

Conferencing the International Spaces of Modern Internationalism

18th & 19th December 2018

Education Centre, Royal Geographical Society
1 Kensington Gore, London, SW7 2AR

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Full programme

09:00-10:40, Tuesday 18th December

Session 1: Science & Knowledge (Chair: Stephen Legg)

Martin Mahony

Conferencing the aerial future

This paper investigates the conference as a space of performance and “world building”. Moving between the Imperial Conferences of 1926 and 1930, and an intervening Conference of Empire Meteorologists, it examines how a new science and technology of atmospheric mobility was called into being by the affordances of conferencing. Hopes that the Empire could be tied together by a new system of airship communications required the enrolment of both political and scientific allies in order to make the imperial atmosphere both safe for investment, and safe to traverse. The Conference of Empire Meteorologists allows us to focus on the world building function of conferences – a setting where the difficult, often tedious work of technical harmonisation and standardisation rub up against questions of power and local specificity. The Imperial Conferences, somewhat conversely, throw into relief the role of performance, display and hospitality in the building of political alliances. Following the airship through these very different conference rooms therefore allows us to reflect on what unites and divides different genres of conferencing, and to examine how the sociotechnical work of imperial world building was distributed across the communities of science and politics.

Martin Mahony is a Lecturer in Human Geography at the University of East Anglia (UEA). He completed his PhD at UEA in 2013, before taking up posts at King’s College London and the University of Nottingham. He works on the histories and geographies of atmospheric science and technology, and has published widely on the geographies of knowledge which underpin contemporary climate politics and colonial projects of environmental management. He’s currently working on a book under the tentative title *Knowing Climates: Spaces of Knowledge and Expectation*.

Jessica Reinisch

Laboratories of Cooperation: Scientific Conferences during and after the Second World War

[Abstract and bio to follow]

Dan Clayton & Hannah Fitzpatrick

Countenancing and Conferencing Japan at the Institute of Pacific Relations, 1945-1954

Focusing on the non-partisan Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR, 1925-1960), this paper explores how international conferences articulated places and networks, and suggests that both spatial sensibilities are key to understanding internationalism and international conferencing during the middle decades of the 20th century. On the one hand, international conferences, such as those staged by the IPR every few years, both epitomised and helped to shape a world that was increasingly 'networked' and presided over by experts from different academic and policy backgrounds. On the other hand, particular places (areas, countries, sphere of influence, axes of conflict) became privileged sites of meaning and debate within such networks and called for an expert knowledge and counsel that was based on immersion rather than mobility (ie values of place rather than of networks). We look at the IPR conferences of 1945 (Virginia), 1950 (Lucknow) and 1954 (Kyoto), and how, within the framework of internationalist talk of 'reconstruction', Japan became a focal point of international conversation but also how these international conferences exposed the limits and fissures of the West's way of dealing with reconstruction. The paper considers how IPR National Councils shaped these dynamics. For example: extolled by the French IPR Council as an important example of a society that had successfully fused traditional and modern practices, Japan became a model, albeit a testy model, for how to promote internationalist aspirations of stable and steady material progress after World War II. India was another focal point. But there were ulterior - or less-than-internationalist - motives at work, and we thus treat these conferences as dynamic spaces in which both the excitements and banalities of nationalism and internationalism were constituted and compromised.

Dan Clayton is Senior Lecturer in Geography at the University of St Andrews. He is the author of *Islands of Truth: The Imperial Fashioning of Vancouver Island* (UBC Press, 2000); co-author (with Gavin Bowd) of *Impure and Worldly Geography: Pierre Gourou and Tropicality* (Routledge, 2018); co-editor of journal special issues on "French tropical geographies" (2005), "Continental European geographers and World War II" (2015), and "Geography and Decolonisation" (2019); and the author of a wide array of essays on the historical geography of North America and the Pacific, and the relations between geography and empire. He is co-editor of *The Scottish Geographical Journal*, and is currently working on a project entitled 'The passing of "geography's empire" and question of the geography in decolonisation' (which is the title of an essay that is forthcoming in the *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*).

Hannah Fitzpatrick is currently a University Teacher in Human Geography at the University of Edinburgh. She is a historical and political geographer, with interests in the historical geographies of decolonization, histories of 20th century postcolonial geography, critical cartography and the history of mapping. Her current research examines the history and geography of 20th century territorial partitions. Her PhD thesis was a historical geography of the 1947 partition of India and Pakistan.

11:10-12:50, Tuesday 18th December
Session 2: Post-Colonial Conferencing (Chair: Jake Hodder)

Naoko Shimazu

Conferencing Women at Bandung in 1955

How can we understand the role of women at the Bandung Conference of 1955? What was noticeable at the Bandung Conference, which marked the iconic moment of the newly post-colonial Asian and African diplomacy, was the absence of women as delegates of the twenty-nine states which represented some 1.4 billion people in the world. Nonetheless, if we shift our focus to what is commonly known as the sphere of informal diplomacy, we see many women present in various capacity as hosts, guests and spectators. Why is there such a gap in the way we understand women in scenes of diplomacy? This paper argues that expanding the scope of intellectual enquiry by situating diplomacy in the everyday enables a more flexible understanding of the role of women at the Bandung Conference, and more broadly, in international diplomacy.

Naoko Shimazu DPhil (Oxon) is Professor of Humanities (History) and Associate Dean of Faculty at Yale-NUS College, Singapore. She is a global historian with a regional focus on Asia. Her current major work is a monograph, *Diplomacy as Theatre: The Bandung Conference and the Making of the Third World*. She has published a number of related articles on the 'Diplomacy as Theatre' project, notably in *Modern Asian Studies* and *Political Geography*. Her major publications include *Imagining Japan in Post-war East Asia* (co-editor, Routledge, 2013), *Japanese Society at War: Death, Memory and the Russo-Japanese War* (Cambridge University Press, 2009), *Nationalisms in Japan* (editor, Routledge, 2006), *Japan, Race and Equality: Racial Equality Proposal of 1919* (Routledge, 1998). She is the 2018 Kathleen Fitzpatrick Fellow at the University of Sydney. At the National University of Singapore, she is Honorary Professor at the Department of History and Research Associate at the Asia Research Institute, and being a long standing a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society.

