in various militant publications on the front, continuing such activities throughout his exile in

Toulouse. When the war ended, he went down the same path as many other Spanish people who had fled to France and taken shelter at refugee camps, in terrible conditions. He first went to Argentina and then, in the early 1950s, to Uruguay, where he launched a humble book-selling venture at one of the street plazas in downtown Montevideo. Slowly, Milla grew his business and opened a bookshop that would become a social and cultural centre, while staying involved with anarchist-leaning periodical publications. His first short-lived publication ran from 1951 to 1952, namely, *Cuadernos Internacionales*, with writers like Hans Magnus Enzensberger, Herbert Read, Max Nettlau, and "his personal friend Albert Camus, whom he'd met in Paris and with whom he frequently exchanged letters" (Fontana 2022). He subsequently published *Deslinde* (1956–1961), a magazine with even more intellectual Latin American and Uruguayan writers, like Ernesto Sábato, Octavio Paz, Mario Benedetti, and Emir Rodríguez Monegal. Among other publication ventures and collaborations with further magazines – for instance, in 1954, he collaborated with *Cénit*, a Spanish anarchist magazine published in France by Federica Montseny – from 1965 to 1968 he published the magazine *Temas*, with writers like Luce Fabbri, Günter Grass, Umberto Eco, Arnold Toynbee, and Susan Sontag (Fontana 2022). As of 1958, his publishing house, Alfa, with its nine collections (Torres Torrres 2014) would become the main hub for Uruguayan writers belonging to Generation '45, such as Mario Benedetti, Idea Vilariño, and the generation's "teachers," such as Felisberto Hernández and Juan Carlos Onetti. It was at Alfa that Ángel Rama consolidated himself as an editor, at the helm of the "Letras de hoy" collection. This experience was key to his subsequent labour as editor in chief of another major Uruguayan publishing house of the time, Arca.

As with the latter case, I will focus my analysis on a specific time of this agent's trajectory, allowing us to consider his actions in terms of soft power. This moment was key to cultural and political history, but the influence of anarchists therein has only begun to be taken into account. This period has been referred to as the Cultural Cold War, and in it, from Montevideo, Benito Milla proved a decisive actor, though he was often in the shadows. The notion of soft power has been used to describe the Cultural Cold War's dynamics (Rodríguez Jiménez 2012), efficiently capturing not only the absence of military confrontation, but also and especially the production of cultural hegemony as a desired result. The setting of an agenda, positive attraction, and persuasion (Nye 2021) were key goals for the U.S. government at the time, and the country pursued them by adopting various strategies. One of these was the Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF), which was active for 18 years. The CCF has captivated researchers for three decades (Coleman 1989 and Stonor Saunders 1999), with more recent work focusing on its role in Latin America (Iber 2015). Indeed, over the last

few years, the literature has considered multidirectional flows in the circulation of transnational ideas, the overlap between these flows and the progress and setbacks in the spread of imperialist ideas in Latin America, and the roles of agents (Celentano 2021). A recent debate between the historians Marcelo Casals and Gilbert Joseph on the place that the study of this Latin American perspective and agency should have shown the extent to which the Cultural Cold War remains controversial (Celentano 2021).

Without a doubt, Benito Milla's transnational and anarchist facet led him to approach the CCF, which was founded in 1950 with the goal of influencing the intellectual class in the post-war era in order to keep it from sympathising with the communist bloc. Born of a group of intellectuals who saw themselves as opposed to both Soviet and capitalist authoritarianism (with the likes of Karl Jaspers, John Dewey, Ignazio Silone, Bertrand Russell, Raymond Aron, Benedetto Croce, and Arthur Koestler, and more, among its ranks), its secretariat was in the hands of CIA agent Michael Josselson. Though rumours about the CIA's control over the CCF's programs and funds circulated from the beginning, it was not until Josselson resigned in 1967 that this affiliation was made clear. That same year saw attempts to salvage the organisation with funds from the Ford Foundation, as well as efforts to rebrand it as the International Association for Cultural Freedom (IACF), but the organisation only faltered until it ultimately dissolved. In its apogee, however, this was a global organisation with headquarters in Paris and dozens of offices around the entire world. It basically operated by financing cultural magazines, events, seminars, and scholarships.

Latin America gained special importance for the CCF after the Cuban Revolution of 1959. The sympathy that the revolution drew from hordes of cultural actors all across Latin America led the CCF to modernise its structures throughout the region. The Belgian Luis Mercier Vega (né Charles Cortvrint, 1914–1977) was assigned this task, as his relationship to the CCF dated back to the early 1950s. An anarchist and combatant, Mercier Vega was part of the Sébastien Faure Century contingent of the Durruti Column during the Spanish Civil War and was then briefly exiled to Latin America in the 1940s, thus coming to know the area well while cultivating his contacts in the region. This would make him the ideal director of the Congress's Latin American department, which was technically but not practically separated from the CCF as of 1966, when it was rebranded as the Latin American Institute for International Relations (ILARI). Given their common experience in the Durruti Column, Mercier Vega and Milla cultivated a close friendship, leading the latter to join the CCF's activities. Milla, who had disseminated the CCF's publications as of the 1950s (Jannello 2018, 78), stood at the helm of the Comité Uruguayo de Promoción Social (CUPC), the CCF's headquarters in Uruguay, as of 1965. Montevideo, where

Mercier had already opened a CCF office in 1962 (Iber 2015, 179), thus became a centre of operations, hosting a seminar on Latin American elites in 1965, and serving as a platform for the distribution of printed materials.

Though Milla's relationship to the CCF spans from the 1950s to the late 1960s, I will focus on the 1966–1968 period, in which he became directly involved in the publication of the cultural magazine *Mundo Nuevo*. This magazine, considered by José Donoso as the founder and the voice of the "Latin American boom" (Albuquerque 2011, 21), was directed by the Uruguayan critic Emir Rodríguez Monegal and published in Paris with support from ILARI (that is, the CCF). The association between these two anarchists (Milla and Mercier Vega) as well as Rodríguez Monegal, who considered himself an independent intellectual, has been widely documented in the correspondence of the period preserved by IACF Records (Chicago University, Special Collections), as well as among the Emir Rodríguez Monegal Papers (Princeton University, Firestone Library). As of 1966, more information on the relationship between the CCF and the CIA emerged, and a general period of unease began for the CCF's collaborators, who may or may not have known about their certain ties to the CIA. The actors' degree of awareness of the fact, especially that of the three we are discussing here, is still the subject of debate. Mudrovcic's book on *Mundo Nuevo* (1997) suggests that the matter was altogether clear, which is also the case in Markarian's work (2020, 175–176). Meanwhile, Iber (2015, 214) alleges that Mercier Vega (and consequently Milla and Rodríguez Monegal) had no idea that the CCF's funds were tied to the CIA.

The debacle unfolded in two acts. First, in April of 1966, the *New York Times* published a series of articles denouncing the CIA's ties to the CCF. The articles were translated and published around the world, and Montevideo was no exception. Ángel Rama, who harboured little sympathy for Rodríguez Monegal, published them alongside "an article loaded with venom" (letter from Benito Milla to Mercier Vega, May 9, 1966, IACF Records) in the weekly *Marcha*. From their respective posts, Mercier Vega, Benito Milla, and Rodríguez Monegal rushed to assure their colleagues and the outside public of the ILARI's, CUPC's, and *Mundo Nuevo* magazine's independence. In a letter sent the following month (Benito Milla to Luis Mercier Vega, June 28, 1966, IACF Records), we may glean that this strategy paid off: "Today our activities are [being carried out] as usual," Milla says, despite "the immense pressure that Ángel Rama is putting on *Marcha*." He optimistically states that, "with that whole mess from the NYT [*New York Times*], we've ultimately lost a month's work." But a lot more work would be lost in the months that followed.

In its March 1967 issue, the US magazine *Ramparts* published a report on the CIA's secret financing of civil associations, mainly including the National

Student Association (NSA), but also alluding to the CCF (Sol Stern, "A Short Account of International Student Politics & the Cold War with Particular Reference to the NSA, CIA, Etc"). The way this news was received in Montevideo, as Milla describes in a letter to Mercier Vega dated May 2, 1967 (IACF Records), was diametrically opposed to how it was taken the year before. The CUPC's friends and collaborators hesitated to continue their activities, or at least considered taking a pause. "My sense is that, beyond the people we can confront directly, we shouldn't be counting on anybody," Milla writes. Meanwhile, Mercier Vega wrote to his collaborators to say that the information in *Ramparts* seemed "serious and well founded" and that he'd try to save ILARI (Iber 2015, 214). In the meantime, Rodríguez Monegal wrote a cautionary letter to Pierre Emmanuel, one of the CCF's directors (July 2, 1967, IACF Records), asking the Ford Foundation to publicly fund *Mundo Nuevo*, so that the magazine could cut ties with the CCF. That same month, *Mundo Nuevo* published a letter from the editors that noted that the financial ties between ILARI and the CIA had been "fully admitted," while continuing to highlight the autonomy of its intellectual work: "they can pay independent intellectuals without them knowing. But they can't buy them" (Rodríguez Monegal 1967). *Mundo Nuevo* was ultimately published under Rodríguez Monegal's direction for another year, up until July of 1968, while the disenchanted Milla packed his bags and moved to Venezuela in late 1967 (Jannello 2018, 79). Mercier Vega cut ties with the CCF in the early 1970s (Markarian 2020, 278).

All in all, these people's knowledge of the truth about the funds' origins seems to me less important than their intent to use such funds according to their own convictions. That they appropriated this tool of soft power for their own purposes does not seem to have been unusual, following Iber (2015, 7). Such ends were not expressed in terms of anarchist militancy, but rather in terms of intellectual autonomy. In another letter, Milla expresses his faith that "the seriousness of our labour, its continuity, and continental scope, which few other activities have, will ultimately prevail" (Milla to Mercier Vega, letter from May 2, 1967, IACF Records). We may find a similar sentiment in a letter from Mercier to Horacio Daniel Rodríguez from early March of 1967: "I remain convinced that what we did, what we do, and what we plan to do has nothing to do with, either directly or indirectly, the politics – or any one policy – of the CIA" (cited in Iber 2015, 215). Similarly, Rodríguez Monegal wrote the following to Homero Alsina Thevenet: "My position is that if the CIA is surreptitiously paying *Mundo Nuevo*, then God bless the CIA, because this magazine doesn't play by the CIA's rules, but reflects an authentically Latin American position" (March 21, 1967, IACF Records). In a previous letter, Alsina Thevenet provided examples of this independence by citing articles published in *Mundo Nuevo*

that were critical of US policy. In agreement with Rodríguez Monegal's afore-mentioned sentiment, he wrote that the money had to come from somewhere, and that if the CIA allowed them free rein in using those funds, then it was bet-ter to get the money from them than from China or the USSR, which did not give free rein. Mercier Vega similarly noted that, through its obscure paths, the CIA had funded "activities that were liberal, democratic, and sometimes against US policy" (cited in Iber 2015, 215).

These agents held in common the independence of their work, as they ex-erted a counter-power of sorts within the framework of an enormous operation of soft power. The reason I have delved into this moment in Milla's activity – Milla being a key actor in Uruguay's CCF and the mastermind behind the ILA-RI's internationalisation through *Mundo Nuevo* – is that it was through these revelations of the CIA's funding that all of these cultural activities were trans-ferred from the terrain of soft power to that of hard power. When the CCF came to be internationally perceived as the CIA's secret weapon, it was necessarily dismantled, because its presence told of an open front of hard power in which none of the rival powers were interested. Throughout its years of operation, the CCF and the intellectuals affiliated to it contributed to the creation of the United States' global hegemony, cultural domination, and imperialism (Iber 2015, 10).

However, we must bear in mind that the CCF's network was marked by Milla and Mercier Vega's anarchist militancy, which was somewhat atypical at the time. To them, operating within an openly anticommunist organisation did not mean that they subscribed to the United States' imperialist values. Quite the con-trary, anarchists' experiences in the Russian and Spanish revolutions made them especially wary of Bolshevik authoritarianism. Plus, we may even trace certain (ultimately failed) CCF-funded projects in which anarchism was directly in-volved. For instance, we may note the idea of creating a work group comprised of several anarchist doctors with ties to the historic Comunidad del Sur, an anar-chist commune in Montevideo that Milla was a part of (Jannello 2018, 83), or that of establishing an archive of social movements in Montevideo, perhaps akin to Biblioteca Archivo Internacional Anarquista (BAIA), which actually operated in Montevideo from the 1950s until it was destroyed by the military dictatorship of the 1970s. According to Iber, the CCF's Uruguayan office was the most open to authors of diverse ideologies in all of Latin America (2015, 179).

As for Milla, he paired his work as an editor of critical-thought magazines with heading a publishing house, Alfa. Though the latter was not distinctly an-archist, it stood out for its collection of works by Spanish exiles, "Carabela." The publishing house benefited from the CCF's patronage for years, as the latter provided funds and bought up a certain percentage of the books (Markarian 2020, 225–226). In turn, the CCF was able to access Milla's extensive network of

writers and essayists, but also of authors in the social sciences. The CCF especially sought to promote the latter, as gleaned from the collections "Documentos" and "Mundo actual." It was precisely the 1966–1968 period that saw the highest rate of publication (Torres Torres 2015). Alfa had stood among the main publication spaces for Generation '45, but as its authors started aligning with the Cuban Revolution and Milla's ties to the CCF grew more evident, that relationship was inevitably frayed.

4 Returning to the Field: A Few Conclusions

The trajectories we have studied have another element in common that had been taken for granted until now: they all unfolded in the same city, where these agents developed activities in which their transnational ties proved relevant. Montevideo, the peripheral cultural capital of a traditionally immigrant-receiving country, Uruguay, was configured as a space of refuge for undesirable foreigners, especially anarchists, across various moments of the twentieth century. This was the case for many anarchists who were expelled from Argentina through the Extranjería Law (also known also as the Cané Law) of 1902: rather than returning to their countries of origin, they successfully settled in Montevideo. One such trajectory probably led Bertani to establish himself in Uruguay (Rocca 2018). A few decades later, a significant contingent of Republican Spaniards started arriving in the country in waves. However, this was not the main reason why Benito Milla went to Uruguay. Milla arrived in Buenos Aires with another Spanish exile, but the two found it impossible to survive under Juan Domingo Perón's authoritarian regime, which theoretically welcomed Spanish immigrants but in fact especially surveilled Spanish Republicans, with the goal of maintaining friendly ties with Franco's de facto government in Spain (De Cristóforis 2012, 21). Two years later, just like many other dissidents living under Perón's regime, Milla moved to Montevideo (Torres Torres 2014).

Establishing Montevideo as a centre for the distribution of propaganda for all of Latin America, via the CCF, is also related to one of Uruguay's key features, which Mercier Vega highlighted in one of his first reports: the existence of a *tercerista* (third-party) intellectual movement, that is, of a movement that was neither aligned with the United States nor with the USSR. Mercier Vega thus deemed this space promising for the development of the Congress's activities (Mercier Vega, "Rapport sur l'Uruguay," June 2, 1962, IACF Records). As Christian Ferrer notes, twentieth-century Uruguay, at least up until the dictatorship of the 1970s, conceded a recognised and respected space to anarchism in the public scene,

albeit a minority one (Ferrer 2011, 19). The aforementioned Biblioteca Archivo Internacional Anarquista was conceived at a conference of European anarchists right after the Second World War. These anarchists chose to open the library in Montevideo, due to the country's institutional stability as well as to the historic presence of anarchists therein. The secularism, stance against nationalism, and openness toward the foreign that characterised Uruguay, and especially its capital, Montevideo, were key to these agents choosing to settle there.

While, as Frigerio (2008) notes, historic studies on anarchism haven't given the phenomenon of literary production among anarchists in France the attention it deserves, such studies came early on in the Spanish-speaking world, especially in the Rio de la Plata region. For instance, we may cite Lily Litvak (1981) and Golluscio de Montoya (1986), as well as more recent studies by Pablo Ansolabehere (2011) and Daniel Vidal (2021). However, these studies tend to make assumptions that should be questioned – namely, they assume that literature and cultural practices in general in the anarchist realm are an unproblematic extension of political action. While often understood in opposition to official circuits (through the notion of "counter-culture" in Golluscio's study), they are often attributed categorical, explicit communicative intentionality, that is, the alleged goal of creating awareness by painting the plights of capitalism or describing ideal futures that might be secured through battle, thus disseminating their anarchist ideals. In a prior specific case study (Campanella 2021), I showed that this is not necessarily the case, and that the function of literature published in the anarchist press (especially regarding translations and texts already published outside of the anarchist circuit) goes beyond simple communication and persuasive effects and in fact explores the ambivalence of the literary creation.

By analysing the work of two anarchist cultural agents, I'm taking a step further, as I am not aiming to understand literature that was created and published in the anarchist context, or literature created among other circuits and appropriated by anarchist publications, but the decisions of two anarchists who managed magazines and publishing houses that did not present themselves as organs of anarchist propaganda. Bertani and Milla's choices were no doubt influenced by factors beyond the ideological (economic factors, for instance), but they did not align with the propaganda spirit per se. Instead, we must understand their decision making as a behaviour that sought to influence the public's thinking while creating a reading public, thus reorganising the nation's literary system. Indeed, this form of persuasion is similar to what we call soft power, which was especially visible among these agents who, in other circumstances, had chosen direct and military action.

At the same time and more generally, anarchist internationalism and its aim to transcend borders can be effectively considered from the international

relations perspective that provides the foundation for the concept of soft power. In fact, the one element that has remained stable among the three that define said concept is its ability to influence audiences in other countries (Nye 2021). The recent transnational turn in contemporary anarchist studies would push us to broaden our perspective and consider transnational networks as anarchism's privileged spaces of action (Bantman and Altena, 2015). In this framework, we may glean the existence of "intellectual cooperation" boosted by high mobility (be it forced or voluntary) among agents, the multilingualism that marked their discursive communities, and the intense circulation of the political and literary texts that characterise anarchism, "the world's first and most widespread transnational movement organised from below and without formal political parties" (Moya 2009, 39). The way in which Orsini Bertani and Benito Milla exerted political influence in and from the peripheral Montevideo would be overlooked if we considered the national scale alone. However, the notion of soft power underscores and casts light on their ideological tenor, which would otherwise appear incidental.

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Margarida Casacuberta

The Floral Games and Literary Contests in Catalan (1859–1977): An Institutionalising and Nationalising Device of Transnational Scope

1 The Barcelona Floral Games and the Construction of an Institutionalising Device

In 2009, upon the celebration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Floral Games of Barcelona, the city's History Museum organised a commemorative exhibition entitled *1859, Barcelona i els Jocs Florals. Modernitza-ció i Romanticisme* (*1859, Barcelona and the Floral Games. Modernisation and Romanticism*) with the aim of contextualising one of the most continuous and decisive institutions in the construction of the contemporary Catalan literary system. The exhibition's curator, 19th-century literature historian Josep M. Domingo, was convinced that the only way to undo the prejudices surrounding and determining the historical interpretation of a literary festival repeatedly labelled archaic and accused of evasionism from the present was to situate it within the "singular and key moment" of Barcelona history to which it belonged, "the one in which the local elites, like those of other continental cities, facing expectations that the liberal order would satisfy the material and institutional transformations in which they need to project themselves [. . .], devise cultural construction strategies that legitimise and dignify them" (Domingo 2011).

As other "second cities" (Casacuberta 2019) with economic weight in Europe in the second half of the 19th century, Barcelona measured its strength against that of the political capital of the country (Madrid in the case of Spain) and underwent a process of modernisation and monumentalising of the industrial city promoted by the bourgeoisie. This took the form of such important urban transformations as the demolition of the Mediaeval walls, the historicist renaming of the streets of the new expanded city (Subirana 2017), and, in the purely symbolic field, the establishment of a literary festival as a posthumous homage to the Catalan language, which, according to the logic of the liberal state, had been relegated to second place behind Castilian Spanish. Thus did the Barcelona bourgeoisie commit itself to a modernity, though not one that broke with the past; quite the contrary.

The Barcelona Floral Games were conceived, then, out of a desire for collective representation in a context of urban and social transformation (Domingo 2009). The aim of this representation was not to reflect a conflicting reality, but to build a collective imaginary (Leerssen 2015, 21) that responded to the ideal of harmony, balance and social peace to which the class controlling the economic power, while also striving to have political power, aspired. Thus, at a time when Barcelona was becoming a metropolis and conflict and social movements were projecting the image of the "red city" internationally (Kaplan 1992), one of the representation strategies referred to by Domingo (2012) included the construction of a literary mask that idealised reality through poetry, a genre considered to be both individually and collectively transformative.

The choice of a model of medievalising language, far from both the Catalan spoken in the street and the Spanish in which most of the newspapers and commercial literature intended for the incipient mass public were expressed, the imposition of the slogan "Pàtria, Fe i Amor" (Homeland, Faith and Love) as the theme of poems, the tacit rejection of the novel form, and the non-financial nature of the prizes offered (jewellery, art objects, books, medals) responded to the same desire for selection and "distinction" (Bourdieu 1979) that characterised the Floral Games. Although accusations of anachronism and mockery – in the form of caricatures and parodies – accompanied the institution of the Barcelona Floral Games from the outset, the device had been constructed and would soon take on a life of its own, indifferent to even its promoters' wishes or the purpose for which it had been created.

Whether it was because the Floral Games, which were created in the image and likeness of the mediaeval Town Hall of Toulouse, sought to assimilate the tradition of 18th-century scientific and literary or humorous literary contests well-rooted in Catalonia, because the official and ceremonial nature of the festival held on the first Sunday in May had become a social event of important public projection, or because the reproductive potential of the structure (regular, rhetorical and ritual) of the Floral Games was soon to be noticed, the fact is that from 1868 onwards, coinciding with the tenth anniversary of the festival and the beginning of the so-called the Six Democratic Years, the device came to exceed both the scope of action and the original ideological discourse of the Floral Games of Barcelona.

Indeed, the institutionalising capacity of the Floral Games, its ability to build symbols, myths (Verdaguer 2012) and identity landscapes that intensify the feeling of belonging to a certain community or territory, and, last but not least, the ease of reproducing the model, all of which contribute to converting the Floral Games into one of the most effective ways of disseminating the

ideological discourse of Catalanism, both from a regionalist and a nationalist perspective, in Catalonia and, eventually, in the Catalan-speaking territories. Thus, the phenomenon of the Floral Games and literary contests becomes an illustrative example of the effectiveness of literary, intellectual and cultural relations in the construction of a "soft power" (Nye 2004). Being a function that develops "inwardly," that is, it has to do with the perception of the Catalans about their own culture, and at the same time "outwardly," influencing the perception of Catalonia by the whole of Spain and, ultimately, at the transnational level, taking into account that the expansion of literary contests and Floral Games will go beyond the frontiers of the linguistic domain with the Catalans who, since the second half of the 19th century, have embarked on the path of emigration for economic or political reasons, especially in America, as is the case of Havana (1887, 1923), Buenos Aires (1908) or Montevideo (1913). But it will be above all from the end of the Spanish Civil War, with the republican diaspora and the creation of the Floral Games of the Catalan Language in exile, when the transnational scope becomes effective.

In this respect, cartographic literature is a useful tool to visualise, analyse and interpret this complex system of cultural, identity, political and territorial relations of transnational scope. The digital literary map that is under construction and that can be viewed on www.patrimoniliterari.cat provides geographical and temporal visualisations that allow the evolution of the Floral Games and literary contests to be followed from the historical and territorial axis (Perera 2020, 347), that highlight continuities and discontinuities in the network of cultural, literary and political relations at a local and global level, and enable analysis on how self-perception and external perception of Catalanness are interrelated in the construction of the national imaginary.

2 The Floral Games and Literary Contests: A Nationalising Device

If the Floral Games of Barcelona appeared as an institution on "the horizon of the 'great awakening of Catalonia in 1854' [. . .], and within the framework of a Catalan reaction to the intense process of nationalisation and centralisation of the moderate era" (Domingo 2011), and they served the dual purpose of reflecting on "the identity of the new industrial and working class Barcelona" and vindicating a leading role for the great Mediterranean industrial city within the framework of liberal Spain, then it is clear that the device incorporated a "nationalising" function from the outset. Firstly, in the Spanish nationalist sense

(Marfany 2018). The homeland to which the Floral Games slogan referred was liberal Spain -centralist and uniformitarian- against which traditionalism in its various forms, especially Carlism, had reacted in the early 19th century. Thus, Barcelona, the "small homeland," would put on its best face (historical, patriotic and moral) to stage the Catalans' commitment to the common Spanish cause and sing, through the award-winning poems at the Floral Games, of the Catalan fighters heroism in the Peninsular War (1807–1814), the exploits of General Prim or the patriotism of the fighters in Africa, the bourgeois pride and hard work of the Catalans, the good sense of Catalan women or the harmony of farmers' homes, in line with a cosmic balance that is reflected in the idealised vision of a humanised nature and turned into an idealised landscape.[1]

During the first ten years of their existence, having been held regularly during that period, the Barcelona Floral Games became a point of reference due to their function of providing validation and social projection for writers. At the same time, due to its representative character, the Floral Games did not remain immune to the political upheaval caused by the revolution of September 1868 and the Six Democratic Years that would culminate in the proclamation of the First Spanish Republic (1873), ending with the outbreak of the third Carlist war (1872–1875) and the military pronouncement that would lead to monarchical Restoration under the figure of Alfonso XII (1875–1923). Thus, thanks in no small part to the Floral Games of Barcelona, 1868 saw the founding of the magazine *Lo Gay Saber* (1868–1883) and the society La Jove Catalunya (Young Catalonia, 1870–1875), which would be the inspiration for the magazine *La Renaixensa* (1871–1898) and the newspaper of the same title (1881–1905), as well as a whole host of young writers who would lay the foundations of modern Catalan literature, including Àngel Guimerà, Narcís Oller, Apel·les Mestres, Francesc Matheu, Josep Roca i Roca, among others. Hailing from different origins and ideologies, they were united by their age and their defence of "the new spirit of our Catalan homeland," "that new spirit born today in our land," "that Catalonia of Sciences, of the Arts, of Industry, of Agriculture," as we can see in the statement of the prize offered by the Young Catalonia at the 1871 Floral Games of Barcelona. According to Tomàs (1992), the cultural and literary idea they defended was inseparable from politics, and the ultimate goal of the Young Catalonia, "to Catalanise all areas of society." They were also united by the experience of the revolution and the failure of the First Republic with regard to federalist demands by Catalonia, which would

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1 It was an essentially bourgeois project that initially appeared to involve Valencia, which also organised some Floral Games in 1859. These would not be continued, however (Domingo 2013, 183).

lead them to actively engage in constructing the ideological discourse of regionalist Catalanism and the *Renaixença* movement.

This commitment to constructing and disseminating regionalist discourse resulted in the first expansion of the Floral Games outside Barcelona. Meanwhile, in October 1868, republican journalist Josep Roca i Roca proposed the expansion of "our peaceful revolution throughout Catalonia" through the creation of a network of contests:

> What Manresa native will you find who is not enthusiastic about hearing The victory of El Bruc sung inside their own house? Which Vic native will you find who does not explode when they hear about Philip V? What Tarragona native will not take off his beret when he hears the memories of his beloved homeland sung on the very grave of his ancestors? What son of Lleida, what son of Girona will not feel his heartbeat reliving the bravery of his grandparents?
>
> What native of Terrasa, what son of Sabadell, of Reus, of Igualada, of all Catalonia, will not go to his loom to weave the glory of his country, true progress and his freedom, after hearing the poets of his country praising hard work as a good foundation of all wellbeing in their songs the previous day? Why, then, have the contests that have begun so well in Barcelona not been followed by those communities that have the means to hold them and the glories to be sung?
>
> What we are saying about Catalonia also applies to the kingdoms of Valencia and Mallorca, which, like old brothers of ours in Catalonia, feel the same blood of our parents running through their veins. (Roca i Roca 1868)

Civic and cultural associations such as the Centre de Lectura de Reus (Reus Reading Centre, 1859–) or the Asociación Literaria de Gerona (Gerona Literary Association, 1872–1903) were the first ones to import the Floral Games device and integrate it as a vehicle for disseminating Catalanism. Thus, in 1868, the Reus Reading Centre held a literary contest, though it did not have the same regular nature of the bilingual literary contest that the Gerona Literary Association organised in 1872 in accordance with the needs of the economic, social, and political sectors seeking dynamism of the provincial city on which the literary cliché of the "dead" city would be built. These were probably the first manifestations of the phenomenon of cultural associationism that held sway in Catalonia in the 1870s and 1880s. They corresponded to a rethinking of the bases of the political system that civil society established around the "culture of Catalanism" (Marfany 1995) and that must be analysed considering the different ideological sensibilities and political positions that coexisted and were debated within this movement. In this sense, it is important – although sometimes difficult – to distinguish between "Catalan centres" and "Catalanist centres," according to whether they were located, in the regionalist or nationalist orbit, or depending on if they defend

Catalanism as an ideological framework or as a political instrument (Casacuberta 2010, 6).

The network created by all these Catalan and Catalanist centres marks a fairly accurate radius for the influence of historical Catalanism, while constructing the most accurate map possible continues to pose a challenge. Some of these associations included the organisation of Floral Games or literary contests in their statutes for fundamentally propagandistic purposes. As Castellanos (1988, 13) pointed out, it was necessary to study this phenomenon at the local level in order to realise the scope of the political and social mediatisation of literature and how this affected both the conception of texts and their subsequent reception. Thus, Catalan literature put itself at the service of constructing a collective imaginary, an ideology, and, ultimately, policies, particularly from the time that Catalanism entered the political arena.

Although all Floral Games literature can be read in ideological terms, this does not mean that it is not "representative of [Catalan] literature" (Castellanos 1988, 12). It is representative of the economic and political interests of certain social classes that did not feel represented by the political structures of a centralist and uniformising Spanish state, and that in fact made use of the mechanisms of cultural representation to construct an "imagined community" that would end up acquiring a true consistency. This is what was referred to in the repeat calls for the "recatalanisation of Catalan society" made by the different spaces of socialisation related to the Floral Games, which, in a period of only forty years, passed from the "monumentalisation" of the new Barcelona bourgeoisie to the articulation of "Catalan nationality."

Thus, although literature from literary competitions has probably little to do with the construction of a "modern and advanced Catalan culture, capable of performing a full social function, channelling ideas and pushing economic and social progress" (Castellanos 1988, 12), the Floral Games device determined the functioning of the Catalan literary system. This is shown by the fact that any attempt to create a modern and national Catalan culture and "a real market for books and printed letters" must necessarily be viewed in relation to the existence of the network of floral games and literary contests. Marfany (1995) clearly exemplified how practices implemented by Catalanist organisations spread throughout the Catalan-speaking territory and shaped the so-called "culture of Catalanism," which was – probably still is – extremely solid and durable. Tracing their origins and locating them on a map, together with the cultural and political associations to which they are usually linked, allows us to reconstruct a network of cultural relations that ended up exercising an eminently nationalising function. In respect of this, Leerssen pointed out:

> Culture [. . .] has three forms of social agency. It can unite a socially diverse and politically divided landscape into a communicative, mnemonic and performative (not merely an 'imagined') community; it can perpetuate transient events into persistent tropes, symbols and *lieux de mémoire*; and it can aesthetically and rhetorically shape and propagate ideals and agendas that will later inspire and direct political choices and practices.   (Leerssen 2015, 21)

Otherwise, the controversies that accompanied Floral Games and literary contests since before the establishment of the Barcelona Floral Games and throughout their existence as an institution are no strangers to this construction. That being said, however, both proponents and detractors recognise its symbolic and institutional value. Therefore, with the end of the Spanish Civil War and the ruptures of 1939, the institution of the Floral Games would once again play a central role in the different processes involved in the cultural and political reconstruction of Catalonia, both inside and in exile.

