



British International
Studies Association



The British International History Group 31ST ANNUAL CONFERENCE



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The Group

The British International History Group (BIHG) was established in 1987. It aims to consider and promote established and new approaches to the study of international affairs as a discipline of history. As a sub-group of the British International Studies Association (BISA), it remains committed to interdisciplinary methods. The primary focus of the BIHG is its annual conference, of which it has held over 30, mainly at UK universities. These gatherings foster the scholarship of postgraduates and early career researchers alongside the work of senior academics. With over 700 members from Asia, Europe and North America, the BIHG has global reach. The Conference of 2019 will be the BIHG's 31st.

The BIHG is governed by an elected committee of historians at varied career stages and co-opted members from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and the UK National Archives. It sponsors an annual thesis prize named in honour of Professor Mike Dockrill and offers career and research support for PGRs and ECRs. At its annual conference, it holds roundtables which explore disciplinary and interdisciplinary innovations. The BIHG also invites leading scholars as keynote speakers to consider new approaches to the study of the past and the relevance of international history to contemporary global concerns.

The Conference

The main work of the conference takes place in panels on Thursday afternoon, Friday and Saturday morning. There will be a round table on Thursday afternoon and an annual keynote lecture on Friday evening delivered this year by Professor Kathy Burk. The BIHG Annual General Meeting will be held at lunchtime on Friday and all conference delegates are welcome and encouraged to attend. The conference also holds an annual postgraduate/ECR workshop on Friday afternoon.

The BIHG Committee

Officers

Chair: Dr Patrick Finney, Aberystwyth University

Vice-Chair: Dr James Ellison, Queen Mary University of London

Secretary: Dr Rogelia Pastor-Castro, University of Strathclyde

Treasurer: Professor Helen Parr, Keele University

Newsletter Editor: Dr Robert McNamara, University of Ulster

Conference Officer: Professor Gaynor Johnson, University of Kent

Membership Officer: Dr David Kaufman, University of Edinburgh

Thesis Prize Officer: Dr Michael Hopkins, University of Liverpool

Members

Website & Communications: Dr Colin McDowall, University of Glasgow and Ms. Jessica Shahan, Aberystwyth University

PGR/ECR Representatives: Dr Poppy Cullen, University of Cambridge

Committee Member (Conference): Dr Marco Wyss, Lancaster University

Committee Member (Newsletter): Dr Martin Folly, Brunel University

Co-opted members

Dr Juliette Desplat (National Archives)

Professor Alan Dobson (Editor: International History Review)

Dr Richard Smith (FCO)

Honorary Members

Professor Glyn Stone (Honorary President)

BIHG Lancaster 2019 Timetable

Time	Activity	Location
Thursday 5th September		
12.30-13.00	Registration and Coffee	Faraday Foyer, Faraday Building
13.00-14.30	Round Table	Cavendish Lecture Theatre
14.30-14.45	Tea/Coffee	Faraday Foyer, Faraday Building
14.45-16.15	First Panel Session A-C	Faraday Syndicate Rooms and Cavendish Colloquium
16.15-16.30	Tea/Coffee	Faraday Foyer, Faraday Building
16.30-18.00	Second Panel Session A-C	Faraday Syndicate Rooms and Cavendish Colloquium
18.00-18.15	Tea/Coffee	Faraday Foyer, Faraday Building
18.15-19.45	Third Panel Session A-C	Faraday Syndicate Rooms and Cavendish Colloquium
19.45-20.30	Wine Reception	Private Dining Room, County South
20.30-22.00	Dinner (Buffet)	Private Dining Room, County South
Friday 6th September		
09.00-10.30	Fourth Panel Session A-C	Faraday Syndicate Rooms and Cavendish Colloquium
10.30-11.00	Tea/Coffee	Faraday Foyer
11.00-12.30	Fifth Panel Session A-D	Faraday Syndicate Rooms and Cavendish Colloquium
12.30-13.45	Lunch (Buffet)	Private Dining Room, County South

12.50-13.45	BIHG Annual General Meeting	Cavendish Colloquium. The AGM will start at 12.50; all conference delegates welcome to attend (with their lunch)
13.45-15.15	Sixth Panel Session A-C	Faraday Syndicate Rooms and Cavendish Colloquium
15.15-15.30	Tea/Coffee	Faraday Foyer, Faraday Building
15.30-17.00	Seventh Panel Session A-C	Faraday Syndicate Rooms and Cavendish Colloquium
17.10-18.10	Postgraduate and ECR Job Workshop	Faraday Syndicate Room 4
17.10-18.10	Presentation from British Online Archives, 'Paris Peace Conference and Beyond, 1919-1939'	Faraday Syndicate Room 3
18.10-18.20	Tea/Coffee	Faraday Foyer, Faraday Building
18.20-19.20	Keynote Lecture	Cavendish Lecture Theatre
19.20-19.30	Walk to Lancaster Square Avenue designated coach collection area	
19.30-20.00	Bus departs for Conference Dinner	Designated coach collection point at Lancaster Square Avenue
20.00-23.00	Conference Dinner	Royal King's Arms Hotel, Lancaster
Saturday 7th September		
10.00-11.30	Eighth Panel Session A-C	Faraday Syndicate Rooms and Cavendish Colloquium
11.30-11.45	Tea/Coffee	Faraday Foyer, Faraday Building
11.45-13.15	Ninth Panel Session A-D	Faraday Syndicate Rooms and Cavendish Colloquium
13.15-14.00	Provision of packed lunch	Faraday foyer