Joanna Crow

Transnational Networks, the Language of Race, and the Inter-American Conference on Indian Life (1938-1948)

In 1937, Miguel Osorio de Almeida of Brazil told the Second Meeting of National Commissions of Intellectual Cooperation in Paris, that Latin Americans had long since been engaged in transnational intellectual exchange, indeed, that they had begun "to do intellectual cooperation before everyone [else]". The First International Conference of American States was held in Washington in 1889. From the 1900s, "race", and particularly the "indigenous question" (how to resolve the cultural, economic, and political marginalisation of indigenous people) was on the agenda, either directly or indirectly, of most of the international (Inter-American, Pan-American, Americanista or other) congresses that took place across the Americas. At the Eighth International Conference of American States, held in Lima, Peru, in 1938, delegates agreed that the issue merited a congress of its own. The First Inter-American Conference on Indian Life took place in

Patzcuaro, Mexico, in 1940; the second was hosted in Cuzco, Peru in 1948. This paper interrogates how these conferences were experienced: the details of who organised them, who attended, how they got to be there, what they did there, how the plenary and discussion sessions were run, and what the social events entailed. It also investigates their repercussions, both in terms of subsequent transnational intellectual conversations and national state policies. In many ways, the conferences replicated the dominant *indigenista* discourse of the day, that is a paternalistic and racist discourse, promoted by non-indigenous intellectuals and politicians, wherein the “Indian” appears as a problem to be resolved, a subject that needed to “civilised” and “modernised”. However, they also opened up spaces for indigenous activists themselves to speak, and – more crucially – provided them with a rights-based language that could be used to put pressure on governments to enact change.

Joanna Crow is Senior Lecturer in Latin American Studies at the University of Bristol. Her previous work focused on the history of indigenous-state relations in Chile: on debates about indigenous rights, on debates about nationhood and nation-building, and on Mapuche activist intellectuals' participation in these debates. Her first monograph, *The Mapuche in Modern Chile: A Cultural History*, was published by University Press of Florida in 2013. She is currently working on a new research project, exploring how ideas about race - and especially about indigeneity - travelled in twentieth-century Latin America. Her most recent article is “Photographic Encounters: Martín Chambi, Indigeneity, and Chile-Peru Relations in the Early Twentieth Century”, published in the *Journal of Latin American Studies* (July 2018).

Su Lin Lewis

Cold War Cosmopolitans: Anti-Colonial and Feminist Solidarity at the Asian Socialist Conference, c. 1953-1956

In the wake of Asian decolonisation, socialist intellectuals across Asia collectively promoted a new vision of Third World socialism and anti-colonial solidarity in the early years of the Cold War. In the early 1950s, leading members of socialist parties from Ghana to Japan convened at two Asian Socialist Conferences, one in Rangoon in 1953, and the second in Bombay in 1956. The conferences promoted democratic socialism as a ‘Third Way’ out of the escalating ideological war between capitalism and communism, and a political model that valued individual freedoms, social security, and equal rights for men and women. The ‘Asian Socialist Conference’ also became a permanent secretariat based in Rangoon, which published important publications to reach Asian as well as African audiences that promoted anti-colonial solidarity and hope for a non-aligned future. This paper examines the way in which Asian socialists drew from the organisational model of the Socialist International and also made a conscious attempt to break away from it. It also focuses, in particular, on the role of European and Asian women socialists in making use of the Asian Socialist Conference to forge new transnational relationships and highlight the centrality of women in promoting socialism across the emerging Third World. Following the failure of the Asian Socialist project, it was women who provided some of the organisation’s most enduring legacies in civil society.

Dr Su Lin Lewis is a Lecturer in Modern Global History at the University of Bristol. She specialises in the social history of cities and civil society in Southeast Asia. Her monograph, *Cities in Motion: Urban Life and Cosmopolitanism in Southeast Asia 1920-1940* was published by Cambridge University Press in 2016 and won the Urban History Association's Prize for Best Book (2015-16). It explores intersecting themes of urban space, associational culture, the press, education, and popular culture in Southeast Asian port-cities. She was the Principal Investigator on the AHRC Research Network on "Afro-Asian Networks in the Early Cold War" (2015-2018) which explores transnational movements of activists, literati, and artists across Asia and Africa in the 1950s and 1960s. The network has published a 'manifesto' on collaborative research around networks of decolonization in *Radical History Review* and has two special issues due to appear in 2019. The network has a vibrant blog on medium.com (Afro-Asian Visions) and is finalising a data visualization of the networks and events that characterized the Afro-Asian Era.

Carolien Stolte

Conferencing for Peace: the 1955 New Delhi conference of Asian Countries

In the early days of April 1955, New Delhi formed the backdrop for a Conference of Asian Countries on the Relaxation of International Tension. It was convened by a diverse group of activists and politicians, many of whom had ties to the World Peace Council, although the conference was not organized under its auspices. And though non-proliferation figured prominently on the agenda, the proceedings show that decolonization was considered a far more pressing concern. Convened just 11 days before the more famous Bandung Conference, it engaged many of the same issues. As a conference, however, it was its mirror opposite. The Delhi conference sought bottom-up, mass-based support for decolonization and nuclear disarmament through a popular manifestation of international solidarity. Gatherings like these blurred the lines between both official and non-official spaces as well as between the Cold War blocs. It is on the edges of the Cold War that the Afro-Asian solidarity movement brings into view the crucial impact of these engagements on the connected processes of decolonization and the Cold War. This paper argues that a hard separation between the state and non-state levels cannot be applied to the Afro-Asian regionalism of the early Cold War. As a gathering that convened both state and non-state actors representing a variety of organizations, this conference sheds light on a brand of peace activism that had less to do with allegiance to Cold War blocs than with a much older anti-imperialist internationalism informed by local roots and local strategies.