3 A Case Study: The Floral Games of the Catalan Language in Exile (1941–1977)

With the end of the Spanish Civil War and the consequent republican diaspora, the institution of the Floral Games embarked on a path of exile. Between 1941 and 1977,[2] a time during which Spain was not a democratic country, the symbolic burden and institutional weight that the device had accumulated since 1859 turned the Floral Games – now called Jocs Florals de la Llengua Catalana (Floral Games of the Catalan Language) – into an emblem of Culture and Democracy in the fight firstly against Barbarism and Fascism, and secondly against the Franco dictatorship from the end of the Second World War until the restoration of a democratic system in Spain after the death of the dictator. Simultaneously, the Floral Games that would proliferate again in Catalonia from 1939 –in a difficult mixture of resistance and legitimisation of Francoism – represented diametrically opposed conceptions of the world, politics, and culture.[3]

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2 From 1978 onwards, with the recognition that the Floral Games in the Catalan Language in exile had lost the symbolic meaning they had had during the Franco dictatorship, the Floral Games of Barcelona once more took on the character of a poetry festival they had enjoyed prior to 1936. From this point on, another story therefore began for the institution (Domingo 2013, 83; Freixes 2014, 74).
3 This is a subject that is still very little studied (except at the local level) and that needs to be analysed from the perspective of cultural history. An interesting new approach to the subject in Figueras 2019.

The long history of the Floral Games of the Catalan Language in exile is still to be written. Although both Rafael Tasis' essay (1997) and Josep Faulí's later monograph (2002) are interesting attempts to systematise the network of literary and intellectual relations established in exile that remained active until after Franco's death, neither of them has the necessary distance in terms of time from the Floral Games in exile nor the personal, institutional and newspaper documentation to reconstruct their evolution and analyse their complexity in the dual national and international context. In this sense, as a long-term institutionalising and nationalising instrument, the Floral Games had the mission of keeping the "nation of the Catalans" alive, whether through the idealisation of its memory (a literary reconstruction of a lost paradise) or the construction of a future ideal city (Tasis 1959, 91).

However, beyond the clichés repeated year after year due to the Floral Games's ritualisation and which refer to the fidelity to the Catalan language and literature of "Catalans absent from the Homeland" who wished to "award it a day of honour and international recognition for our culture" (Tasis 1959, 91), the Floral Games of the Catalan Language once again became fertile ground for the existing ideological battles within Catalanism and functioned as a public platform for political debate. For this reason, in addition to the reconstruction of award posters, members of the organising committees and qualifying juries, and the search for award-winning works and speeches that have not always been well-documented, the systematic study of the Floral Games of the Catalan Language involves situating oneself within the bone marrow of "the historical and psychological study of the great Catalan emigration of 1939" (Tasis 1997, 439) and of the long and complex process of reviewing the immediate past, re-establishing bridges with Catalonia and reconstructing the cultural institutionalisation that would go on to lay the political foundations of post-Francoism.

In order to carry out such a project, it is essential to first establish the international map of Catalanism as a culture by compiling and studying the network of Catalan centres, magazines, newsletters, associations, and patronage that supported and guaranteed the holding of the Floral Games of the Catalan Language in exile year after year.[4] In a first analysis of the information available, we can consider three stages in the evolution of an institution that, in the words of Carner (1959, 25) had "become accustomed to leading an agile life of constant pilgrimage through Europe and America": 1) 1941–1945; 2) 1946–1959, and 3) 1960–1977.

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4 The aim of the map of literary events archived in www.patrimoniliterari.cat/mapa.php (Perera 2017, 2020).

Given the impossibility of accurately tracing the situation and meaning of the institution within a very complex international political context and taking into account that the Floral Games of the Catalan Language were held three times in Paris between 1941 and 1977, below we present a tour of the route followed by Floral Games of the Catalan Language, taking the editions of 1948, 1959 and 1965 as points of reference.

1) 1941–1945: Thanks to the support of the so-called "Catalans of America" and, especially, of the Catalan Centres established in the different migratory waves, particularly in Central and South America during the 19th and 20th centuries, the Floral Games of the Catalan Language were held in Buenos Aires (1941), Mexico (1942), Chile (1943), Cuba (1944) and Colombia (1945). With connections between writers and their readers cut off, and the literary market that sustains any modern literature dismantled, the rupture was particularly drastic between 1939 and 1945, the years of the Second World War, when Catalan literature could be said to have been in exile and, more specifically, in American exile. Thus, the first works published after the end of the war were printed in Buenos Aires, Mexico City, and Santiago (Chile). With Europe once again at war, it was the Catalans of America who laid the foundations for preserving the "essences of the homeland" abroad in the conviction that the end of the World War would entail the restoration of democracy in Spain and the return to a normality which, however, did not come. The constitution of the organising committee that would make the continuity of the Catalan literary festival par excellence, the Floral Games, possible in exile reflected a desire to resist in a situation viewed as only provisional at the time. Thus, in addition to a platform of high symbolic value, the Floral Games of the Catalan Language ended up becoming one of the main promoters and backbones of literary production in Catalan. Out of it came, to cite but a few of the most salient works in Catalan literature, *Xabola* (Shanty) by Agustí Bartra (Mexico City, 1942), *Nabí* by Josep Carner (Santiago, 1943), *Les formes de la vida catalana* (The forms of Catalan life) by Josep Ferrater Mora (Santiago, 1943), *556 Brigada mixta* (556 Mixed Brigade) by Avel·lí Artís-Gener (Havana, 1944) and *En la boca dels núvols* (In the mouth of the clouds) by Ramon Vinyes (Bogotá, 1945).

2) 1946–1959: With the end of the Second World War, instead of returning to Catalonia as expected after the allied powers' victory over Fascism, the Floral Games of the Catalan Language returned to elsewhere in Europe: first Montpellier (1946), then London (1947), and after Franco's Spain was officially accepted within the new world order, the Games were held in Paris (1948). The program was presented in the Sorbonne Grand Amphitheatre and organised by a committee chaired by the Occitan writer Pierre-Louis Berthaud, the poet Josep Carner, then professor at the Free University of Brussels and president of the

Jury. It marked a new stage of exile, characterised by disappointment and one that turned into a very long "return vigil" (the title of a poem by Carner, which won the Englantina prize at the Floral Games in Montpellier), which for some seemed never-ending. In the presidential speech at the 1948 Floral Games in Paris, Carner addressed the new situation and formulated a new position for himself in relation to exile:

> From this place, I would like to address the flower of exiles and those who are, for the time being, impotent in Catalonia; and not only the Catalans of today, but also those who are to come and who will never be known to me. I want to tell them that it is up to them to attain the highest level of the great literature and the high sciences. I call for the hardening of criticism, I call for the extinction of the last possible traces of a provincial benevolence, which is as dangerous an affront, if anything, as persecution itself.

At the end of his speech, Carner referred to the process of "provincialisation" and folklorisation that Catalan culture was being subjected to by the Franco regime, a situation that the Catalan foreign press was not condemning. He remarked that one need only compare the demanding nature, quality and significance of the award-winning works at the Floral Games of the Catalan Language held in Paris in 1948 (Mercè Rodoreda, Armand Obiols, Josep Palau i Fabre, Pere Calders, Joan Oliver) with those at the Literary Contest of Santa Coloma de Farners (Figueras 2019), the Art Festival of Valls or the Floral Games of Torelló (Creus and Paradell 1991), held the same year in Catalonia, to see how well the Franco regime's assimilating and legitimising strategy was working (Panyella 2011).

Between 1949 and 1959, the Floral Games of the Catalan Language were held in Montevideo (1949), Perpignan (1950), New York (1951), Toulouse (1952), Caracas (1953), São Paulo (1954), San José in Costa Rica (1955), Cambridge (1956), Mexico (1957), Mendoza (1958) and Paris (1959), always with one eye on Catalonia, where a progressive openness was affecting the relations between Catalonia and abroad. Now, it is no longer considered that "Catalonia is in exile." Some of those in exile were a kind of spiritual reserve, while others began to consider their return and the possibilities of fighting culturally and politically from within, alongside those considered to be resisting. It was becoming clear that Francoism could last a long time and that there was a need to avoid the temptation of underestimating what the process of adapting Catalan society to the dictatorship entailed. The need for "reconciliation" (Medina 2009) was becoming one of the recurring themes in the discourses of the Floral Games of the Catalan Language, which were looking increasingly inwards and also welcoming more and more participants from all over the Catalan-speaking territories, particularly Catalonia.

The year 1959 witnessed a new change in the situation and meaning of the Floral Games of the Catalan Language. It marked the centenary of the Floral Games of Barcelona and, prohibited from being held in Catalonia, the festival returned to the Sorbonne in Paris, with Josep Carner again president of the Jury (Camps 2009). His speech, in accordance with the highly representative commemoration of the centenary of the Floral Games of Barcelona, took as its basis a realisation of the permeability between Catalonia and the exile, reinterpreting and adapting the festival's slogan to the new times. Thus, in relation to the concept of Homeland, he noted that

> today this concept has gone from static and dynamic; what we understand by Homeland is not the immutable place, with conventional limits, [. . .]. The Homeland, in order to survive well, must be a constantly created by each new generation, justly honouring the grandparents, but with this well-rooted idea: that the Homeland remains an ongoing conquest, and one not won by turning towards our ancestors, but towards the health, the well-being, to the growing dignity of our children. Basically, then, the feeling of Homeland is today channelled as a combination of Faith and Love.　　　(Carner 1959, 26–27)

The eleven years that had passed since 1948 and Catalan society's evolution in the context of the Franco regime were decisive in Carner's change of position regarding the Homeland. The Floral Games held in Paris on June 14, 1959 were characterised by the mass presence of contestants from Catalonia and Valencia (213 of the 370 compositions sent) and by generational renewal (Tasis 1959, 92), reflected in the fact that the Englantina Prize was awarded to a young poet from Barcelona, Albert Manent; that prizes were awarded for the Valencian Joan Fuster's essay, *Indagacions possibles* (Possible Inquiries), Joan Triadú's translation of Shakespeare's Sonnets, the novel *La nimfa d'argila* (The Clay Nymph), by the renowned writer Aurora Bertrana, and the novel with existentialist echoes by Manuel de Pedrolo, *Perquè ha mort una noia* (Because a Girl Has Died). On the other hand, the Rafael Patxot Prize was awarded to Rafael Tasis, recently returned to Catalonia, for the essay *Els Jocs Florals de Barcelona en l'evolució del pensament de Catalunya (1859–1959)* (The Floral Games of Barcelona in the evolution of thought in Catalonia) (1997).

This was no coincidence. The desire to internationalise this edition of the Floral Games of the Catalan Language (Faulí 2002, 89) explains, first of all, the choice of Paris as the host city and the link between the Catalan literary festival and the centenary of the publication of *Mirèio*, the poem in Occitan by the French writer Frédéric Mistral, but also the obvious need to demonstrate, with the continuity of the institution and generational renewal, the will to continue the project of reconstructing the Spanish State from an European regionalist perspective that contemplated the necessary creation of a cross-border "Mediterranean arc"

as an alternative to Spanish and French centralism. On the other hand, the second Floral Games of the Catalan Language held in Paris also became a platform for debate on the reality of post-war Europe and the need to resume the construction of Europe in the regions. In this sense, the participation of French intellectuals such as the Occitanists Jean Cassou, Pierre Fouché and Mario Roques in the organisation and jury of the 1959 Floral Games is significant. This shows that the Floral Games of the Catalan Language are not limited to offering a certain image of Catalonia abroad, but also bring together, in each of the countries that hosts them, the intellectuals akin to the democratic values that the Floral Games in exile represent.

3) 1960–1977: Although the holding of the 1959 Floral Games took place "at an uncertain juncture between mourning and hope" (Carner 1959, 26), the Floral Games of the Catalan Language would not return to Barcelona for almost twenty more years. In the meantime, they passed through Buenos Aires (1960), Alghero (1961), Santiago in Chile (1962), Montevideo (1963), Perpignan (1964), Paris (1965), Caracas (1966), Marseille (1967), Zurich (1968), Guadalajara (1969), Tübingen (1970), Brussels (1971), Geneva (1972), Mexico (1973), Amsterdam (1974), Caracas (1975), Lausanne (1976) and Munich (1977). From 1971 onwards, when the Floral Games of Barcelona were officially resumed – bilingual, folkloric, presided over by the Francoist mayor Porcioles (Faulí 2002,) and without much success (Castellet 1998, 593) – the Floral Games of the Catalan Language remained in exile and continued to denounce the Franco dictatorship and attempts to whitewash it by so-called "Francoist Catalanism" (Marín 2019, 128). During these years, the participation of young people not only increased, but one might say that the Games came to represent dissent in its different forms, from republican and left-wing Catalanism to the PSUC (Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya/Unified Socialist Party of Catalonia).

Hence the interest in focusing on the third time the Floral Games of the Catalan Language were held in Paris, in October 1965. Again, at the Sorbonne Grand Amphitheatre, this time they were organised by the Casal de Catalunya (Catalonia Cultural Centre) (chaired by the playwright Ambrosi Carrion and with Romà Planas i Miró as secretary) and the Amicale des Catalans (Catalan Association). Although both associations were linked "to the folklorist forms of Catalanness related to the past" (Pigenet 1995, 20), the presence of young, politicised artists such as Joan Rabascall, then a member of the Front Nacional de Catalunya (National Front of Catalonia), on the organising committee is clear evidence of the dissident character retained by the institution despite the passage of time. Being that as it may, the jury chaired by Ambrosi Carrion (who had been secretary of

the 1959 Floral Games in Paris) comprised such ideologically and politically significant names as Pierre Vilar, Joan Tarré i Sans, Angelí Castanyer, Enric Roig i Querol, Manuel Viusà i Camps, and Romà Planas; that is, from communism to socialism, via anarchism and republicanism, and the defence of the Catalan Countries.

Thus, although the Viola Prize was awarded to *Oració*, by Salvador Perarnau, in recognition of the Floral Games poet's fidelity to the institution, the other prizes were a long way from representing the folklorism and nostalgia of the past noted by Pigenet: the Flor Natural Prize went to the master anarchist and poet Roc Llop, exiled in France since 1939, imprisoned by the Gestapo in the Gusen camp, annexed to Mauthausen, between 1941 and 1945, for a book of poems entitled *Poemes de llum i tenebra* (Poems of light and darkness) (1967) about an experience, that of the concentration camps, silenced in Franco's Spain, while the Fastenrath Prize, awarded for a published work, went to the novel *K. L. Reich*, by Joaquim Amat Piniella (1963).

Then, there were also the fact of young writers who patronised the 1965 Floral Games: Coloma Lleal, Miquel Arimany, Lluís Alpera, Josep M. Poblet, Josep Marimon, Xavier Fàbregas, Josep M. Murià, among others, winning important prizes. This phenomenon is worthy of note, especially due to the reception it had in a magazine as emblematic and, at the same time, seemingly far from any floral manifestation, as *Nous Horitzons* (New Horizons). This magazine was the voice of the PSUC, which turned the Badalona native Coloma Lleal i Galceran, a university student and author of the poem "Plany a quatre veus" (Lament of four voices), into a symbol of the aspirations of Catalan youth, committed to the struggle for "national rights and aspirations" within the framework of the "general struggle for democracy" (López Raimundo 1965, 7). The authorless report, which reproduced the list of ordinary prizes and speeches of the promoters of the Games in full, highlighted that over eighty percent of the works presented came from Catalonia, and that, of the twenty-two award-winning authors, fifteen were from Catalonia and the rest in exile. What it emphasised above all, however, was that, of the three works read out at the Floral Games ceremony, "only one -in the whole festival- made the audience stand up with tears in their eyes, and not the old tears of longing, but new tears of joy, at seeing a twenty-year-old girl who lives in Catalonia using the Catalan language to say what today's young people want to SAY" (*Crònica* 1966, 42).

Indeed, the verses of Coloma Lleal, read by the poet herself in the Richelieu Amphitheater in Sorbonne, highlighted "not only the strength of an oppressed language, but the effort of young people against an oppression that is not only national but, fundamentally, social." For this reason, "Plany a quatre veu*s*" was reproduced in its entirety on the pages of *Nous Horitzons*:

> It's not a monument to literature, but it made the whole audience stand up and made them cry. It is the lament of a twenty-year-old girl who is not resigned, who is not deceived by the appearance of a tourist boom. And she says it in Catalan, a fresh Catalan, an everyday Catalan, sincere, free from cobwebs.
>
> That is why it has been a revelation. The other poems read by their authors, with all due respect, were formal in tone, a little antiquated. The beautiful Catalan words said nothing. They did not create emotion.
>
> The girl from Badalona said something, even if the words used were grayer, less monumental. The concern, in her, was not the form, but content. And the audience was overcome with emotion. (*Crònica* 1966, 42)

With May 1968 on the near horizon, in the midst of the economic, social and political transformations demanded by the youth of Europe, the closing remarks of the event delivered by French historian Pierre Vilar, secretary of the jury and in charge of the "Thanksgiving speech," highlighted the significance of the Floral Games of the Catalan Language in exile at the end of the sixties. Also reproduced in its entirety in the PSUC magazine, Vilar acknowledged, from the outset, his debt to "the hard-working, entrepreneurial, creative, active Catalonia" in which "for forty years, my entire vocation as a historian has been inspired" (Vilar 1966, 40). He goes on to point out that his interest in the "Catalan experience" was inseparable from the fact that he had lived "the opposite experience as an Occitan-speaking Frenchman":

> We must note that in France, since the time of the Floral Games and the Félibrige association, the formidable capacity of Paris to achieve assimilation [. . .] has not ceased to reduce our southern languages to languages – I was going to say, languages for the Floral Games. [. . .] I have no contempt for today's party whatsoever. But you all know very well that if the Floral Games of the Catalan Language were only the affirmation of some obstinate faithful, of a few poets attracted by the greatness of the past, they could be great poets, we would perhaps listen to them with great fervour, but we would not award the Floral Games the meaning they have today, in the middle of the 20th century, for the Catalan language. These Floral Games of the Catalan language are not the festival of the past, they are [. . .] the festival of the future; they are not a festival of remembering, but the festival of hope. (Vilar 1966, 40–41)

Hope in relation to Catalonia's situation within the framework of contemporary Spain, but also to the idea of building a Europe of regions. Vilar's opening statement was that "at one of the points of greatest human intensity on the shores of the Mediterranean, and one of the most productive, most active points in Spain and Europe, an entire people speak Catalan: in recent years, the last few months have been the most shocking." Once again, the Mediterranean arc is presented as an alternative to the standardising and centralising policies of the Spanish and French states. For this reason, Vilar referred to "the lesson of Catalonia" not

only as a "literary or a moral lesson, but also, and above all, a historical lesson, a concrete sociological experience" and, given that he was a historian convinced of the progressive force of history, as a project for the future:

> At first, I had considered Catalonia in geographical terms, as a regional, physical, natural reality [. . .]. Then I discovered Catalonia as a human reality, with its linguistic, folkloric permanencies – that is, as a stable community, dating back a very long way – and this must also be studied, as the first condition of a possible nation. But finally, Catalonia has taught me that a nation is not an eternal or prefabricated reality, but a historical reality, which is made and broken with the pace of time, because in each given moment it has its strengths and weaknesses, its possibilities and impotence, its renunciations, and its resurgences. A nation, then, can be defined only in relation to time, and all the circumstances that determine history, both internal and external, both material and moral, economic, political and spiritual: historical destiny is a whole. [. . .]
>
> One hundred years ago, when the Floral Games and the *Gai Saber* were restored, nations, in their resurgences, depended on what were called select minorities, living forces, ruling classes. In the resurgences of the 20th century, the leaders of nations are the masses, it is the people. (Vilar 1966, 40–41)

The author of *Catalunya dins l'Espanya moderna* (Catalonia in Modern Spain) (1965–1968) ended his speech by addressing "the great absent – the great present: the people of Catalonia" (Vilar 1966, 41), the same people who on 11th September 1964 and 26th March 1965 demonstrated on the streets of Barcelona in defence of the national rights of Catalonia, and whom the editors of *Nous Horitzons* considered indispensable for the restoration of democracy in Spain. This is why López Raimundo (1965, 7) warned that "in the near future, this struggle for national rights will have to reach even greater proportions and be more popular in nature, attracting to it not only a greater number of intellectuals, students and other Catalans belonging to the so-called middle classes, but also workers, peasants, women and young people." It is for this reason that *Nous Horitzons* dedicated an extensive report to the Book Festival held in Paris in 1967 and, very especially, to Coloma Lleal, who presented the book *Poemes* (1967), making a defence of poetry committed to the reality "that surrounds us and we cannot do without, unless we are to cease being ourselves" (Lleal 1967, 64). For this reason, too, *Nous Horitzons* became the voice of the 1967 Floral Games in Marseille: the organisation was made up of "a majority of workers – labourers or employees – with a great sense of responsibility and patriotism" (*Jocs Florals* 1967, 72–73) and the Jury, chaired by the Catalan writer Maria Aurèlia Capmany, Charles Camproux, Jordi-Pere Cerdà, Joan Fuster, Robert Lafont, Joan Triadú, and Francesc Vallverdú, who "have brought the worries and concerns of the people to the Games" (Carton 1967, 60), turning them into, among other things, an anti-capitalist demonstration and denunciation of the Vietnam War.

4 Conclusion

On 14th January 1951, upon publication of *Antologia de la poesia catalana (1900–1950)* (An Anthology of Catalan Poetry, 1900–1950) by the Selecta publishing house in Barcelona, the Barcelona ultraconservative newspaper *El Correo Catalán* published a letter to the director signed by an indignant reader criticising the selection criteria adopted by the young curator, Joan Triadú. Among other things, he was accused of making a distinction between "two kinds of Floral Games" from an ideological point of view, one of which was related to colour, that naturally being the red of communism, "which has nothing very literary about it" (Isern 2021, 35–36). The accusation was a serious one, especially given the political repression and censorship prevailing in Catalonia at the time, and the more or less veiled controversy that was to come, with the Floral Games at the centre of it; a controversy that was highly representative of the institution's symbolic value. But the observation by the anonymous reader was still accurate: not all Floral Games were the same, and in fact, in 1951, the Floral Games of the Catalan Language in exile and the Floral Games that had again proliferated in Catalonia since 1939 – in a difficult blending of resistance and legitimation of the Franco regime – represented diametrically opposed conceptions of the world, politics and culture. The battle for control of the narrative, which still interferes with the various processes of retrieving historical memory today, had begun.

The digital literary map of the Floral Games and Literary Contests currently under construction would be a useful tool for giving visibility to, analysing and interpreting the functioning and scope of an institutionalising and nationalising device and the struggles to gain control that have endured for more than a century. The aims of this chapter have been to demonstrate the complexity of the system of cultural, identity, political and territorial relations of transnational scope reflected by the map, and, by means of a case study, to highlight the potential of interpreting cartographic data.

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Bianka Trötschel-Daniels

Cultural Diplomacy and Cultural Heritage: Envisioned, Refused, Denied, Accomplished (1889–1969)

The International Commission on Historical Monuments and ICOMOS

1 Introduction

For the grand narratives of nation-state identity, rulers repeatedly referred to lines of tradition. Within that narrative the preservation of cultural heritage, especially monuments preservation, plays an important role as it preserves the tangible and widely visible heritage. Heritage conservation is primarily a matter for the nation state, as it helps to preserve traditional crafts, regional styles, and place-typical characteristics.

However, while nation-states were emerging, invoking typical and distinct histories, an internationally oriented discourse on how to preserve cultural heritage was developing at the same time in the 19th century. This internationality provides the breeding ground for the exercise of soft power. "Soft Power is more than just persuasion [. . .]. It is also the ability to entice and attract. [. . .] Soft Power is attractive power [. . .]. Soft Power resources are the assets that produce such attraction" (Nye 2008, 95). Countries become attractive by showing their treasures and beauties. State officials made use of this, for example, at world fairs that developed onwards the late 19th century (Leerssen and Storm 2022; Swenson 2013, 156–158). Cultural heritage itself can be a soft power resource (Winter 2015; Nakano and Zhu 2020). From the mere presentation of cultural heritage, the idea developed in the 19th century that what was presented had to be adequately preserved. Soon the preservation itself became a soft power asset that therefore developed attractiveness from which soft power emanated. The debates on this were channelled through international organisations that emerged at the end of the 19th century and ultimately led to the current organisations such as UNESCO, ICOM and ICOMOS. In current research the internationalisation of heritage studies has primarily been read through "the lens

of [those] intergovernmental bodies" (Winter 2014a, 336).[1] Within that perspective the successes and failings of those bodies have been the centre of academic attention.

In this article, I trace the development of international spaces in which the preservation of cultural heritage functioned as an asset of cultural diplomacy. I begin my observations at the end of the 19th century when international space for debate on monument preservation during times of peace was slowly emerging. Although the institutions are "international" organisations, they have a euro-centric focus, both before and after the Second World War. I end in 1969, in the middle of the Cold War, with the successful admission of the National Committee of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) to the international heritage conservation organisation ICOMOS. This marks the beginning and end of German participation in international heritage conservation organisations. Within that development I examine two different but related case studies from a German perspective in the preliminary stages of political actors becoming effective in international organisations: In 1933 the German government refused to participate in the International Commission on Historic Monuments. The second case concerns the impeded participation of the monument preservationists of the GDR in the International Council on Monuments and Sites, ICOMOS, founded in 1964. Both scenarios illustrate the highly explosive political power that even supposedly nationally important matters such as monument preservation can unleash in times of political tension. They also testify to the continuity of ideas and in some cases even of personnel, but also to the fact that the Second World War and the regression to nationalism left a gap of almost thirty years in the field of international monuments conservation.

2 Envisioned Diplomacy: Cultural Heritage Preservation in the 19th Century

Monument Preservation is both a craft and a science that particularly affects aspects of cultural identity. The culture that is to be preserved and cultivated reflects traditions that play an important role not only for the national identity, but also for local identities (Speitkamp 1996, 187). At the local level, cultural organisations in the broader sense were formed at the same time as the development of

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1 UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation; ICOM: International Council of Museums; ICOMOS: International Council on Monuments and Sites.

monument preservation, such as state administration, but also private historical societies, for example the "Gesamtverein der Deutschen Geschichts- und Altertumsvereine" (General Society of German History and Antiquity Associations, founded in 1852) or the British Royal Historical Society (founded in 1868). These administrations and associations developed very peculiarly in the nation states, in the traditions of the respective countries (Stubbs and Makaš 2011).

Nevertheless, the development in heritage conservation also fits into the globalised age (Herren 2009, 3) that progressed rapidly during the 19th century with the development of new communication channels (telegraphy, Esperanto) and the expansion of infrastructure (railways and port facilities). This led to migration of knowledge. When the preservation of historical monuments emerged as a scientific discipline at the end of the 19th century, those involved were immediately active comparing the different approaches in conservation practice and theories that developed differently in various European countries. The results of that comparison were used as suggestions in their own countries. When France passed the first monument protection law in Europe in 1887, legislative activities in the field of monument protection were triggered for example in Prussia. It was important not to lag the "great civilised states" such as France and England in comparison (Speitkamp 1996, 196). The international mobility of actors and the associated dissemination of theories and practices developed elsewhere played an important role since the end of the 19th century.[2] Comparing was about looking beyond national borders, about inspiration and knowledge (Scheurmann 2018, 235; i.e. Brown 1912).

For the time being, however, the international dimension of monument preservation did not go beyond comparison. In times of peace, monument preservation was a profoundly "domestic affair" (Wolf 1924, 227). Truly inter-national were only acts of war. Jointly elaborated regulations therefore addressed the protection of monuments during war. The Brussels Declaration of 1874, for example, stipulated that any wilful destruction of a monument or work of art should be prosecuted by the competent authorities, Art. 8 p. 2 Brussels Declaration; in addition to hospitals and medical facilities, "buildings dedicated to art, [and] science", Art. 17, should also be spared in the event of bombardment.

It was not until the end of the 19th century that the first forms of cultural diplomacy developed, whose practices also included interest in monuments. At world fairs and international art exhibitions in Paris, London, Vienna and

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2 Recent research has followed this approach, even though the origin of the growing importance of "heritage" and the associated "monument preservation" has so far been sought rather in the nation-state endeavours of the late 19th century (Swenson 2013, 2).

Philadelphia between 1855 and 1889 sections on historic monuments showing architectural drawings have been presented (Swenson 2013, 156–158).

At the world fair in Paris in 1889 a first institutionalised, international initiative that explicitly dealt with the protection of historical monuments took place: the "Congrès international pour la protection des œuvres d'art et des monuments". Many participants from European countries attended the congress, as well as representatives from Russia, Turkey, Egypt, Mexico, Brazil, the USA, India and China.[3] The organisers stated that this meeting of experts was "a new and excellent idea" and that "the question of the protection of works of art and monuments is one that must be borne in mind by anyone who knows, respects and loves the traditions and glories of their country".[4]

The congress published some "wishes" for the protection of works of art and monuments (Langini et. al. 2012, 7).[5] Among these wishes, the protection of monuments during wartime still played a significant role. It was discussed whether there should be an organisation, similar to the Red Cross, that defines monuments of art belonging to all mankind – appointed by representatives from the various governments – which should be protected in time of war by an international convention. This "Red Cross for Monuments" was adopted in subsequent agreements and treaties under international law, namely in The Hague Convention of 1899 and 1907 respecting the Law and Customs of War on Land, of which Article 27 stated in 1899: "In sieges and bombardments all necessary steps should be taken to spare as far as possible edifices devoted to religion, art, science, and charity, hospital, and places where the sick and wounded are gathered [. . .]"; in 1907 "historic monuments" were explicitly added in that numeration.[6] The Roerich Pact of 1935[7] and finally the Hague Convention for the

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3 Programme and participants: https://www.tpsalomonreinach.mom.fr/Reinach/MOM_TP_071618/MOM_TP_071618_0004/PDF/MOM_TP_071618_0004.pdf, last access (for all following internet pages as well): 05.10.2021.

4 The original reads: "une idée neuve et excellente" and "la question de la protection des œuvres d'art et des monuments s'impose, en effet, à la pensée de qui- conque connaît, respecte et aime les traditions et les gloirés de sa patrie".

5 Published in German-speaking countries in 2012 as a "rediscovery" by Georg Germann through ICOMOS.

6 https://archive.org/details/hagueconventions00inteuoft/page/118/mode/1up.

7 The Roerich Pact, signed on 15 April 1935, was the first international treaty on the protection of art and scientific institutions and historical monuments, concluded in Washington because of the resolution of the Seventh International Conference of American States in Montevideo (16 December 1933). It regulated, "that the treasures of culture be respected and protected in time of war and in peace", https://ihl-databases.icrc.org/ihl/INTRO/325?OpenDocument.

Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict of 1954,[8] which is still in force today, also embrace this idea.

The "wishes" of 1899, however, went far beyond the subject matter of the war. They specifically concerned the handling of monuments and works of art and were primarily of a practical nature, but also formulated visionary ideas regarding education, the training of specialised personnel and the formation of international organisations. They included practices of restoration, such as for cleaning building facades, the wish for both an international archive and a publication to be initiated, as well as a desire for this first meeting to be perpetuated. The congress also expressed the wish that the tax commissioners of the countries should be urged to no longer calculate the tax of the house owners according to the number of mullioned windows, to better protect historical buildings with such windows. It was also suggested that the cultural education of young people should be pursued in religious and civil institutions, for example by visiting monuments and museums. These wishes can be described as the forerunners of the 1931 Charter of Athens, issued thirty years later.