Thursday 5 September 2019

Round Table - Thursday 5 September – 13.00-14.30

International History and Military History

Location: Cavendish Lecture Theatre

Chair: **James Ellison** (QMUL)

Panel: **Juliette Desplat** (TNA), **Michael Hopkins** (Liverpool) and **Michael Hughes** (Lancaster)

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Coffee and Tea – 14.30-14.45 – Location: Faraday Foyer, Faraday Building

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First Panel Session – Thursday 5 September – 14.45-16.15

Panel A – The African Cold War 1945-1989

Location: Faraday Syndicate Room 3

Chair and commentator: **Poppy Cullen** (Exeter)

Dan Feather (Liverpool John Moores University), British Policy Towards Cultural Relations with South Africa, 1960 to 1994

Jan Koura (Prague and Oxford), An Exceptional Agent: Czechoslovak Intelligence, Ben Barka and Cold War in Africa

Natalia Telepneva (Warwick), The End of Development: The Soviet Union and Modernisation in Guinea-Bissau

Panel B – Foreign Policy 1

Location: Faraday Syndicate Room 4

Chair: **Gaynor Johnson** (Kent)

David Kaufman (Edinburgh), The ‘One Guilty Nation’ Myth: Edith Durham, R.W. Seton-Watson and a footnote in the history of the Outbreak of the First World War

Adam Richardson (Leeds), ‘We are in danger of being submerged by paper’: Orme Sargent as Foreign Office Manager, 1946-49

Simon Tate (UEA), Who thought what and why it matters: The Eastern Department, 1905-1914

Panel C – Japan

Location: Faraday Syndicate Room 1

Chair: **Michael Hopkins** (Liverpool)

Seung-young Kim (Kansai Gaidai University), Japanese diplomatic initiative towards France after the Manchurian Incident, 1931-33

Seung Mo Kang (LSE), The Revival of Post-War Japanese Shipping and Shipbuilding Industry

Takahiro Yamamoto (Heidelberg), Japanese Pacific Mandate through a settler's eyes: The case of Koben Mori

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Coffee and Tea – 16.15-16.30 – Location: Faraday Foyer, Faraday Building

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Second Panel Session – Thursday 5 September – 16.30-18.00

Panel A – Britain and the Labour Party

Location: Faraday Syndicate Room 3

Chair: **James Ellison** (QMUL)

Matthew Gerth (QUB), ‘The Heathers Afire and the Thames is Burning’: John McGovern, the Moral Rearmament Movement and Anti-communism

David Grealy (Liverpool), Rhodesia, 1977-79: David Owen, the Labour Party and the Human Rights ‘Breakthrough’

James Vaughan (Aberystwyth), The Road to Perdition: historical perspectives on anti-Zionism, antisemitism and the British Labour Party

Panel B – The Cultural Evolution of Peace since the 17th Century

Location: Faraday Syndicate Room 1

Chair: **Martin Folly** (Brunel)

Ronald Edsforth (Dartmouth), The Worst of Times, The Best of Times: a Cultural History of Peace in the Modern Era

Stella Ghervas (Newcastle), From the Peace of Westphalia to Enlightened Peace (1648-1815): Bold Theories, Stable Practices

Ingrid Sharp (Leeds), Writing a Cultural History of Peace for the long nineteenth century

Panel C – New Diplomatic History 1: Materiality, Spaces and Actors in Diplomacy

Location: Faraday Syndicate Room 4

Chair: **Alexander Shaw** (Leeds)

Kimberley Foy (Durham), ‘Dress Diplomacy’: England and the East, 1570-1642

Thi Ly Le (Nottingham), Park Hang-Seo: From a Football Coach to an Accredited Diplomat

Quentin Tonnerre (Lausanne), Are the Olympic Games the Business of Diplomats? The Example of Lausanne's Bid (1952-1955)

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Coffee and Tea – 18.00-18.15 – Location: Faraday Foyer, Faraday Building

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Third Panel Session – Thursday 5 September – 18.15-19.45

Panel A – Britain and Europe 1

Location: Faraday Syndicate Room 3

Chair: **James Ellison** (QMUL)

Lindsay AQUI (Cambridge), ‘No’ Vote Contingency Planning and the 1975 Referendum

Hamish McDougall (LSE), Staying Alive: New Zealand, Britain and European Integration 1960-73

Stuart Smedley (KCL), Towards a flexible Europe? British public opinion and party policy regarding the direction of European integration, from the Single European Act to Lisbon

Panel B – Prisoners of War

Location: Faraday Syndicate Room 1

Chair: **David Kaufman** (Edinburgh)