Carolien Stolte is an Assistant Professor of History at Leiden University. Her research focuses on South Asian intellectual history in global perspective. She is currently interested in histories of regionalism during decolonization. In 2018 she was awarded an early career grant from the Dutch government for her project "Southern Crossings: Indian activists and the Afro-Asian movement in the early Cold War era". In addition, she co-directs the Afro-Asian Networks project, funded by the AHRC, with Su Lin Lewis of Bristol University. The Afro-Asian Networks project welcomes contributions to its blog at medium.com/afro-asian-visions. Stolte is also Editor-in-Chief of the journal Cambridge University Press journal *Itinerario*. She was a Niels Stensen Postdoctoral Fellow at Harvard University (2014-2015) and currently serves on the Executive Council of the World History Association (2016-2019).

13:50-15:30, Tuesday 18th December
Session 3: International Organisations (Chair: Ruth Slatter)

Wouter Van Acker

**The International Congress-Exhibition Complex of the Urban Internationale.
Legitimization of urban expert knowledge in the early twentieth century.**

Many of the international congresses on urban governance and urban planning in the early twentieth century were complemented with an exhibition that showcased some of the most important urban planning projects or advances in city management. The *Musée Social* was a first manifestation of the exhibition-congress complex, which set out to discuss urban reform and renewal schemes. What became a research institute, was born out of the Social Economy pavilion of the Exposition Universelle in Paris and the first International Housing Congress in 1889. The First Congress of Cities in 1913, out of which the *Union Internationale des Villes* (UIV) emerged, was announced as consisting of three sections, among which Patrick Geddes's Cities and Town Planning Exhibition. The International Federation for Housing and Town Planning (IFHTP) organized a congress and exhibition in Amsterdam in 1924 had the grandeur of a city event. The participants of the fourth *Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne* (CIAM), held on the ship S.S. Patris, sailing from Marseille to Athens, produced analyses of 34 cities, which resulted in the exhibition *The Functional City* in Amsterdam in 1935. This paper will explore through a series of congress-exhibitions organized by the UIV, IFHTP and CIAM how this discursive and visual complex was instrumental in asserting urban expert knowledge collectively in an event-space that merged two late nineteenth century institutions: the museum and the international organization. The paper will examine how the international congress-exhibition was instrumental in acquiring legitimacy through the display of urban expertise and how legitimization informed the political relationships between local authorities, the planning department, and civic society.

Wouter Van Acker is engineer-architect and senior lecturer at the Faculty of Architecture La Cambre Horta at the Université Libre de Bruxelles (ULB) since 2016. He is chair of architectural theory and director of the research group hortence – the laboratory for architectural history, theory and criticism at the ULB. His research focus is the history of epistemology and aesthetics in architecture in the twentieth century, and in particular the relation between changing epistemological models and aesthetic shifts in modernism and post-modernism. His doctoral dissertation (Ghent University, 2011) explored these issues in the visionary schemes for a new architecture of knowledge of the internationalist and encyclopaedist Paul Otlet. He co-edited a book on the Ghent Universal Exhibition of 1913, a special issue of *Library Trends* (61:2) on 'Information and Space: Analogies and Metaphors', *International Organizations and Global Civil Society* (Bloomsbury Academic, 2019), and *Architecture and Ugliness* (Bloomsbury Academic, forthcoming).

Daniel Laqua

Conferencing, Documentation and Global Civil Society: New Perspectives on the Union of International Associations, 1910–1950

Founded in Brussels in 1910, the Union of International Associations (UIA) sought to coordinate ‘international life’ in several ways. While the preparation of congresses and conferences formed a major part of its endeavours until the late 1920s, documentation has remained the more durable strand of its work: to this day, the UIA publishes information on the activities and characteristics of both intergovernmental bodies and NGOs. Rather than providing an institutional overview, this paper revisits the UIA’s history from two perspectives. First, it suggests that the case of this Brussels-based organisation allows us to trace much wider transformations in the field of internationalism, from the Belle Époque to the early Cold War. Secondly, it scrutinises the UIA’s documentation efforts which, to this day, have informed scholarly studies on internationalism and ‘global civil society’ but which require critical interrogation in terms of their underlying assumptions and limitations.

Daniel Laqua is Associate Professor of European History at Northumbria University, Newcastle upon Tyne. His work deals with the history of transnational movements as well as international campaigns and organisations. His publications include *The Age of Internationalism and Belgium, 1880–1930: Peace, Progress and Prestige* (Manchester, 2013), the edited volumes *Internationalism Reconfigured: Transnational Ideas and Movements between the World Wars* (London, 2011) and *International Organizations and Global Civil Society: Histories of the Union of International Associations* (London, 2019) as well as themed journal issues on histories of humanitarianism (*Journal of Modern European History*, 2014), transnational solidarity (*European Review of History*, 2014) and Belgium’s transnational entanglements in the early twentieth century (*Revue Belge de Philologie et d’Histoire*, 2012). Together with Georgina Brewis, he is leading a series of intertwined projects (funded by the Society for Educational Studies and an AHRC World War One Engagement Centre grant) on the impact of the First World War on student life.

Catherine Gibson

Uninvited Delegations: Informal Lobbying by the Estonian and Latvian Representatives during the Paris Peace Conference

Following the end of the First World War, international delegations flocked to Paris in 1919 to discuss the future of Europe. However, not every self-proclaimed state was given a seat at the negotiation table. Due to the uncertain geopolitical status of Bolshevik Russia, the Estonian and Latvian governments were not invited by the Conference organisers to send official delegations to Paris. Nevertheless, nationally-minded Estonian and Latvian politicians sought to take advantage of the Conference to internationalise their cause for independence, monopolise the Allied desire to support anti-Bolshevik and anti-German sentiment in the region, and secure food and monetary loans. They set up offices in Paris and directed their efforts towards influencing the discussion taking place behind closed doors. This paper analyses and compares the informal lobbying strategies employed by the Estonian and Latvian delegations outside of the main Conference events as they

attempted to insert themselves into the conversation. I examine how the delegates cultivated personal networks with important decision-makers among the British, French, and American delegations, organised informal meetings in hotel rooms, and published pamphlets and periodicals to inform the diplomatic community about their states and peoples. In doing so, this paper highlights how international conferences create a space for actors to pursue diverse agendas beyond the official conference programme and provides opportunities for uninvited guests to influence conference proceeding through informal and back-channel activities.