After the turn of the century, "International Homeland Preservation Congresses" were held for the first time ("Internationale Heimatschutzkongresse") (Swenson 2013, 189). The first took place in Paris in 1909 (Schlimm 2015), the second in Stuttgart in 1912 (Fuchs 1912). At the latter, Carl Johannes Fuchs – interestingly, a professor of economics and not of art history in his position as vice-chairman of the German Homeland Preservation Association (stellvertretender Vorsitzender des Deutschen Heimatschutzbundes) – addressed the obvious dialectic of the international dimension of a nationally determined preservation of monuments in his welcoming speech:

"International congresses for homeland preservation – are they not a paradox in the word itself? Is it even possible to do something as national in essence as heritage protection internationally?"[9] (Fuchs 1912, 58). In accordance with the format of the congress, the participants came from many countries, but mainly from Europe. The honorary presidents of the congress were representatives from Brussels, Rome, Paris, London and Amsterdam, Christiania[10] and Zurich. With Mr. Ishibashi, a professor from Kobe (Japan), a non-European country was also

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8 http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13637&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html.

9 The original reads: „Internationale Kongresse für Heimatschutz – sind sie nicht ein Widerspruch im Worte selbst? Kann man etwas so Nationales wie den Heimatschutz überhaupt international betreiben?".

10 The Norwegian capital Oslo bared the name Christiania between 1624 and 1924.

represented.[11] They answered Fuchs' question with an "emphatic yes" (Swenson 2013, 187). Fuchs also resolved the apparent contradiction himself in the following:

> And while the homeland preservation movement will undoubtedly strengthen the national differentiation and separation of peoples, this will in no way harm their relations with each other. For only those who love and appreciate their own homeland and kind – not in raw, arrogant chauvinism, but in refined reflection and recognition of their cultural significance – will also respect the homeland and distinctiveness of others. (Fuchs 1912, 59)

Preserving national culture while simultaneously acknowledging other cultures is a difficult undertaking. At the international level, therefore, the preservation of cultural heritage has been and still is a process in which cultural differences must be negotiated. Constituting a new international order in this field therefore is an "intellectual adventure" (Herren 2009, 5). In times of international tension, this is a double burden. The First World War marked a caesura in the field of monument preservation as well.[12]

3 The Interwar Period 1919–1939

3.1 International Heritage Conservation within the League of Nations

Monument preservation during the twenty years of the interwar period is only slowly coming into the focus of research (Melman 2020; Spitra 2021; Glendinning 2013, 187 ff.).[13] Characteristic of this era is the perpetuating internationalisation of the discourse on cultural heritage conservation (Melman 2020, 31). This was accompanied by an institutionalisation under the umbrella of the League of Nations, founded in 1919. Cultural cooperation was not mentioned in the League of Nations' statutes. The construction of a possible European identity – as a

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11 However, this was no longer unusual since Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War in 1905. Japan was already represented in the major administrative associations before 1914 and in the first decade of the 20th century "unmistakably" expressed its will to participate in shaping the international order. (Herren 2009, 34).

12 For the German discourse, Scheurmann (2018, 240) notes that it has not yet been researched which "consequences resulted from the wartime commitment for the professional self-confidence of monument preservation in the post-war period". To speak only of an "interruption" of the positive pre-war developments in the field of monument preservation trivialises the First World War. (Scheurmann 2018, 253).

13 The topic will also be covered in a forthcoming publication: ARTIS ON No. 12, Special Issue: Heritage Conservation in the Interwar Period (1919–1939).

possible side effect of the unification of many European countries in a global institution – was not initially the aim of the unification.[14] Three years later, in 1922, the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (ICIC) was founded within the League of Nations and based in Geneva, as were the League of Nations themselves (Vrdoljak and Meskell 2020, 16). The aim of the ICIC was to promote international cultural and intellectual exchange between scientists and researchers and to contribute to peace between peoples through cultural understanding. Culture was a medium for "mutual sympathy between ethnic groups and populations, as well as a means for controlling the unintended consequences of the modernization of society" (Rogan 2014, 176). The Committee consisted of 12, later 19 members.[15] To support this Committee executively another three years later in 1925 the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC) was founded in Paris.[16]

At that time, monument preservation was also slowly being perceived as a diplomatic instrument. This is evidenced, for example, by the entry in the "Dictionary of International Law and Diplomacy" published in 1924 (Wolf 1924; Spitra 2021, 205).[17]

Concerning Heritage Preservation, the foundation of the International Museums Office (IMO), initiated by the IIIC in 1926, was a decisive step towards

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14 Regarding mutual preservation of monuments, a far-reaching campaign was initiated – many years later – by the Council of Europe in 1975, which partly included the countries of the Eastern Bloc (Falser and Lipp 2015), to raise awareness of monument preservation, but in the individual nation states. There was, however, no common, European line. At the end of the campaign, the Amsterdam Declaration was adopted (https://www.icomos.org/en/and/169-the-declaration-of-amsterdam). In 2018, there was another attempt to hold a Europe-wide "European Year of Cultural Heritage". This time it was initiated by the European Commission. The motto was "Sharing Heritage" (https://ec.europa.eu/culture/cultural-heritage/eu-policy-for-cultural-heritage/european-year-of-cultural-heritage-2018).

15 UNESCO Archive, Finding Aid, IIIC: https://atom.archives.unesco.org/downloads/ag-1-international-institute-of-intellectual-co-operation-iiic.pdf.

16 Bibliography on these institutions and "intellectual cooperation" see project by Martin Grandjean: http://intellectualcooperation.org/publications; Cladders, 2018, 74: All the directors of the Institute between 1926 and 1939 were French (UNESCO Archive, Finding Aid, IIIC: https://atom.archives.unesco.org/downloads/ag-1-international-institute-of-intellectual-co-operation-iiic.pdf); In addition, the IIIC was based in Paris and not, like many other international organisations, in Geneva, which is why it was suspected, especially by the Germans, of being part of French foreign cultural policy (Rogan 2014, 177, Fn. 2); the IIIC's Statute: https://atom.archives.unesco.org/uploads/r/5c00m/7/5/7513/ag01sf00001f_compressed.pdf.

17 The dictionary was reprinted in 1960. Only half of the keywords of the first volume was also edited in the second edition, supplemented by 700 new terms (Ushakov 1964, 262). In the title, "diplomacy" was removed in this second edition, as was the keyword "monument preservation, international".

institutionalisation for heritage issues (Cladders 2018, 74). This office was headed by Euripide Foundoukidis (Rehling 2014, 116; Melman 2020, 51).

The IMO can be seen as the forerunner of the International Council of Museums (ICOM), which still operates today under the umbrella of UNESCO. At that time, the IMO addressed cultural heritage issues, especially archaeological finds that ended up in museums after excavations. IMO organised what is today often to be considered[18] the first explicit international conference on the conservation of artistic and historic monuments, named the International Experts Conference for the Protection and the Conservation of Artistic and Historical Monuments (Ohba 2017, 99) or First International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments[19] from 21st to 30th October 1931 in Athens. The conference realised the demand for an international meeting of monument preservation experts, which had apparently already been expressed for the first time ten years earlier at the archaeological Congrès Internationale d'Histoire de l'Art in Paris in 1921 and renewed in 1930 at the International Conference on Conservation of Works of Art in Rome (Iamandi 1997, 18).[20] Vice-President of the conference in Athens in 1931 was the Director of the German Archaeological Institute (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, DAI) Georg Karo.[21] One hundred and twenty experts, belonging to twenty-four countries, took part in the proceedings.

The official report following characterised the congress as a beginning for further cooperation in the field of cultural heritage:

> This conference was, in a way, the introduction to the studies which the Office proposes to pursue in this field. It afforded the experts an opportunity of examining a number of questions to a general order and, at the same time, of drawing up a program for this future activity of the Office. (League of Nations 1932, 1827)

While the previous year's conference in Rome (1930) focused on the conservation of works of art, the participants in Athens took up this idea, but explicitly

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18 Swenson 2013, 187 points out that international conferences had already taken place in advance of this conference.

19 https://www.icomos.org/en/167-the-athens-charter-for-the-restoration-of-historic-monuments.

20 Rome-Conference: "Conférence internationale pour l'étude des méthodes scientifiques appliquées à l'examen et à la conservation des oeuvres d'art": https://roerichsmuseum.website. yandexcloud.net/DD/DD-1157.pdf.

21 Director DAI in Athens from 1930 to 1936. The DAI was founded in 1829 and is an important player in German foreign cultural and academic policy. Karo was dismissed by the National Socialists in 1936 because of his Jewish origins: https://atom.archives.unesco.org/uploads/r/5c00m/b/2/8/b281cd5ae48094778abd452f71aba5a541f451002c3543ecd902251fc72c01af/0000002520.pdf.

expanded the topic to include the conservation and preservation of architectural monuments (Jokilehto 2011, 3). There were six main topics on the agenda: the statement of various legislative provisions concerning the protection and preservation of monuments of artistic and historical interest; general principles for the restoration of monuments; damage resulting from age and atmospheric influences; surroundings of monuments and protection of sites; the utilisation of monuments; the role of the international museums-office.[22]

By the end of the congress conclusions were drawn, divided into (A) General Conclusions and the (B) Proceedings of the Conference on the anastylosis of the Acropolis monument in Athens (Ohba 2017, 99 f).[23] The participants agreed to collect the already existing legislation in the individual countries.

At the fourteenth plenary session, the ICIC adopted a resolution on the Athens Conference, highlighting the international dimension of the conference that had been initiated:

> [. . .] the Athens Conference laid down the principle that in this matter, as in others, the peoples are interdependent, that this interdependence must give rise to a new form of international cooperation, and that, by a series of investigations ending in concrete proposals, this community of interests should be expressed in the form of international agreement. (League of Nations 1932, 1776 f.)

The conclusions drawn as Part A later led to the "Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments" (Ohba 2017, 99). At that time, the Charter did not bear the name by which it is known today. It was published in 1933 by the International Museums Office under the title "Carta del Restauro".[24] This 1931 Athens Charter is the basis and intellectual precursor for the Venice Charter, which was adopted in Venice in 1964 at the Second International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments.[25]

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22 Agenda of the Athens Conference. *Office international des musées, La Conservation des monuments d'art et d'histoire*, English version, 3.

23 Agenda of the Athens Conference. *Office international des musées, La Conservation des monuments d'art et d'histoire*. English version, 18–23. Anastylosis refers to the partial reconstruction of a dilapidated ancient building using its original, preserved components.

24 https://www.icomos.org/en/charters-and-texts/179-articles-en-francais/ressources/charters-and-standards/167-the-athens-charter-for-the-restoration-of-historic-monuments. However, the designation "Carta del Restauro" is also not suitable for a reliable distinction, as there is a document also from 1931 with the same name, today known as "Carta del restauro italiana" (Iamandi 1997, 17).

25 The 1931 Athens Charter is not to be confused with another document, also known today as the "Charter of Athens". This second "Charter of Athens" dates to the IVth International Congress of Modern Architecture (CIAM), which was held also in Athens, however in the year

3.2 Refused Diplomacy: Case Study I – The Germans and the International Commission on Historic Monuments, 1933

The participants of the First International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments in Athens 1931 agreed on establishing an "international organisation for Restoration on operational and advisory levels".[26] Following that agreement, the League resolved to establish an International Commission on Historical Monuments (own abbreviation: ICHM).

So far, little is known about this commission (Trötschel-Daniels 2022a). It was only active for a few years, from 1933 to 1937. It was the patron of the international excavation conference in Cairo on technical, administrative, and legislative issues,[27] which took place from 8 to 14 March 1937. After that, there is no archival record.[28]

The ICHM was to be operated by the IMO. The members of the commission were to be appointed by the respective governments of the countries (Melman 2020, 52). Euripide Foundoukidis, who was the Secretary of IMO at that time, was chosen to be Secretary General of the ICHM.[29] Foundoukidis is certainly not widely known, but he is not "completely forgotten" either, as Melman stated (2020, 51). He held a key position at IMO and was an important coordinator and string-puller in the network of European cultural diplomats. Karo describes his contemporary as "extremely lively" (Karo 1932, 37), he was "multilingual and cosmopolitan" (Kott 2014, 210). Foundoukidis was born in Greece in 1894. However, he received his education in Paris, at the Institut des Hautes Etudes Internationales and the Ecole des Hautes Etudes Sociales. He worked as an editor for the Greek magazine Phos and as an advisor to the Greek embassy in Paris (Stöckmann 2015). In January 1929, Foundoukidis began working as an attaché at the International Institute for Intellectual Cooperation. Only a few months later, in April 1929, he became Secretary of the International Museums Office and, from 1931, Secretary General there. He held this office for fifteen years until 1946 (Stöckmann 2015) and was thus an important link between the pre- and post-war

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1933. The conclusions drawn there were published ten years after the conference, but initially published anonymously in 1943, by the architect Le Corbusier (Iamandi 1997).

26 https://www.icomos.org/en/charters-and-texts/179-articles-en-francais/ressources/chartes-and-standards/167-the-athens-charter-for-the-restoration-of-historic-monuments, Resolution No. 1.

27 Germany did not participate in this conference (Voss 2017, 162).

28 https://atom.archives.unesco.org/oim-xiv-commission-internationale-des-monuments-historiques.

29 UNESCO Archives, International Museums Office (IMO), FR PUNES AG 1-IICI-OIM-XIV-1, Commission internationale des Monuments historiques. Circulaires, IICI0000002516.

periods. Foundoukidis was entrusted with the task of installing a six-member expert group. This group was to meet in Paris in November 1933 to draw up a work programme for the ICHM. In October 1933, he had already asked for high-ranking and knowledgeable experts from Austria, France, Spain, Great Britain and Italy. Foundoukidis also was in constant exchange with Richard Graul, the former director of the Museum of Fine Arts in Leipzig, who had been the coordinator of the German delegation at the 1930 meeting in Rome (Cladders 2018, 76). Jointly, they considered either Robert Hiecke or Paul Clemen as German representative for the expert group.[30] Foundoukidis finally addressed his enquiry to Hiecke, at that time a ministerial councillor in the Prussian Ministry of Science, Art and National Education based in Berlin. Hiecke was a trained architect, subsequently conservator of the province of Saxony for many years and from 1918 head of monument preservation in Prussia (Bornheim gen. Schilling 1953).

Foundoukidis' request, however, came at a time when state restructuring by the National Socialists was in full progress in Germany. They had won the Reichstag elections in March 1933 and were pursuing a German-national programme. On 14 October 1933, the government under Adolf Hitler announced the withdrawal of Germany from the League of Nations.[31] One day before the planned meeting in Paris, Hiecke announced by telegram that he would not attend. Foundoukidis wrote soberly to Graul that under "the present circumstances" he could resign himself to the absence of a German member of the expert group.[32] The group of experts met in Paris on 21 and 22 November 1933 without a German delegate.

The meeting was chaired by the former Director General of Antiquities and Fine Arts and member of the Reale Accademia d'Italia Roberto Paribeni; Ricardo de Orueta y Duarte, Director General of Fine Arts Spain of the Dirección General de Bellas Artes, Leodegar Petrin, President of the Bundesdenkmalamt in Vienna, Ralegh Radford, Conservator in Great Britain and Louis Hautecœur, Conservator of the National Museums in Paris attended the meeting. These men were trained

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30 Hiecke had taken over the chairmanship of the Denkmalpflegetag from Paul Clemen in 1932 and in this capacity chaired the Denkmalpflegetag, which took place in Kassel in 1933, for the first time (Meier 1933, 195).

31 It was the sixth (announced) withdrawal from the League of Nations. Costa Rica had already withdrawn in 1924, followed by Brazil in 1926. Their denunciations took effect after a two-year period had expired. The withdrawals of Spain (1926) and Mexico (1932) were withdrawn, and these two states remained in the League of Nations. Japan had also declared its intention to withdraw from the League of Nations in March 1933 (ZAÖR 1934, 148).

32 UNESCO Archives, International Museums Office (IMO), FR PUNES AG 1-IICI-OIM-XIV-5, Allemagne, IICI0000002520, Foundoukidis to Graul, 20.11.1933: "Etant donné la situation actuelle je ne pouvais que me résigner à l'absence d'un membre allemand à ce Comité."

art historians (de Orueta, Hautecœur) and archaeologists (Paribeni, Radford); only Petrin had been a law graduate, previously a bureaucrat in the Austrian Ministry of Education, and only came to his current position in 1931. All of them were born between 1868 and 1884 and had been working for a long time. Radford alone was only 33 years old when they met in Paris.[33] Their professional composition illustrates the fact that at the beginning of the 20th century, monuments preservation on an international level was formed primarily from art historical and archaeological expertise. Although the men had experience in the field of fine arts, administration and also in excavations, only Petrin brought specific, long-standing knowledge of architectural heritage conservation with him. It is therefore not surprising that the only major conference held in Cairo in 1937 was on archaeological heritage management.

The expert group established a work programme for the ICHM to be set up. They informed Graul, they hoped the current situation would soon improve and that Graul would then be able to work with the International Museums Office again.[34]

They determined that the Commission's activities will include "moral and educational", "legislative and administrative" and "technical" measures.[35] 68 countries were finally invited to nominate a delegate to the commission.[36] Half of the

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33 C.A. Ralegh Radford (1900–1998): https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archiveDS/archive Download?t=arch-769-1/dissemination/pdf/vol42/42_104_106.pdf; Petrin, Leodegar (1877–1945): Frodl-Kraft (1997, 437); Roberto Paribeni (1876–1956) : https://www.treccani.it/enciclo pedia/roberto-paribeni_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/; Ricardo de Orueta Duarte (1868–1939) : https://dbe.rah.es/biografias/7543/ricardo-de-orueta-duarte; Louis Hautecœur (1884–1973) : https://www.academiedesbeauxarts.fr/louis-hautecoeur, last access of all : 18.02.2022.
34 UNESCO Archives, International Museums Office (IMO), FR PUNES AG 1-IICI-OIM-XIV-5, Allemagne, IICI0000002520, Foundoukidis to Graul, 20.11.1933: "Vous voulez bien exprimer l'espoir de voir s'améliorer proptement la situation actuelle afin de vous permettre de continuer votre collaboration à l'Office. C'est également mon plus vif désir."
35 UNESCO Archives, International Museums Office (IMO), FR PUNES AG 1-IICI-OIM-XIV-1, Commission internationale des Monuments historiques. Circulaires IICI0000002516: "Il a été prévu que cette activité comporterait une action morale et educative – une action legislative et administrative – une action technique." https://atom.archives.unesco.org/uploads/r/5c00m/ a/d/7/ad7c5ea692d8c1a1a9fa33f7a6dc1cf0695f04e8f7d3d7f94a151247fef431de/0000002516.pdf. The work programme: UNESCO Archives, International Museums Office (IMO), https://atom. archives.unesco.org/uploads/r/5c00m/3/a/e/3aed617122c5e418e84fb45633f71a590deec4cbdc19 c8eb71340b4e875d7c45/0000004251.pdf.
36 UNESCO Archives, International Museums Office (IMO), FR PUNES AG 1-IICI-OIM-XIV-70, Constitution de la Commission internationale des Monuments historiques. Généralités et correspondance, ICI0000002585, https://atom.archives.unesco.org/uploads/r/5c00m/5/1/2/ 5123258c6e0bb791b82ebd10d7e9c1b90b9404da67350bab58ecaaf2c31e4d16/0000002585.pdf.

countries contacted appointed a delegate.[37] The German Embassy informed Foundoukidis that the German government would not participate in the ICHM.[38]

The focus of the ICHM's activities in the following was the patronage of the conference in Cairo (Vrdoljak 2006, 116–118) that took place in March 1937. The aim of this conference was to lay the foundations for an "ideal system of administration of excavations."[39] The Final Act of the Cairo Conference, published by the IMO in 1940 (IMO, 1940), was in many ways the basis for the postwar Recommendations on international principles applicable to Archaeological Excavations, adopted by the UNESCO General Conference on 5 December 1956 (Price 1995, 8).

After the conference in Cairo, the ICHM did not meet again. The beginning of the Spanish Civil War in 1936 had already shifted the focus of the work to monument conservation in wartime once again.[40] In December 1937, Italy also withdrew from the League of Nations. The Italian expert, Roberto Paribeni, who had participated in November 1933 as one of the six members of the working group in the elaboration of the work program for the ICHM in Paris, submitted his request for withdrawal from the Commission in January 1938.[41]

The example of the ICHM makes it clear, that – from a German perspective – the impact of Nazi policies in Germany on the work of ICHM led to intellectual isolation – long before the war started – with the national socialists coming to power in early 1933. From a more European perspective it has come clear that

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37 South Africa, Algeria, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, China, Denmark, Egypt, Spain, Estonia, United States of America, Finland, France, Greece, Guatemala, Hungary, India, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Luxembourg, Morocco and Tunisia, Mexico, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Argentina, Romania, Scotland, Sweden, Switzerland, Syria and Lebanon, Czechoslovakia; UNESCO Archives, International Museums Office (IMO), FR PUNES AG 1-IICI-OIM-XIV-70, Constitution de la Commission internationale des Monuments historiques. Généralités et correspondance, ICI0000002585, Liste des members de la Commission international des monuments historiques.
38 UNESCO Archives, International Museums Office (IMO), FR PUNES AG 1-IICI-OIM-XIV-5, Allemagne, IICI0000002520, Memo from German Ambassador Kühn to Foundoukidis, 6.4.1934.
39 UNESCO Archives, FR PUNES AG 1-IICI-OIM-[CONF.Fouilles.1937]-O.I.M.71. 1937, 0000004291. pdf, Preliminary Report, Question 2, Administrative Organisation of Services https://atom.ar chives.unesco.org/uploads/r/5c00m/7/a/4/7a465ac5c5437f278652cd976472918884a75b642a0 b881107e699b3efc03b70/0000004291.pdf.
40 International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (ICIC), Report of the Committee on the Work of its Nineteenth Plenary Session from July 12th to 17th, 1937. XII.A.2., 15, online: https://biblio-archive.unog.ch/Dateien/CouncilMSD/C-327-M-220-1937-XII_EN.pdf.
41 UNESCO Archive, FR PUNES AG 1-IICI-OIM-XIV-35, Italie, 0000002550.pdf, https://atom.ar chives.unesco.org/uploads/r/5c00m/c/7/4/c744540effe4b468c8d6d8e3f97c6c8 7442186b7b44df73591b99745fd4f680c/0000002550.pdf.

the rise of nationalism in general (Laqua 2018) in the early 1930s illustrate that international cooperation can only be successful and used as a platform for the exercise of soft power if this offer is also accepted by the actors. Despite the abstractness and aloofness that institutionalisation suggests, these organisations are associations of human beings, of politically active actors. The development of politics in international organisations is determined by the interests and impulses as well as the resources for action of the actors involved (Rittberger et al. 2013, 100), such as members of governments, other political figures, and cultural officials. The organisations depend on leaders and decision-makers in countries around the world recognising the value of cooperation and wanting to participate. This relates to Nye and his theory of soft powers: Nye has stated that there are three ways to exercise power: "threats of coercion ('sticks'), inducements and payments ('carrots'), and attraction that makes others want what you want" (Nye 2008, 94). By not sending a representative to the Commission and by withdrawing from the League of Nations, Germany used a fourth dimension of exercising power: power by omission. This active renunciation of international participation also leads to refused cultural diplomacy. It is precisely in times of crisis, in times of tension or war, that nation states and their actors withdraw from or refuse to participate in trans- and international associations, not only in history but also in recent times.[42]

4 After der Second World War 1949–1969

4.1 Continuities of the Pre-war Years in the Field of Monuments Preservation

The retreat into the national, which brought the efforts for international monument conservation to a stagnation at the end of the 1930s, left a gap in the institutionalisation of international monument conservation that lasted for almost thirty years.

As a result of the war's destruction, monuments conservation had evolved from an art-historical discourse to an everyday visible challenge in which urban planners, architects and civil society now participated more than before the war. In the early post-war years, the reconstruction of war-damaged towns and

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42 For example: In February 2020 President Trump announced the withdrawal of the USA from the World Health Organisation. Before the withdrawal would have taken effect in July 2021, the current President Biden resumed relations with the WHO in February 2021.

countryside led to questions of preservation, reconstruction and urban renewal being on the agenda of many regions in Europe. The discourse around these tasks gave rise to two new international organisations dealing with monument preservation: ICCROM and ICOMOS. The 9th session of the UNESCO General Conference in New Delhi in 1956 adopted the long-prepared proposal to establish a centre for practical monument preservation, the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property. The new organisation has intergovernmental character and is based in Rome. Since 1978, the acronym ICCROM has been in use.[43] An international council that bundled ideas and national developments in the spirit of the ICHM was not successfully founded until 1964 when ICOMOS was initiated.

However, the cultural officials picked up on the ideas and thoughts of the ICHM quite quickly after the end of the Second World War. The UNESCO Constitution was signed by 37 states very soon after the end of the Second World War in November 1945 and entered into force in 1946. The founding states pointed out in the preamble of this UNESCO-constitution that "a peace based exclusively upon the political and economic arrangements of governments would not be a peace which could secure the unanimous, lasting and sincere support of the peoples of the world", to contribute to peace there has to be a collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture as well.

In this spirit, the International Council of Museums (ICOM) was founded just two years later as the successor to the International Museums Office. At the first General Conference of ICOM in Paris in 1948, the experts suggested, "to consider the establishment of an organisation exclusively devoted to historic monuments, modelled on ICOM and working in cooperation with ICOM and with the special division of UNESCO" (Jokilehto 2011, 11).

In parallel with this proposal, the General Assembly, in turn together with ICOM, suggested at the third General Conference of UNESCO in Beirut in December 1948 to establish a panel of experts to deal with questions of monument

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43 ICCROM's links to the GDR have rarely been the subject of research. The ICCROM website states that "Germany" has been a member of ICCROM since 1964, but this is only true for the Federal Republic. It is unclear when the GDR first established links with the International Centre for Conservation. However, there have certainly been connections since the mid-1970s: In 1977, Helmut Stelzer, then Secretary General of the ICOMOS National Committee of the GDR, was invited to Rome to give four lectures at ICCROM (Brandt 2015b, 366); in 1979, with financial support from the GDR and UNESCO, a workshop for monument preservationists was held within the framework of ICCROM (Jokilehto 2011, 73); in 1986, participants in a workshop conducted by ICCROM, which focused on design solutions for urban monument preservation, were invited to Wismar: ADN (1986, 4).

preservation of buildings and sites (Jokilehto 2011, 7). This body met in October 1949. Members included Foundoukidis, the former Secretary General of the International Museums Office and Stanislaw Lorentz from Poland, who would later play a leading role in the founding of ICOMOS (Jokilehto 2011, Fn. 22.). These lines of continuity from the League of Nations and its cultural organisations, such as the International Museums Office or the International Committee on Historic Monuments, to the new foundations after the Second World War, played a decisive role in the character of the post-war institutions. In the field of monument preservation, too, the expert networks of the interwar period that had already been identified for the International Labour Organisation (Kott 2011, 143), played an important role in the continuation of the ideas of the 1920s and 1930s. Although both the League of Nations and later ICOMOS as well, claimed to be global associations. In particular, the League of Nations is perceived today as the predecessor of the UN, but the League of Nations was primarily European (Löhr 2015). ICOMOS, at least in the early years, also operated as a pan-European organisation (Gfeller 2015, 116; Winter 2014b). The position of the League of Nations therefore goes far beyond being the predecessor organisation of UNESCO. Rather, through its strong European focus (headquarters, actors, etc.), it laid the foundation for the reconciliation of the two blocs in Europe in the years after the Second World War (Clavin and Patel 2010, 127).

ICOMOS is the International Council on Monuments and Sites. As a non-governmental organisation, ICOMOS works for the conservation and preservation of monuments and cultural-historical sites. Today, more than 10,000 individual members from 151 countries and 104 National Committees contribute to improving theory and practice of heritage conservation.[44] ICOMOS has been working with UNESCO since 1966.[45] Since the end of 1970, it has had "A status" and has thus become a direct working group of UNESCO.[46] Although the considerations and demands for such an institution date back to 1948, it took until 1964 before the decision was taken to establish such an institution. The founding agreement of ICOMOS was finally signed in Venice in 1964, at the Second International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments. The founding agreement was one of 13 resolutions adopted by the congress.[47]

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44 https://www.icomos.org/en/about-icomos/mission-and-vision/mission-and-vision.

45 https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000131324.

46 TLDA Erfurt, Ordner ICOMOS, ICOMOS-Tagungen 1966–1980, Record of the Meeting of the National Committee of the GDR of ICOMOS, 03.11.1970.

47 Another resolution that has gained prominence is the Venice Charter, which has always been an important policy document for monument preservation (Brandt 2015a, 51).

The constitutional assembly from ICOMOS took place in Warsaw in 1965. This decision was based on a proposal by the art historian and director of the National Museum in Warsaw, Stanislaw Lorentz (Gfeller 2015, 115), that he had already made at the Venice Congress the year before. Lorentz worked closely with Piero Gazzola, the Italian Superintendent in charge of Monuments in Verona (1941–1973), on the programme for the constitutional assembly of ICOMOS. On the one hand, the venue Warsaw, on the other side of the Iron Curtain, was intended to emphasise the pan-European cooperation and the international orientation of the new association; on the other hand, the venue also served to legitimise the conservation strategy in the reconstructed Poland, which was not without controversy among monument conservators (Omilanowska 2011). In the run-up to the founding of ICOMOS, there was a strong Italian-Polish connection (Gfeller 2015, 116), which was also later reflected in the association, where Lorentz and Gazzola held high-ranking positions (Zaryn 1995). Representatives from twenty-six nations attended the constitutional assembly, twenty of which were European, both Eastern and Western European states, which was, at that time, not a matter of course. During the Cold War, the whole world, but especially Europe, was divided into two blocs. Parallel narratives took place in the two blocs, with a mediating narrative, namely one emanating from international organisations (Glendinning 2013, 259). At that time UNESCO and its advisory bodies had an important function in addition: not only did they offer spaces for international knowledge transfer, but they were also considered platforms, that were able to overcome the iron curtain, which divided Europe into two parts (Kott 2011; Trötschel-Daniels 2019). Clavin and Patel argue that international organisations (in their case the League of Nations and the European Economic Community) can be seen as "hubs that generated, contained, stabilised and modified specific 'European' positions" (2010, 110).

At ICOMOS, this mediating position is well illustrated. By the end of the election at the constitutional assembly every nation present at the assembly was represented with a delegate either in the ICOMOS-Bureau or in the Executive Committee. Elected members of the ICOMOS-Bureau were: President Piero Gazzola (Italy); three vicepresidents: Martin Almagro (Spain), Robert Garvey (USA), Vladimir Ivanov (USSR); Secretary General Raymond Lemaire (Belgium); Treasurer Maurice Berry (France) and President of the Consulting Committee Stanislaw Lorentz (Poland) (Zaryn 1995). Together with Alves de Souza (Brazil), Carlos Flores Marini (Mexico), B.A. Lal (India) and M. Sekino (Japan), who were members of the executive committee, Garvey and Ivanov represented the six non-European nations within the new organisation. Other members of the executive committee were Werner Bornheim gen. Schilling (Federal Republic of Germany), Gugliemo de Angelis d'Ossat (Italy), Dezső Dercsényi (Hungary), Lord

Euston (United Kingdom), Walter Frodl (Austria), Alfred Schmid (Switzerland) and Ivan Zdravkovic (Yugoslavia). The staffing of the posts shows that a real space for understanding across the bloc borders had been created, with India and Yugoslavia two states of the non-aligned movement were also represented. A politically balanced nomination for positions at ICOMOS became an unwritten rule (Bekus 2020, 1155).