Yorai Linenberg (LSE), The Experience of British and American Jewish Prisoners of War in German Captivity in the Second World War

Artemis Photiadou (LSE), Denazified, democratised, and anti-Russian: the political ‘re-education’ of German prisoners of war in Britain, 1945-1947

Panel C – Foreign Affairs

Location: Faraday Syndicate Room 4

Chair: **Patrick Finney** (Aberystwyth)

Perri 6 (QMUL), Why states commit resiliently to international cooperation with other states with which they are in conflict: a neo-Durkheimian institutional explanation

Simon Rofe (SOAS), Life after the Embassy: Grosvenor Square as a Diplomatic Space without a Legation

Yu Cheng Teng (BISA), Neutrality in the Global Cold War: Eisenhower's Response and the Soviet Economic Offensive in Latin America

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Wine Reception – Thursday 5 September – 19.45-20.30

Location: Private Dining Room, County South

Buffet Dinner – Thursday 5 September – 20.30-22.00

Location: Private Dining Room, County South

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Friday 6 September 2019

Fourth Panel Session – Friday 6 September – 09.00-10.30

Panel A – New Diplomatic History 2: Redrawing the Landscape of Diplomacy: Networks, Backchannels and Mediators

Location: Faraday Syndicate Room 3

Chair: **Giles Scott-Smith** (Leiden)

Karen Garner (State University of New York (SUNY)), Friends and Enemies: Anglo-American Diplomacy and Neutral Ireland during World War II

Timothy Schmalz (Cambridge), Austria's Trapdoor? Diplomatic Backchannels of Communication between Britain and Austria, 1934-38

Jamie Smith (Nottingham), The Bishops of Durham: unconventional medieval diplomats?

Panel B – Anglo-Asian-Australian Affairs

Location: Faraday Syndicate Room 1

Chair: **Gaynor Johnson** (Kent)

Adonis M. Y. Li (Hong Kong), 'Kowtowing Sinophile': Sir Percy Cradock and the future of Hong Kong

Fiona Gibbons (UEA), Reconciliation on the Ocean Floor: the return of the Japanese to Darwin, Australia

Zhaodong Wang (Edinburgh), Disputes over the China-Tibet-India Road, 1942-1943: The Other Side of the Anglo-Chinese Alliance during the Second World War

Panel C – The Falklands War

Location: Faraday Syndicate Room 4

Chair: **Richard Smith** (FCO)

James Brocklesby (Liverpool John Moores University), Imperialism after Decolonisation

Louise Clare (Manchester), “I counted them all out, and I counted them all back” and “Zapatero, a tus zapatos” - Media and cultural influences in Argentina and Britain during the Falklands/Malvinas War?

Matthieu Grandpierron (Ecole Polytechnique), The use of domestic political situation in Foreign policies, narratives at work in the case of the Falklands' war

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Coffee and Tea – 10.30-11.00 – Location: Faraday Foyer, Faraday Building

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Fifth Panel Session – Friday 6 September – 11.00-12.30

Panel A – Foreign Policy 2

Location: Faraday Syndicate Room 3

Chair: **James Ellison** (QMUL)

Rachel Chin (Glasgow) and Peter Jackson (Glasgow), Imagery, History and the Politics of Franco-British Relations during the Vichy Period

Francesca Morphakis (Leeds), Missing Dimensions in Foreign Policy: Maurice Hankey and the Channel Tunnel, 1919-1930

Panel B – International Organisations

Location: Faraday Syndicate Room 4

Chair: **Patrick Finney** (Aberystwyth)

Sara Cosemans (KU Leuven), The role of the British Government in the International Refugee Regime of the 1970s: Cooperation with and Pressure on the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)

Martin Ottovay Jorgensen (Aalborg and Ghent), The Role of the United Nations and the US in restoring Western Europe's Oil Supply after the Suez Crisis, 1956-1957

Sarah Wilder (Marburg), Civilizing the Leviathan? Conceptions of state sovereignty and the development of International (Criminal) Law in the United Nations (1949 - 1957)

Panel C – Cold War 1

Location: Faraday Syndicate Room 1

Chair: **Sue Onslow** (Institute of Commonwealth Studies)

Lori Maguire (University of Paris 8), The British and French Consulates in Hanoi, 1954-1959

Raimond Neironi (Milan), The U.S. and appropriate involvement in Southeast Asia and the Origins of ASEAN, 1958-67

Richard Smith (FCO), Britain and the Revolutions in Eastern Europe 1989

Panel D – 1919 and beyond

Location: Faraday Syndicate Room 2

Chair: **David Kaufman** (Edinburgh)

Andrew Capistrano (LSE), Britain and the Washington System: The Alliance, the Open Door, and East Asian Order after Versailles, 1918-22

Jolanta Mysiakowska (The Institute of National Remembrance, Warsaw, Poland), For the political and territorial shape of Central and Eastern Europe: Polish aspirations in the eyes of the British political elite (1919-1923)

