

GLOBAL AGENTS WITHIN AND WITHOUT GLOBAL INSTITUTIONS:  
INTERNATIONALISM AS AN IDEAL AND A PRACTICE IN THE TWENTIETH  
CENTURY



Ph.D. Programme *Global History and Governance*

Spring term, 2023/2024

Dr Ettore Costa (Scuola Superiore Meridionale)

e-mail: [e.costa@ssmeridionale.it](mailto:e.costa@ssmeridionale.it)

Office place: SSM, Largo San Marcellino 10, 80138 Napoli, third floor, stanza III.15

Office hour: by appointment

The course explores internationalism as both an ideal and a practice. Even in periods dominated by the nation state, there were actors with the desire to operate beyond national borders, who sought alliance with their counterparts in other nations. The internationalist ambition produced comprehensive plans to reshape the world order and found expression in international institutions such as the League of Nations, the United Nations and its affiliated agencies. However even non-state actors sought to operate across borders to satisfy an ideological desire of solidarity or to enhance the effectiveness of their actions. Some political families, such as social democracy or communism, had a strong commitment to internationalism, but internationalism was not unknown to religious groups and conservative politicians. Some not explicitly political groups pursued internationalism to reach political goals, such as human rights activists or natural scientists fighting for world peace and protection of human dignity. Proper assessment of internationalism is necessary for reconstruct a truly global history.

The course consists of 10 sessions, each lasting 2 hours; it is seminar-style and requires active and consistent participation from students, who will be asked to analyse texts and to discuss the topics of the lessons based on a reading list provided by the instructor. The final two sessions will include discussion of the papers written by the students. Each student will receive the essay by another student to describe and critique, encouraging group discussion. Critical treatment of other students' work is part of the assessment for the final grade.

Students wishing to take part in the course are encouraged to write to the instructor to sign up for updates.

*Readings:*

Each session will be organised around reading, analysing and discussing selected essays and articles. Each participant will have to read the mandatory readings and choose another reading from a list. Participants should announce their choice at the previous session, so that each participant will read a different essay and there will be more variety of discussion. Students are invited to propose their own options.

Additionally, all participants should start to read the following monograph at the beginning of the course and finish it by the end:

- Mazower, Mark. *Governing the World: The History of an Idea, 1815 to the Present*. New York, NY: Penguin Press, 2013.

The reading materials will be available online via the Unina digital library or on paper at university libraries or provided by instructors. Contact the instructor to get access to the shared folder.

.

*Course assesment:*

- Regular attendance: 10% ;
- Presentation and discussion of course readings: 35% (*Please note: each participant will have to intervene at least once in each session*);
- Final essay and discussion: 55%

*Final essay:*

A final essay on a specific topic to be agreed with Dr Costa by the beginning of May, 5,000 to 8,000 words.

*Sessions:*

1. Monday 11 March, 15-17, Aula 2
2. Monday 18 March, 15-17, Aula 2
3. Monday 25 March, 15-17, Aula 2
4. Monday 8 April, 15-17, Aula 2
5. Monday 22 April, 15-17, Aula 2
6. Monday 29 April, 15-17, Aula 2
7. Tuesday 7 May, 17-19 Aula 2
8. Monday 13 May, 15-17, Aula 2

*Classroom:*

Aula 2, third floor, SSM, Largo San Marcellino 10, 80138 Napoli

## Sessions

### 1. What is internationalism?

Monday 11 March, 15-17, Aula 2

#### Topic:

- Description of the course outline
- Definition of internationalism? Is it even possible?
- Identification of possible global agents
- Deciding reading for the next session

#### Mandatory Reading:

- 'Introduction', Sluga, Glenda. *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013.
- Reinisch, Jessica. 'Introduction: Agents of Internationalism'. *Contemporary European History* 25, no. 2 (May 2016): 195–205. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960777316000035>.
- Sluga, Glenda, and Patricia Clavin. 'Rethinking the History of Internationalism'. In *Internationalisms: A Twentieth-Century History*, edited by Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2017.
- 'Introduction. Making sense of transnational activism', Laqua, Daniel. *Activism across Borders since 1870: Causes, Campaigns and Conflicts in and beyond Europe*. London ; New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2023.