4.2 Denied Diplomacy: Case Study II – The Difficult Access of the GDR to ICOMOS, 1964

After the end of the Second World War, two states existed in Germany: the (West German) Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) and the (East German) German Democratic Republic (GDR). While monument conservators from the Federal Republic were even among the driving forces of the new association (i.e. Werner Bornheim gen. Schilling), the representatives of GDR monument preservation had to travel a further way before they were finally successful in 1969. Both politicians and monuments preservationists were aware early on that the treatment of architectural heritage would be perceived in the other countries and could therefore be a soft power asset for the country. In an early policy paper on the future direction of monument preservation in the GDR it says:

> Not only the population of our own country can experience the historical and artistic message of the monuments, but also guests from other countries can have an impressive experience of our national culture. As an inseparable part of world culture, our monuments also serve to promote respect and understanding between peoples. The existence and condition of our monuments and their dignified inclusion in the reconstruction of our country are thus essential for the representation of our state to the world.[48]

The GDR's monument preservationists wanted to take the opportunity to exchange ideas with colleagues on an international level. From the very beginning, in 1964, the responsible monument preservationists therefore endeavoured to participate in the founding process of what would later become ICOMOS. Ludwig Deiters, the General Conservator of the GDR, argued to the responsible Ministry of Culture that it was important to exchange views on specialist issues with international colleagues. He also mentioned the political dimension: the monument preservation of the GDR was appreciated outside the GDR. The scientific exchange could be

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48 BArch, DY 27/7338, Bad Saarow Recommendations, 27.–30.11.1964.

intensified and consolidated through membership in such an association. A possible membership of the GDR in ICOMOS was therefore necessary.[49]

Before their reunification in 1989/1990, the two German states were in competition with each other – especially in the early years of the republics until around 1969. The FRG claimed to be the only legitimate German state. From 1955 onwards, the so-called Hallstein Doctrine determined its foreign policy actions in relation to the GDR. The doctrine was named after Walter Hallstein, then State Secretary in the Foreign Office. He had stipulated that the FRG would then restrict diplomatic relations with states if this state in turn established relations with the GDR (Gülstorff 2017; Kilian 2001). With that doctrine practiced, the GDR was mostly internationally isolated until 1972.[50] Even cultural organisations became more and more political, as the case of ICOMOS demonstrates. For the GDR leadership, however, independent membership in international organisations was essential, since such memberships symbolised recognition as a sovereign German state, either alongside or in place of the Federal Republic. An important foreign policy goal of the GDR leadership was therefore the GDR's representation in international non-governmental organisations. As late as 1969, the GDR's Ministry of Foreign Affairs emphatically pointed out to its staff that "the independent membership of GDR institutions in a large number of non-state international organisations represents a clear rejection of the West German pretence of sole representation."[51] It stated the memberships in international, non-governmental organisations "contribute highly to international recognition of the GDR." Those memberships would give

> the opportunity to present the achievements of the GDR in economics, science, technology and culture in various international bodies, congresses, etc. and, on the other hand, to use the achievements and research results of other countries to develop socialism in the GDR.

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49 BArch, DR 1/15881, Deiters to Roland Feix (Head of Department of Cultural Relations, Ministry of Culture), 21.02.1964.

50 It was not until the social-liberal government under Willy Brandt (SPD) that the Hallstein Doctrine was abandoned. The Grundlagenvertrag (Basic Treaty) concluded between the Federal Republic and the GDR in 1972 finally abolished the Federal Republic's claim to sole representation (Roth 2014, 69).

51 PA AA, MfAA/C/554-75, page 118, Submission of the MfAA to the Commission of the Council of Ministers of the GDR for the organisation of work in the field of science and culture to West Germany and West Berlin, 19.11.1969. It says in the original: „Unter Bedingungen, da die DDR noch nicht Mitglied der UNO und ihrer Spezialorganisationen ist, stellt die selbständige Mitgliedschaft von DDR-Institutionen in einer Vielzahl nichtstaatlicher internationaler Organisationen eine anschauliche Zurückweisung der westdeutschen Alleinvertretungsanmaßung dar".

The memberships were both politically and professionally desired, but difficult to achieve due to the German-German question, as the case of ICOMOS membership illustrates.

Although monument preservationists from the GDR were invited to the 1964 Venice Congress, where the founding resolution for the new organisation, later called ICOMOS, was adopted, they were ultimately unable to attend: until March 1970, GDR citizens needed so-called travel passes for travel to NATO countries, which had to be issued by the Allied Travel Office (ATO), located in West-Berlin. These documents were denied to the invited monument preservationists.

The participation of representatives of GDR monument preservation in the founding assembly a year later in Warsaw also proved difficult. The organising committee responsible for the founding assembly decided that only countries that were already members of UNESCO should be admitted to the new association.[52] Although the GDR had tried to become a member of UNESCO, it was not until their third application for membership in 1970 that ultimately led to success in 1972. Even before the founding assembly of ICOMOS in May 1965, UNESCO itself had decided that ICOMOS should "appear and function as far as possible without being bound by UNESCO." The corresponding regulations in the draft statutes for ICOMOS were to be enforced "expressly without any commitment to UNESCO", reported West German monument preservationist Werner Bornheim gen. Schilling to the Foreign Office of the Federal Republic of Germany of a discussion between representatives of UNESCO and the Secretary General of ICOMOS, Lemaire (Bornheim gen. Schilling 2017 [1965], 22).[53] However, Lemaire had argued to UNESCO that the statute of the International Council of Museums (ICOM) knew such a binding of the organisation to UNESCO. UNESCO countered this objection by saying that the ICOM statutes should be amended so that this link no longer existed. In fact, however, the ICOM Statutes of 1962 already did not know the requirement of UNESCO membership. Instead, Article 30 of the ICOM Statute-1962 explicitly distinguished between National Committees whose countries were already members of UNESCO and other countries.[54] For countries

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52 BArch, DR 1/15881, Report by Feix on the consultation in Warsaw on 6 and 7 April 1965 regarding participation in ICOMOS, 10.04.1965.

53 The original reads: "Am 17. Mai 1965 war von der Obersten Juristischen Instanz der UNESCO in Paris Lemaire gegenüber geäußert worden, dass die ICOMOS-Organisation möglichst ohne Bindung an die UNESCO erscheinen und wirken solle. Demzufolge sollen auch die entsprechenden Paragrafen der Statutenentwürfe von ICOMOS ausdrücklich ohne jede Bindung an die UNESCO durchgesetzt werden".

54 ICOM Statute, 06.11.1961, Doc. 61/82; adopted at the 7th General Assembly of ICOM in Amsterdam on 11.07.1962. For Member States at UNESCO, Article 30 para. 1 applied: "In all Member States of UNESCO, an ICOM National Committee may be set up, on the initiative of the country

that were not yet members of UNESCO, the Executive Committee had to decide on the admission of the National Committee to ICOM, Article 30 para. 2 of the ICOM Statute-1962. To justify the requirement of UNESCO membership of ICOMOS with the regulations of ICOM was therefore a misinterpretation on this part of Lemaire. The requirement of UNESCO membership was even not included in the statutes of ICOMOS that were finally adopted. But for the GDR this made no difference in the summer of 1965: access to the new organisation was denied to it with reference to its lack of UNESCO membership.

The preservationists worked hard to create the conditions to be accepted in ICOMOS: they created a new administrative institution, that later would be the national committee of ICOMOS in the GDR; They also focused on ensuring that their work was connectable to European debates, for instance with the preservation of urban areas or technical monuments. The decision on whether to admit the GDR monument preservationists was, however, less a professional than a highly political one.

The turning point in the long-standing efforts to gain admission to ICOMOS, came with developments in another organisation, namely ICOM. At the same time the preservationists tried to become a member at ICOMOS, the responsible experts at the GDR museums tried to become a member in ICOM. They succeeded in 1968 (Trötschel-Daniels 2022b, 156).

In 1964, Johannes Jahn, Director of the Museum of Fine Arts in Leipzig, was accepted as an individual member of ICOM. He was invited by the organisers to attend the ICOM General Assembly as an "observateur" and was able to make the trip to New York in September 1965, which was not a matter of course due to the travel restrictions imposed on GDR citizens. In the Ministry of Culture, the responsible officer was already pleased about the invitation: "If he [Jahn] is granted entry, this is already a form of recognition of the Museum Council [of the GDR] by ICOM".[55] From 1966, the Ministry of Culture paid Jahn's membership fee for ICOM. The application for admission of the National Committee of the GDR to ICOM, submitted in March 1968, led to success in August 1968 at the 8th General Conference of ICOM, which took place on German soil in Cologne and Munich of all places. The GDR press placed the admission to ICOM in a global context: the admission

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concerned or at the suggestion of the President of ICOM, under the following conditions: a) a provisional list of members shall be drawn up or an organisation particular representative of museums shall be designated, after consultation with representatives of the appropriate organisations, e.g. the UNESCO National Commission, an association of museums, museums of national importance, . . .; b) the acceptance, by the National Committee in formation, of the Statutes and Rules of ICOM; c) the final approval of the Executive Committee."

55 BArch, DR 1/23303, Feix to Hildegard Kiermeier (Ministry of Foreign Affairs), 03.04.1965.

meant "nothing less than that the far-reaching effectiveness of the work of our museums and the high level of scientific and cultural education in our country were emphatically confirmed and recognised before and by experts from all parts of the world" (KB 1968: 1).

The Federal Ministry of Domestic Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany feared that this action could represent a turning point for the further development of relations between the FRG and the GDR, because with the recognition of the state of the GDR, hopes for reunification of the two German states waned, when the division became consolidated through independent memberships. The representative of the Federal Ministry of Domestic Affairs hoped that a development like that at ICOM can be avoided "in the interest of safeguarding the interests of Germany as a whole".[56] But the situation at ICOM served as a precedent case for ICOMOS. The ICOMOS-Board could no longer argue that it would be obligatory to already be a member of UNESCO for the international work on monuments, when the international cooperation concerning museums was already possible without the membership at UNESCO.

5 Conclusion: Mission Accomplished

On 5 December 1969, the GDR's National Committee was finally admitted to ICOMOS (ADN 1969: 4). The decision was unanimous, meaning that the delegation of the Federal Republic of Germany had also agreed to the admission (Deiters 2014, 45).

Membership in ICOMOS was a great success for monument preservationists in the GDR. They were able to present their successes to an international audience of experts, for example in the organisation's own publications and at conferences abroad and in the GDR itself. This created the conditions to generate precisely the attraction that comes from soft power assets. When the GDR's new law on the protection of monuments was being drafted, the focus was always on international agreements and regulations in other countries (Trötschel-Daniels 2022b, 137). The desire for participation and the creation of the conditions for it have already decisively shaped monument preservation in the GDR.

The year 1969 thus marks the end point of a development that, from a German perspective, began as early as 1933. The Second World War and the preceding National Socialist rule, which spurred the break-up of the League of Nations, left an almost thirty-year gap in the internationalisation of monument preservation.

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56 BArch, B 106/59688, Ministry of Domestic Affairs to Bornheim gen. Schilling, 18.09.1968.

The internationalisation of monument preservation began as early as the end of the 19th century. Cooperation was initially limited to issues concerning the protection of cultural heritage in times of war. But by the end of the 19th century, the perspective changed and cooperation in times of peace, in which monument preservation had until then been a purely domestic, even nation-state matter, progressed to the centre of international movements. The first jointly elaborated paper for monument preservation was the Athens Charter of 1931. International cooperation was also codified in it. The International Commission on Historic Monuments was established as an instrument of this cooperation.

Although the ICHM was only active for three years, and no further impulses came from the Commission as early as 1937, it was possible to rely on expert networks at an early stage after the Second World War. ICOM was founded in 1948 and had monument preservation concerns in mind. Nevertheless, it took until 1964 for ICOMOS to be founded. The founding of ICOMOS in 1964 was a continuation of the work of the Historic Commission on Historical Monuments, which began its work in 1933. Two lines of research are intertwined in ICOMOS: the findings of Kott (2011), who identified international organisations as mediating spaces between East and West, and simultaneously the findings of Clavin and Patel (2010), who attributed a special contribution to the Europeanisation of Europe to international organisations in Cold War Europe.

Also, the two cases of the ICHM and ICOMOS illustrate the long lines of development in the field of monuments preservation. Thus, research into the development of monuments preservation in particular, but also in cultural diplomacy in general, should not start so much from the historical breaks but go beyond the usual division of epochs and historical cuts to look for networks of actors and ask about lines of continuity.

The two cases also tell us about the difficulties in using soft power assets. The ICHM began its work at a time when the National Socialist rulers in Germany were already beginning to isolate Germany internationally and nationalism spread throughout Europe. Germany (1933) and Italy (1937) refused to cooperate with the League of Nations and its organisations and were therefore not present in the Commission or withdrew from it. This shows that international organisations depend on being attractive to states for their part, so that states want to participate and actually use their soft power. The case of ICOMOS and the GDR shows how cultural diplomacy can be a driving force for nation-state developments. In view of the international isolation of states such as Taiwan, Kosovo or Northern Cyprus, it is to be hoped that where international participation is desired, it will also be made possible.

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PA AA: Political Archive of the Federal Foreign Office/Politisches Archiv des Auswärtiges Amtes, Berlin.

TLDA Erfurt: Thuringian State Office for Monument Preservation/Thüringer Landesamt für Denkmalpflege, Erfurt.

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Jorge J. Locane

On the World Peace Movement and the Early Internationalisation of Latin American Literature

1 Introduction. Beyond the Boom, Beyond the Metropolises

According to widespread ideas, Latin American literature entered the international market and debates in the early 1960s (see e.g. Terrones 2019, 73). An episode that is often invoked as a key instance in this process is the Biblioteca Breve prize awarded in 1962 to Mario Vargas Llosa for *La ciudad y los perros* (1963) [*The Time of the Hero*]. From then on, the successes that marked the Boom are well known: *La muerte de Artemio Cruz* [*The Death of Artemio Cruz*] was published in 1962; *Rayuela* [*Hopscotch*], in 1963; *Cien años de soledad* [*One Hundred Years of Solitude*] and *Tres tristes tigres* [*Three Trapped Tigers*], in 1967, etc. According to well-known essays by Mario Vargas Llosa, Carlos Fuentes and particularly José Donoso, the previous Latin American novel would not have received international attention because of its eminently backward character in relation to the modern Western novel. It is true that these approaches focus on the novel and that their authors do not provide further details about poetry or essays,[1] but the arguments tend to be generalised and projected to the "literature" in a general sense. For a moment, the novel seems to take the place of literature. In any case, even when the claim is confined to the novel, it can be argued that this design of literary history is reductive, biassed and ideological. It has already been discussed by scholars like Doris Sommer (1991, 1) and Eduardo Becerra (2008, 17) with different kinds of arguments.[2] On my side, I have been trying to develop a line of research that highlights alternative or dissident international circuits, that

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1 Mario Vargas Llosa opposes the "creative novel" to the "primitive novel". The former would be characteristic of the Boom and Latin America's first authentic contribution to world literature. According to Vargas Llosa, before the creative novel emerged, "our best creators were poets, such as José Hernández, the author of *Martín Fierro*, or essayists, such as Sarmiento and Martí" (1969, 29). For a critique of novel-centred theoretical models that highlights the relevance of poetry in the Latin American tradition, see Kristal (2002).
2 Already in a 1977 review of the translation of Donoso's book about the Boom, *The Boom in Spanish American Literature. A Personal History* (1977), Dick Gerdes noted that "Much of Donoso's account rings true, but he does not adequately take into account the 1946–51 period when

is, literary flows that problematise the conventional centre-periphery scheme as posited by Pascale Casanova, Franco Moretti and the Warwick Research Collective following Immanuel Wallerstein and the legacy of dependency theory. Seen from this critical point of view, the story of the Boom is organised around an axis that links the (ex)colonies to the metropolises. And, although it argues for a periphery-centre pattern, the criterion of validation is defined in the metropolises. Simply put, a book that sells well in the big capitals of Western capitalism is a book that is automatically considered successful without any evaluation of what is happening in other areas of the world, that is, in other peripheries. According to this logic, metropolitan recognition acquires universal validity. And any kind of peripheral recognition is always local and therefore neglected. The following pages echo Diana Roig-Sanz and Reine Meylaerts' call "to abandon the focus on innovative centres and imitative peripheries" (2018, 6) and, fundamentally, the claim that "there is still a lot of research to be done with regard to inter-peripheral literary exchanges" (2018, 2).

With these ideas as a theoretical background, my most recent research (2021, 2022, among others) has been oriented towards accounting for the flows that connect Latin America with the German Democratic Republic (GDR) and the People's Republic of China. I have been interested in investigating the transfer of Latin American literature to these political-cultural domains. I have asked myself what kind and how much Latin American literature has found a reception among Chinese and East German readers. Thus, to my surprise, I have seen how other canons, other preferences and other protagonists take shape. Where the capitalist world says Isabel Allende, for example, the communist world says Jorge Amado. Where the West, for instance, West Germany, speaks of a best seller, Chinese reception has not even discovered the title. And absolutely ignored or forgotten figures in the Western metropolises, such as Agustín Cuzzani or Alfredo Varela, acquire a prominent position in some peripheral receptions. From this, we can conclude that world literature is actually relative, contingent and variable in time. As suggested by Karima Laachir, Sara Marzagora, and Francesca Orsini (2018), each local node tends to configure, ultimately, its own corpus and canon of world literature, but only the Western hegemonic localities are able to project itself to the world as universally valid.

This contribution focuses on the World Peace Movement (WPM) and in particular its formal and administrative bodies, such as the World Peace Council (WPC). The WPM is interesting because in its heyday, during the early Cold War

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Asturias, Carpentier, Yáñez, Sábato, Marechal and Rojas made important contributions to the universalization of the regional novel" (1977, 445).

and before the Boom began to show signs of existence, it functioned as an umbrella institution, or *cultural organisation*, for intellectuals and writers from all over the world where Latin America was particularly well represented. Certainly, the general objective, that is, to explore the extent to which this space of intellectual interaction affected the international circulation of Latin American literature, exceeds what I can develop in these pages. As some historians have noted, research on the institutional mechanisms, meetings and conferences of the WPM are scarce.[3] In principle, this can be explained by the lack of documents or the inaccessibility of some archives. Interestingly, one of the sources available for the research is the declassified archives of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), which did not spare any effort to spy on peace activists and demonise the WPM in front of public opinion (Fig. 1). It is true, on the other hand, that there are previous platforms of interaction where some of the Latin American writers who will engage in the WPM were already present. One of those platforms is the International Congress of Writers for the Defense of Culture that was held in 1935 in Paris and in 1937 in Valencia, Madrid and Barcelona. Both meetings took place, however, in Europe; and Latin American participants, including Vicente Huidobro, César Vallejo, Alejo Carpentier, and Octavio Paz, were not yet particularly relevant. The International Brigades or, in more general terms, the Republican front and the anti-fascist movement is another space where Latin American writers, such as the above mentioned or Pablo Neruda and Nicolás Guillén, converge

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3 The little academic literature that has addressed the WPM insists on the scarcity of information and the lack of research on the historical relevance of the WPM, on the intellectual networks it generated and the activities to which it gave rise. Rachel Leow, for instance, has recently researched the Asia-Pacific Peace Conference, held in Beijing in 1952. With special attention to the important Latin American participation, she notes that in that conference, "There were also, curiously for the age, over a hundred from Latin America, including Chile, Colombia and Mexico, the latter from whence was borne the Rivera copy in the hands of Mexican philosopher-logician Eli de Gortari. Their presence defies conventional historical trajectories of Third World internationalism, which typically trace the inclusion of Latin America to the Tricontinental in Havana, 1966; the APC thus suggests a different lineage, one that has received too little attention to date. [. . .] the WPC itself has also largely vanished from histories of world peace movements, from whose Euro-American historiography the APC is also absent. An organisation widely perceived to be little more than an arm of Soviet foreign policy, the WPC has a scant historiography which tends to adopt either a critical or vindicatory register" (2019, 24) (see also Iber 2015, 50). The reasons for this neglect lie in the stigmatisation of the WPC in the West and in specific political motives related to the Cold War context. Nor should we exclude the dictatorships in Latin America as a mechanism that contributed to the elimination of WPC memories. The decentralised character of the WPM, or at least with alternative centres to those of Western modernity, may be another factor that has disadvantaged unbiased research in the Western centres of knowledge production.

Date	Meeting	Place	Delegates	Remarks
21 Aug 48	Executive Council of WFDY	Warsaw	Australia - Williams, Bert	It was reported that the WFDY convened the Executive Committee immediately after the closing of the International Conference. Bert Williams was reported to be presiding but no other information has been received.
19 Aug 48	Rumored Cominform Meeting	Prague		allegedly present were: Austria - Fuernberg, Friedl Horneck, Otto Others unidentified USSR - Vishinsky Unidentified delegates from eastern and southeastern countries. No confirmation available. Meeting allegedly postponed.
25-28 Aug 48	World Congress of Intellectuals	Breslau, Poland	Argentina - Varela, Alfredo (Communist journalist) Austria - Eisler, Johannes Eisler, Louise Fischer, Ernst Frey, Dr. Bruno (philosopher) Wolff, Professor Karl	The Congress which, as advance publicity stated, was organized "to discuss ways of maintaining peace" followed actually the Party line. Several non-Communists who attended were outnumbered and never really had a chance to swing the Congress to the non-Communist side. The meeting was

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Fig. 1: Declassified CIA File: International Communist Movements – Document No. CIA-RDP78-00915R000100190001-9, p. 24.

with figures like Ilya Ehrenburg, Ernest Hemingway or George Orwell.[4] But again, the presence of Latin American writers here is not as significant as in the WPM. On the other hand, unlike the latter, the International Brigades were circumstantial, sporadic and not institutional.

It can be argued that the anti-fascist movement of the 1930s evolved into the anti-imperialist movement in the 1950s. Writers like Anna Seghers or Ehrenburg were actively present in both scenarios and act, therefore, not only as significant "cultural mediators" (Roig-Sanz and Meylaerts 2018) but also as key articulators between the two networks. Without losing sight of the clear connections between anti-fascism and anti-imperialism, this chapter focuses, however, on the WPM as a vast platform of intellectual interaction, marked by the anti-imperialist ideology, where Latin American writers and intellectuals occupied particularly relevant positions. Conceived as the institutional form of that intellectual intercultural network, the WPC would have functioned as the most material support point for an early internationalisation of Latin American literature far beyond the centres of Western modernity and capitalism.

2 The World Peace Movement

Recognising a common base between anti-fascism and later anti-imperialism implies accepting the communist imprint of the WPM. Denying it would be a vain task, but even so, it is convenient to introduce some nuances. Regardless of the level of truthfulness, the CIA at the time was concerned with spreading the idea that the WPM was nothing more than a Moscow-controlled communist propaganda tool. Many of the intellectuals who participated in the movement in the 1950s were of communist extraction, but several others not or not so much. Marc Becker, in a recent article, writes that, "While Soviet leaders may have intended to use the WPC as a foreign policy instrument to advance their own geo-political interests, local activists around the world demonstrated that they could also use it to promote their own concerns and objectives. As such, they were not acting as mere pawns of the Soviet Union as some critics have assumed" (2020, 3). From my point of view, the signifier *peace* operated as an

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4 On the intellectual networks in the International Brigades and the anti-fascist movement, see the works of Manuel Aznar Soler (in particular, 2003). See also Ehrenburg's memoirs (2014) and McLachlan (1951, 10). On Latin American writers in the Civil War, see Binns (2004, 261 ff.).

effective tool to wash Stalinism's face during the early Cold War[5] and, at the same time, to summon adherents to a fundamentally anti-capitalist front, but also in favour of arms disarmament in general.[6] The adherences were honest:[7] beyond the greater or lesser sympathy for communism of the members of the movement, the pacifist arguments were indeed present; they committed the United States but also the Soviet Union and, in fact, had a high power of interpellation. Mexican writer Fernando Benítez explained it as follows:

> I have often been asked why I am a member of a movement blatantly sponsored by the Communists, and I have simply replied: "I am a supporter of that movement because I know of no other movement which works so vigorously and effectively for peace. If the United States fought the war as we fight it, I would not hesitate for a moment to support them."[8]

As mentioned, the CIA took on the task of demonstrating that the WPM was nothing more than a propaganda tool, but what the American intelligence service did

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5 In this regard, Adriana Petra writes that "many Western intellectuals were willing to forget the purges and labour camps in order to put their name and prestige at the disposal of the pacifist crusade" / "muchos intelectuales occidentales estuvieron dispuestos a olvidar las purgas y los campos de trabajo para poner su nombre y prestigio a disposición de la cruzada pacifista" (2013, 105).

6 On the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the birth of the WPM, Pablo Neruda called for the disarmament of the "great powers". Regarding this call, Germán Alburquerque points out that "It is intriguing that Neruda implicitly includes the USSR in his aspiration, especially since he always identified the Soviets with peace and disarmament. The explanation must be sought in what the movement wants to project, which is not precisely the glorification of the Soviet Union but the universality of its aims and political independence, a strategy aimed at opening the doors of the organisation to the greatest number of people. Neruda's is – or wants to be – an invitation without sectarianism" / "es intrigante que Neruda incluya de manera implícita a la URSS en su aspiración, sobre todo porque siempre identificó a los soviéticos con la paz y el desarme. La explicación hay que buscarla en lo que el movimiento quiere proyectar, que no es precisamente la glorificación de la Unión Soviética sino la universalidad de sus fines y la prescindencia política, estrategia dirigida a abrir las puertas de la organización al mayor número de gentes. Lo de Neruda es –o quiere ser– una invitación sin sectarismos" (2011, 48).

7 Even Donald McLachlan, an analyst at early WPM who does not disguise his dislike of Moscow, wrote: "I consider that there lies in this peace campaign a great deal of sincerity, even though much of it is diverted into the wrong political channels" (1951, 16).

8 "Muchas veces se me ha preguntado por qué milito en un movimiento auspiciado descaradamente por los comunistas y yo me he limitado a responder: 'Soy partidario de ese movimiento porque no conozco a otro que trabaje tan vigorosa y eficazmente a favor de la paz. Si los Estados Unidos combatieran la guerra como nosotros la combatimos, no vacilaría un momento en prestarles mi apoyo'" (in Fernández Montes 2014, 23). Unless otherwise indicated, translations are my own.

not do was to show that within the WPM the differences were significant and that the ups and downs of history constantly brought them to the fore. A quick historical review shows that the WPM was forged in the heat of the early Cold War and had a moment of apogee in the context of the Korean War (1950–1953). For a while, a certain consensus was maintained, but Nikita Khrushchev's report, the intervention of Hungary and the subsequent invasion of Czechoslovakia, as well as the Sino-Soviet split were some of the episodes that revealed the strong internal differences. These internal conflicts make evident that not all WPM adherents were communists, or at least that not all were communists in the same way. For example, in reference to the events in Hungary in 1956, Günter Wernicke comments that

> the Presidium conceded that on Hungary "there are serious differences of opinion, both within the World Peace Council and within the national peace movements, and that opposing views have not permitted the formulation of a common assessment." It called for: "1) Withdrawal of the Soviet troops as soon as this is the subject of agreement between Hungary and the USSR; 2) Full exercise of Hungarian sovereignty."

> The immediate consequence for the WPC was a huge international exodus of non-communist peace activists.   (2001, 336)

For my purposes, the argument that the WPM was a body entirely controlled by Moscow, the counterargument and all its possible variations are of little relevance. Because the truth is that, with more or less communism, the WPM, already from the end of the 1940s – 12 or 15 years before the Boom – contributed to insert many Latin American writers in international networks and projected them strongly towards *the world*, a wider one, in fact, than that one represented by the Western metropolises. In this light, it may have been an alternative circuit, but it cannot be considered "less" international as that of the Boom.

The movement begins to take shape in the immediate post-war period. Reconstructing its history is something I cannot do here, nor is it of greater importance now.[9] Research owes to Germán Alburquerque (2011, 40) a detailed list of the conventions held by the WPM since its founding in the second half of the 1940s.

1947 Congress of Writers, East Berlin.
1948 World Congress of Intellectuals in Defence of Peace, Wrocław.
1949 Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace, New York.

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9 For a history of the WPM, see Wernicke (2001), and, from a partial US-centred perspective, Wittner (1993, 171–190).

1949 American Continental Congress for Peace, Mexico.
1949 First World Congress of Supporters of Peace, Paris and Prague.
1950 Second World Congress of Supporters of Peace, Warsaw.
1951 First Mexican National Congress for Peace, Mexico.
1952 Congress of the Peoples for Peace, Vienna.
1953 Continental Congress of Culture, Santiago de Chile.
1955 World Peace Assembly, Helsinki.
1957 World Congress of the Supporters of Peace, Colombo.
1958 Congress for Disarmament and International Cooperation, Stockholm.
1959 World Congress of the Supporters of Peace, Beijing.
1962 World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace, Moscow.
1972 World Peace Congress, Santiago de Chile.
1974 World Peace Congress, Moscow.
1976 World Peace Congress, Cuba.
1977 International Meeting of Writers for Peace, Sofia.
1979 World Peace Congress, East Berlin.
1983 Conference for Culture and Peace, Sofia.
1987 Continental Conference of National Peace Movements of Latin America and the Caribbean, Guayaquil.

As it can be seen, up until 1962 the frequency of these meetings was especially intense. Only in 1949, Alburquerque records no more and no less than three major conventions. Thousands of participants from all over the world attended these events, and during their campaigns for disarmament, the movement gathered millions of signatures from all countries. During the early years, the WPM did not stop to grow and gain supporters. Surprised by the phenomenon, McLachlan wrote in 1951: "I want to emphasise the skill and persistence and industry with which a movement which started two years ago in a relatively small congress in Poland has become a movement of world-wide ramifications which is regularly referred to, regularly written about, regularly discussed, in every country under and outside Communist influence" (1951, 13). The management effort that those huge convocations implied at a time when the digital social networks that we know today did not exist cannot be underestimated, but these numbers of people also speak of the power of interpellation that the signifier peace had in the context of the immediate post-war period. It is also noteworthy that, except for Africa, meetings of greater or lesser scale were held on all continents, including North America.