Ilaria Scaglia (Aston), Internationalism and Friendship at the University Sanatorium of Leysin, Switzerland, 1922-1960

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Lunch and BIHG Annual General Meeting – Friday 6 September – 12.30-13.45 *Lunch location: Private Dining Room, County South: Annual General Meeting location: Cavendish Colloquium*

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Sixth Panel Session – Friday 6 September – 13.45-15.15

Panel A – Colonial Knowledge in the Postcolonial Age: British Imperial Legacy and US Policy after World War Two

Location: Faraday Syndicate Room 3

Chair: **Martin Folly** (Brunel)

Sergei Buranok (Samara State University, Russia), The colonial system as seen in US Media (1945-1946)

Yaroslav Levin (Samara State University, Russia), ‘Domino effect’: American secret services and the collapse of the British Empire

Panel B – China and the Cold War

Location: Faraday Syndicate Room 1

Chair: **Michael Hopkins** (Liverpool)

James Fellows (Sun Yat-sen University), Illuminating China’s Opening and Reform: The Daya Bay Nuclear Power Plant, 1979-1987

Ylber Marku (Xiamen University, China), The End of a Special Friendship: the Sino-Albanian Alliance in the Late 1970s as a Prelude to the End of China’s Cold War

Simon Case (Lingnan University), Cultivating an image for China and the world: Opium reform, moral capital, and the trajectory of British internationalism, 1906-1931

Panel C – Anglo-American Economics

Location: Faraday Syndicate Room 4

Chair: **Richard Smith** (FCO)

Armin Gruenbacher (Birmingham), Margaret Thatcher and the economics of the 1980s CoCom Embargo: Anglo-American relations and business interest

Thomas Mills (Lancaster), An Anglo-American Free Trade Tradition? British and American Approaches to International Trade, 1846-1948

Sean Phillips (Nuffield, Oxford), British Imperial Relations in the Air Age: The Emergence of Trans-Pacific Aviation and the Character of Dominion Diplomacy in the 1930s

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Coffee and Tea – 15.15-15.30 – Location: Faraday Foyer, Faraday Building

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Seventh Panel Session – Friday 6 September – 15.30-17.00

Panel A – Britain and Europe 2

Location: Faraday Syndicate Room 4

Chair: **James Ellison** (QMUL)

Richard Davis (Université Bordeaux-Montaigne), French reactions to Britain's European policies (1958-1969)

Joshua Hockley-Still (Exeter), Britain and Europe: Domestic Politics And International Influences

Rachel Utley (Leeds), 'The French have so far shown least willingness of all our partners to meet our requirements': Britain, France and Europe, 1979-81

Panel B – Public Diplomacy and Propaganda

Location: Faraday Syndicate Room 1

Chair: **Patrick Finney** (Aberystwyth)

Miray Ates (Izmir Katip Celebi University) and **Seckin Baris Gulmez** (Izmir Katip Celebi University), Public diplomacy IN, Propaganda OUT?: A comparative analysis from the Nazis to Federal Germany

Edward Corse (Kent), "To accustom Turkish minds to a state of belligerency": the delicate balance of British propaganda in Turkey during the Second World War

Panel C - Empire

Location: Faraday Syndicate Room 3

Chair: **Poppy Cullen** (Exeter)

Ekpotuatin Charles Ariye (Keele), The Limitations of Gunboat Diplomacy in the Age of Empire: A Nigerian Case Study

Juliette Desplat (TNA), 'An example the Egyptians wouldn't forget': The 1906 Denshawai incident

Jayne Gifford (UEA), 'A damnable blaze': John Loader Maffey, the North West Frontier and the rescue of Mollie Ellis

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Postgraduate and ECR Job Workshop – Friday 6 September – 17.10-18.10

Location: Location: Faraday Syndicate Room 4

Presentation from British Online Archives, ‘Paris Peace Conference and Beyond, 1919-1939’ – Friday 6 September – 17.10-18.10

Location: Location: Faraday Syndicate Room 3

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Keynote Lecture – Friday 6 September – 18.20-19.20

Location: Cavendish Lecture Theatre

Professor Kathy Burk, Emeritus Professor, UCL, ‘Lubricating Diplomacy: The Uses of Wine’

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Wine Reception & Conference Dinner – Friday 6 September – 20.00-22:30

Location: Royal King’s Arms Hotel, Lancaster

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Saturday 7 September 2019

Eighth Panel Session - Saturday 7 September – 10.00-11.30

Panel A – Foreign Policy 3

Location: Faraday Syndicate Room 3

Chair: **Martin Folly** (Brunel)

Frank Gerits (Utrecht and the University of the Free State), The Politics of Pity: Johnson’s Policy Towards Africa (1963-1969)

Nicholas Peeters (Waseda University), Britain and Japan’s Quest for OECD Membership: From Opponent to Proponent

Simon Smith (Hull), Imperialism after empire? Britain and Qatar in the aftermath of the withdrawal from East of Suez

Panel B – War and Future War

Location: Faraday Syndicate Room 1

Chair: **David Kaufman** (Edinburgh)