## 2. Liberal internationalism and Wilsonianism

Monday 18 March, 15-17, Aula 2

### Topic:

- Precedents of internationalism in the nineteenth century
- Liberal internationalism and Wilson
- Birth and crisis the League of Nations
- Internationalism, empire and humanitarianism

### Mandatory Reading:

- Chapter 1 ‘The Origins of Global Community’, 9-36 Iriye, Akira. *Global Community: The Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.

### Select one of the following reading options:

- Clavin, Patricia. ‘Introduction: Conceptualising Transnational Thought and Action between the Wars’. In *Internationalism Reconfigured: Transnational Ideas and Movements between the World Wars*, edited by Daniel Laqua, 1–14. London ; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2011
- Webster, Andrew. ‘The League of Nations, Disarmament and Internationalism’. In *Internationalisms: A Twentieth-Century History*, edited by Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin, 139–69. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2017.
- Blaszkiewicz, Adeline. ‘“This Is the True International of Which Moscow Only Dreams”: Contacts, Hybridizations and Ambiguities in the Encounter between Socialist and Liberal Internationalism at the International Labor Office in the 1920s’. In *Leftist Internationalisms: A Transnational Political History*, edited by Michele Di Donato and Mathieu Fulla, 115–28. Bloomsbury Press, 2023.

- 'Introduction', and Chapter 1, 'British internationalism and Humanitarianism'. In Baughan, Emily. *Saving the Children: Humanitarianism, Internationalism, and Empire*. Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2022, 1-49

### 3. Socialist internationalism between splits, hopes and disappointment

Monday 25 March, 15-17, Aula 2

#### Topic:

- Pre-war socialist internationalism
- The communist split and the Third International
- The social democratic counter-response
- The recurrent tension between internationalism and nationalisation of socialism

#### Mandatory Reading:

- Wolinkow, Serge. 'The Comintern as a World Network'. In *World Revolution and Socialism in One Country, 1917-1941*, edited by Silvio Pons and Stephen A. Smith, 1:232–55. Cambridge History of Communism. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.
- Dogliani, Patrizia. 'The Fate of Socialist Internationalism'. In *Internationalisms: A Twentieth-Century History*, edited by Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin, 38–60. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2017.

#### Select one of the following reading options:

- Chapter 1 'Time of Revolution (1917-1923)' in Pons, Silvio. *The Global Revolution: A History of International Communism, 1917-1991*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

- Chapter 2 'Time of the State (1924-1939)' in Pons, Silvio. *The Global Revolution: A History of International Communism, 1917-1991*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Costa, Ettore. 'The Comintern and the Labour and Socialist International: Struggling Over Democracy and Working-Class Unity'. *Dimensioni e Problemi Della Ricerca Storica* 2022, no. 1 (2022): 223–42.
- Laqua, Daniel. 'Democratic Politics and the League of Nations: The Labour and Socialist International as a Protagonist of Interwar Internationalism'. *Contemporary European History* 24, no. 2 (May 2015): 175–92. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960777315000041>.
- Graziosi, Andrea. 'Communism, Nations and Nationalism'. In *World Revolution and Socialism in One Country, 1917-1941*, edited by Silvio Pons and Stephen A. Smith, 1:449–74. Cambridge History of Communism. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.

#### 4. Cold War: the United Nations and international social democracy

Monday 8 April, 15-17, Aula 2

##### **Topic:**

- United Nations as more realistic internationalism
- Cold War internationalism
- Cultural Cold War
- Cold War social democracy

##### **Mandatory Reading:**

- Chapter 2, 'The new internationalism', 37-59, Iriye, Akira. *Global Community: The Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.



- Kott, Sandrine. 'Cold War Internationalism'. In *Internationalisms: A Twentieth-Century History*, edited by Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin, 340–62. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2017.