The founding act was the 1948 World Congress of Intellectuals in Defence of Peace. At that meeting, the WPC was created, and it was decided to hold the World Peace Congress. The first of these congresses was held in Paris and Prague. The second was planned for Sheffield, England, but the British government managed to prevent it, so the organisers decided to move it to territory in

the orbit of Moscow, to Warsaw.[10] The list of participants was conceived as a real bank of symbolic and social capital, which includes from Nobel Prize winners in Chemistry to plastic artists like Picasso or writers like Bertolt Brecht or Anna Seghers, as well as backings of Einstein or Chaplin. About the animators of the first period, Germán Alburquerque writes:

> Among the leading intellectuals who gave life to the Council, i.e. those of the first generation, two sectors can be distinguished: the militant, pro-Soviet communists, and the rest: sympathisers of socialism and/or the Soviet cause, independents, anti-imperialists and the occasional naïve person. Among the former: [Alexander Alexandrovich] Fadeyev, [Dmitri Dmitriyevich] Shostakovich, Ilya Ehrenburg, Frederic and Irene Joliot-Curie, Kuo-Mo-Jo, Anna Seghers, Louis Aragon, Pablo Picasso, Rafael Alberti, Nâzım Hikmet, György Lukács, Juan Marinello, Pablo Neruda, Jorge Amado, Diego Rivera, David Alfaro Siqueiros, and Paul Robeson. Among the latter: Jan Mukařovský, Henry Matisse, Alberto Moravia, Luis Buñuel, Gabriela Mistral, Joaquín García Monge, Daniel Cosío Villegas (Alburquerque 2011, 39).[11]

The participation of Latin American writers in the Congress and in its executive body, the Council, will be intense and systematic, particularly with regard to the early Cold War period, before Stalin's public image collapsed and before the Cuban Revolution shifted attention to other latitudes and issues. If at the congress in Wrocław, Jorge Amado, who was in exile in Paris,[12] shared the limelight with Ilya Ehrenburg and Pablo Picasso, who demanded an end to the persecution of Pablo Neruda, soon after, in Paris,[13] the great figure, the last speaker, would be the future Nobel Prize winner who had left Chile clandestinely, via Buenos Aires. According to Alburquerque,

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10 In reference to this second World Peace Congress, Phillip Deery writes that, "Despite extensive comment and assessment at the time, and despite its contemporary significance, this event has generally escaped scholarly attention" (2002, 450).
11 "Entre los intelectuales de renombre que le dieron vida al Consejo, o sea, los de la primera generación, pueden distinguirse dos sectores: los comunistas militantes y prosoviéticos, y el resto: simpatizantes del socialismo y/o de la causa soviética, independientes, antiimperialistas y uno que otro ingenuo. Entre los primeros: Fadéiev, Shostakóvich, Illia Ehrenburg, Frederic e Irene Joliot-Curie, Kuo-Mo-Jo, Anna Seghers, Louis Aragón, Pablo Picasso, Rafael Alberti, Nazim Hikmet, György Lukács, Juan Marinello, Pablo Neruda, Jorge Amado, Diego Rivera, David Alfaro Siqueiros y Paul Robeson. Entre los segundos: Jan Mukarovski, Henry Matisse, Alberto Moravia, Luis Buñuel, Gabriela Mistral, Joaquín García Monge, Daniel Cosío Villegas" (Alburquerque 2011, 39).
12 "When the Communist Party was outlawed in 1948, Amado left for self-imposed exile, travelling on behalf of the Partisans of Peace."
13 Teitelboim (2003, 327) reminds that "There were many of the most famous artists and writers on Earth" / "Allí estaban muchos de los artistas y escritores más famosos de la Tierra" (Teitelboim 2003, 327).

> Marinello, Neruda, Oliver, Amado, Zalamea, Varela: All of them reached high executive positions in the World Peace Council or other related entities, confirming that the Latin American intellectual achieved leadership within a global movement that was in direct communication with the Soviet Union, which was synonymous with territorial reach, economic resources, public resonance, and media visibility (Alburquerque 2011, 42).[14]

In that vast structure of truly global reach, Latin Americans not only had an undisputed presence, but also a leadership role: the Colombian Jorge Zalamea, for example, was Secretary of the World Peace Council between 1952 and 1959, and the Argentinian writer María Rosa Oliver was its Vice President between 1953 and 1962.[15]

3 The World Peace Movement as a Platform. The Latin American Literature in the World

The active and leading participation of Latin American writers in the WPM is a proven historical fact. Therefore, the main question that I am interested in addressing here is how the insertion of these Latin American writers into this vast international intellectual network affected Latin American literature. I argue that the effect was a strong process of internationalisation, that is, that readers in many regions of the world – though not necessarily in the metropolises of Western capitalism – began to access Latin American literature and through it to take an increasingly interest in what the (former) American colonies south of the Rio Grande had to say. In other words, through their participation in the WPM, many writers would have taken advantage of the symbolic and social capital provided by it to promote their personal projects on a global scale.

From 1950 to 1990, Moscow awarded the Stalin Peace Prize, renamed Lenin in 1956, after Nikita Khrushchev's denunciations. The Latin American writers

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14 "Marinello, Neruda, Oliver, Amado, Zalamea, Varela: todos ellos llegaron a ejercer cargos directivos en el Consejo Mundial de la Paz o en otras entidades afines, refrendando que el intelectual latinoamericano logró un liderazgo al interior de un movimiento global que estaba en comunicación directa con la Unión Soviética, lo cual era sinónimo de alcance territorial, de recursos económicos, de resonancia pública y de figuración en los medios" (2011, 42).

15 For more details on the leading involvement of Latin American writers in the WPM, see Alburquerque (2011, 43–46). Although it is beyond the scope of this contribution, the participation of women and their prominent role deserves a mention. Regarding the exemplary case of María Rosa Oliver, see Fernández Bravo (2017) and Petra (2020).

who received it in the first twenty years are Jorge Amado (1951), Pablo Neruda (1953), Nicolás Guillén (1954), María Rosa Oliver (1957), Olga Poblete de Espinosa (1962), Miguel Ángel Asturias (1965) and Alfredo Varela (1970–71).[16] Two of them would later receive the Nobel Prize for Literature. All of them were translated and recognised in particular in the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic (GDR), the People's Republic of China, or Eastern Europe.

Varela's case deserves special attention[17] because, although he was a "passionate anti-Stalinist" (Rupprecht 2015, 85) and received the prize relatively late, his activity in the WPM was particularly prominent, even from the very early days when the World Congress of Intellectuals was held in Wrocław (see Petra 2013, 119). His novel *El río oscuro* (1943) [The Dark River] was translated into 15 (Petra 2013, 126) or perhaps 16 languages (Boido and Schuliaquer 2018, 219), in any case a considerable number even for the best sellers of today's global capitalism. What is remarkable about the translations is that they are carried out in parallel to Varela's participation in the WPM. The Russian translation appeared in 1946, the Slovak translation in 1951[18] and the German translation in 1952 in the

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16 The WPC also awarded a prize to personalities from all over the world who had distinguished themselves in the struggle for peace. According to David Schidlowsky, "For Neruda, these prizes will be of great importance. He will receive them or be part of the respective jury. This will allow him to make trips to Europe and the Soviet Union and also improve his income" / "Para Neruda, estos premios serán de gran importancia. Los recibirá o será parte del jurado respectivo. Esto le permitirá hacer viajes a Europa y la Unión Soviética y además mejorar sus entradas económicas" (2008, 809). For a more detailed list of the awarded Latin American personalities and a broader analysis of the soviet cultural diplomacy, see Rupprecht (2015).

17 According to Federico Boido and Tomás Schuliaquer, "Although he occupied a marginal place within the Argentine cultural field – probably this condition has postponed the systematic analysis of his work – the prolific network of relationships he maintained during his long years of militancy, as well as the particularities of his work and the way in which it circulated nationally and internationally, make Varela's figure acquire heuristic value in relation to the understanding of the political, cultural and social ideas of the central decades of the twentieth century" / "Si bien ocupó un lugar marginal dentro del campo cultural argentino –probablemente esta condición haya postergado los análisis sistemáticos de su obra–, la prolífica red de relaciones que mantuvo durante sus largos años de militancia, así como también las particularidades de su obra y la forma en la que ésta circuló en el plano nacional e internacional, hacen que la figura de Varela adquiera valor heurístico en relación a la comprensión de las ideas políticas, culturales y sociales de las décadas centrales del siglo XX" (2018, 218).

18 Regarding this translation, Eva Palkovičová writes that "An important milestone in the process of penetration of works of Spanish-American literature into the Slovak reading consciousness was the publication of the novel *The Dark River* (*Temná rieka* 1951, 1968), by the Argentinean author Alfredo Varela" / "Un importante hito en el proceso de penetración de obras de la literatura hispanoamericana en la conciencia lectora eslovaca fue la publicación de la novela *El río oscuro* (*Temná rieka* 1951, 1968), del autor argentino Alfredo Varela" (2018, 74).

GDR's publishing house Volk und Welt.[19] The success of the novel was followed by that of the film, directed by Hugo del Carril under the title *Las aguas bajan turbias* (1952) [*River of Blood*]. From this case, it can therefore be concluded that the active engagement in the movement gave place to advantages, both symbolic and economic. According to Federico Boido and Tomás Schuliaquer (2018, 220), "Thanks to the WPC [Alfredo Varela] travelled the world and forged relationships in different countries".[20] In a similar vein, Patrick Iber points out that

> Neruda's and Amado's artistic participation in the peace movement was primarily driven by moral considerations, but there were material benefits as well. Travel junkets were a not-inconsiderable compensation, particularly for the less famous, allowing beneficiaries to travel at virtually no cost to themselves and enjoy the best luxuries that the hosting societies had to offer. Especially favoured authors who were selected by the Soviet government for translation and distribution (like Amado and Neruda) could accumulate significant wealth that could be accessed only on trips to the Eastern bloc because of inconvertible currency. Whether work selected for translation was simply pirated or whether its author would receive royalties was similarly a political decision used to reward favoured authors. (Iber 2015, 78)

The concept of *peace*, on the other hand, would become a major signifier and one of intense circulation. Publications dedicated to the cause multiplied, writers – and also plastic artists such as Frida Kahlo (Fig. 2), Diego Rivera, and, in the first term, Picasso – made their contributions, were translated and thus became known to foreign readers. Individual books that in one way or another invoke peace follow one another and not a few are translated into different languages. Some of them are: *El mundo de la paz* (1952), by Jorge Amado; *La cultura y la paz* (1952), by Juan Marinello; *Reunión en Pekín* (1952), by Jorge Zalamea; *Todos los hombres del mundo son hermanos* (1954), by Raúl González Tuñón; *Las uvas y el viento* (1954), by Pablo Neruda; *Un mes en la China Roja* (1957), by Costa Rican Carlos Luis Fallas, and *La paloma de vuelo popular* (1958), by Nicolás Guillén (see Fernández Montes 2014).

The issue of translation deserves a separate paragraph. The importance of translation for the WPM is evident not only in the translation of writers' work, but also in the efforts that were invested in it at the various meetings and congresses. In regard to the Sheffield congress, later held in Warsaw, Phillip Deery, for example, writes: "The biggest job involved wiring the large oval hall for the

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19 For more information on this publishing house and the publication of Latin American literature in the GDR during this period, see Locane 2022.

20 "Por el CMP [Alfredo Varela] recorrió el mundo y forjó relaciones en diferentes países" (2018, 220).

Fig. 2: Frida Kahlo, "Congreso de los pueblos por la paz" (1952). Public domain; via Public Domain Museum (https://en.600dpi.net/frida-kahlo-0000705/).

simultaneous translation into six languages – unprecedented in England – of all the speeches. A team of electricians installed 2845 pairs of earphones to enable access to the words of thirty-seven translators working in relays under the platform" (2002, 453). Translation, therefore, will constitute a key and necessary articulator of the movement which, in turn, will serve the writers to project their work onto the international circuit.

From its specific front, poetry contributes to the cause and, both in original and in translation, seeks to interpellate audiences. Gabriela Mistral, who had already been awarded the Nobel Prize, writes a famous note, "La palabra maldita" (1950),[21] in which she assigns a sacred character to the word *peace*. Among the Mexican supporters to the WPM is Efraín Huerta, who was general secretary of the National Council of Mexico. Written in 1952 and included in *Los poemas de viaje (1949–1953)* (1956) [The Travel Poems], his poem "Hoy he dado mi firma para la Paz" [Today I gave my signature for Peace] is a kind of homage

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[21] The essay was translated into English under the title "The Forbidden Word" (Mistral 2004). See also Teiltelboim 2003, 345–346.

to the world-wide campaigns for peace of the time that managed to gather more than 500 million signatures.[22]

This poem by Huerta informs not only about the active participation in the WPM and the enthusiasm it aroused in a poet, but also about the strongly transnational and massive character of the movement and, therefore, about the vast networks of potential readers towards which the poem was oriented as a mechanism of dialectical interpellation.

Pablo Neruda, for his part, closed his speeches at the Congresses with a commemorative poem written ad hoc and read in translation, for example, by Louis Aragon. In 1949 he attends, in Mexico, the American Continental Congress for Peace, where he reads for the first time the poem "Que despierte el leñador" (1948) ["Let the Rail Splitter awake"], for which he was later awarded the Stalin Peace Prize. The poem, which in some of its passages augured peace for the world and thus operates as a transnational and cosmopolitan *dispositif* of enunciation, later became part of his fundamental *Canto general* (1950) (see Fernández Montes 2014, 19–20).

> Peace for the twilights to come,
> peace for the bridge, peace for the wine,
> peace for the stanzas which pursue me
> and in my blood uprise entangling
> my earlier songs with earth and loves,
> peace for the city in the morning
> when bread wakes up, peace for the Mississippi,
> source of rivers,
> peace for my brother's shirt,
> peace for books like a seal of air,
> peace for the great kolkhoz of Kiev,
> peace for the ashes of those dead
> and of these other dead, peace for the grimy
> iron of Brooklyn, peace for the letter-carrier
> who from house to house goes like the day,
> peace for the choreographer who shouts
> through a funnel to the honeysuckle vine,
> peace for my own right hand
> that wants to write only Rosario,
> peace for the Bolivian, secretive
> as a lump of tin, peace
> so that you may marry, peace for all
> the saw-mills of Bio-Bio,

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22 As far as I know, there is no English translation of the poem. For the Spanish version, see Appendix.

peace for the torn heart of guerilla Spain,
peace for the little museum in Wyoming
where the most lovely thing
is a pillow embroidered with a heart,
peace for the baker and his loaves,
and peace for the flour, peace
for all the wheat to be born,
for all the love which will seek its tasselled shelter,
peace for all those alive: peace
for all lands and all waters.[23]

(1950, 38–39)

Both *Canto general* and the poem separately were quickly translated into different languages. In the GDR, for example, *Canto general* appeared in 1953, translated by Erich Arendt under the title *Der große Gesang*. The poem, in turn, was published in English in the USA, translated by the renowned dancer Waldeen von Falkenstein (see Cohen), and in India, translated by Jayant Bhatt. Both publications are from 1950. Also that year, the Chinese translation by Yuan Shuipai (袁水拍) appeared, followed by the 1951 volume *Selected Works of Neruda*. According to Wei Teng, "'Que despierte el leñador' and *Selected Works of Neruda* were among the most popular books of foreign poems translated and published in the 1950s in China" (2018, 180). Yuan Shuipai also published the article "Fighter for Peace – Neruda the Poet" (1950), which contributed to Neruda being recognised not only as an important poet but also as "a soldier for peace" (Teng 2018, 180).[24]

Poetry becomes instrumental; it aims to convey a message with a global reach. Thus, it transcends national borders and, together with it, Latin American literature. Nicanor Parra also became involved in the WPM; in 1959, he participated in the World Congress of the Supporters of Peace in Beijing. In 1963, in turn, he would travel for six months to the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Society of Writers. The result of that trip is his anthology of Russian poetry and the poetry book *Canciones rusas* (1967) [*Russian songs*], which includes the poem "Pan caliente" ["Hot bread"].[25]

The poem is interesting to me because, regardless of the level of veracity that one wants to give it, it obliquely informs about the international reception of Latin American literature around the beginning of the 1960s. Only that the key words are different from those that articulate the story of the Boom: not novel,

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23 Spanish version: see Appendix.

24 Into Romanian, under the title *Să se trezească pădurarul*, the poem was translated as early as 1948 (for more on this, see Ilian 2021).

25 Spanish version: see Appendix.

but poetry; not Barcelona, Paris, or New York, but Moscow; not 1967, but 1963. Considering the facts presented before, the WPM and the visibility that, through it, Latin American literature had already achieved by that time may explain, at least in part (together with communist, anti-fascist and anti-imperialist networks), the phenomenon portrayed by "Pan caliente".

4 Towards a (Still Partial) Conclusion

In the paper "How Do Literary Works Cross Borders (or Not)? A Sociological Approach to World Literature" (2016), Gisèle Sapiro examines the factors which may favour or hinder the international circulation of literature. According to her proposal, these factors can be classified into four types: political, cultural, economic, and social. Considering these ideas, the Boom would have been a phenomenon of international propagation attributable to the mechanisms of the liberal market. The WPM, on the contrary, was a political phenomenon that nevertheless operated as a platform for the publication and recognition of Latin American writers in the world. Germán Alburquerque concludes that, through the Peace Movement,

> Latin American intellectuals came into contact with personalities from all over the world, from rich and poor countries, from the powerful and the weak; they came into contact with the political power of many nations through their contact with the congressmen present; they interacted with people who were in an executive and not a contemplative stage of life. For all these reasons, it can be said that through this congress and all those related to the peace movement, the world was opening up to our intellectuals in various ways, just as the world was opening up to the possibility of getting to know the cultural agents of this part of the planet (2011, 43).[26]

On the level of intellectual networks this has been demonstrated by Alburquerque. According to my observations, it should also be added that, for Latin American writers, access to this important bank of social capital gave place to a hitherto unusual international circulation of their literature. The collection and

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26 "los intelectuales latinoamericanos entraban en contacto con personalidades de todo el mundo, de los países ricos y pobres, de los poderosos y débiles; que se acercaban al poder político de muchas naciones por el trato con los congresistas presentes; que se relacionaban con gente que transitaba por una etapa ejecutiva y no contemplativa de la vida. Por todo lo anterior puede aseverarse que mediante este congreso y de todos los emparentados con el movimiento por la paz, a nuestros intelectuales se les abría el mundo en varios sentidos, así como al mundo se le abría la posibilidad de conocer a los agentes culturales de esta parte del planeta" (2011, 43).

reappreciation of the historical information related to the WPM leads, therefore, to a critical review of the Boom narrative, particularly with regard to the internationalisation of Latin American literature. In the capitals of Western capitalism, Latin American literature gained presence in the 1960s with the well-known Seix Barral operation and also with the intervention of institutions such as Casa de las Américas. However, at least since the immediate post-war period there were alternative channels of circulation, different from those offered by the liberal market, but not for that reason negligible. These channels, that linked peripheral nodes of literary production, had already created an international public for Latin American literature. The protagonists of this counter-narrative are others; writers, who in some cases, like Pablo Neruda, María Rosa Oliver, or Jorge Amado, were for a time supporters of the Moscow' or, later, the Beijing' political project. In any case, they were always less digestible to Western capitalism than the liberal progressives of the Boom (see Rojas 2018). Later, once these writers became more moderate, the centre would also have come to recognise some of them: Neruda and Asturias, even, with the Nobel Prize. Others, like Amado, with market success.

Appendix

Efraín Huerta, "Hoy he dado mi firma para la Paz" (1956, 25–26):

> Hoy he dado mi firma para la Paz.
> Bajo los altos árboles de la Alameda
> y a una joven con ojos de esperanza.
> Junto a ella otras jóvenes pedían más firmas
> y aquella hora fue como una encendida patria
> de amor al amor, de gracia por la gracia,
> de una luz a otra luz.
> Hoy he dado mi firma para la Paz.
> Y conmigo, en cien países, cien millones de firmas,
> cien orquestas del mundo, una sinfonía universal,
> un solo canto por la Paz en el mundo.
> Hoy no he firmado el poema ni los pequeños artículos,
> ni el documento que te esclaviza,
> no he firmado la carta que no siente
> ni el mensaje que durará un segundo.
> Hoy he dado mi firma para la Paz.
> Para que el tiempo no se detenga,
> para que el sueño no se inmovilice,
> para que la sonrisa sea alta y clara,
> para que una mujer aprenda a ver crecer a su hijo

y las pupilas del hijo vean cómo su madre es cada día más joven.
Hoy he dado una firma, la mía, para la Paz.
Un mar de firmas que ahogan y aturden
al industrial y al político de la guerra.
Una gigantesca oleada de gigantescas firmas:
la temblorosa del niño que apenas balbucea la palabra,
la que es una rosa de llanto de la madre,
la firma de humildad —la firma del poeta.
Hoy he elevado en una el número mundial de firmas por la Paz.
Y estoy contento como un adolescente enamorado,
como un árbol de pie,
como el inagotable manantial
y como el río con su canción de soberbios cristales.
Hoy parece que no he hecho nada
y sin embargo, he dado mi firma para la Paz.
La joven me sonrió y en sus labios había una paloma viva,
y me dio las gracias con sus ojos de esperanza
y yo seguí mi camino en busca de un libro para mis hijos.
Pues ahí estaba mi firma, precisa y diáfana,
al pie del Llamamiento de Berlín.
Parece que no he hecho nada
y sin embargo, creo haber multiplicado mi vida
y multiplicado los más sanos deseos.
Hoy he dado mi firma para la Paz.

Pablo Neruda, "Que despierte el leñador" (1981 [1950], 251–252):

Paz para los crepúsculos que vienen,
paz para el puente, paz para el vino,
paz para las letras que me buscan
y que en mi sangre suben enredando
el viejo canto con tierra y amores,
paz para la ciudad en la mañana
cuando despierta el pan, paz para el río
Mississippi, río de las raíces:
paz para la camisa de mi hermano,
paz en el libro como un sello de aire,
paz para el gran koljós de Kiev,
paz para las cenizas de estos muertos
y de estos otros muertos, paz para el hierro
negro de Brooklyn, paz para el cartero
de casa en casa como el día,
paz para el coreógrafo que grita
con un embudo a las enredaderas,
paz para mi mano derecha,
que sólo sabe escribir Rosario:
paz para el boliviano secreto

como una piedra de estaño, paz
para que tú te cases, paz para todos
los aserraderos de Bío Bío,
paz para el corazón desgarrado
de España guerrillera:
paz para el pequeño Museo de Wyoming
en donde lo más dulce
es una almohada con un corazón bordado,
paz para el panadero y sus amores
y paz para la harina: paz
para todo el trigo que debe nacer,
para todo el amor que buscará follaje,
paz para todos los que viven:
paz para todas las tierras y las aguas.

Nicanor Parra, "Pan caliente" (1969, 155–156):

Me llama la atención
El siguiente fenómeno
Para nosotros completamente desconocido:
Una cola de cien metros de largo
Cerca del Metropol
A pesar de los grados bajo cero.
Dentro de sus enormes abrigos
Y de sus densos gorros de pieles
Que sólo dejan libres la nariz y los ojos
Todos los moscovitas
Parecen buzos interplanetarios
O cosmonautas del fondo del mar.
Me cuesta abrirme paso
Para llegar al núcleo
De ese cometa de seres humanos.
Describo lo que veo:
Una mujer detrás de una mesa
Entrada en carnes como todas las rusas
—Seguramente madre varias veces—
Con la cabeza envuelta en un pañuelo
Rojo
    de listas verdes y amarillas.
Y qué creen ustedes que vende
Esa mujer heroica
En pleno mes de enero
En su pequeño bar improvisado
En plena vía pública
Sin importarle la nieve que cae.
Pan caliente
        ¿verdad?

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Book Festival Organisations and the Popularisation of Latin American Literature in the Mid-Twentieth Century

From Local Initiatives to Transnational Projects

1 Introduction

Cultural organisations have played key roles in the history of publishing and the book in Latin America. Whether we understand organisations from a broad and inclusive perspective – with athenaeums, literary societies, poetry houses, academies, and other small and medium cultural circles – or more narrowly – with book chambers, professional associations, unions, and even specialised transnational organisations, like the UNESCO, the International Board on Books for Young People (IBBY), or the Regional Centre for the Promotion of Books in Latin America and the Caribbean (CERLALC) – we can easily trace the various impacts that organisations have made on the production, circulation, and reception of books and printed materials. Given their condition as intellectual groupings with a penchant for building transnational and translocal networks, all of these organisations, regardless of their size, stimulated urban culture by publishing books, collections, newspapers, and magazines, by creating libraries and spaces of sociability, or by implementing politics and programs to promote reading (as is the case with the most specialised of these organisations).

Nonetheless, with a few relevant exceptions, book historians have rarely taken up the task of studying these organisations' itineraries and their impacts on the book ecosystems of the past.[1] Just as their importance has been overlooked in academic reconstructions of Ibero-American literary systems and fields (Roig-Sanz and Subirana 2020, 9), the histories, goals, productions, successes, and failures of literary and cultural organisations have been understudied when it comes to the history of the book, having garnered more attention in intellectual

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1 Regarding the second half of the twentieth century, we may highlight the research by Christina Lembrecht (2013) and Amanda Laugesen (2017) on the UNESCO and the Franklin Book Program, respectively, as well as the more recent research by Mitiyo Morinaka (2021) on the publication programs at the American Library Association and the Rockefeller Foundation for Brazil during the cultural Cold War. On book corporations, the studies on Spain by Martínez Martín, Martínez Rus, and Sánchez García (2004), as well as the eye-opening work of Alejandra Giuliani (2018) on the Argentine Book Chamber, stand out.

history and in the history of international cultural relations (Iriye 2002; Chaubet 2004; Devés-Valdés 2007; Dumont 2008; Pita 2009; Roig-Sanz and Subirana 2020).

Aiming to highlight cultural organisations as a relevant object of study in terms of the region's book history, this chapter analyses an ephemeral and little-known type of cultural organisation, which nonetheless made outstanding contributions in Latin American capitals like Lima, Caracas, Bogotá, and Havana. Surging in Peru in the mid-1950s, these organisations mainly aimed to boost the book and national literature among ordinary readers. As one of their promoters stated, the goal was none other than to cheapen the book so that it could multiply (Caballero Calderón 1959). Determined to organise street events where literary collections were sold at popular prices, and able to consolidate efficient and transnational professional networks involving writers, editors, and booksellers, these organisations sought to fill in the gaps in state policies around literature and books in various countries, revealing certain specificities that might be questioned from the perspective of the transnational history of the book.[2]

As initiatives that shook up cultural and urban life, allowed for international mobility, determined the publication of numerous collections, and favoured the articulation of a broad range of *gens du livre* (people of the book) across the region, festival organisations are notable examples of groupings that have proven able to transform the world of literature and books. For all of these reasons, such organisations are worthy of being viewed as an object of study in which several analytical perspectives can converge and intercept each other, either highlighting their conditions as events that impacted the establishment of regional communities (Iriye 2002), as disparate or reciprocal spaces of exchange (Ory 2010), or as agencies of institutionalisation, if viewed from the sociology of literature (Bourdieu 1993).

Though many of these experiences were quite unstructured and were often led single-handedly by certain individuals, we demonstrate that these organisations succeeded in outlining a transnational cultural space at a key moment in Latin American history, the 1950s: a period that, on the one hand, saw the momentary overcoming of dictatorships in various countries, and, on the other, the resounding triumph of the Cuban Revolution, with everything that this implied for the region's political, intellectual, and media-related life. Using the definition set forth in the introduction to this book, we hope to show that

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2 This perspective is revealing of the transnational turn and reaffirms the fact that the history of the book inhabits multiple geographies, allowing us to study book organisations in dialogue with other subdisciplines by privileging fields like translation, transfers, international organisations, and publishing multinationals (Lyons and Mollier 2012, 10–17).

festival organisations promoted cultural transfers as well as the mobility of people, goods, and ideas, while they gave cohesion to national literary fields and helped project them beyond their borders. Further, they were led by agents who sought to encourage or build transnational intellectual networks. We thus hope to show that the people behind these organisations operated as cultural mediators. Following Roig-Sanz and Meylaerts (2018, 3), we will show how these cultural mediators acted as "smugglers" by creating their own circuits of interaction and taking a disruptive stance before the popularisation of the book and national literature, for instance, while they also acted as "customs officers," as, from a legitimised position, they used festivals and related collections to showcase specific political perspectives. As we will later see, the Colombian case may be read in this light.

With these reflections in the backdrop, the following pages seek to reconstruct the history of festival organisations and analyse their impacts in the Latin American book and literary sphere. Divided in three parts, the chapter starts by exploring the reasons and relationships that gave root to these organisations in Peru and introduces the itineraries of the writer-editors Manuel Scorza and Enrique Congrains Martin, who spearheaded the projects and whose itineraries marked the unfolding of these organisations, but also their ends. Secondly, we describe the festivals and the collections that circulated therein. Regarding the publishing activities that gave these organisations meaning, we examine the conditions that favoured their development in Peru and their eventual transfer to other countries as successful models for publishing production, literary dynamisation, and intellectual articulation. Finally, we briefly reflect upon the impact of festivals. Highlighting some of the effects of organisations on popular publishing, we analyse the pertinence of understanding festival organisations, their events, and their collections as phenomena with the institutional force needed to affect the national literary space – while they also served as spaces in which the people behind the organisations could accumulate symbolic capital.

2 Organising Around the Book

Festival organisations surged in a period that may be described as one of relative cultural reactivation in Latin America, which was tied to the new political moment in turn. Fundamentally, the second half of the 1950s can be read as a parenthesis between the cycles of dictatorships and authoritarian regimes that marked the mid-twentieth century and the following decades. In the words of Carlos Rincón (2015, 417), this period stood as a "brief summer of bliss" in which the repression of cultural modernisation had finally seemed to come to a stop. Though

Rincón was referring to Colombia, his singular reading of the moment can be extrapolated to many countries in the region, especially to those which, like Colombia, seemed to be overcoming their authoritarian governments. For instance, general Gustavo Rojas Pinilla's dictatorship in Colombia, which began in 1953, after the overthrowing of the also authoritarian regime of Laureano Gómez and Roberto Urdaneta Arbeláez, came to an end in 1957.[3] The year 1957 also marked the end of Carlos Castillo Armas's government in Guatemala, which had begun in 1954. In Venezuela, the government of Marcos Pérez Jiménez, a member of the *junta* that had overthrown Rómulo Gallegos in 1948 and the head of the regime since 1952, came to its end in 1958. A year later, the Cuban Revolution would also topple Fulgencio Batista's dictatorship, which had begun in 1952. In Peru, where festival organisations were born, Manuel Odría's government, which started with a military coup in 1948, would end in 1956, anticipating the changes that followed in other countries in the area.

This landscape of change across many of the countries that later became involved in book festivals marked a moment of expectation regarding the return of democratic practices, a harbinger of the return of elections, the end of censorship, the recovery of public opinion, and the revitalising of cultural and artistic life as many exiles returned to their countries. Thanks to the latter, this period also stands out for spanning one of the longest and most intense intellectual movements at the continental level. The Cuban Alejo Carpentier was in Caracas; the Peruvian Ciro Alegría, in Cuba; and the Guatemalan Miguel Ángel Asturias, in Buenos Aires, to name but a few people who would later become involved in book festivals. While we will come back to this later, the forced mobility of many writers across the continent, along with the movement facilitated by diplomatic missions, ultimately boosted the expansion of festivals, as organisers took advantage of the ties they had built across an itinerant community with Latin-Americanist ambitions in terms of cultural action. As we will show, mobility played a key role in the development of festival organisations, as agents were able to acquire solid knowledge of various sociocultural contexts and articulate concerns around the book as a modernising object.[4]

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3 Rincón's reading on the period can be questioned, however, as Rojas Pinilla's regime hadn't completely put a stop to cultural life and intellectual activity. For instance, just one year after he entered power, the Association of Colombian Writers and Artists was founded. This group sought to influence the cultural policy of the regime, which it also valued for having appeased the violence that had marred the country ever since the assassination of the liberal leader Jorge Eliécer Gaitán and the incendiary, conservative government of Laureano Gómez.
4 On the role of intellectual mobility in knowledge building and as a constituting dimension of modernity, see Aurea Mota (2017). Regarding the history of the book, studies interested in

In Peru, the country where festival organisations first took root, the apparent end of cultural repression materialised with the conclusion of Odría's regime and the beginning of Manuel Prado's second government, between 1957 and 1962, which revoked the interior security law and put an end to the ban on the Communist Party of Peru and the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA) party, leading to the return of many exiles. The "Prado Moment," known as the period of *Convivencia*, or coexistence, swept in a time of political reopening as intellectual activity started being re galvanised. Among intellectuals, debates on the book's place in society became more visible than ever before. Coinciding with the UNESCO's movements and with new, global policies on libraries and reading, many Peruvian writers and critics started to discuss the state of national literature, its subpar international projection, and the always worrisome absence of readers. To intellectuals like Sebastián Salazar Bondy, the problem with the book in Peru was multicausal. It not only stemmed from the way politics had overlooked the literary and cultural world, but also from the faltering publishing industry, which benefited from very little State financing, with absent or unambitious strategic actors, including distributors. The industry barely survived thanks to the struggles of a few individuals (Hirschhorn 2005).