Joshua Bilton (KCL), Hell: the effectiveness of the ‘Bull Ring’ in preparing British soldiers for the Western Front, 1915-17

Alexander Clarke (Kingston University), When the 'Good Guys' Go Bad: The Royal Navy and International Law in the Run Up To/Beginning of WWII

Scott Keefer (Bournemouth), The law of nations and Victorian conceptions of future war

Panel C – British Foreign Policy: Expertise, Information and Knowledge

Location: Faraday Syndicate Room 4

Chair: **Richard Smith** (FCO)

Christopher Prior (Southampton), 'A special knowledge of African problems': Expertise and Knowledge Diplomacy in post-colonial Anglo-American relations

Falko Schnike (GHIL), From Actualisation to Systematisation: Changes in Twentieth-Century British Foreign Policy Knowledge Practises

James Southern (FCO), Woke Britannia? Identity Politics and British Diplomacy since the 1960s

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Coffee and Tea – 11.30-11.45 – Location: Faraday Foyer, Faraday Building

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Ninth Panel Session - Saturday 7 September - 11.45-13.15

Panel A – Britain, Morocco and Turkey

Location: Faraday Syndicate Room 3

Chair: **Gaynor Johnson** (Kent)

Bilal Kotil (Istanbul Sehir University), Runaway slaves, Anglo-Ottoman relations, and politics of humanitarianism in the late nineteenth century

Fatima Rhrochi (Moulay Ismail University), The Bittersweet in the Anglo-Moroccan Diplomatic Relations

Baturay Yurtbay (Oxford), The Menemen Incident and its impacts on Kemalist regime

Panel B – Cold War 2

Location: Faraday Syndicate Room 4

Chair: **Michael Hopkins** (Liverpool)

Juho Ovaska (Turku), Neutral states, mediation ventures, and Great powers: Finnish mediation attempts, 1982-1984

Volker Prott (Aston), 'We Must Tread Warily': East Pakistan, India, and the Pitfalls of Foreign Intervention, 1971

Ksenia Wesolowska (Strathclyde), Kissinger-Rogers bureaucratic rivalry and U.S. foreign policy towards the Arab-Israeli peace process

Panel C – Foreign policy 4

Location: Faraday Syndicate Room 1

Chair: **Patrick Finney** (Aberystwyth)

Caleb Karges (Concordia University Irvine), Exploring New Possibilities: Anglo-Austrian Relations in the Nine Years War

Fausto Scarinzi (Reading), International political context and the use of indiscriminate violence against the peasant insurgencies in the South of Italy (1861-1865)

Panel D – Contemporary International Affairs

Location: Faraday Syndicate Room 2

Chair: **James Ellison** (QMUL)

James Simpkin (Leeds), How ideational structures shape international relations: a strategic-relational analysis of the influence of the 'Special Relationship' on UK missile defence policy 1997-2010

Gökser Gökçay (Uskudar University, Istanbul), Debating the State of the Field in International History

Natalya Yakovenko (National University of "Kyiv – Mohyla Academy"), The Development of UK-Ukraine Diplomatic Relations in the Course of Ukraine's Independence

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Lunch – Saturday 7 September - 13.15-14.00

General Information

Campus Orientation

The conference will take place within the Faraday Complex which is in the North Campus zone of the University of Lancaster.

Registration

This will take place within the Faraday Foyer within the Faraday Complex on both Thursday 5th and Friday 6th September.

- **Thursday 5th September:** It will take place from 12.30pm-6.00pm within the Faraday Foyer.
- **Friday 6th September:** It will take place from 8.30am until 6.00pm within the Faraday Foyer.

Please note that there will be the facility for delegates to store their luggage within a safe and secure room within the Faraday Complex throughout the conference.

All other conference proceedings

These will take place within Cavendish Lecture Theatre, Cavendish Colloquium and Faraday Seminar Rooms (1-4).

The campus is centred around Alexandra Square, which houses several eateries, banks with ATM machines, and steps and a lift down to the Underpass. Set amidst 560 acres of landscaped parkland, the campus also boasts a woodland trail (accessed from various points around campus), and its own duck pond (located near the main entrance).

Please click on the following link to see the Lancaster University campus map, highlighting all of the different spaces that will be used throughout the event.

<https://www.lancaster.ac.uk/media/lancaster-university/content-assets/documents/maps/campus-map.pdf>

Catering and Refreshments during the Conference

We will ensure that your food and drink requirements are covered during the course of the conference. Below is a schedule of how this will work:

- **Thursday 5th September:** A wine reception and a relaxed buffet will take place in the Private Dining Rooms facility, County South.
- **Friday 6th September:** Lunch will take place in Private Dining Rooms facility, County South. A wine reception and dinner will take place at the Royal Kings Arms Hotel in

Lancaster City Centre, which is approximately 15 minutes from campus.