Catherine Gibson is a doctoral researcher at the European University Institute, Florence, Italy. She is co-editor, with Tomasz Kamusella and Motoki Nomachi, of *The Palgrave Handbook of Slavic Languages, Identities, and Borders* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016) and author of *Borders between History and Memory: Latgale's Palimpsestuous Past in Contemporary Latvia* (Tartu University Press, 2016). She has been a visiting doctoral researcher at the University of Latvia in Riga and the University of St Andrews, and a Junior Visiting Fellow at the Herder Institute in Marburg. Her present research focuses on the history of ethnographic cartography in the Baltic provinces of the Russian Empire in the long nineteenth-century.

Mike Heffernan

Mapping Peaceful Change: An Historical Geography of the International Studies Conference, Paris 1937

Agencies linked to the League of Nations, specifically the Paris-based International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation (IIIC), played a central role in the new, interdisciplinary project of 'international studies' that emerged during the 1920s and 1930s, in defiance of the political climate at the time. The IIIC organised twelve International Studies Conferences (ISC) in various European cities during the interwar years, from Berlin in 1928 to Bergen in 1939, at which leading internationalists from academia, politics, journalism and diplomacy debated how a new science of internationalism might help to resolve the great problems of the age, from population growth to economic protectionism. The 1937 Paris ISC, one of dozens of international conferences organised in the French capital to coincide with the *Exposition internationale des arts et techniques dans la vie modern*, involved hundreds of delegates from all parts of the globe who were invited to address the theme of 'peaceful change', with particular reference to quintessentially geographical questions about population growth, world trade, and colonial rule. This paper examines how the 1937 ISC, conducted in university lecture halls, hotel reception rooms, national pavilions and other private and public spaces across Paris, exemplified wider tensions, revealed by the Exposition itself, between at least two competing forms of internationalism, one rooted in an enduring commitment to liberal democracy, the other shaped by new and more authoritarian ideas of global governance.

Mike Heffernan has been Professor of Historical Geography at the University of Nottingham since 1999, and has taught and researched at the universities of Cambridge, Heidelberg, Loughborough and UCLA. He is interested in the histories of geography and cartography since the 18th century. His latest book is an edited collection on *Geographies of the University* (2018). He is a fellow of the British Academy and a member of the Academia Europaea.

16:00-17:00, Tuesday 18th December
Plenary (Chair: Mike Heffernan)

Brian Vick

Ambassadors, Experts, and Activists: Internationalizing International Relations from the Congress of Vienna to the Twentieth Century

The Congress of Vienna of 1814-1815 revealed and helped create a more complex world of international relations with implications that resonated through the nineteenth century and beyond. The rulers and statesmen of the European powers innovated new institutions of multilateral security and governance while also responding to the growing role of public opinion and non-governmental actors in civil society. In this constellation there was more room for participation by non-elites, women, and people of color, and for transnational publics and movements alongside international institutions, even as the continuing limits to such participation must be kept in view. Internationalism and internationalization are often dated from the 1850s and after, but they also had prior roots, in ways that cast new light on developments in the later nineteenth century. This talk will examine ambassadorial conferences as one of the prime institutional mechanisms of the Concert of Europe as well as the role of transnational lobbyists and activists, as for example in the efforts to internationalize abolition of the African slave trade and to interdict the North African corsairs. Congresses of scholars in various fields also assumed an increasing public presence, in national settings but increasingly with international connections as well. These developments prefigured the proliferation of international movements and organizations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The talk will also highlight networks, involving face-to-face and distant communication, as a useful analytical concept in understanding these processes.

Brian Vick is Professor of History at Emory University. His most recent work is *The Congress of Vienna: Power and Politics after Napoleon* (Harvard University Press, 2014; winner of the Hans Rosenberg Prize of the Central European History Society of the American Historical Association for 2015); he is also co-editor, with Beatrice de Graaf and Ido de Haan, of the collection *Securing Europe after Napoleon: 1815 and the New European Security Culture* (Cambridge University Press, forthcoming 2019). His first book was *Defining Germany: The 1848 Frankfurt Parliamentarians and National Identity* (Harvard University Press, 2002). His ongoing research interests include the development of nineteenth-century political culture, the social and political roles of women, cultural relationships between the German and Italian lands, network analysis, and the origins of humanitarian and liberal imperialist diplomacy.

09:00-10:40, Wednesday 19th December
Session 1: Approaching Conferences (Chair: James Mansell)

Glenda Sluga

Approaching sociability

The study of famous European conferences, from Vienna to Paris, and after has been the prerogative not only of historians, but IR scholars, in search of general lessons. In this paper I will discuss the different disciplinary approaches to the historical study of international conferences and their significance viewed through the concept of 'sociability'. In particular I am interested in the foundational, conceptual and ideological work that the concept of sociability does in this historiography—and compare it with how we have studied sociability in national, class and gender contexts.

Glenda Sluga is Professor of International History at the University of Sydney, and Australian Research Council Kathleen Fitzpatrick Laureate Fellow. She is currently completing a study of peacemaking and diplomacy at the end of the Napoleonic Wars, and a history of the early years of the UN. Her most recent publications include (with Carolyn James) ed *Women, Diplomacy and International Politics since 1600*, (with Patricia Clavin) ed *Internationalisms: A Twentieth Century History*, and *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism*.