Furthermore, readers were hard to come by, thanks to high rates of illiteracy, but also to potential readers' preferences for radio, film, television, and comics, according to Salazar Bondy. In one of his columns, he stated that these media were the enemies of the book and needed to be attacked with intense reading-promotion campaigns if there was still any hope of not becoming a "people without light, a dead people" (1958, 12). It is worth noting that such paternalistic views of the people, readers or not, were constant, stretching well beyond the Peruvian scene.

Except for Argentina, Mexico, and even Chile, which continued to see the effects of the golden era of book commercialisation and production, as well as of a more organised publishing industry, complaints about the weakness of national publishing houses, the few and "bad" readers, and the absence of stimulus policies for books cut across the entire region. In a similar tone to Salazar Bondy's, at around the same time, the Colombian writer Elisa Mújica stated – regarding the National Literature Prize – that in her country there was no "publishing industry, and barely any readers of national books, and no notion that intellectual work should be guaranteed the same material conditions as any other kind of work" (1954, 2). To the writer, however, the very idea of issuing a prize was already

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the geographic dimension have posited the need to not only study the specific mobility of books and their intermediary agents, but also of the ideas and know-how that contextualised this mobility, which also end up in transit (Withers and Ogborn 2010).

progress.[5] In Peru a similar prize was created in 1952, and though it was also appreciated, there were doubts around the extent of its impact on the publishing world (Hirschhorn 2005, 10). In other words, while there was a certain belief that prizes were important, there were doubts around their effectiveness as they did not directly stimulate the publishing field.

Nonetheless, it was against the backdrop of moderate progress and general nonconformity that the mother institution of all future festival organisers was born: Patronato del Libro, or the Book Board. Created in September of 1956, this novel space, which was led by several representatives from the literary world, with the backing of private companies, took on the goal of "giving the people low-cost books of proven cultural quality." The goal was to take on the problem of the book in Peru through specific actions, but also to incentivise the creation of policies that might accelerate production and circulation, laying the groundwork for "the great Peruvian publishing industry" ("Patronato del Libro Peruano", 1956, 7). Within this circle of literary leaders, we could highlight writers like José Durand, Luis J. Cisneros, Mario Florián, and Salazar Bondy himself, as well as philosophers like Francisco Miró Quesada, culturally aware entrepreneurs like Manuel Mujica Gallo, and other lesser-known men who were nonetheless key to the project's execution, such as Manuel Scorza (Lima, 1928 – Madrid, 1983), a young poet and former APRA militant who had recently returned to Peru after being exiled in Mexico, where he published the poetry book *Las Imprecaciones* (1955), which would earn him the National Poetry Prize the year of his return.

All in all, this innovative, intellectual group would not have met its goals without the drive of the Peruvian private sector – which was committed to publishing the first collections, as well as to said collections' publicity campaigns and the financing of programmed activities, which were ultimately precursors to future Peruvian book festivals (Gras 1998, 84–85). To be clear, even though the Board essentially responded to the interests of Lima's literary circles, which fretted over the country's high illiteracy rates well as over the precarious circulation of their own writing, the publishing project relied on the private sector – namely, Banco de Crédito del Perú, Compañía Agrícola del Perú, Compañía Nacional de Cerveza Callao, the International Petroleum Company, and Cerro de Pasco mining company. This alliance, which was then enriched with new members, carried out two mass events in Lima's Plaza San Martín: the first was

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5 Regarding Colombian writers' complaints regarding the lack of literary incentives and the shortcomings of the publishing industry, Felipe van der Huck (2020) shows that these can be traced back to the Liberal Republic (1930–1946), a cycle of governments that constitute the most relevant moment of articulation among intellectual professionals and the country's politics and culture.

in December of 1956, and the second was held in July of 1957 – both coordinated by Manuel Scorza, who became the main beneficiary of the events' success, as well as the face of subsequent festival projects.

3 Itinerant Festivals and the Battle of the Book

Before addressing Scorza's itineraries, we should describe the first few festivals. From the intellectual group's standpoint, such events needed to offer the people an amalgamation of books that were fundamental to Peruvian literature, introducing ordinary readers to national classics, while also showcasing the best contemporary writers. Comprised of an elite that believed itself responsible for guiding Peruvian society, the Board decided to publish, in each of its events, a selection of ten titles, with the most reputable members of the board writing their prologues and commentaries. The books would be printed as pocket editions, on newsprint, to ensure easy commercialisation. These editorial decisions would allow buyers to acquire their first collections of Peruvian literature: the idea was to commercialise a full collection at the price of just one book, that is, to sell ten books for the price of one (Fig. 1).
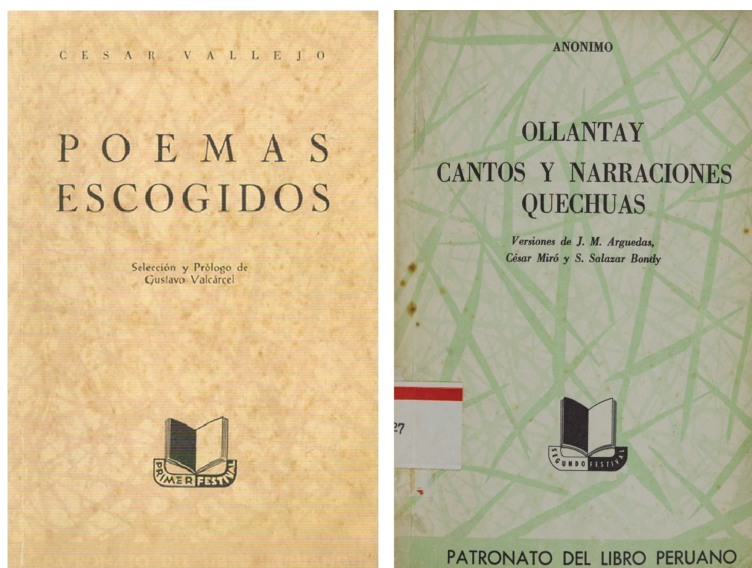
Fig. 1: Book covers belonging to the first two literary series published in Peruvian festivals, 1956–1957 (Source: Biblioteca Nacional del Perú).

As Dunia Gras (1998), the first great researcher of this publishing phenomenon, has highlighted, the Primera serie de autores peruanos (First Series of Peruvian Authors) stood out for its fundamental selections, but also because the intellectual heads of the Board left their marks on each book. Such marks can be read, following Bourdieu (2002), as typical transfers of symbolic capital, which were particularly useful when it came to increasing the prestige and recognition of those who wrote the paratexts. To illustrate, *Narraciones y leyendas incas*, the first title in the series, was prefaced by Luis E. Valcárcel; *Historia de la Florida* by Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, had an introduction by Aurelio Miró Quesada; and *Tradiciones peruanas* by Ricardo Palma, was presented by Raúl Porras Barrenechea, who also selected and prefaced *Paisajes peruanos* by José de la Riva-Agüero. The other books in the series were printed as "Best of . . . " selections. For instance, we might highlight poetry books by the highly respected writers Santos Chocano and César Vallejo, edited at the behest of Francisco Bendezú and Gustavo Valcárcel, respectively. Two volumes dedicated to Peru's best short stories were mediated by Manuel Suárez Miraval and Estuardo Núñez; the publishing of Manuel González Prada's select essays was managed by Salazar Bondy; while the publication of José Carlos Mariátegui's select essays was coordinated by Manuel Scorza. The second series also included classical titles, such as an additional volume of Ricardo Palma's work, and other select, commented works, such as *Poesía amorosa moderna del Perú*, edited by Suárez Miraval. In contrast to the first experience, this new series would include works by living authors, such as Ciro Alegría and Enrique López Albújar, with the former published *Perros hambrientos* and the latter, a selection of his best short stories.

Another key feature of these first book festivals lied in the spaces they occupied. In the understanding that the target public did not tend to frequent bookstores, and that intermediaries would raise the collections' price tags, the organisers decided to hold their events in Lima's main public plazas, using kiosks and stands. In other words, they sought a direct-sale scheme, eschewing booksellers, and other intermediaries to guarantee easy access to all kinds of passers-by.[6] It is worth highlighting that this strategy would be replicated in all the other festivals that soon took place in Peru and other countries in Latin America. The strategy was replicated because of its resounding success: in the first event, all 10,000 available collections were sold (100,000 titles) in just ten days, while the second event sold 15,000 collections. Given the numbers, young writers like Manuel Scorza understood that these "Battles of the Book," as they'd

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6 By eschewing bookstores, the Board distanced itself from the Peruvian Chamber of the Book, which was created in 1946 and mainly included booksellers from Lima, as well as a few publishers.

come to be known, could prove great businesses as well as significant platforms for visibility. As the goal of revamping publishing had been met, the Board was dissolved after the Second Festival in mid-1957, but Scorza continued to kindle the fires of future festivals.

In association with the book-printer Pablo Villanueva and the editor and bookseller Juan Mejía Baca, who had joined the Board in 1957, Scorza planned a Third Festival of the Peruvian Book in December of that same year. One of the innovative aspects of this festival was its Latin American turn: Scorza put forward the idea of creating a collection with works by Rómulo Gallegos, Horacio Quiroga, Mariano Azuela, and Jorge Icaza, as well as other anthologies, such as *Los mejores cuentos americanos*, edited by Aníbal Quijano. These were accompanied by books authored by valued Peruvian writers, like López Albújar and Ciro Alegría, who even returned from his exile to promote the festival and sign books for festival goers (Gras 1998, 93–94). The selection of writers clearly reflected the ideas that had marked Scorza's itinerary across Mexico. As Gras documents, at that moment, his political positions had crystallised around "anti-imperialism and the revindication of Pan-American, left-wing nationalism, as well as around the denouncing of indigenous exploitation" (1998, 44). Works like *Huasipungo* by Icaza, *Los de abajo by* Azuela, *Doña Bárbara* by Gallegos, and *El mundo es ancho y ajeno* by Alegría (this last one being published in two volumes), speak to Scorza's intellectual horizons, as well as to the alliances he sought to cultivate as the festival model began to internationalize.

Thanks to these backings, the new festival also saw resounding success. With a total of 500,000 copies sold at the humble price of 4 Peruvian soles, festivals had proven their ability to shake up Lima's cultural scene in terms of the book's massification but had also proven sound business models. Since the events were transitory, the organisers saved themselves the expense of leasing out storefronts while also eschewing ever-feared intermediaries. Instead, they only hired a bare minimum of temporary vendors. Furthermore, the resources spent on producing the collections matched the economic scheme that marked the first few events. They chose small formatting (17 cm), printed in offset, and used cheap newsprint. Meanwhile, participating writers also made good money, earning between 20,000 and 40,000 soles in royalties. In Scorza's opinion, this was just the start of Peruvian writers' full emancipation, as the country's writers had never been able to live off their craft before (Strote 1970, 66).[7]

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7 According to an article published in Lima's *El Comercio*, at the festival, López Albújar made more money than he'd received in his last 50 years as a writer (Strote 1970, 66).

This new festival's cultural and commercial triumph, however, left deep wounds in Scorza's relationship with his associates. According to Juan Mejía Baca's documents in the National Library of Peru, Scorza didn't pay royalties to many of the authors involved, with controversy especially marrying his relationship with the Mexican author Mariano Anzuela's heirs, as they had not authorised the reprinting of *Los de abajo* in the festival collection (Azuela 1959).[8] These accusations tarnished Scorza's reputation, as he wasn't a literary heavyweight in Peru at that point. Nonetheless, the young cultural entrepreneur pressed on. Alongside Mujica Gallo, the only member of the Board who stood by his side, Scorza decided to take the festivals to other countries, especially to those where cultural life seemed to be rekindling. The creation of the Continental Organisation of Book Fairs (OCFL) in Lima was a first step in this direction. With an interest in building professional networks with writers from other countries who wanted to put on festivals and print their own respective collections, the transnational dynamics that unfolded through this organisation heavily marked Peru's transfer of both its festival model and its goal of quickly making books massively available.

However, before delving into the moment when book festivals were exported, we should introduce one more literary and popular-publishing entrepreneur in Peru: Enrique Congrains Martin (Lima, 1932–Cochabamba, 2009). Born to a middle-class family of French origin, Congrains was a youthful character in Lima's cultural milieu, but he was also quite proactive in terms of writing and publishing.[9] Years before the Book Board was founded, Congrains had already launched a well-known project: the Circle of Peruvian Novelists, a one-man organisation that emerged around the ephemeral magazine *La novela peruana* (1953), under which Congrains printed his first notable book: *Lima, hora cero* (1954). Backed by Sebastián Salazar Bondy, who signed the magazine's first issue and contributed with a project manifesto, the Circle of Peruvian Novelists sought to break away from costumbrist literary traditions in favour of a new perspective that reflected mid-century urban and economic changes (industrialisation, migration from the countryside to the cities, the middle class, shanty towns, and poverty) – a

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8 Though there was reciprocity between Peru and Mexico regarding copyright at the Havana (1929) and Washington D.C. (1946) conventions, copyright violations were relatively commonplace in Latin America.

9 Congrains and Scorza shared certain similarities in their schooling. Congrains had attended Catholic Marist schools in Lima, while Scorza had gone to a Salesian institute in Huancayo. As his family lived in Lima, Scorza then attended the Leoncio Prado Military School, which Mario Vargas Llosa would later attend. Then he studied at the National University of San Marcos (Gras 1998, 35). There is no record of Congrains attending university, but he did begin his work as a journalist at a very young age. In 1948, when he was just sixteen years old, he started working for *La Crónica* newspaper's cultural section (Rubio Bautista 2011).

new social reality that literature had tended to overlook, as compared to journalism (Rubio Bautista 2011).

Soon after *Lima, hora cero*, Congrains launched a modest collection of titles under the Circle's seal that underscored the need for a shift in literature, including works like *Los gallinazos sin plumas* by the celebrated Julio Ramón Ribeyro, *Chicha, mar y bonito* by José Diez Canseco, and *Náufragos y sobrevivientes* by Salazar Bondy. The series also included Congrains's *Kikuyo*, as well as a selection of Peruvian short stories, published in two volumes. The Circle subsequently printed *Entre algarrobos* by Francisco Vegas Seminario and *Mala entraña. Cuentos del Ande* by Tulio Carrasco. According to Luchting, Congrains would sell the entire collection, going door-to-door and factory to factory, placing the titles among workers, cooks, butlers, and housekeepers (1971, 76).

After this first editorial effort, Congrains had a pioneering experience abroad. Having moved to Santiago de Chile in 1957, he founded a new one-man organisation, the Cultural Embassy of Peru, where he'd publish an anthology of short stories. He then moved to Buenos Aires, where he published three more books under this new organisation's seal, including his only novel *No una, sino muchas muertes*.[10] At this point, he had had no contact with book festivals, but his trajectory was already suggestive of the same concerns around literature and the book that had led to the Book Board's creation.

The concerns that pushed Scorza to conceive and materialise the internationalisation of festivals were the same as Congrains's. Scorza's new organisation required a change of airs, given the conflict around the controversial Third Festival in Lima. While Scorza and Mujica Gallo's organisation had successfully put on two more festivals in Lima in 1958 – including a recently internationalised one, with works by Alejo Carpentier, José Eustasio Rivera, and Pablo Neruda, while the other was a reedition of the Board's first festival – the organisation also had to face overt competition from a former ally, Juan Mejía Baca, who proposed a new kind of festival, capable of strike the Scorza and Gallo's project. Thus, Mejía Baca launched a similar direct-sale initiative in public spaces, with support from Salazar Bondy and Luis Jaime Cisneros. This new project published two literary collections, five titles each, with the goal of competing with Scorza's organisation.

Under the name Ediciones Populares, the series included work by José María Arguedas, Jorge Basadre, Abraham Valdelomar, Héctor Velarde, and Aurelio Miró Quesada, among other writers chosen by Salazar Bondy, who stood at the helm of

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10 The novel would see a new edition by Editorial Alfa in Montevideo in 1967. This edition was included in the Populibros Peruanos collection (Popular Peruvian Books), led by Scorza between 1963 and 1966, and was also published by Editorial Planeta, with a prologue by Vargas Llosa, in 1975; its very itinerary is telling of its success.

the selection process. Launched at the same time as those in the Continental Organisation, this series led to a battle of publishers and publishing projects, which, as an article in the press put it, characterised a time of "cheap books," placing Peru "at the forefront of South American countries when it comes popular editions" ("Hoy. Gran Batalla Editorial" 1958). The same article, which doesn't allude to any previous conflict, highlights the competing parties' strategies to win over writers and readers. Mejía Baca opened a contest for stories and novels with a prize of 20,000 soles plus 10 percent royalties, while Scorza was organising a contest that would award 50,000 soles. Competition aside, the article concluded by highlighting both initiatives' contributions to the country, as both had broken taboos in terms of publications and sparked an unprecedented thirst for the reading and purchasing of books.

While we have no definitive proof, it's likely that this climate of tension and competition accelerated the internationalisation of Scorza's organisation, which presented itself as the continuation of the Book Board and as the official heir to the book-festival model. As of 1958, Scorza sought to sow festivals wherever he could. His internationalisation strategy mostly involved the writer network that he'd started to build with his first festival experiences, whose impact in the media had crossed borders – not only projecting how fruitful and innovative these book events were, but also putting Scorza in the limelight as an editor who was committed to the book and its massification. The quick transfer of this model to other countries stemmed from the festivals' remarkable cultural and commercial transcendence, but also from the intellectual connections of its by-then renowned organiser.

Now, it is worth noting that, before landing in other countries, festivals had shown their ability to adapt to various contexts, since the model had already begun to decentralise within Peru itself. We might trace the following developments to 1958 and 1959: the Book Festival in Arequipa promoted by Mejía Baca; a Festival of the Cuzco Book as well as a South-Peruvian Festival, both of which had roots in Cuzco; and additional "Libro Piurano" and "Libro Puneño" festivals, all of which left various regional, literary collections in their wake, and whose unfolding attested to the existence of specific literary demands from readers and writers outside the capital.[11]

With such precedents, the international transfer of festivals would basically depend on Scorza's abilities to mobilise a transnational network of agents with

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[11] According to data collected by Hirschhorn (2005), Pedagogical, Revolutionary Literature, Romantic Literature, and Peruvian Women Writers festivals were also held, as well as one in honour of César Vallejo and another dedicated to José Carlos Mariátegui.

common interests regarding the massification of the book as a path toward cultural modernisation, but also on his ability to coordinate and carry out festivals in various countries, creating popular, national literary collections that would constitute the bases of the events themselves. As suggested before, this network was mainly composed of writers with whom Scorza had already shared close or distant experiences throughout the first few festivals, but the network was enriched, in every country, by the editors, booksellers, and writers who, like Scorza, understood the need to make cheaper, national books, thus expanding their territory of consumption and stimulating literary production.

Scorza chose Venezuela as his first test-case for expansion, given his previous contacts there. After establishing contact with Alejo Carpentier, who lived in Caracas at the time and who had published *El reino de este mundo* in the Fourth Book Festival, Scorza started planning the First Venezuelan Book Festival. According to Gras (1998, 99–100), Carpentier put Scorza in touch with the poet Juan Liscano, who, as a national literary reference, had taken up the tasks of selecting the titles that would comprise the collection and of coordinating the event.

The fact that the first festival outside of Peru succeeded was proof of the effectiveness of Scorza's collaborative work strategy, which was replicated in subsequent events. On the one hand, he delegated editorial decisions to prestigious writers, and, on the other, he assumed certain operational tasks, compiling manuscripts, managing printing and distribution from Lima, and boosting the publicity campaign.[12] Deploying this strategy, the organisation put on four festivals in Caracas between 1958 and 1959, selling about 1 million copies. This attested to the organisation's remarkable ability to promote the popular book.[13] This tangible success allowed Scorza to organise parallel festivals in Ecuador, Colombia, Cuba, and several Central American countries.

It is worth highlighting that these countries were selected due to their similarities with Peru. These countries had just left their authoritarian regimes behind and were also places where the publishing industry had yet to mature. Organising festivals in Argentina or Chile, whose publishing houses had sat much of the South American market as of the 1930s, made less sense than opening

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12 With no exceptions, all of the Book Festival collections were printed in Peru, as newsprint was apparently cheaper there than in neighbouring countries.

13 The third of these Venezuelan festivals was entirely dedicated to celebrating Rómulo Gallegos's 75th birthday. According to an article that Scorza published in Bogotá, this event earned the Venezuelan writer 20,000 US dollars in royalties, an apparently unprecedented figure. Many newspapers printed this figure, ultimately creating further publicity for the Continental Organisation (Scorza 1959, 1).

festivals in places where books remained out of reach for certain social classes, or in places that lacked stimulus policies.[14]

Focusing on spaces with clear needs in terms of book massification, Scorza's strategy could permutate with ease. By delegating the festival organising to one or several reputable, well-known writers from each country, each event benefited from specialised guidance. In Ecuador, Jorge Icaza, who had been invited to Peru's third festival, would coordinate Quito's festival. In Cuba, Scorza relied on Alejo Carpentier, with Eduardo Caballero Calderón and Alberto Zalamea organising the festival in Colombia, and Miguel Ángel Asturias taking up the task in Central America. Most organisers were highly committed writers and intellectuals who greatly valued network-building.[15] The Central American experience was the most translational, as, rather than creating specific events for each country in the continent, the OCFL decided to organise a single Central American Book Festival that would circulate through several capital cities and offer a multinational collection for sale. This collection included titles by Rafael Arévalo Martínez (Guatemala), Juan Ramón Molina (Honduras), Salarrué (El Salvador), Carlos Luis Fallas (Costa Rica), and Ramón H. Jurado (Panama), as well as select short stories and poems by Rubén Darío. Furthermore, it included anthologies like *Antología de la poesía centroamericana* and *Panorama del cuento centroamericano*.[16]

The Colombian experience also travelled well, though within the country itself, as the First Book Festival was simultaneously organised in Bogotá and Medellín, while the Second Book Festival opened up to Cali and other inner cities. Both events were developed in 1959, and the two were the closest ones to the Peruvian experience, as they took advantage of city plazas and main streets, installing kiosks to seduce passers-by of all kinds. This same case can help examine how Scorza's connections tended to not only privilege established authors, but also actors in the publishing and media realms.

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14 Though we have no sources on whether organisers considered exporting the festivals to Chile or Argentina, it's clear that such event campaigns would have made less of an impact in these countries. As Giuliani (2018) has shown, publishing houses in Argentina had greatly benefited from the economic policies of Peronism. Despite the waning of their literary golden ages, these two countries would have been less competitive for festival projects.

15 In countries where festivals were put on simultaneously, the coordinating team saw growth. In Colombia, the poet Carlos Castro Saavedra and the bookseller Alberto Aguirre supported the event's organisation in Medellín, while the poet Óscar Hernández collaborated in the Cali festival. In Havana, Carpentier benefited from Reinaldo Gómez Banilla's support, while the festival in Santiago de Cuba was led by José A. Portuondo.

16 There were anthologies in all of the OCFL's collections, ever since the first few festival series were launched in Lima. Such publications could simultaneously disseminate a myriad of texts and writers, while also drawing an artificial map of culture (Weinberg 76).

For instance, Eduardo Caballero Calderón had recently founded Ediciones Guadarrama in Madrid, a publishing company through which Caballero aimed to internationalise his literary work (Murillo Sandoval 2021). Meanwhile, Alberto Zalamea was at the helm of the magazine *Semana*, the most influential political publication of the moment, and he was also the son of the writer and former secretary of the World Peace Council, Jorge Zalamea, who participated in the first Colombian series with *El gran Burundún Burunda ha muerto*. Other writers with ties to the festivals, like Hernando Téllez, Eduardo Zalamea Borda (Jorge Zalamea's cousin), and Gabriel García Márquez, who had a second edition of his first novel, *La Hojarasca*, published in the First Colombian Festival, were also quite present and influential in the country's main media outlets, like *El Espectador*, *El Tiempo*, and *La Calle*, and in the magazines *Cromos* and *Estampa*.

The group's prestige and intellectual visibility would lead each of the Colombian festivals to receive ample coverage in the printed media, which published interviews with Scorza, footage of the events, and numerous commentaries by journalists and columnists. These commentaries highlighted the initiatives' innovation as well as sales records, adding new perspectives to the debate on the place of the book in the country. Slogans that had already been popularised in Peru, such as "Battle of the book" and a few others taken from interviews with Scorza, like, "Let's take the tailcoat off the book, and dress it in a T-shirt," were printed in numerous headlines as well as alongside visual and televised registers.[17] In one article published by Scorza himself, he explained that the need to "go out to America" not only involved convincing publishers and mayors, but asking journalists to make space in newspapers, "because if they gave us half of the columns they give to a football championship, we'd score goals, too!" (Scorza 1959, 1).

As we can see, the exportation and execution of festivals was favoured by the ample support of a transnational network of solidarity, but also by literary recognition and media action on behalf of festival collaborators. These factors proved decisive for the events' publicity, generating expectations and an everyday following of festival developments. It is worth noting that both the coordinators of each festival, as well as many of the writers involved in the collections, shared the same perspectives as Scorza and Salazar Bondy regarding the popularisation of the book. As such, they saw themselves as ideal mediators for the culturalisation of the masses, deciding which works and authors should be brought together and disseminated in cheap collections.

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17 Local televised media covered the First Colombian Book Festival, with the presence of Bogotá's mayor, the minister of labour, and many of the published authors. Footage of the event has been recovered by *Señal Memoria* and can be viewed here, in two parts: https://youtu.be/tQ3QqDYw4YE and https://youtu.be/QT9tQJhcPWM.

The shape that the national series published for each festival ended up taking, ultimately comprising the Biblioteca Básica de Cultura Latinoamericana (Basic Library of Latin American Culture), is telling of the latter, as they all not only boasted the same format and editorial design but also tended to combine canonised titles with more recent work written by festival directors or emergent but promising writers (Fig. 2).[18] Once again, the Colombian case is a perfect example: its festival collection included celebrated titles, like *La vorágine* by José Eustasio Rivera, but also opened up to specific genres, like novels of "La Violencia," with works by Jorge Zalamea and Caballero Calderón. The Colombian editors' decisions can also be read in a political tenor, as their choices seemed to line up with the National Front, the political regime that replaced Rojas Pinilla's dictatorship. The National Front based itself on the imposition of a system that would alternate political power between the Liberal and Conservative parties. The Biblioteca Básica de Cultura Colombiana (Basic Library of Colombian Culture) aimed to emulate this political-intellectual balance, bringing in writers who supported these two traditional parties, thus supporting the idea that the two parties could coexist in peace, just as the new regime would have it.[19]

The Cuban experience, as mediated by Carpentier, was similar in a way, with certain works in the collections gaining new meanings in the revolutionary climate, as was the case with José Martí's writing. However, in Cuba, neither Carpentier nor Scorza managed to monopolise festivals for the dissemination of popular books, as their plans clashed with those of Congrains, who had chosen Cuba as a laboratory for his new organisation: the Latin American Crusade for Cultural Dissemination. Like Scorza, Congrains was fascinated by the Revolution, leading him to focus on this country. As declared in a pamphlet published in 1960, Congrains saw the Cuban Revolution as the liberation of a people. As such, to him, any aggression on behalf of the United States would require that

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18 Besides the aforementioned authors, the continuation of festivals allowed the Biblioteca Básica de Cultura Latinoamericana to bring together Venezuelan writers like Teresa de la Parra, Arturo Uslar Pietri, Mariano Picón Salas, Arístides Rojas, and Miguel Otero Silva; Ecuadorian writers including Juan Montalvo, Leopoldo Benítez, and Enrique Terán; as well as Cuban writers like José Martí, Salvador Bueno, Cintio Vitier, Nicolás Guillén, and Cirilo Villaverde.

19 During the Second Colombian Book Festival, Miguel Scorza (Manuel Scorza's brother) who was the OCFL's subdirector at the time, published an article in *El Espectador* magazine on 29 November 1959 titled "Frente Nacional en las Bibliotecas" ("National Front of Libraries"). It is worth noting that politics were more or less common in Colombia's literary collections, given the historical overlaps between politics and literature. Politics also marked collections like the Biblioteca Popular de Cultura Colombiana (Popular Library of Colombian Culture) (1942–1952), which grouped together many generations of literary politicians.

> ## Organización Continental de los Festivales del Libro
>
> MANUEL MUJICA GALLO
> *Presidente*
>
> MANUEL SCORZA
> *Director General*
>
> ALEJO CARPENTIER
> *Sub-Director General*
>
> ### D I R E C T O R E S
>
> PERU: *Miguel Scorza*
> ECUADOR: *Jorge Icaza*
> MEXICO: *Carlos Pellicer*
>
> COLOMBIA: *Alberto Zalamea*
> VENEZUELA: *Juan Liscano*
> CUBA: *Alejo Carpentier*
>
> ### BIBLIOTECA BASICA DE CULTURA LATINOAMERICANA
>
> *La Biblioteca Básica de Cultura Latinoamericana que, a través de multitudinarios Festivales del Libro, se está formando en centenares de miles de hogares latinoamericanos, responde a una imperiosa necesidad: difundir los libros fundamentales de la cultura latinoamericana.*
>
> *Tal objetivo sólo podía lograrse sacando el libro de los anaqueles y las bibliotecas y, ofreciéndolo en plena calle, en la plaza pública, reduciendo al mismo tiempo su precio hasta ponerlo, verdaderamente, al alcance de todos.*
>
> *Esto es lo que han logrado los Festivales del Libro, que vienen publicando, semestralmente, las series que forman la Biblioteca Básica de Cultura Latinoamericana. En ella figuran las obras más importantes de la literatura, del ensayo y de la historia de América, incorporadas a través de la más rigurosa selección, especialmente cuidada en el caso de aquellos libros que, debido a prejuicios, a desconocimiento o falta de circulación, no habían alcanzado la difusión que merecen.*
>
> *La Biblioteca Básica de Cultura Latinoamericana es el medio más adecuado para alcanzar un conocimiento integral de la rica y variada cultura latinoamericana, tan falseada por fáciles sumarios.*

Fig. 2: Presentation page of the "Biblioteca Básica de Cultura Latinoamericana". This paratext was inserted in the final pages of each book published within the framework of the book festivals organized by Manuel Scorza (Source: Biblioteca José Manuel Rivas Sacconi/Instituto Caro y Cuervo).

intellectuals abandon "exquisite literature and turn each word, each verb, each thought, into a trench [in the battleground]" ("Enrique Congrains Martín y su Carta de advertencia", 1960, 9).