<https://royalkingsarmshotel.co.uk/>

- Coach travel to and from the venue will be provided as part of this provision. The coach will depart from the Lancaster Square Avenue at 7.30pm. There will be a return coach from the Royal Kings Arms Hotel to Lancaster University at 11.00pm.
- **Saturday 7th September:** A packed lunch will be provided in Faraday Foyer, Faraday complex.
- Refreshments including tea and coffee will be served throughout the conference within the Faraday Foyer, Faraday complex.

Accommodation

A limited number of single and double occupancy 3 star en-suite bedrooms have been set aside for delegates to book on campus. Complimentary car parking and a full English breakfast are included as part of this booking. Breakfast will take place in either Marketplace or Barker House Farm.

Delegates will be able to check in to their rooms on campus from 2.30pm onwards. Below is a schedule of where you will be able to check-in and collect your room key throughout the conference:

- **Thursday 5th September:** There will be a 'Pop up Key Reception' within the Faraday Building from 2.30-3.00pm and 4.00-4.30pm. From 4.30pm until 11.00pm, delegates will be able to check in at Bowland Hall. Delegates arriving beyond 11.00pm will need to check-in at 'Security' on Bowland Avenue, opposite the Chaplaincy.
- **Friday 6th September/Saturday 7th September:** Delegates will be able to check-in at Bowland Hall between 2.30-11.00pm. From 11.00pm onwards, delegates will need to check in at Security on Bowland Avenue, opposite the Chaplaincy.

Conference Fees and Charges

The standard conference fee will be £75.00. A reduced rate of £35.00 will be available for PGR. BISA members will be exempt from paying this fee, and all delegates are strongly urged to join BISA in order to facilitate their participation at the conference. Full details about how to join BISA are available here: <https://www.bisa.ac.uk/index.php/membership-rates>. Standard BISA membership costs are £70 per year, with significantly lower rates for PhD students and ECRs.

The online shop for registration will go live in May 2019 -A notification will follow by email soon. Delegates will be able to purchase a full conference package or single day options.

Local Travel

The University of Lancaster campus is located approximately three miles south of Lancaster city centre.

Buses depart the university campus from the Underpass. Lancaster bus station is situated on Damside Street in the city centre and most services also stop at Common Garden Street. Bus journeys between campus and the city take between 10 and 20 minutes depending on the service.

The main taxi rank on campus is on Bowland Avenue South, outside the Chaplaincy Centre. Taxi ranks in Lancaster city are located beside the Bus Station on Damside Street, at Lancaster Railway Station and at other locations throughout the city centre.

For local taxis call:

- **848848 Radio Taxis:** 01524 848848
- **32090 Taxis:** 01524 32090
- **Coastal Taxis:** 01524 60000
- **A1 Taxis:** 01524 35666

The city is within 70 miles of Manchester's International Airport and well served by road and public transport links. Please click on the following link for more information on how to get to the campus. <https://www.lancaster.ac.uk/about-us/maps-and-travel/>

Food and drinks on campus

- Go Burrito (Lancaster's original burrito bar and Mexican food), Edward Roberts Court, 11am-10pm.
- The Deli (soups, salads, baked tartlets, stew), South Spine, 8am-9pm.
- Grizedale Cafe Bar (contemporary cafe bar offering cocktails and Mexican food. Cashless payments only). Grizedale College, 12pm-midnight.
- The Herdwick (traditional pub serving ales, cider, single malt whiskies and mead), Graduate College, 7pm-11pm.
- The Hub@InfoLab (range of breakfasts and lunches with surrounding views of countryside), InfoLab, 8.30am-3.30pm.
- Juicafe (smoothies, milkshakes, coffee and vegan soups), Alexandra Square, 8am-8pm.
- The Lounge (light bites, sandwiches, salads, platters, and two and three course meals), County South, 9am-4pm.
- Marketplace (daily changing menu with hot options both sweet and savoury and a salad bar), County South, 8am-8pm.
- The Mill (sports bar selling burritos, specialty burgers and all-day breakfast. Cashless payments only), Fylde College, 10am-11pm.
- The Northern Oak (bar with an adjoining games room), County South, 10am-11pm.
- Pizzetta Republic, (fresh coffee, pizzas and lots more), Furness College, 8am-4am.
- Sultan of Lancaster (grilled foods such as sizzlers, steak and shawarma, and curries), Edward Roberts Court, 10am-4am.
- The Trough of Bowland (bar that serves a range of pies along with cask ales, bottled beer), Bowland College, 12pm-11pm.
- Trevor (bar that serves coffee, brew tea, along with a wide range of gins), Furness College, 4pm-11pm.

- Wok Inn (variety of rice and noodle dishes), Edward Roberts Court, 10.30am-10.30pm.