Stephen Legg

Political Atmospherics: a Multi-Sensory Account of the Round Table Conference

During 1930-32 over 150 Indian delegates visited London to debate India's constitutional future over the three sittings of the Round Table Conference. The creation and conveyance of a conference "atmosphere" was central to the event, and its archive, in three ways. One of the key challenges for the conference organisers was to create an atmosphere conducive to political debate. For some, this meant an atmosphere of cordiality and cosmopolitanism, for others it meant fostering the atmosphere of growing hostility between Hindus and Muslims. Second, the atmosphere of London impacted upon the conference in a material and aerial sense. Taking place in late autumn each year London was often cloaked in dense fog with which the organisers feared Indians would be unable to cope. Finally, attendees struggled to convey in their correspondence and coverage of the conference the atmosphere that had been created (often one of futility and imminent failure), and to explain how it often made delegates respond in unanticipated ways. These three takes on the conference attest to the significance of place in international relations, and to the sensory politics of conferences and the cities in which they take place.

Stephen Legg is a Professor of Historical Geography at the University of Nottingham. He studies the spatial politics of late-colonial India and is the author of *Spaces of Colonialism: Delhi's Urban Governmentalities* (Blackwell, 2007) and *Prostitution and the Ends of Empire: Scale, Governmentalities and Interwar India* (Duke University Press, 2014). He is the co-editor of two recent volumes, *Subaltern Geographies: Subaltern Studies, Space and the Geographical Imagination* (with

Tariq Jazeel) and *South Asian Governmentalities: Michel Foucault and the Question of Postcolonial Orderings* (with Deana Heath). Since 2015 he has been acting as Principal Investigator on the AHRC funded project “Conferencing the International: a Cultural and Historical Geography of the Origins of internationalism, 1919-1939.”

Iver B. Neumann

Being Seen Like a State: The Visual Modalities, Practices and Strategies of Diplomacy

This paper attempts to lay down the groundwork for the study of how diplomacy and, by implication, other international institutions are constituted by the visual in four ways. First, I establish diplomacy’s visual modalities, that is, how seeing is constitutive of this particular social institution relative to other social institutions. Secondly, I interrogate how the visual informs a key diplomatic genre such as accreditation, that is, how one head of state’s personal representative (ambassador) is confirmed as such by another and hosting head of state. Thirdly, I draw attention to the importance of the diplomatic practices that make the visual visible, that is, how diplomats spread images to wider audiences. Fourthly and in conclusion, I draw up a taxonomy of three visual strategies used for this purpose – a hegemonic and Western strategy, a national strategy, and a strategy that is spiteful of Western hegemony - and conclude that the power differentials involved between these strategies make visual diplomacy constitutive of lingering Western hegemony at large.

Iver B. Neumann is Director of Norwegian Social Research and an Adjunct professor at the National Museum of Culture, Oslo University. He was Montague Burton Professor of International Relations at the LSE 2012-2017. He is the author of two books on diplomacy: *At Home with the Diplomats* (2012) and *Diplomatic Sites* (2013). His latest book, with Einar Wigen, is *The Steppe Tradition in International Relations. Turks, Russians and European State Building, 4000 BCE – 2017 AD*.

Wendy Asquith

Spectacular Peace-building in the Shadow of War? The League of Nations and the Built Environment of World’s Fairs

Since the late nineteenth-century the built environment of World’s Fairs has been replete with the competitive architectural gestures of participant nations. The aggressive face-off between the thrusting Soviet and Nazi pavilions at the *Exposition Internationale* of 1937 in Paris, on the eve of World War 2, is perhaps the most cited example. Yet, the landscapes of late-1930s world’s fairs also hosted grandiose monuments to peace sponsored or supported by the League of Nations, which have long since been relegated to the footnotes of history. This paper will offer an examination of forgotten League exhibits at the aforementioned Paris Exposition and the New York World’s Fair of 1939. Focusing on the ephemeral material culture of these exhibits – including their architectural forms, free-standing monuments, large-scale murals and interior exhibits – I will consider how the League sought to build peace through the construction of an affective and symbolic built environment.

Wendy Asquith is an interdisciplinary researcher at the University of Nottingham with interests in the visual and material cultures of humanitarianism, postcolonial nationhood, and African diasporic communities from the nineteenth century onwards. She was an AHRC Collaborative Doctoral Award Holder with Tate Liverpool and the University of Liverpool for the project *Haiti in Art: Creating and Curating in the Black Atlantic*. Most recently she has been awarded a Leverhulme Early Career Fellowship (2016-2019) for a project entitled *The Spectacle of Universal Human Rights: A Century of Intergovernmental Display at World's Fairs*. Her first monograph, entitled *Exhibiting Haiti: The Art of Postcolonial Politics* is forthcoming with the University of Virginia Press.

11:00-12:00, Wednesday 19th December
Plenary (Chair: Benjamin Thorpe)

Madeleine Herren

International Conferences – the Hidden History beyond the Records

Since the second half of the 19th century, international conferences have covered almost every topic imaginable and spread worldwide. They have created public spaces, defined new social functions and actors, and made diplomacy and liberal internationalism almost interchangeable in their visual representation. To historians, international conferences present countable events of statistical relevance, and from the perspective of global history, they document empirical evidence of the worldwide spread of global networks. Indeed, international conferences seem to cross spaces and political systems, ideologies and borders of all kinds. However, with the aim of taking a look beyond the paper trails, which is still the foundation of the historical rationale, this presentation will critically contribute to the question of why we know what we know. Are visual and spatial representations of international conferences an addendum to the paper trails they had left in the form of records and publications? Do they contribute to the world order of liberal internationalism? Or do we need to understand international conferences as Trojan horses for the dissemination of subversive movements which did not just include the contemporary fear of anarchism and women's movements in the 19th century, but also encompass the extension of Fascism in the 20th century? The lecture invites to a journey, which starts in the illuminated *Palais des congrès* during the Paris World's Fair in the year 1900 and will lead us to the dark side of Fascist internationalism.