Founded one year after this declaration, the new organisation led by Congrains appeared to situate itself at the fringes of revolution, especially in terms of culture. According to the paratexts in the inside and back covers of the collection Comprensión de Cuba (Understanding Cuba), the main publishing project under the Latin American Crusade, this collection was proposed as an idea and a movement. The collection was understood as an *idea* because it deemed that economic, political, and social transformation wasn't enough, as the people's relationship to culture would also be crucial. Meanwhile, it was also proposed as a *movement*, as it aimed to develop the conditions so that the people could read the best literature on the reality of the Americas, without economic sacrifice. To paraphrase Claudia Gilman (2003, 71), this organisation was politicised and saw practical interventions in society not as a possibility, but as an obligation.[20]

In association with editor José Bonilla Amado, who had worked with Mejía Baca on other occasions, Congrains travelled to Havana in mid-1959 to launch Comprensión de Cuba with great fanfare. The collection was printed in Mexico, where the Crusade had been published already. With six books by Cuban authors, among which *La sangre hambrienta* by Labrador Ruíz and *El sol a plomo* by Humberto Arenal stood out, with the latter regarded as Cuba's first novel of the Revolution, Comprensión de Cuba breached the market around the same time as Scorza's OCFL collections (Fig. 3). According to documents in Juan Mejía Baca's archive, Congrains faced attacks from Scorza, his also-Peruvian rival, who dismissed his new enterprise by saying that the festival model belonged to him.

In solidarity with Congrains and Bonilla Amado, a broad group of Peruvian writers and publishers signed a letter of support in July of 1959, which argued that book festivals couldn't possibly belong to a specific institution or person (AAVV, "Los firmantes" 1959).[21] Regarding the clash between these organisations and their leaders, the Cuban writer Enrique Labrador Ruiz (1959), who had received numerous invitations to publish with the OCFL as well as with the

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20 In her research on the Latin American revolutionary writer, Gilman highlights 1960 as the year when the "romance between Latin American writers and the continent's reading public" began (2003, 88). However, as we have shown, this relationship actually started a few years prior, thanks to the festivals.

21 The letter was signed by former members of the Book Board and writers who participated in the first few collections, including José Durand, Héctor Velarde, José Díez Canseco, López Albújar, and Mejía Baca himself.
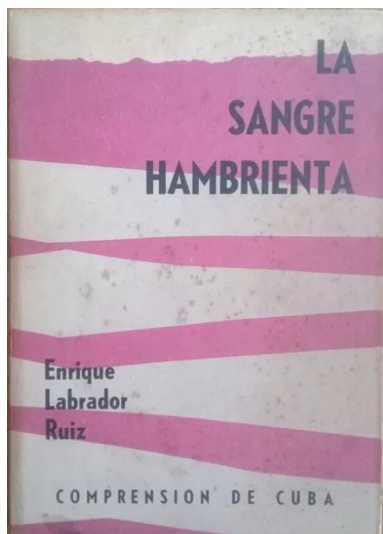
Fig. 3: One of the titles published in the "Comprensión de Cuba" collection, a project of the organization created by Enrique Congrains Martin (Source: Biblioteca de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú).

Latin American Crusade, wrote to Congrains saying that one day he'd have to pen an article about the "feuds between Peruvian festivalists."

4 A Phenomenon with Institutional Force

Beyond these conflicts, the Cuban experience demonstrates that Scorza's and Congrains's respective organisations were able to quickly read the revolutionary context and capitalise upon the rekindling of culture at the continental scale. Indeed, both aimed to mediate the Cuban Revolution's cultural facet, brandishing themselves as politically committed projects and efficient publishers who aimed to popularise the book and help showcase national literatures. Likewise, they both demonstrated their abilities to enmesh their projects with other political, cultural, and book-related concerns that were palpable in the region. These shared qualities can lead us to our first conclusion regarding the impact of festival organisations, their events, and their collections in the Latin American book market.

With millions of copies sold, festivals and their organisers demonstrated that ordinary readers could emerge as reliable consumers, as long as books were cheap enough to remain within reach. The first to glean this reality were probably the editors themselves. After taking in the sheer sales as well as their ventures' impact in the media, they began to assume greater risks, diligently producing cheap collections of national authors. The long series Populibros Peruanos (or Popular

Peruvian Books), launched by Scorza himself in 1963, as well as the rival publishing projects led by Juan Mejía Baca, stand as emblematic cases in Peru, but not as the only ones (Aguirre 2016). In Colombia, publishing houses like Bedout, in Medellín, which were overshadowed by the festivals of 1959, started publishing popular collections using the same model that had shown its success in Peru. The series Bolsilibros Bedout (or the Bedout Pocket Series) is perhaps the most salient example.

These cases would allow us to highlight the ways the impact of these organisations surpassed their goals. By seeking connections on a more or less horizontal plane of publishing peripheries, so to speak, while allowing for both the creation of networks and the transnational mobility of agents interested in book commercialisation – traits that, according to Lyons and Mollier, are markers of transnational publishing phenomena (2012, 14) – festival organisations also managed to shake up the ecosystems around reading and the book across diverse contexts, almost in the same way as other specialised non-governmental organisations.

Shifting from the history of the book to the sociology of literature would lead us to our next tentative conclusion, in terms of Peter McDonald (2015) invitation to consider "acts of institution" in a verbal sense. The history of festival organisations – as short-lived in temporal terms as they were impactful in the field of printed culture – yielded massive events and literary collections that could be read as literary and publishing phenomena with institutional force. The Cuban case would allow us to observe the role of organisations in the construction of the first clusters of literature that emerged with the Revolution, for instance. Both the Festivals of the Cuban Book that Scorza led, with Carpentier's coordination, as well as the launching of the Comprensión de Cuba collection, published by Congrains and Bonilla Amado can also be read as early signs of cultural articulation between Havana and certain Latin American intellectual circles, at a time when Casa de las Américas, the future bastion of Cuban soft power, was still developing. In the Peruvian case, festivals also helped position a new literary guard, comprised of those Book Board or OCFL members who had selected the works to be included in each series. We might make similar observations regarding the Colombian case, in which festivals and veteran promoters not only pushed the visibility of emergent writers like García Márquez, but also elevated the status and literary recognition of local genres, like novels of "La Violencia," while issuing festival collections that were representative of the newly balanced political regime that had claimed power in Colombia at that time.[22]

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22 García Márquez would always recall this experience with affection, as it was the first time that he publicly signed his books and received royalties. As he recalled, "Eduardo Caballero

As Helgesson (2015, 28) would remind us, literature isn't simply given, but is performatively and materially *instituted* by various agents in the literary and publishing field. The organisations analysed here massively and systematically produced collections that, despite their material conditions, were milestones in the effort to construct specific national, regional, or continental canons. We need only recall that the literary series published by the OCFL in Lima would lead to the Biblioteca Básica de Cultura Latinoamericana, an almost encyclo-paedic product that not only boosted the internationalisation of a body of books and national writers, but also of the mediators who left their mark therein, in a typical transfer of symbolic capital, as per Bourdieu (2002). Thus, just as with anthologies, which were perhaps the most notable example of how selections can help forge world literature, popular collections also emerge as key building blocks that endow the texts that have been brought together with new meanings – including meanings that may not have been in the texts when they first appeared (Mollier 2014). As is the case with the anthologies and mani-festos that McDonald studies, the people behind popular collections also exert their authority to confer their status to such compilations, presenting them be-fore readers in specific ways "to give meaning to the term 'literature,' or a phrase like 'world literature,' at a certain historical juncture" (2015, 50).

All in all, festival organisations can be understood as lead actors in an insti-tutionalisation process that reverberated across a myriad of national cultural spaces, bringing them together to create a transitory transnational space that was shaped by a climate of cultural reactivation, at a time when a number of dic-tatorships came to an end just as the book was being revalued as a modernising instrument. Developed in countries where the publishing industry had yet to fully establish itself, these organisations built and agitated literary and publish-ing networks. In the Cuban case, for instance, such organisations emerged as early manifestations of soft power and tended to stimulate the Revolution's cul-tural dimension. Though none of the studied organisations survived past 1960, meaning that their institutional force was somewhat ephemeral, we should none-theless highlight their condition as instances for the accumulation of symbolic,

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Calderón, who directed the Basic Library of Colombian Culture, included a pocket edition of *La hojarasca* in a collection of works that would be sold in street stands in Bogotá and other cities. He paid for the royalties we'd agreed upon, which were scarce but timely and which always car-ried the sentimental value of being the first I'd ever made off a book" (García Márquez 2002, 499). The paratexts around Biblioteca Básica de Cultura Colombiana show that, in fact, García Márquez considered including *El coronel no tiene quien le escriba* for the second planned festival, in 1959. Indeed, many works were initially proposed for these literary spaces, only to be replaced by others – and we don't always know of the reasoning behind such changes.

social capital for its young promoters, Scorza and Congrains, who, after leading the organisations, acquired even higher status within the Latin American literary and editorial map – a map that would soon explode with the Latin American *Boom*.

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Núria Codina Solà and Jack McMartin

The European Union Prize for Literature: Disseminating European Values through Translation and Supranational Consecration

What is European literature? For the longest of times, the label was reserved for canonical works belonging to the literatures of the major Western European powers. In more recent decades, however, in step with the gradual process of European integration initiated after the Second World War and solidified through the enlargement of the European Union, the linguistic and geographic borders of European literature have expanded to accommodate Europe's less dominant literary traditions, including those of nations situated at the periphery of the EU and in the broader "European neighbourhood". The more or less free movement of people and cultural goods within the European single market has contributed to the opening up and professionalisation of book markets and the facilitation of intercultural and interlingual literary exchange. The Eastern enlargements in 2004 and 2007 and the inflow of migrants from outside Europe's borders, which reached a highpoint in the 2010s during the refugee crisis, have meanwhile recast the European Union's self-image and its literary imaginaries. These constant transformations demonstrate that European literature, rather than an aesthetic and cultural given, is historically and socially instituted: "To *institute* something", Stefan Helgesson and Pieter Vermeulen write, "is to bring it into being", a performative and material form of agency that relies on "social recognition and sustenance" (2016, 2). As we will see, state actors operating at the intersection of European culture and politics are important participants in the institutionalisation of European literature, as are the writers, publishers, and translators active in Europe's translation publishing industry. These two groupings, comprising representatives of state and market, work within and across political, cultural and economic spheres and between national, transnational, and supranational levels.

This chapter focuses on two mutually imbricated consecratory techniques that facilitate the institutionalisation of European literature: *prizing*, an increasingly important vector of symbolic and economic value often used to further

broader (political) interests, and *translation*, the primary mode through which the literatures of Europe circulate across linguistic borders. Both are important techniques in translation publishing, an area of the publishing industry where economic interests have become dominant but where symbolic, cultural, and political interests remain very much in play (Sapiro 2016). We zero in on the European Union Prize for Literature (EUPL) as a case in point. The EUPL is an annual literary prize funded by the European Commission to support emerging writers and to promote the circulation of European literature within and beyond the European Union. In what follows, we show how the prize actively shapes the linguistic, cultural, and political boundaries of European literature and identity. We argue that the EUPL (along with other EU-sponsored prizes like it) can be understood as instruments of soft power, where (foreign) policy goals are achieved through the prizing of a certain set of aesthetic, political and commercial values associated with the European integration process. In a first section, we examine the discursive contours of the European Union's cultural policy as it relates to prizing European integration. We look specifically at how "unity", "diversity", and "intercultural dialogue" figure in the values and messaging the European Union conveys through its consecratory practices and how these values are reflected in the organisational structure of the EUPL. In a second section, we draw on insights from the sociology of translation to situate EUPL-winning books, their authors and their translations within the global system of translated books, a highly asymmetric literary market dominated by the central languages of English, French and German (languages also claimed by traditionally dominant EU member states). We discuss to what extent the EUPL's political goals are reflected in EUPL-initiated translation flows. In a third section, we shift from the geopolitical context to a (para)textual analysis of how European values are creatively rendered in a single EUPL-commissioned text, the *European Stories Anthology*, a collection of short stories by past EUPL winners published in 2018 on the occasion of the EUPL's tenth anniversary. Taken together, our contribution seeks to add to understandings of how translation and supranational literary consecration relate to processes of geopolitical (ex)change.

1 Prizes as Instruments of Soft Power and Carriers of Political Values

Established in 2009, the EUPL is one of a number of prizes awarded by the European institutions aimed at showcasing artistic production in Europe and stimulating the distribution and promotion of European cultural goods across Europe

and beyond. Other notable prizes include the European Parliament Lux Prize (for film), the European Union's heritage initiatives, the European Union Prize for Contemporary Architecture, and the European Capital of Culture contest, to name only a few. These prizing initiatives in the cultural field go hand in hand with the consolidation of the European Union as a political power and the partial transfer of cultural policy competences from the member states to the European Commission. Culture has been a key tool in the dissemination of European values and the formation of European identities, to the extent that "[a]t the end of his life Robert Schumann declared that if he had to start the process of European integration all over again, he would begin with culture rather than economics" (D'haen 2009, 5). Among the different policy actions that political institutions use as a form of soft power, prizes are "the best single instrument for negotiating transactions between cultural and economic, cultural and social, cultural and political capital" (English 2008, 10), for they mask the economic or political interests of the awarding institutions behind the rhetoric of "generosity, celebration, love, play, community" (7). James English writes that we tend to think of prizes as a sort of "gift" (5) that is removed from the economic and political spheres, although in practice prizes are deeply imbricated both in the market and in politics. It is no coincidence that the word "prize" has "its etymological roots in money and exchange" (6). In fact, "both the discourse internal to prizes – the discussions that take place among judges and administrators – and the external commentary about them are fairly dominated by rhetorics of calculation, invoking fine points of balance, fairness, obligation" (6). Prizes can of course serve as financial incentives, as we will see with the EUPL and its promotion of European literature through translation deals. But prizes are not economic instruments only. As François Foret and Oriane Calligaro point out, prizes also constitute a *technique of government* consisting in using symbolic distinctions as "a resource of political domination to mark the centrality and authority of the prize-giver, the exemplarity of the recipient and the legitimacy of the cause and values that are honoured" (2019, 1337). Apart from legitimising the different actors involved in the act of consecration, prizes can also serve to "flag an issue worthy of social attention" or to proclaim "the social significance of a problem" that is particularly relevant for the political institution involved in the consecratory act (1340).

If prizes serve as sources of soft power, what values and messages does the European Union convey through its consecratory practices? The main aim of the cultural policy of the European Union is to highlight the linguistic and cultural diversity of Europe while foregrounding the common cultural roots and history shared between Europeans. This tension between the one and the many is visible in the official EU motto, "United in diversity", which came into use in 2000 and is defined as follows on one of the EU's official websites: "[The motto] signifies

how Europeans have come together, in the form of the EU, to work for peace and prosperity, while at the same time being enriched by the continent's many different cultures, traditions and languages" ("EU Motto"). In its process of self-making and self-narration, the EU draws a "direct correlation between European integration and peace on the European continent from the second half of the twentieth century" (Meijen 2020, 946). This narrative is part of what Meijen calls "the liberal-democratic myth," consisting in presenting the EU as "a champion of fundamental human rights and social rights" such as transparency, the rule of law, solidarity, stability and social welfare, values that are shared between all European states (945). According to this narrative, it is thanks to (and not despite) the diversity of national cultures that peace has settled over Europe in the era of European integration. Indeed, the "common sense of morality" between the member states implies respect for cultural and linguistic differences (945).

Referring to the American context, Joyce M. Bell and Douglas Hartmann note that "[f]ew words in the current American lexicon are as ubiquitous and ostensibly uplifting as diversity" (2007, 895), an ambivalence that also applies to the European situation. The varied meanings of 'diversity' have evolved in relation to the political changes faced by the EU. In the 1970s, diversity was mainly associated with the protection of cultural heritage, understood both as "tangible material artefacts" such as monuments or historical sites as well as "intangible forms of cultural expressions," including history, language, and folklore (Calligaro 2014, 62). Cultural heritage enabled the EU to negotiate the fine line between unity and diversity and to fill universal principles such as democracy and human rights with local content. As Calligaro observes, "[t]he introduction of the concept of European cultural heritage on the Community's agenda in 1974 is an attempt to incarnate European identity, beyond abstract political principles" (62). If the cultural initiatives promoted under the label of European heritage tended to highlight "the diversity of national cultures within a European cultural unity" based on Greek, Roman and Judeo-Christian cultures (64), in the 1980s "[t]he rhetoric of 'unity in diversity' [. . .] was mobilised to promote a larger diversity that encompassed the subnational level" and valorised minority languages (69). This regional diversity has a direct expression in the language politics of the EUPL, which make room for minority languages as long as they are officially recognised "by the Constitution or relevant national law" of the participating countries ("Selection Rules"). Another extension of the notion of heritage that took place in the 1990s was "the recognition that negative dimensions of European history are an integral part of European heritage" (Calligaro 2014, 70), a new meaning that led to increasing investment in projects related to the recovery of the collective memory of fascist dictatorships in Europe and Europe's colonial past. With the 2004 enlargement of the European Union, "European diversity

was further transformed, and a new concept is the revealing sign and instrument of this transformation: *intercultural dialogue*" (71, our emphasis). The notion of intercultural dialogue moves away from "specific cultural contents" and towards "shared values" such as the ones laid out in the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union of 2000 (78). This discursive strategy can be seen alongside growing disparities and national(ist) factions within the Union and increasing migration flows into it. Shared values, which include human dignity, the right to life, the right to the integrity of a person and the right to liberty and security, among many others, make European culture "less and less substantiated" (78) and turn hospitality and multiculturalism into intrinsic European values, thereby reinforcing the "the liberal-democratic myth" that sustains European identity (Meijen 2020, 945).

By capturing the distinctiveness of the EUPL among other transnational European prizes and its connections with the official narrative of the European Union, we contribute to emerging research on critical cultural policy studies and offer a first extensive case study of the EUPL. In the next section, we look at the ways in which European notions of diversity, equality and intercultural dialogue impact on the very conception and organisational structure of the EUPL – and how these values distinguish the prize from other comparable supranational consecratory institutions.

2 Situating the EUPL in the Transnational Literary Field and its Prize Economy

The stated goals of the EUPL are three: "to put the spotlight on the creativity and diverse wealth of Europe's contemporary literature in the field of fiction, to promote the circulation of literature within Europe and to encourage greater interest in non-national literary works" (EUPL). This description epitomises the tension between unity and diversity encapsulated in the motto of the EU. While reflecting the varied linguistic and literary traditions of the participating countries, the prize aims to strengthen unity through literary circulation and through the promotion of works that transcend the nation-state. The prize is funded by the Creative Europe programme of the European Commission, which similarly seeks to "promote European cultural and linguistic diversity" ("Culture and Creativity") and has a specific 'culture strand' focusing on transnational exchanges among artists and cultural organisations in the literary and publishing fields. This reflects a double dynamic that, like the EUPL, puts national diversity in the service of supranational unity. The EUPL is run on behalf of the European Commission

by three trade organisations intimately involved in the business of translation publishing in Europe: The European Writers Council (EWC), the Federation of European Publishers (FEP) and the European and International Booksellers Federation (EIBF). Together, they form the EUPL Consortium, an intersectoral entity that represents the variety of market actors involved in the circulation of literary texts in Europe. Such a public-private partnership embeds both the political and cultural interests of the European Commission and the commercial interests of the Consortium into the EUPL's organisational structure. The Consortium runs the award ceremony and additional promotional activities and administers the co-ordinating body that selects the national juries. The national juries are typically composed of three or four eminent individuals from each participating country's national literary scene in addition to a member appointed by the Consortium.[1]

Interestingly, despite being a supranational institution, the EUPL is organised around nation-state-specific juries, each of which selects one winner among the nominated works from that country, a structure that mirrors the multi-level governance of the EU. Each year, the EUPL is awarded to between 11 and 14 writers from different countries within and outside the European Union (see Tab. 1). In the period 2009–2021, 148 authors from 42 countries representing 40 languages received the award.[2] Participation is limited to those countries involved in the European Commission's Creative Europe programme: the twenty-seven member states of the EU, the three countries that are part of the European Economic Area (Iceland, Norway and Liechtenstein), the seven acceding countries, candidate countries and potential candidates (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Montenegro, North Macedonia, Serbia, and Turkey) and five European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) countries (Armenia, Georgia, Moldova, Tunisia, and Ukraine). Additional ENP countries (Azerbaijan, Belarus, Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, and Palestine) have expressed interest in joining the Creative Europe programme and may be included in coming years.

The geographical scope of the EUPL has political implications. The prize itself serves as a platform for promoting intercultural dialogue both within the EU – between Northern and Southern Europe and between Eastern and Western Europe – as well as between the EU and neighbouring states. In this sense, EU-internal cultural policy and outward-facing EU cultural diplomacy both fall within

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1 Although analysing the membership and evaluative practices of the respective EUPL national juries is beyond the scope of this study, such an investigation would doubtless generate important insights into the national signatures of a supranational prize promoting 'non-national' works.

2 No prizes were given in 2018. Organisers opted instead for a short story contest to celebrate the ten-year anniversary of the prize (see coda below).

Tab. 1: Awarding countries and awarded source languages by year.

2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
Austria (German)	Belgium (Dutch)	Bulgaria (Bulgarian)	Austria (German)	Belgium (French)	Albania (Albanian)	Austria (German)	Belgium (Dutch)	Albania (Albanian)	European Stories contest	Austria (German)	Belgium (French)	Albania (Albanian)
Croatia (Croatian)	Cyrus (Greek)	Czech Republic (Czech)	Croatia (Croatian)	Bosnia and Herzegovina (Bosnian)	Bulgaria (Bulgarian)	Croatia (Croatian)	Bosnia and Herzegovina (Bosnian)	Bulgaria (Bulgarian)		Finland (Finnish)	Bosnia and Herzegovina (Bosnian)	Armenia (Armenian)
France (French)	Denmark (Danish)	Greece (Greek)	France (French)	Cyprus (Greek)	Czech Republic (Czech)	France (French)	Cyprus (Greek)	Czech Republic (Czech)		France (French)	Croatia (Croatian)	Bulgaria (Bulgarian)
Hungary (Hungarian)	Estonia (Estonian)	Iceland (Icelandic)	Hungary (Hungarian)	Denmark (Danish)	Greece (Greek)	Hungary (Hungarian)	Denmark (Danish)	Greece (Greek)		Georgia (Georgian)	Cyprus (Greek)	Czech Republic (Czech)
Ireland (English)	Finland (Finnish)	Latvia (Latvian)	Ireland (English)	Estonia (Estonian)	Iceland (Icelandic)	Ireland (English)	Estonia (Estonian)	Iceland (Icelandic)		Greece (Greek)	Denmark (Danish)	Iceland (Icelandic)
Italy (Italian)	Germany (German)	Liechtenstein (German)	Italy (Italian)	Finland (Finnish)	Latvia (Latvian)	Italy (Italian)	Finland (Finnish)	Latvia (Latvian)		Hungary (Hungarian)	Estonia (Estonian)	Latvia (Latvian)
Lithuania (Lithuanian)	Luxembourg (German)	Malta (Maltese)	Lithuania (Lithuanian)	Germany (German)	Liechtenstein (German)	Lithuania (Lithuanian)	Germany (German)	Malta (Maltese)		Ireland (English)	Germany (German)	Malta (Maltese)
Norway (New Norwegian)	North Macedonia (Macedonian)	Montenegro (Montenegrin)	Norway (Norwegian)	Luxembourg (Luxembourgish)	Malta (Maltese)	Norway (Norwegian)	Luxembourg (Luxembourgish)	Montenegro (Montenegrin)		Italy (Italian)	Kosovo (Albanian)	Portugal (Portugese)
Poland (Polish)	Romania (Romanian)	Serbia (Serbian)	Poland (Polish)	North Macedonia (Macedonian)	Montenegro (Montenegrin)	Poland (Polish)	North Macedonia (Macedonian)	Serbia (Serbian)		Lithuania (Lithuanian)	Luxembourg (German/ Luxembourgish)	Serbia (Serbian)

(continued)

Tab. 1 (continued)

2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
Portuagal (Portugese)	Slovenia (Slovenian)	The Netherlands (Dutch)	Portugal (Portugese)	Romania (Romanian)	Serbia (Serbian)	Portugal (Portugese)	Romania (Romanian)	The Netherlands (Dutch)		Poland (Pollish)	Montenegro (Montenegrin)	Slovenia (Slovenian)
Slovakia (Slovak)	Spain (Spanish)	Turkey (Turkish)	Slovakia (Slovak)	Slovenia (Slovenian)	The Netherlands (Dutch)	Slovakia (Slovak)	Slovenia (Slovenian)	Turkey (Turkish)		Romania (Romanian)	North Macedonia (Macedonian)	Sweden (Swedish)
Sweden (Swedish)		United Kingdom (English)	Sweden (Swedish)	Spain (Spanish)	Turkey (Turkish)	Sweden (Swedish)	Spain (Spanish)	United Kingdom (English)		Slovakia (Slovak)	Norway (Norwegian)	The Netherlands (Dutch)
					United Kingdom (English)					Ukraine (Ukranian)	Spain (Catalan)	Tunisia (Arabic)
										United Kingdom (English)		

the prize's remit. By opening the label of "European" and "European Union" to countries experiencing ongoing geopolitical disputes, such as Cyprus or Ukraine, the EUPL reinforces the view of Europe as a peacemaker, using literature as a diplomatic tool to promote respect for linguistic diversity in conflict zones. At the same time, it highlights the symbolic and cultural proximity between the EU and candidate countries such as Albania, North Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Turkey, while also easing the accession path for potential candidates such as Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo.[3] This intercultural dialogue takes place mostly through translation – both in the more metaphorical sense of 'carrying across' and 'bridging differences', which has been central to the European project,[4] and in the material sense, in the form of EUPL-initiated translation flows.

The fact that only a third of the participating countries are awarded the prize each year does not mean that all 42 countries compete against each other. In order to ensure that there is a balanced turnout and that all countries and linguistic areas are equally represented, the prize's selection mechanisms stipulate a three-year regime (2009–2011, 2012–2014, 2015–2017, 2019–2022) in which the participating countries are organised into relatively stable groups that are routinely represented in each cycle.[5] Because all countries taking part in their allocated edition are awarded the prize, the nominees only compete against other nominated writers from the same country of origin. Thus, rather than referring to the prize in the singular we could just as well speak of the European Union Prizes for Literature, since the participating countries not only have equal conditions

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3 For more information on candidate countries and potential candidates, see https://ec.eu ropa.eu/environment/enlarg/candidates.htm.

4 On European-language metaphors of translation, see St. André (2007).

5 The EUPL organisers recently announced a new format for the 2022–2024 cycle in a press release issued on 3 February 2022: "Initial book selection for each participating country will be conducted by national organisations, each entitled to submit one book that is of high literary quality with potential for translatability. A second round of selection will be conducted by a seven-member European jury, who will thus select an overall Prize winner and five special mention awards. The authors whose works win these new categories will be awarded a financial prize, half of which will include a grant to support translations of their winning books. [. . .] The three-year cycle will be maintained, with approximately one third of all countries participating in the EU's Creative Europe programme represented each year" ("Press release"). While keeping the nation-specific selection processes and a rotating award cycle, the new EUPL cycle introduces (a measure of) competition and a hierarchy of distinction (1 winner, 5 special mention awards, approximately 14 nominees). By awarding a financial prize that includes a grant to support translation, the new format of the EUPL continues to promote the dissemination of European values through the dual mechanisms of consecration and translation support discussed in this article.

and are subject to the same selection rules but also enjoy equal benefits; every country wins eventually and at predictable intervals.

This model of prizes within the prize sets the EUPL apart from other Europe-based, supranational literary consecration institutions such as the Nobel Prize in Literature, the International Booker Prize, and the European Book Prize, each of which ultimately rely on a single panel of judges who generally confer a single, yearly award on one book and author. Of the three prizes we will discuss, the European Book Prize can be seen as most analogous to the EUPL. First awarded in 2007, it arrived on the European literary scene more or less contemporaneously with the EUPL. Like the EUPL, it shares a formal and ideological affiliation with the European Union and has similar aims "to promote European values and contribute to a better understanding of the European Union by its citizens" (Barnes 2011). It is run by *Esprit d'Europe*, an organisation whose ethos is captured well by a now-famous remark made by its inaugural chairman and the initiator of the prize, Jacques Delors: "We have made Europe, now we must make Europeans." The scope of the prize is similar to the EUPL, with the important distinction that only books from the 27 EU member states are considered, thus excluding candidate countries and countries in the European Neighbourhood (precisely the countries privileged by the EUPL). Books may be submitted in their original language or in translation, and in one of two categories: the quintessentially French *essai* and *romans et recits* (novels and narratives). From the body of submitted works, a longlist is distilled (approximately 50 *essais* and 50 novels) by the Paris-based organisers, which is subsequently submitted to a 'sponsorship committee' populated with eminent European writers and politicians. Their shortlists (usually seven works for each of the two categories) are then handed over to a jury consisting of 10–12 European journalists and writers, who choose a winner for each category. The prize's proximity to the cultural centre of Paris (and, via its sponsorship committee, the political centre of Brussels) and its organisational structure dominated by the *Esprit d'Europe* make the European Book Prize much more francocentric than the EUPL: Francophone writers are overrepresented in the longlists for the prize, juries tend to be predominantly francophone, and deliberations are carried out in French. More laureates wrote in French than in any other language (6 out of 26) and the diversity of languages represented is much more limited in comparison to the EUPL (11 as compared to 40). Furthermore, unlike the EUPL, the European Book Prize does not actively support the dissemination of winning books in other European languages through translation and international promotion.

The EUPL is also distinct from the two most prestigious Europe-based supranational literary prizes: the Nobel Prize in Literature, which places the emphasis on the whole oeuvre or trajectory of well-known authors, and the International

Booker Prize, which prizes a specific work. Although prizes "cannot be understood strictly in terms of calculation and dealmaking" (English 2008, 7), since they cannot be purchased, it is undeniable that the monetary incentives offered both by the Nobel and the Booker contribute to their prestige, making the price the prize (126). Interestingly, the official website of the EUPL does not include any reference to prize money, although the laureates each receive a 5,000-euro cash prize (totalling 55,000–70,000 euros in prize money per year, counting all laureates) alongside institutional support for the translation and promotion of their work. For its part, the European Book Prize carries a 10,000-euro cash prize.

Like all literary prizes, the EUPL also participates in what English has famously called "the economy of prestige," but the logics of this "symbolic transaction" (4) are not based on unique winners with large stores of symbolic capital, as is often the case for other prizes. Instead, the EUPL–winning writers tend to be young, promising figures, attributes that give an edge of dynamism and innovation to the prize – and to the old continent at the same time. The laureates in turn benefit from the symbolic prestige of the European Union, an entity associated with values such as transparency, peace and democracy, which is reinforced by other consecration institutions beyond the cultural domain.[6] As François Foret and Oriane Calligaro note, the acceptance of a prize "means that the recipient acknowledges the values associated to it", so that "the prize creates a symbolic association between the two parts" (2017, 1336). By offering opportunities to lesser-known authors and replicating itself according to the number of participating countries, the EUPL disguises the transactional, evaluative nature of prizes behind its inclusionary mechanisms. Whereas the exclusive nature of the Nobel and the Booker International reflects the corporate origins of both prizes by reinforcing the principle of competition and scarcity that characterises the capitalist market, such a display of rivalry would be problematic for a prize representing a public institution such as the European Union, whose main goal is to "enhance economic, social and territorial cohesion and solidarity among EU countries" and to provide equal opportunities and rights to all citizens ("Aims and Values"). As mentioned before, despite being a supranational prize, the EUPL does not really stimulate international competition, i.e., competition between nations. It limits participation to 42 countries in and around Europe and prizes each of these countries' singularity equally. The EUPL furthermore uses translation, international circulation, and the promise of long-term (international) success as markers to distinguish itself from the traditionally more canonical prizes awarded by participating member states on a national level, such as

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6 The European Union was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2012. More recently, in 2017, it received the Princess of Asturias Award for Concord.

the Prix Goncourt, the Premio Miguel de Cervantes, the Libris Literatuurprijs or the Deutscher Buchpreis (to name just a few), which are typically oriented towards their respective language-specific markets.[7] The reasons for favouring budding writers over established ones are thus not just symbolic, but also material.