Food and drink in Town

- 1725 (tapas in historic setting), Market Street, LA1 1HT
- Bombay Balti (reliable Indian), China Street, LA1 1EX
- The Borough (traditional spacious pub with food), Dalton Square, LA1 1PP
- Hogarths (Lancaster's new gin palace), George Street, LA1 1XQ
- John O' Gaunt (traditional cosy pub), Market Street, LA1 1JG
- Merchants 1688 (17th century wine cellar with traditional pub food), Castle Hill, LA1 1YN
- Molly's (traditional Italian), Church Street, LA1 1LH
- Pizza Margherita (Pizza and pasta dishes in informal setting), Moor Lane, LA1 1QD
- Red Peppercorn (high quality fusion), Moor Lane, LA1 1QD
- Robert Gillow (traditional pub named after transatlantic voyager), Market Street, LA1 1HP
- Sabai Thai (reliable Thai), China Street, LA1 1EX
- Sultan of Lancaster (excellent Indian – note: no alcohol permitted), Brock Street, LA1 1UU
- The Sun Cafe (excellent European food – at the more expensive end for Lancaster), Sun Street, LA1 1EW
- The Sun Hotel (traditional spacious pub with food), Church Street, LA1 1ET
- Sun Pizza (sister restaurant to Sun Cafe), Sun Street, LA1 1EW
- The Tap House (wide selection of world beers and whiskies), Gage Street, LA1 1UH
- The Three Mariners (cosy traditional pub), Bridge Lane, LA1 1EE
- The Water Witch (canal-side traditional pub with food), Canal Tow Path, Aldcliffe Road, LA1 1SU

Speakers and Abstracts

Perri 6 (QMUL), Why states commit resiliently to international cooperation with other states with which they are in conflict: a neo-Durkheimian institutional explanation

Why do states resist temptations to withdraw from international regulatory bodies, when they could do so, when tensions with other states are deepening, and when the regulated activity is embroiled in security dilemmas? Britain joined the first international regulatory authority, the International Telegraph Union, only in 1871; in 1901 it seriously contemplated “Brexit”; its adherence to the Submarine Cable Convention, the other part of the nineteenth century international telecommunications regime, was with a security reservation. Yet, despite wars of national unification in Europe and imperial conflicts, Britain not only remained in membership: it became ever more closely entwined with the ITU and German and other European countries’ international telegraphy in the decade before 1914 even as the country was preparing for cable-cutting in a war with Germany. Because many of the conventional explanations have proven unsatisfactory (6 and Heims, paper for 2018 BIHG stream at BISA), this paper presents a fresh theoretical explanation, using neo-Durkheimian institutional theory. It argues that resilient commitment should be explained with equifinality by contrasting configurations of institutional ordering in three subperiods – namely, before adherence in 1868-71, 1871-1898, and 1898-14, but that the sequence in the equifinality cannot simply be reduced to a form of path dependence. The paper examines the third subperiod, arguing that a specific form of social organisation in government cultivated a particular type of institutional buffering between security and commercial policy for telegraphy, which sustained the commitment even as conflict deepened.

Lindsay Aquilino (Cambridge), ‘No’ Vote Contingency Planning and the 1975 Referendum

In February 1974, Harold Wilson was returned to Downing Street, elected on the promise of a renegotiation of the UK’s membership of the European Community (EC), followed by a referendum. In the end, the poll resulted in 67% of the electorate voting ‘yes’ to staying in the Community. But what if voters had said ‘no’? From February 1974 to June 1975, civil servants and ministers serving the Wilson government engaged in an extensive contingency planning exercise. They explored the impact a withdrawal from the EC might have on Britain’s global role, Anglo-Irish relations, the Cold War and the economy. The Irish government led by Prime Minister Liam Cosgrave and the European Commission under President Xavier Ortoli also developed strategies for managing the aftermath of a ‘no’ vote. This paper will develop a comparative analysis and ask two questions. How did London, Dublin and Brussels prepare for the 1975 referendum? What do those plans tell us about the economic and political ‘crisis’ of the 1970s, Anglo-Irish relations and the Cold War? This aspect of 1975 is important not least because no similar preparation was undertaken in Britain prior to the 2016 EU Referendum. However, this is not the only reason to revisit the 1970s. Officials and ministers in the UK, Ireland and the Commission were motivated to develop clear strategies for navigating the fallout of a vote to leave the EC because of the overwhelming sense of uncertainty that characterised the decade. Furthermore, contingency planning suggests that Wilson considered seriously the implications of allowing the public to decide the future of the UK’s relationship with the Community.

Ekpotuatin Charles Ariye (Keele), The Limitations of Gunboat Diplomacy in the Age of Empire: A Nigerian Case Study

This paper examines the central means employed by Great Britain in the colonisation of aspects of the western lower Niger in the wake of the general European expansionary enterprise in the nineteenth century. It adopts a case study approach, focusing on the relationship and encounters between Great Britain and a few indigenous groups of the western lower Niger between 1884 and 1914. Evidence demonstrates that in their encounters with the Itsekiri, Urhobo, western Ijo, Isoko and Ukwuani groups, officials of Great Britain concluded treaties of protection with these groups as a means of gaining political and sovereign rights. These rights in-turn enabled the imperial power to subsume these groups into its empire. However, the general historiographies of the episodes of British expansion in the Niger basin and Nigeria are quick to ascribe a blanket ascription of the use of force by the alien forces in the pacification, subjugation and colonisation of indigenous peoples. Often, the narrative is that the British bulldozed their

way into the hinterlands, using its overwhelming military might against the hapless and helpless indigenous societies. For such narratives, it was a “British Conquest of Nigeria.” With particular reference to the case study areas of this paper, the sacking of Nana Olomu of Ebrohimi in 1894, an Itsekiri merchant and trader mainly over violations of slave trade and commercial issues is often cited and applied as the norm ignoring relatively any reference to treaty-making and its use between the British and the indigenous people. The evidence does not support a total gun-boat diplomacy in the western Niger, treaty agreements played a preponderant role