Madeleine Herren is full professor of modern history and director of the Institute for European Global Studies, University of Basel, Switzerland. From 2007 to 2012 she co-directed the cluster of excellence "Asia and Europe in a global context" at the University of Heidelberg in Germany. She has written several books, book chapters and journal articles on European and global history of the 19th and 20th centuries, internationalism and the history of international organizations, networks in historical perspective, historiography and intellectual history. Among others, she is the author of (with Martin Rüesch and Christiane Sibille), *Transcultural History. Theories, Methods, Sources* (Berlin: Springer, 2012), *International Organizations, 1865-1945* in: *The Oxford Handbook of International Organizations*, ed. Cogan et al. (Oxford:2016, 91-112), *Gender and International Relations through the Lens of the League of Nations (1919-1945)*, in: G. Sluga, C. James (eds.), *Women, Diplomacy and International Politics since 1500*, Routledge: London 2016, 182-201, and the editor of *Networking the International System. Global Histories of International Organizations* (Berlin: Springer, 2014).

13:00-14:40, Wednesday 19th December
Session 2: Conferencing Decolonisation (Chair: TBC)

Ruth Craggs

International conferences and the history of geography: exclusions and encounters

‘International’ geography is produced through the movement of scholars and students, ideas, data, publications, teaching materials and funding across the world. Conferences play a large role within this mobility, and provide key moments to see clearly the partial shape of international scholarship within geography. Whilst many have highlighted and challenged the exclusive Anglo-American dominated practice of geography today, there has been less focus on the particular geopolitical contexts through which we have reached this contemporary situation. This paper explores how, through the intersections of decolonisation and the Cold War, certain forms of academic mobility were opened up and challenged, 1950-1990. Focusing on African geographers attending and hosting conferences in this period, the paper explores the shifting intellectual and affective experiences of conference going, and in doing so, sheds light on the changing shape of the international geographical community in the second half of the twentieth century.

Ruth Craggs is a Senior Lecturer in Cultural and Historical Geography at King’s College London. Her work explores the intersections between decolonisation, culture and politics. She is particularly interested in the possibilities that the post-colonial Commonwealth offered newly independent states, and in the ways that professional lives were impacted by, and part of, the process of decolonisation. She is currently writing a book (co-authored with Hannah Neate) entitled *Decolonising geography? Disciplinary histories and the end of the British empire in Africa*.

Jake Hodder

Retracing the Pan-African Congress at 100

This paper considers the interwar sessions of the Pan-African Congress which met in Paris (1919); London, Brussels and Paris (1921); London and Lisbon (1923); and New York City (1927). The paper retraces the meetings with particular attention to the sites and spaces of the congress themselves as well as the wider imperial cities in which they met. Whilst they have traditionally been viewed unfavourably, I argue that the Pan-African Congress rewards revisiting. The paper calls for a renewed focus on tracing the basic details of the meetings themselves (where delegates met, who met, and when), which are rarely as straightforward as they seem. Yet, in these answers lay new insights for understanding how the practice of international conferencing itself emerges as a distinct political framework after World War I, and how it offered those on the margins with new spaces and new vocabularies to challenge racial discrimination.

Jake Hodder is an Assistant Professor in the School of Geography, University of Nottingham. His research focuses on the global dynamics of race in the twentieth century, with a particular focus on the geographies of black internationalism and pan-Africanism. His ESRC-funded PhD

(completed in 2014) examined the international life of the peace and civil rights activist Bayard Rustin and, for the past three years, Jake has worked on retracing the history of the interwar meetings of the Pan-African Congress as a Research Fellow on the AHRC-funded 'Conferencing the International' project, before being appointed to Assistant Professor in September 2018. He is currently working on a book a book-length account of 'Pan-Africa' in the interwar years.

Marc Matera

Partnership in/against Empire after World War II

Six months after the historic 1945 Pan-African Congress in Manchester, a number of the same Caribbean and African intellectuals participated in a "Conference on the Relationship between the British and Colonial Peoples," organized by the Fabian Colonial Bureau and held in Clacton-on-Sea on 12-14 April 1946. While the former articulated a vision of internationalist partnership in the struggle against empire and for colonial freedom, the organizers of the latter envisioned partnership between British socialists and colonial peoples within the context of a reformed British Empire. The two conferences stood for different conceptions of partnership, but if these ultimately proved irreconcilable, they were not always seen as antithetical. This talk explores the overlap and extensive connections among the conferences' participants, as well as the tensions and disagreements among them, to highlight perceived but unrealized possibilities for internationalism after World War II and the influence of pan-African anticolonialism in shaping understandings of racism and antiracism in postwar Britain.

Marc Matera is Associate Professor of History and Co-director of the Center for Cultural Studies at the University of California, Santa Cruz. He is the author of *Black London: The Imperial Metropolis and Decolonization in the Twentieth Century* (University of California Press, 2015). He is coauthor with Susan Kingsley Kent of *The Global 1930s: The International Decade* (Routledge, 2017), and is coauthor with Misty L. Bastian and Susan Kingsley Kent of *The Women's War of 1929: Gender and Violence in Colonial Nigeria* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012). He is currently writing a book on the colonial origins of British conceptions of race relations in Africa.

Peter Docking

The African Decolonisation Conferences 1960-1964

In the final years of the British empire in Africa, the British Government hosted some twenty constitutional conferences in London with African political leaders. These discussed constitutional advance or issues associated with independence. In this talk, the speaker explores two issues which arose from these London decolonisation conferences. The first concerns the international aspects of the conferences. The use by African political parties of overseas advisers to advance their case is examined, along with how African leaders used conferences to pursue foreign connections. The second aspect of the talk looks at how the British Government chose the conference venues in London. Lancaster House, Marlborough House, and rooms at the Colonial Office building were all at its

disposal. Which building was used depended on the impression which London wished to convey, both to the delegates and to the outside world.