In addition to plotting the EUPL alongside other European prizing institutions, we must also situate the prize in the global translation system. Translation, like prizing, is a vector of symbolic and economic capital; it is both a technique of generating prestige and a prerequisite for economically exploiting a book in new language markets. In her seminal study *The World Republic of Letters* (2004), Pascale Casanova analyses the formation of a world literary space from the sixteenth century onwards in which national literatures compete against each other for international recognition. The geography of the world republic of letters is based on the opposition between the centres of consecration, Paris, and the periphery; the further away the dominated spaces find themselves from the centre and its aesthetic values – a benchmark that Casanova calls "the Greenwich meridian of literature" (88) – the more unlikely it is for them to gain international prestige. Although Casanova's account has been criticised for being too francocentric and depriving the periphery of aesthetic innovation and sovereignty, her perspective has been crucial in shaping a vision of literature and culture as politically charged and as sources of soft power. Whereas Casanova makes very clear that "[t]he world republic of letters is in fact something quite different from the received view of literature as a peaceful domain" (12), the EUPL ostensibly presents the literary contest between the participating countries as an exchange between equals, almost removed from the asymmetric power relations that characterise the global (and European) arena. One of the explicit goals of the EUPL, as mentioned, is the promotion of "non-national" works, a rather ambiguous term that is not specifically defined but which seems to imply that literary texts are produced beyond the strictures of the nation-state, in a common European space free of borders and geopolitical hierarchies. This stands in contradiction with the organisation of the prize around national countries. It also obscures the selection criteria for the nominated writers, which stipulate that "the author must have the nationality or be a permanent resident of the country participating in the year edition" (EUPL). Belonging to the nation-state, moreover, requires the use of the national language(s), a linguistic affiliation that excludes multilingual writers or (migrant) writers belonging to cultural and social minorities that are not officially recognised by the nation-state:

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7 However, winning a national prize certainly improves a book's chances of being selected for translation, as Gisèle Sapiro (2015) has shown in her study of Goncourt winners in English translation.

"The book eligible for the EUPL jury deliberations must be written in a language/s officially recognised by that country (officially recognised languages are those defined by the Constitution or the relevant national law of the respective country)" (EUPL). A first step for juries in officially multilingual countries is then to decide which of the country's official languages will be prized over others. The Belgian solution has been to alternate between Dutch and French, leaving the country's third official language, German, out of the mix. Spain, which recognises Catalan, Galician, and Basque as co-official languages in the autonomous regions in which they are spoken alongside Spanish, has only recently elevated a winner writing in a language other than Spanish: Irene Solà's *Canto jo i la muntanya balla*, written in Catalan, won Spain's EUPL in 2020. Other officially multilingual countries like Cyprus, Ireland, and Montenegro have consistently opted to award only one of its various official languages (Greek, English and Montenegrin, respectively). How to square these national language policies with the EUPL's emphasis on the "non-national"? Such questions are not just rhetorical: in a Europe characterised by open borders and intercultural exchange, virtually all EUPL winners had developed professional or personal ties outside their home country by the time they received the award, and many (no less than 54, or 36 percent of the winners' pool, according to our count) either currently live in a country that is not their country of birth or have lived substantial parts of their lives abroad. Despite the multicultural profile of the winners, which helps reinforce the linkages between the European Union and the value of cultural diversity, the scope of such intercultural exchange is limited. How much room does a "non-national" focus really offer for, say, a German-Turkish author writing in Turkish who was born in Berlin and does not have the Turkish nationality, or a writer such as Sulaiman Addonia, who was born in Eritrea, lives in Brussels and writes mainly in English?

The equality presumed between the participating countries is also at odds with the language hierarchies that shape the circulation of literary texts and the balance of power between the languages and countries that form the global translation system. As sociologists of translation have demonstrated, literary texts travel mainly in translation, and the world translation system displays a clear centre-periphery structure in terms of translation flows: a small number of languages supply the vast majority of source texts for translation. No less than three out of every five books translated worldwide in recent decades were from English, while German and French each contributed about ten percent of the world's source texts for translated literary works (Brisset 2017, 267). These 'central' languages are followed by several 'semi-central' languages (Russian, Spanish, Italian and Swedish), each of which supply one to three percent of source texts. With a share of one percent or less, all other languages can be said to occupy a peripheral position (Heilbron 1999). Another characteristic of

this centre-periphery structure has to do with the relative proportion of incoming and outgoing translations in a language or country: centrality implies that many translations are made out of that language, while relatively few translations are made into it. In the US and UK, only three percent of all published books are translations. In France and Germany, that number is somewhat higher, between twelve and eighteen percent of national book production (van Es and Heilbron 2015, 295). In peripheral languages, the share of translations in national book production is much higher; in the Dutch-language market, for instance, a language that supplies just under one percent of the world's source texts for book translations, about one in three books are translations from other languages (McMartin 2020). Interestingly, the Creative Europe translation policy explicitly prioritises translation into the central and semi-central languages of English, German, French and Spanish, "as these contribute to a wider circulation of the works", particularly between "less-used" languages ("Support to Literary Translation Projects").[8]

These systemic asymmetries are so pronounced that success for the emerging writer, especially writers working from peripheral languages (which is the case for 111 of the 148 EUPL laureates), is synonymous with having one's work translated. Translation is, of course, a crucial vector of transnational symbolic value for any author. It is also a form of literary consecration in its own right because when a book is selected for translation, the symbolic capital of its target publisher(s) and language(s) is added to that of the original work and its makers (Casanova 2010). The more central a language, the more endowed it is with a power of consecration in the transnational literary field, with translation into English (and to a lesser extent French and German) representing a major step in an emerging author's consecration on the international scene (Sapiro 2014, 8). As for target publishers evaluating whether to acquire and translate a book from another language, the centrality of the source language is an important selection criterion alongside others, including the symbolic capital of the source publisher, sales in the home market, prizes won at the national level, and whether other works by the same author have also been translated. The EUPL has internalised many of these criteria in its own selection mechanisms: before a writer is considered for the prize, they must "have published between

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8 Our analysis of the translation deals reported on the EUPL website shows that 85 of the 148 winning books (57 percent) found a publisher in at least one of these four priority languages, 46 found an English publisher (31 percent), 33 found a German publisher (22 percent), 39 found a French publisher (26 percent), and 43 found a Spanish publisher (29 percent). Eight found a publisher in all four priority languages (5 percent). Without meticulous qualitative research into each book's international career, it is impossible to comment on the indirect effects these translations may have had on stimulating translations in other (peripheral) languages.

2–4 fiction books" and have been translated in no more than four languages ("Selection Rules"). Virtually all EUPL laureates received one or more national awards before winning the EUPL. In other words, EUPL hopefuls must have already achieved a measure of national and transnational consecration.

3 Diversity in Practice: Winners' Profiles, Promotional Activities and Translation Flows

So far, we have situated the EUPL in the transnational literary field and discussed how European notions of diversity, equality and intercultural dialogue find expression in the organisational structure of the prize. We turn now to (1) how these values are embodied in the social makeup of the group of 148 EUPL laureates and inscribed their literary works, and (2) how the EUPL goes about its mission "to promote the circulation of literature within Europe" in practice (EUPL).

While an exhaustive sociological analysis is beyond the scope of this chapter, we can glean an impression of the social makeup of the pool of EUPL winners from information published on the EUPL website. We looked especially at four parameters that have a bearing on diversity broadly defined: the author's country of origin, the source language of the winning book, the author's gender, and the author's professional background. The diversity of countries and languages represented in the winners' pool is a direct result of the EUPL's policy of prizing the singularity of each participating country equally and on a rotating basis: overall, 42 countries and 40 languages are represented, and no single country has seen more than four winners. The slight language asymmetries apparent in the overall list, with German (12 winners), English (8), Greek (8), French (6) and Dutch (6) relatively more represented than other languages, are nowhere near as pronounced as they are in the world translation system at large. This, too, is a function of the EUPL's prizing model: only those languages that are officially recognised in more than one participating country stand to accumulate more prizes than other languages (Germany, Luxembourg, and Austria for the awarded German-language books; the UK and Ireland for the English-language books; Greece and Cyprus for the Greek-language books; France and French-speaking Belgium for the French-language books; and the Netherlands and Dutch-speaking Belgium for the Dutch-language books.) Those languages with fewer than four winners are lower on the list because the countries that claim them joined the Creative Europe programme later than the others. In terms of gender diversity, the winners' pool is more or less in parity, with 77 male winners (52 percent) and 71 female winners (48 percent). Although the

EUPL does not explicitly enforce a gender quota, gender equality is an important political priority for the EU, and this is clearly reflected in the winners' pool. In terms of professional background, winners' self-descriptions showed much variation. Our analysis of the biographical sketches published on the EUPL website revealed that only 11 percent of winners identified themselves as writers only. Most combined writing with other professional roles, the most common additional occupations being teacher/academic (26 percent), journalist/media professional (24 percent), performing/audiovisual artist (24 percent), and translator (19 percent).[9] This reflects the economic reality that making a living with one's writing alone, particularly for emerging writers, is rather the exception than the rule. It also indicates the extent to which the literary, academic, media, and creative fields are interconnected through the multiple roles taken up by Europe's culture workers.

Turning from the writers to their literary works, we observe that, although the winning books cover a wide range of themes, there is little generic diversity in the list overall. The EUPL mostly prizes novels (121, of which 22 were historical novels), followed at a distance by short stories (23) and crime fiction (5). This can be related back to the EUPL's exclusive focus on fiction (and the enduring dominance of the novel within that category), as specified in its mission statement. However, a closer analysis of the winning books' *thematic* diversity reveals the political work performed by the EUPL through prizing: although – or precisely because – the selection rules for eligible books do not establish any thematic criteria beyond 'fiction', the repeated emphasis on topics such as European history, migration or social conflicts points towards an implicit bias for stories that reflect the political agenda of the institution giving the prize. Awarded works such as Maxim Grigoriev's *Europa* (EUPL Sweden 2021), a novel about emigration and exile set between Russia and Paris; Matthias Nawrat's *Der traurige Gast* (EUPL Germany 2020), based on the 2016 terrorist attack in Berlin; Giovanni Dozzini's *E Baboucar guidava la fila* (EUPL Italy 2019), describing the situation of four asylum seekers in Italy after crossing half of Africa and the Mediterranean; Kallia Papadaki's *Δενδρίτες* (EUPL Greece 2017), a story about Greek and Puerto Rican immigration in New York; or Antonis Georgiou's *Ένα άλπουμ ιστορίες* (EUPL Cyprus 2016), a short story collection about refugees and emigration, to just name a few, highlight the importance of intercultural dialogue, solidarity and tolerance to overcome social injustice, conflict and discrimination. Other works underwrite the importance of cultural heritage

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9 Many winners self-reported multiple roles. The roles presented here are not mutually exclusive of each other.

by showcasing the diverse historical, linguistic, and cultural specificities in varied European contexts. Examples include Sigrún Pálsdóttir's *Delluferðin* (EUPL Iceland 2021), a novel about the preservation of a cultural treasure in nineteenth-century Iceland and New York; Anja Mugerli's *Čebelja družina* (EUPL Slovenia 2021), a collection of short stories centred around rituals, ancient customs and traditions of Slovenian culture; Irene Solà's previously mentioned *Canto jo i la muntanya balla* (EUPL Spain 2020), a novel written in Catalan inspired by the traditional legends and history of the Pyrenees; Made Luiga's *Poola Poisid* (EUPL Estonia 2020), a bildungsroman set in socialist Poland and inspired by the cultural group ZA/UM in Estonia, and Jan Carson's *The Fire Starters* (EUPL Ireland 2019), a novel about two fathers living in Belfast during a summer of deep discontent and social unrest.

Each of these books are material carriers of EU-endorsed European values in narrative form, and this awareness adds a political valency to the EUPL's stated aim "to promote the circulation of literature within Europe". In practice, the EUPL carries this out by adopting commercial techniques commonly used by publishing professionals: a highly polished website with promotional texts about each winning author and book, contact information for the source publisher and rights controller, a list of past translation deals, excerpts from the book, and a sleekly edited video biography of the author. The excerpts are provided both in the source language and in English or, less commonly, French translation. These are essentially sample translations, an indirect translation aid commonly used in translation publishing to overcome the language barrier separating a rights holder and a perspective publisher who does not read the source language. All this information is also made available in print form in attractively designed yearly "European Stories" anthologies. Taken together, the website and anthologies amount to catalogues similar to the websites and booklets produced by publishers to showcase their lists. By tailoring its messaging to prospective publishers in this way, and by doing so in a highly professionalised manner, the EUPL participates in a larger trend in translation publishing whereby state actors assume a 'double agent' mediating role that deploys cultural diplomacy in market-savvy forms (cf. Heilbron and Sapiro 2018; McMartin 2019). These promotional activities are augmented with translation subsidies: "[e]ncouraging the translation and promotion of books which have won the EU Prize for Literature" is a stated policy priority of the Creative Europe programme (Creative Europe), and translation grant applications for EUPL-winning books are automatically allotted more points in the allocation mechanism than non-winners (Meijen 2020, 951).

Clearly, EUPL consecration and promotion practices have a real impact on translation flows: after benefiting from prizing and promotion by the EUPL,

winning books found their way to nine target languages on average. The most widely translated source languages (in terms of number of target languages reached) were German (121, 10 percent of all translation deals), English (84, 7 percent), Finnish (59, 5 percent), Dutch (58, 5 percent), French (53, 4 percent), and Greek (52, 4 percent).[10] These figures illustrate once again that the EUPL's prizing model effectively mutes systemic dynamics that would otherwise privilege central and semi-central source languages over others. In fact, the most widely translated EUPL-winning book belongs to one of Europe's most peripheral languages: Goce Smilevski's Сестрата на Зигмунд Фројд (EUPL Macedonia 2010), written in Macedonian, has been translated into 28 languages. Shares of outgoing translations are widely distributed across source languages, with most languages accounting for between 2–4 percent of the overall total.

Turning to the receiving side of the translation rights transaction, an interesting constellation of target languages emerges that reveal just how much the political contours of European integration are reflected in EUPL-initiated translation flows (See Tab. 2 and Tab. 3.). No less than 71 percent – nearly three out of four – of all translations of EUPL-winning books were published in languages claimed by countries that are either new EU member states (since 2004), candidate countries, or ENP countries. 81 percent (!) of the list of EUPL-winning books has been translated into Bulgarian, the official language of new EU member state Bulgaria (since 2007). We found similarly high figures for Serbian (76 percent), the official language of Serbia, a candidate country and a language widely spoken in Montenegro, another candidate country; Macedonian (76 percent), the official language of candidate country Northern Macedonia; Croatian (64 percent), the official language of new EU member state Croatia (since 2013) and a language widely spoken in candidate country Montenegro; and Albanian (61 percent), the official language of candidate country Albania. By comparison, the languages claimed by the founder countries plus the UK, which include English, French, German, Italian and Dutch, accounted for just 19 percent of all translations.

In sum, linking source and target, we found that EUPL-initiated translation flows originated in more or less equal proportion in the 40 languages of the participating countries and overwhelmingly tended to accumulate in target

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10 The data analysed in this section was scraped from the EUPL website, which contains information about the translation deals secured for each winning book as well as details about source language, name and national grouping of target publishers, and biographical information about winning authors. This information was manually parsed into metadata categories (*inter alia*: source country, source language, target country, target language) to enable analysis of translation flows.

Tab. 2: Target languages for translated EUPL-winning books and EU membership status of target publishers' country of origin.

Target language	translation deals #	EUPL-winning titles translated %	Membership status (Country)
Bulgarian	110	81%	member since 2007 (Bulgaria)
Serbian	103	76%	candidate country, applied in 2009, entry possible by 2025 (Serbia), candidate country (Montenegro)
Macedonian	102	76%	candidate country beginning in 2005, approved 2020, accession pending (Northern Macedonia)
Croatian	86	64%	member since 2013 (Croatia); candidate country (Montenegro)
Albanian	83	61%	candidate country since 2014 (Albania)
Hungarian	76	56%	member since 2004 (Hungary)
Italian	75	56%	founder (Italy)
Polish	55	41%	member since 2004 (Poland)
English	51	38%	member since 1973, ceased to be a member in 2020 (United Kingdom)
Slovenian	47	35%	member since 2004 (Slovenia)
Spanish	45	33%	member since 1986 (Spain)
Czech	42	31%	member since 2004 (Czech Republic)
French	39	29%	founder (France)
German	33	24%	founder (Germany); founder (Luxembourg); founder (Belgium); member since 1995 (Austria)
Dutch	31	23%	founder (Netherlands); founder (Belgium)
Greek	30	22%	member since 1981 (Greece)
Latvian	25	19%	member since 2004 (Latvia)
Georgian	19	14%	European Neighbourhood Policy country (Georgia)
Romanian	19	14%	member since 2007 (Romania)
Turkish	19	14%	candidate country since in 2005 (Turkey)

Tab. 2 (continued)

Target language	translation deals #	EUPL-winning titles translated %	Membership status (Country)
Lithuanian	14	10%	member since 2004 (Lithuania)
Arabic	12	9%	European Neighbourhood Policy country (Algeria, Morocco, Egypt, Lebanon, Libya, Palestine, Syria, Tunisia)
Norwegian	10	7%	member of the European Economic Area
Swedish	10	7%	member since 1995 (Sweden)
Ukrainian	10	7%	European Neighbourhood Policy country, planning to apply in 2024, entry possible in the 2030s (Ukraine)
Portuguese	8	6%	member since 1986 (Portugal)
Finnish	7	5%	member since 1995 (Finland)
Bosnian	6	4%	potential candidate, applied in 2016 (Bosnia and Herzegovina)
Estonian	6	4%	member since 2004 (Estonia)
Russian	6	4%	party to EU-Russia Common Spaces (Russia)
Hebrew	5	4%	European Neighbourhood Policy country (Israel)
Slovak	5	4%	member since 2004 (Slovakia)
Icelandic	4	3%	member of the European Economic Area (Iceland)
Korean	4	3%	no official status (South Korea)
Danish	3	2%	member since 1973 (Denmark)
Faroese	3	2%	no official status
Chinese	3	2%	no official status
Catalan	2	1%	member since 1986 (Spain)
Hindi	2	1%	no official status
Japanese	2	1%	no official status
Malayalam	2	1%	no official status

Tab. 2 (continued)

Target language	translation deals #	EUPL-winning titles translated %	Membership status (Country)
Moldovan	2	1%	European Neighbourhood Policy country, treatied relations with EU since 2014 (Moldova)
Amharic	1	1%	no official status
Azerbaijani	1	1%	European Neighbourhood Policy country (Azerbaijan)
Basque	1	1%	member since 1986 (Spain)
Persian	1	1%	no official status
Galician	1	1%	member since 1986 (Spain)
Armenian	1	1%	European Neighbourhood Policy country (Armenia)
Maltese	1	1%	member since 2004
Mongolian	1	1%	no official status
Urdu	1	1%	no official status
Total translation deals	1225		
Total winning books (2009–2021)	135		
Aver. # translation deals per winning book	9		

Tab. 3: Translation deals sorted by EU membership status of target publishers' country of origin.

Membership status	translation deals #	translation deals %
Candidate countries	313	26%
ENP countries	56	5%
2013 accession	86	7%
2007 accession	129	11%
2004 accession	271	22%
1995 accession	17	1%
1986 accession	57	5%
1981 accession	30	2%
1973 accession	3	0%
Founder countries	178	15%
No official status	20	2%
Former member states (UK)	51	4%
EEA member states (Iceland and Norway)	14	1%
TOTAL	**1225**	**100%**

languages belonging to those countries most directly implicated in EU's enlargement policy. This finding is not random; rather, it shows that the relationship between the EU's enlargement policy, the EUPL's prizing and translation promotion practices, and the contemporary circulation of European literature are intimately imbricated.

4 Coda: Celebrating European Values at the 10th Anniversary of the EUPL – The *European Stories* Anthology from 2018

The varied meanings of diversity also materialise in the *European Stories: Winners Write Europe* anthology from 2018. This is a special anthology featuring 36 stories from former EUPL winners who participated in the contest "A European

Story: European Union Prize for Literature Winners Write Europe". This event was organised for the tenth anniversary of the EUPL in 2018, which coincides with the European Year of Cultural Heritage, as Tibor Navracsics, former European Commissioner for Education, Youth and Sport, explains in the foreword. In his statement, European diversity is understood as the sum of national differences. Indeed, Navracsics mentions the "108 talented authors from 37 different countries" that have received the EUPL up to 2018, all of them "writing in their national languages" and representing "Europe's linguistic and cultural diversity" (Navracsics 2018, 4). This diversity, however, "makes it difficult for cultural works to circulate across borders", which is why the EUPL relies both on the power of literature to "build communities" and the practice of translation to overcome linguistic differences to emphasise unity and a shared European identity (4). At the end of the foreword, Navracsics also introduces another meaning of diversity, related to minority languages and cultures, by pointing to the importance of promoting literature "written in less-used languages" (4).

Although the most recent meaning of diversity associated with intercultural dialogue and multiculturalism is not foregrounded in the paratextual material, it is very much present in the texts submitted for the contest, particularly in the four stories that won the anniversary prize. In this regard, the 2018 edition of the EUPL is quite different from other editions, since it encourages competition between writers from different nations for the first time. Another significant difference concerns the jury composition. While in previous editions the laureates were selected by the respective national juries, this time the winners were nominated by three different juries of mixed nationalities: a professional, a public and a political jury. The professional jury was "made up of distinguished experts from the field of literature, including literary critics, journalists, authors as well as booksellers" from Portugal, Germany, Spain, United Kingdom, Greece and Belgium (EUPL Winners, 84). Apart from selecting their favourite story ("A Voice", by the Romanian author Ioana Pârvulescu), the members of the professional jury were also "invited to give a special mention to the best short story fiction in which European heritage plays a significant role" (84). This special prize went to the story "When I Left 'Karl Liebknecht'", by Lidija Dimkovska, an author from North Macedonia. Through the EUPL website, the public jury was also able to cast a vote for their favourite story, Jelena Lengold's "Jasmine and Death" (Serbia). The texts of the 36 participants were made available in advance in a publication that was "accessible also to print disabled persons" and "contained both original texts and English translations" (84). By letting the public have their say and reinforcing the inclusive nature of the prize in this way, the EUPL used the nomination process to play on typically European values such as transparency and democracy. While the professional and public jury selected only one winning story (except for the profes-

jury's special mention for cultural heritage), the MEP's jury, made of several members of the European Parliament, elevated two stories: "European Clouds", by Jean Back and "Current Weather Warning: Predominantly Heavy Fog", by Gast Groeber. The implication of the European Parliament in the nomination process reflects the political valences of literature and of prizes in particular. It is significant, given the EUPL's usual' model, that both winners share the same nationality (Luxembourg). Although the names of the MEP's participating in the nomination are not revealed, the afterword of the winners' anthology mentions that the initiative "was spearheaded by Ms Petra Kammerevert, Chair of the European Parliament's Committee on Culture and Education" (84). Despite being selected from different juries with different profiles, all winning stories centre around European values of democracy and diversity and belong amongst the most politically explicit in the volume.

Ioana Pârvulescu's "A Voice" is a literary homage to the Romanian journalist Monica Lovinescu, the daughter of Eugen Lovinescu, who fled to Paris before the establishment of Ceausescu's Communist regime and became a famous broadcaster and the voice of freedom for many Romanians during the Cold War. According to the jury, the text presents "a theme with an important moral purpose about Europe before and after the Cold War" (85). While recovering the collective memory of dictatorship and hence the negative aspects of cultural heritage, the story primarily associates Europe and the EU with open borders. The text is situated between Paris and an Eastern European country, presumably Romania, and narrates the encounter between Lovinescu, who returns to her home country for the first time after many years in exile, and a young woman working as passport controller at the airport, who recognises Lovinescu's voice and bursts into tears when she realises that Romania is now a free country. This intergenerational encounter symbolises the continuity of European values such as freedom, democracy, and solidarity across temporal and geographical boundaries.

The story awarded a special mention for cultural heritage, Dimkovska's "When I Left Karl Liebknecht", similarly associates the European Union with freedom and refuge. According to the jury, it "shows how citizens of various European countries are linked by shared knowledge" (85). The text tells the stories of five migrants who used to live in different streets named after Karl Liebknecht. Escaping from political persecution or economic misery, their stories present an overall positive account of the migrant experience. While the countries outside the EU where the protagonists originally come from are associated with political unrest and instability, the EU is equated with success, peace and security, the only exception being the testimonial of a young German woman who becomes homeless but manages to start a new life in the US. Moreover, because some of the protagonists who find refuge in Europe belong to linguistic or ethnic minorities – such as the boy from Transnistria, who flees to Bucharest

after being the victim of a terrorist attack, or the couple from Crimea belonging to the ethnic minority of the Tatars –, the EU is presented as particularly welcoming towards minorities, a form of hospitality that plays on the association between cultural heritage and regional diversity. The text also evokes the notion of diversity as intercultural dialogue by including explicit references to the refugees of the Syrian civil war who now seek asylum in Europe, a situation which is compared to those of the Jews during the Holocaust (28). By recalling the negative aspects of European cultural heritage, the text calls on intercultural dialogue and solidarity to redeem the mistakes of the past.

Gast Groeber's "Current Weather Warning: Predominantly Heavy Fog" also mobilises the refugee crisis to praise intercultural dialogue. It tells the story of a truck driver from Tallinn, who helps a refugee boy hiding in his vehicle to settle in Europe. It is significant that this story of friendship and solidarity – in analogy with many of the arrival destinations in Dimkovska's "When I Left Karl Liebknecht" – is located in Eastern Europe, implicitly erasing the fault line dividing Western Europe on the one hand and the Balkan and Baltic states on the other concerning the refugee question (cf. Meijen 2020, 948). The other story awarded with the MEP's prize, Jean Back's "European Clouds", takes place against a backdrop of deepening economic crisis that increases the tensions between Europeans and provokes hostility against the less affluent European communities in Luxembourg: "The EU is going bankrupt. Should stay home. Gipsies, the lot of them" (12). Despite the rise of nationalism that jeopardises the European project, the story ends with a celebration of democracy, open borders and national diversity. These principles are embodied by tangible as well as symbolic elements belonging to the European cultural heritage, such as the upcoming local elections that stand for transparency, efficiency and the victory of democracy ("[p]ractical, square, democratic local elections", 13), as well as the varied European products that the protagonist purchases in the supermarket and which represent, rather stereotypically, the diversity of national cultures within the EU: "three bottles of Chianti, two packs of olives from Portugal, one Romanian brandy and at five o'clock there is Barça playing against Red Bull Salzburg. Olé!" (13). This commodification not only turns diversity into a rather innocuous value, but also transforms regional identity (Tuscan wine, Catalan football, a regional Austrian team) into a folkloric theme ready for Europe-wide consumption.

Jelena Lengold's "Jasmine and Death", the short story selected by the public, is perhaps the text that voices the possible pitfalls of intercultural dialogue in a most explicit way. It recounts a passionate long-distance relationship spanning European countries that risks coming to an end when the first-person narrator embarks on a plane to visit her boyfriend. Sitting next to her is Ahmed, a "darkskinned man" whom she believes to be a terrorist (61). Her fears of dying on the

plane prove irrational, and she arrives safely to her destination, wondering "where we would go next, when we touch the earth, Ahmed and me" (65). While revealing the misunderstandings and racial prejudices that complicate intercultural dialogue, Lengold's text celebrates multiculturalism by pointing to a possible friendship or even love affair across linguistic and cultural borders.

These vignettes demonstrate how the 2018 *European Stories* anthology legitimises European values by prizing those stories dealing with topics such as diversity, multiculturalism, democracy and freedom. While the texts hint at the negative aspects of Europe, such as the financial crisis, disagreements between the member states, the rise of nationalism, or the lack of a comprehensive EU migration and asylum policy, their main goal is to celebrate European integration and identity. Without questioning the importance of promoting tolerance and pluralism, such oversimplified, unidimensional accounts of the European experience risk turning the European project into a happy-end fairy-tale that is far removed from the daily experiences of many Europeans and – more acutely – the harsh realities faced by the many migrants to Europe who find themselves in a precarious social and legal position. That past EUPL winners were the writers solicited to build the *European Stories* narrative tapestry points once again to the EUPL's overlapping literary and political priorities.

5 Conclusion

Through a combination of contextual, quantitative and (para)textual analysis, this chapter explored the impact of European values on the EUPL's organisational makeup, winners' profiles, translation flows and textual dynamics and put a finger on the double-edged ambivalences of prizing and translation as main consecratory strategies in the cultural field. Both serve to enhance a literary work's symbolic and economic value and tend to amplify one another, a dynamic EUPL organisers are keen to exploit: having been translated into no more than four languages was a prerequisite for consideration; and once prized with the EUPL, winning books found publishers in an average of nine new languages. Each EUPL-consecrated work is also a carrier of political value(s), as demonstrated by the thematic analysis of the winning texts in the European Stories anthology. Although mutually imbricated in this way, prizing and translation are often at odds with each other and function as centripetal and centrifugal forces respectively when it comes to notions of linguistic and cultural diversity. In the context of the EUPL, translation creates a centrifugal movement that contributes significantly to the diversification of European literature beyond the dominance of Western European canonical works from

major cultural and political powers such as Britain, Germany, France, Spain, or Italy and the (semi-)central languages they claim. Our analysis of the EUPL-initiated translation rights sales suggests that while translation into the central languages of English, French and German is valued by the EUPL and a proportion of EUPL winners find their way into those languages, it is target publishers in the (semi-)peripheral languages and countries keen to benefit from European integration that are most inclined to translate EUPL winners. Indeed, 71 percent of all translations of EUPL-winning books were published by publishers in countries that are either new member states, candidate countries, or ENP countries.

Whereas translation was in our case a centrifugal force for dissemination and diversification, prizing strengthened the centripetal force of the nation-state and of the supranational institution that unites Europe's national states, the European Union. Despite its aim to promote "non-national" literary works, the EUPL's organisation in national juries, replication of annual awards according to the number of participating countries, exclusion of potential authors lacking the nationality of the participating countries or writing in a language that is not officially recognised, and simplification of the winners' multicultural profile to a single country of origin all end up reinforcing national categories. The strictures of the prize have clear textual implications on the rather predictable ways in which emerging European writers engage with the topic of European diversity, as shown in our analysis of the *European Stories: Winners Write Europe* anthology from 2018, in which cultural heritage, peacemaking and consumable national differences become the archetypes of the European motto of "United in diversity". Future studies on culture as a form of soft power arising from this volume's contribution should therefore not only consider the ways in which political institutions foster cultural relations and international integration, but also how literature and other media register the presence of such mechanisms and actively shape the contours of cultural policy and diplomacy.

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