**Select one of the following reading options:**

- Chapter 3, 'The Apogee of internationalism', Sluga, Glenda. *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013.
- Imlay, Talbot C. 'Socialist Internationalism after 1914'. In *Internationalisms: A Twentieth-Century History*, edited by Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin, 213–41. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2017.
- Costa, Ettore. 'From East-West Balancing to Militant Anti-Communism: The Socialist International and the Beginning of the Cold War, 1947–1949'. *Journal of Cold War Studies* 24, no. 2 (Spring 2022): 95–131. [https://doi.org/10.1162/jcws\\_a\\_01044](https://doi.org/10.1162/jcws_a_01044).
- Di Donato, Michele. 'Internazionalismo Socialdemocratico e Storia Internazionale Degli Anni Settanta'. *Ventunesimo Secolo*, no. 44 (October 2019): 11–37. <https://doi.org/10.3280/XXI2019-044002>.
- Shaev, Brian. 'Nationalism, Transnationalism and European Socialism in the 1950s: A Comparison of the French and German Cases'. *History of European Ideas* 46, no. 1 (January 2020): 41–58. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01916599.2019.1703860>.

## 5. Cold War: Religious and conservative internationalism

Monday 22 April, 15-17, Aula 2

### Topic:

- International Catholicism and the origins of European integration
- Fascist internationalism

- Business internationalism
- Islamist internationalism
- Conservative internationalism
- Neo-liberal internationalism

**Mandatory Reading:**

- Introduction (1-11) and Chapter 6 'Creating core Europe: the rise of the party network' (191-252) Kaiser, Wolfram. *Christian Democracy and the Origins of European Union*. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

**Select one of the following reading options:**

- Patel, Kiran Klaus, and Sven Reichardt. 'The Dark Side of Transnationalism Social Engineering and Nazism, 1930s–40s'. *Journal of Contemporary History* 51, no. 1 (January 2016): 3–21. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022009415607956>.
- Ramírez Pérez, Sigfrido M. 'Transnational Business Networks Propagating EC Industrial Policy: The Role of the Committee of Common Market Automobile Constructors'. In *The History of the European Union: Origins of a Trans- and Supranational Polity 1950-72*, edited by Wolfram Kaiser, Brigitte Leucht, and Morten Rasmussen, 74–92. New York: Routledge, 2009
- Nunan, Timothy. "'Neither East Nor West," Neither Liberal Nor Illiberal? Iranian Islamist Internationalism in the 1980s'. *Journal of World History* 31, no. 1 (2020): 43–77. <https://doi.org/10.1353/jwh.2020.0002>
- Ludwig, Bernard. 'Paix et Liberté: A Transnational Anti-Communist Network'. In *Transnational Anti-Communism and the Cold War: Agents, Activities, and Networks*, edited by Luc van Dongen, Stéphanie Roulin, and Giles Scott-Smith, 81–95. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014
- Bjerre-Poulsen, Niels. 'The Mont Pèlerin Society and the Rise of a Postwar Classical Liberal Counter-Establishment'. In *Transnational Anti-Communism*

*and the Cold War: Agents, Activities, and Networks*, edited by Luc van Dongen, Stéphanie Roulin, and Giles Scott-Smith, 201–17. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

## 6. Anti-colonial internationalism

Monday 29 April, 15-17, Aula 2

### Topic:

- The anti-colonial movement during the age of imperialism
- Communist and nationalist roots
- The age of decolonisation
- The New International Economic Order

### Mandatory Reading:

- Moore, Candice. 'Internationalism in the Global South: The Evolution of a Concept'. *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 53, no. 6 (September 2018): 852–65. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0021909617744584>
- Chapter 5, 'The Welfare World of the New International Economic Order' Getachew, Adom. *Worldmaking after Empire: The Rise and Fall of Self-Determination*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2019.

### Select one of the following reading options:

- Capuzzo, Paolo, and Anne Garland Mahler. 'Introduction'. In *The Comintern and the Global South*, by Paolo Capuzzo and Anne Garland Mahler, 3–45. London: Routledge, 2022. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003154976-2>.
- Weber, Heloise, and Poppy Winanti. 'The "Bandung Spirit" and Solidarist Internationalism'. *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 70, no. 4 (3 July 2016): 391–406. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10357718.2016.1167834>.