Peter Docking is a PhD candidate in the History department at King's College, London. His research looks at the African decolonisation conferences and constitutional commissions in the 'wind of change' era. The thesis will look at how the British and colonial governments used both conferences and commissions as a method of imperial control, seeking to manage political outcomes. The study also examines the widespread effects which conferences and commissions had on popular opinion and politics in Africa, enhancing political differences, building and dashing reputations and fuelling new alliances. Effecting change through conferences and commissions also had significant effects on the decolonisation process. Pete has a general interest in African decolonisation and is the author of a recent article in the *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* on the end of empire in Tanzania. Pete, a solicitor, is also interested in constitutional aspects of former British colonies.

15:20-17:00, Wednesday 19th December

Session 3: Contemporary Conferencing (Chair: Jason Dittmer)

Tony Rogers

Current and Emerging Trends in the International Conference and Convention Industry

International conferences and conventions are all to do with bringing people together, both face-to-face and virtually, to exchange ideas and information, to discuss and in some cases negotiate, to build friendships and closer business relationships, to encourage better performance by individuals and organisations. These characteristics and objectives have probably changed little since the very first conferences were staged. However, it has only really been since the second world war that we can speak about a conference and convention 'industry'. During the 1960s and 1970s cities and countries began seriously to invest in marketing themselves as suitable host destinations for international gatherings and we have now reached the point where almost 200 countries worldwide are competing to win and retain international conferences. At the same time, the organisation and staging of such events has changed enormously through the use of purpose-built convention centres, the applications of technology, the development of strategies and measurement processes, the engagement of delegates, and in a myriad of other ways. This presentation will look specifically at some of the important current and emerging trends in international conferencing. Such trends include the involvement of academics as conference ambassadors in the conference destination/venue bidding and selection process; the targeting of marketing activity by destinations to secure events which align with their particular academic, research and economic strengths; sustainability implications; delegate engagement; event and legacy measurement; downplaying the traditional links between the conventions and tourism industries.

Tony Rogers is a consultant specialising in conferences, business visits and events, and venue/destination marketing and management. He established his own consultancy, Tony Rogers Conference & Event Services Ltd, in 2009. Prior to this he spent 20 years as Chief Executive of the British Association of Conference Destinations (BACD). Tony is an honorary member of the Association of British Professional Conference Organisers (ABPCO), an association he managed for eight years until October 2008. He served as a Visiting Fellow at Leeds Beckett University's UK Centre for Events Management for eight years until 2015. He also served on the European Board for Destination Marketing Association International (DMAI). Tony is the author of several books on the international conference and events industry including 'Marketing Destinations and Venues for Conferences, Conventions and Business Events' (written jointly with Rob Davidson of MICE Knowledge) and 'Conferences and Conventions: A Global Industry', both published by Routledge.

Emily F. Henderson

‘International’ Academic Conferences and the Politics of Global Knowledge Production

The politics of global knowledge production are increasingly coming under scrutiny in sociologically informed research on the academy; this area of research addresses geopolitical inequalities such as the global distribution of publications and citations. As argued by longstanding postcolonial theory and more recent developments of decolonization theory and Southern Theory, the actors of knowledge production are located within a global network of power relations that are indelibly marked by colonization. This paper addresses the global phenomenon of unequal access to spaces of knowledge production from a conceptual and empirical perspective. Conferences feature in promotion and sometimes appointment criteria, as a proxy indicator for harder-to-measure qualities such as networking, esteem and dynamism. Furthermore, conferences are known to have indirect benefits which are more clearly related to success within academia, such as reputation building, and the development of research and publication collaborations. As such, access to conferences can be said to be associated with access within the academic profession. However conferences are notoriously exclusionary in many ways, and for many academics the most prestigious conferences – so-called ‘international’ conferences – are the most inaccessible. This paper examines the intersecting inequalities which result in conferences being more accessible for some academics than others. The paper ultimately asks the question: who is responsible for facilitating access to conferences: higher education institutions, conference organisers, or individuals?

Dr Emily F. Henderson is an Assistant Professor in the Centre for Education Studies, University of Warwick. She is author of *Gender Pedagogy: Teaching, Learning and Tracing Gender in Higher Education* (Palgrave, 2015) and co-editor of *Starting with Gender in International Higher Education Research* (Routledge, 2019). She is co-editor of the academic blog *Conference Inference: Blogging the World of Conferences* (www.conferenceinference.wordpress.com) and is co-editing a special issue of the journal *Gender and Education* on gender and conferences, entitled ‘Thoughtful Gatherings’ (forthcoming, 2020). Emily’s research lies in the areas of gender and higher education, particularly the production of knowledge about gender; the academic profession, academic mobility and conferences; poststructuralist and feminist theory and research methodology. Emily’s current research projects include a 5-year project on gender and higher education in the state of Haryana, India, and ‘In Two Places at Once,’ a study of the impact of caring responsibilities on academics’ conference participation.

Natasha Aruri & Omar Jabary Salamanca

Forging Solidarity, Taking a Stand on Palestine

As the world was coming to terms with the wave of regressive violence that followed the revolutionary times triggered by uprisings, occupations and protest movements from Toronto to Cairo and Madrid to Seoul, the International Critical Geography Group convened its seventh conference in Palestine in the summer of 2015. Following a two-decade tradition and nearly three years of preparation, the conference brought together

four hundred scholars, activists and artists committed to combating social exploitation and oppression. During five days and six nights, the conference provided an inspiring and thought-provoking space to discuss the theme ‘Precarious Radicalism on Shifting Grounds: Towards a Politics of Possibility’. Beyond examining geographies of critical social theory and progressive political praxis, the conference took critical steps beyond discussion and debate of our intellectual work towards concrete collective action. Building on our experiences as coordinators of this event, the essay considers how this scholarly gathering challenged what Audra Simpson calls “the global illegibility of indigenous struggle, as life in the face of death and ongoing dispossession”. Moreover, it explores the ways this event became a meaningful political space for building solidarities. Thinking with and through Palestine, the essay reflects on the challenges, labour and care invested in creating a space where activism and academia could mutually inform one another without collapsing the differences between the two. The essay hopes to contribute to the memory of solidarity organising within and beyond critical geography, and to thinking about conferences as political spaces that can disrupt the normalcy of our colonial capitalist present.