- Heyden, Ulrich van der, and Anja Schade. 'GDR Solidarity with the ANC of South Africa'. In *Southern African Liberation Movements and the Global Cold War 'East'*, edited by Lena Dallywater, Chris Saunders, and Helder Adegar Fonseca, 77–102. De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2019. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110642964-008>.
- Vik, Hanne Hagtvedt. 'Indigenous Internationalism'. In *Internationalisms: A Twentieth-Century History*, edited by Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin, 315–39. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2017.

## 7. Human rights and the end of the Cold War

Tuesday 7 May, 15-17, Aula 2

### Topic:

- Human rights and the limitation of national sovereignty
- Amnesty International as a new kind of NGOs
- Willy Brandt's Socialist International against the East-West tension and the North-South divide
- Ecological internationalism

### Mandatory Reading:

- Eckel, Jan. 'The International League for the Rights of Man, Amnesty International, and the Changing Fate of Human Rights Activism from the 1940s through the 1970s'. *Humanity: An International Journal of Human Rights, Humanitarianism, and Development* 4, no. 2 (June 2013): 183–214. <https://doi.org/10.1353/hum.2013.0014>.

**Select one of the following reading options:**

- Rother, Bernd, and Wolfgang Schmidt. 'Einleitung'. In *Über Europa Hinaus. Dritte Welt Und Sozialistische Internationale*, 15–63. Berliner Ausgabe 8. Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachf. GmbH, 2006.
- Rother, Bernd, and Wolfgang Schmidt. 'Einleitung'. In *Über Europa Hinaus. Dritte Welt Und Sozialistische Internationale*, 63-109. Berliner Ausgabe 8. Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachf. GmbH, 2006.
- Tompkins, Andrew S. 'An "Ecological Internationale"? Nuclear Energy Opponents in Western Europe, 1975–80'. In *Leftist Internationalisms: A Transnational Political History*, edited by Michele Di Donato and Mathieu Fulla, 219–32. Bloomsbury Press, 2023.
- Burke, Roland. 'The Internationalism of Human Rights'. In *Internationalisms: A Twentieth-Century History*, edited by Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin, 287–314. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2017.

8. Scientific internationalism

Tuesday 13 May, 17-19 Aula 2

**Topic:**

- Science as an international enterprise
- Pro-nuclear and anti-nuclear internationalism
- Global responsibility and the fate of humankind

**Mandatory Reading:**

- Kraft, Alison, Holger Nehring, and Carola Sachse. 'The Pugwash Conferences and the Global Cold War: Scientists, Transnational Networks, and the Complexity of Nuclear Histories'. *Journal of Cold War Studies* 20, no. 1 (April 2018): 4–30. [https://doi.org/10.1162/jcws\\_e\\_00799](https://doi.org/10.1162/jcws_e_00799).

**Select one of the following reading options:**

- Zaidi, Waqar. 'Liberal Internationalist Approaches to Science and Technology in Interwar Britain and the US'. In *Internationalism Reconfigured: Transnational Ideas and Movements between the World Wars*, edited by Daniel Laqua, 17–43. London ; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2011.
- Krige, John. 'Atoms for Peace, Scientific Internationalism, and Scientific Intelligence'. *Osiris* 21, no. 1 (January 2006): 161–81. <https://doi.org/10.1086/507140>.
- Kraft, Alison. 'Dissenting Scientists in Early Cold War Britain: The "Fallout" Controversy and the Origins of Pugwash, 1954–1957'. *Journal of Cold War Studies* 20, no. 1 (April 2018): 58–100. [https://doi.org/10.1162/jcws\\_a\\_00801](https://doi.org/10.1162/jcws_a_00801).
- Rubinson, Paul. 'The Global Effects of Nuclear Winter: Science and Antinuclear Protest in the United States and the Soviet Union during the 1980s'. *Cold War History* 14, no. 1 (2 January 2014): 47–69. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14682745.2012.759560>.