Natasha Aruri [DrPhil, MSc, MArch] – Urbanist, architect and activist working east and north of the Mediterranean as consultant, conceptor and coordinator. She is co-founder and -director of UR°BANA, a collective concerned with urban research, design and action. Besides working as guest lecturer at universities and trainer with civil organizations, she is the City Research Team Lead for Ramallah within the SSHRC-financed, 7-cities research project “Urbanization, gender and the global south: a transformative knowledge network”. Her research focuses on cities of exasperated insecurities; spacio-politics of and resistance to (neo)colonialism; and facing uncertainties through people-based, dynamic strategies of spatial design. Currently she is also Guest Professor at the Dessau Institute of Architecture (DIA), Germany.

Omar Jabary Salamanca is a Research Fellow in the Department of Conflict and Development at Ghent University. His research lies at the intersection of urban studies, settler colonialism, political economy and Middle East studies, with a focus on the histories and geographies of infrastructure in Palestine. He is currently working on a book manuscript, "Fabric of Life. The infrastructure of settler colonialism and uneven development in Palestine" under contract with Verso Books. He is also engaged in a variety of research, cultural and community projects, including Eye On Palestine Arts and Film Festival, the Slow Science collective and Beitna.

Fiona McConnell

Claiming space at the United Nations: conference politics at the UNPFII and Forum on Minority Issues

Despite the prominence of transnational networking and digital communications, large forums hosted by the United Nations continue to offer a valuable insight into geopolitical dynamics and the everyday practices of diplomacy. In seeking to add empirical depth and conceptual nuance to how we understand the role of space in how modes of politics are articulated at international conferences, this paper examines how actors of different prescribed statuses – state diplomats and representatives of minority and indigenous communities – interact in the spaces of UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues and UN Forum on Minority Issues. These putatively marginalised representatives face a series of challenges in accessing these conference spaces, from prohibitive costs associated with

stays in Geneva and New York to visa restrictions and intimidation strategies by particular member states within the spaces of the UN. This paper examines the bullying and blocking tactics employed by member states during these Forums and then turns attention to the agency of minority and indigenous representatives in asserting their presence through reclaiming space and small acts of subversion. The case is made both for such representatives acting in entrepreneurial ways in these international conferences, and for the enduring significance of UN Forums as sites where causes and peoples are symbolically represented and where acts of shaming and claim-making take centre stage.

Fiona McConnell is Associate Professor in Human Geography at the University of Oxford and Tutorial Fellow in Geography at St. Catherine's College, Oxford. As a political geographer Fiona's research aims to develop new areas of thinking regarding governance beyond the state, how political legitimacy is articulated by marginalised communities, and changing practices of diplomacy and mediation. To that end her research has focused on issues around sovereignty, legitimacy and diplomacy with a particular interest in communities officially excluded from formal state politics. In 2017, she held a British Academy Mid-Career Fellowship for a project titled, "Representing the unrepresented: the politics and practices of subaltern diplomacy." She is the author of *Rehearsing the State: the Political Practices of the Tibetan Government-in-Exile* (published by Wiley-Blackwell in 2016) and the co-editor of *Geographies of Peace* (published by IB Tauris in 2013) and *Diplomatic Cultures and International Politics* (published by Routledge in 2016). She is currently PI on an ESRC-GCRF project titled 'Gobi Framework for Sustainable Infrastructure Development: scaling up praxis from Mongolia to Central Asia'.

Chairs

Jason Dittmer

Jason Dittmer is Professor of Political Geography at University College London. He is the author of several books, most recently *Diplomatic Material: Affect, assemblage, and foreign policy* (2017, Duke University Press) and *Captain America and the Nationalist Superhero: Metaphors, narratives, and geopolitics* (2013, Temple University Press). He is currently working on geographies of military interoperability and also a new project on materiality, geopolitics, and the Rock of Gibraltar.

James Mansell

James Mansell is Associate Professor of Cultural Studies in the Department of Cultural, Media and Visual Studies at the University of Nottingham. He is the author of *The Age of Noise in Britain: Hearing Modernity* (University of Illinois Press, 2017), a history of sound and hearing in early twentieth-century Britain. He is also the editor of *The Projection of Britain: A History of the GPO Film Unit* (BFI Books, 2011). In 2015-16 he was co-investigator on the AHRC research network 'Music, Noise and Silence' led by the Science Museum, which examined strategies for exhibiting sonic histories and cultures. He is a Research Associate at the Science Museum, London, and will be a visiting researcher at the National Science and Media Museum, Bradford, in 2019.

Ruth Slatter

Lecturer in Human Geography at the University of Hull, Ruth is a historical and cultural geographer. Having completed her PhD in 2017, which explored everyday congregational experiences of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Methodist churches, her research now broadly considers everyday experiences of nineteenth-century institutional spaces. One aspect of this research is an exploration of visitors' experiences of nineteenth-century international exhibitions and world fairs. Co-founder and editor of the website Visit1862.com, which considers visitors' experiences of the 1862 International Exhibition, Ruth is particularly interested in the numerous (but relatively overlooked) international exhibitions held in London after the 1851 Great Exhibition. Drawing on her background in design history, Ruth's research specifically explores how material sources and approaches can provide alternative insights into the everyday (even mundane) experiences that ordinary people had in institutional spaces, even when their voices are rarely explicitly recorded in the written archive.

Benjamin Thorpe

Benjamin Thorpe is a Research Fellow within the School of Geography at the University of Nottingham, working on the AHRC-funded 'Conferencing the International' project. His research interests lie at the intersection of historical, political and cultural geography, and focus upon the development of an internationalist political imagination in the early twentieth century. His ESRC-funded PhD (Nottingham, 2018) looked at Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi's Pan-European Union, and its role in the construction of a specifically European political imagination during the interwar years.

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