Miray Ates (Izmir Katip Celebi University) and Seckin Baris Gulmiz (Izmir Katip Celebi University), Public diplomacy IN, Propaganda OUT? A comparative analysis from the Nazis to Federal Germany

This paper aims to discuss the overriding question of whether “public diplomacy”, one of the most popular diplomatic practices today, is entirely distinct from the term “propaganda”, an infamous diplomatic activity largely superseded by public diplomacy after the Second World War. In order to find a valid answer to the question, the paper offers a historical case study on German foreign policy comparing the major propaganda activities of the Nazi Germany during the 1930s with the current public diplomacy practices employed by the Federal Republic of Germany. Accordingly, the paper will first review the extant scholarly literature that tends to disconnect public diplomacy and propaganda. Second, it will focus on the German case. In particular, the overseas activities of two prominent German institutions led by the Nazi government, namely; Deutsche Akademie and Teutonia will be compared with the Goethe Institute and the Alexander von Humboldt foundation. The paper will then compare and contrast the Nazi propaganda in the 1936 Munich Olympics and the German public diplomacy during the 2006 World Cup. Overall, the empirical findings of the cases under scrutiny strongly deny the disconnection between propaganda and public diplomacy highlighted in the academic literature. Instead, the paper argues that even though Nazi Germany and today’s Federal Germany have entirely different and even diverging foreign policy agendas, there are strong overlaps between the Nazi German propaganda and today’s German public diplomacy both aiming to exert soft power on foreign publics by advertising an image of a “powerful, progressive and exemplary Germany”.

Joshua Bilton (KCL), Hell: the effectiveness of the “Bull Ring” in preparing British soldiers for the Western Front, 1915-1917

Étaples (or the ‘Bull Ring’ as it was known) was a series of training camps that opened in France during the First World War. They were designed to ‘harden’ British and Commonwealth servicemen, the majority of whom were straight from basic training in England. Exposure to gas, further bayonet drill and severe disciplinary measures were just some of the steps that were taken in order to prepare the men for active service on the Western Front. Although contemporary research has sought to examine (more broadly) the experience of the servicemen; a subject that has been explored in Richard Holmes’ *Tommy*, as well as the organisation of ‘Bull Ring’ (as is the case in Paddy Griffith’s *Battle Tactics on the Western Front*), there is yet to be a bilateral exploration of the camps’ effectiveness. This research paper will therefore, consider the value of the ‘Bull ring’, as a means of preparing soldiers for the rigours of active service, from both a ‘bottom up’ and ‘top-down’ perspective. Drawing on the accounts of British servicemen, as well as official documentation (pamphlets, training manuals and government communications), this paper will consider (a) the ways in which soldiers navigated this period of instruction and (b) how the High Command came to evaluate this process. The analysis will shed light on the narratives that emerged, starting with (i) an exploration of why the camp was opened in June 1915 and (ii) an overview of the training that was undertaken. This is followed by (iii) a consideration of the servicemen’s opinions of the instruction that was imparted, and finally, (iv) the effectiveness of the ‘Bull Ring’ from the perspective of the authorities.

James Brocklesby (Liverpool John Moores University), Imperialism after Decolonisation

Colonial history and decolonisation has tended to focus on larger, and ostensibly more important colonies. Nevertheless, decolonisation affected smaller territories, which must be situated within the British world system, and with recent burgeoning literature complimenting imperial history highlights a change in how we study decolonisation. Additionally, history has neglected those colonies that remained attached to the British Empire past the wave of decolonisation, with a lack of understanding over how

enduring relationships transpired and affected Britain during the era of colonial emancipation and self-determination. By situating smaller colonies that remained attached to the U.K. allows imperial history to be more holistic in its approach. The aim of the paper is to propose reasons for colonial retention through the case studies of the Falklands, Diego Garcia, and Brunei, which provide important perspectives to understand enduring imperial relationships. From identity and racial politics, to Cold War realpolitik, and economic considerations, retention was dictated by peripheral dynamics as well as larger geopolitical factors. What will be evident is that smaller colonies that were retained at the end of empire were not immune from pressures that forced decolonisation. The aim then is to understand and invert these pressures to understand how factors pushing decolonisation can also be explanations dictating retention.

Sergei Buranok (Samara State University, Russia), The colonial system as seen in US Media (1945-1946)

The questions of the prospects of the colonial system, of the transition into the postcolonial era, of the possibility of application of experience of colonial empires had been some of the most popular and debatable in the American society throughout the recent history. They became especially important in the periods following the Great War and in the final stage of the World War II. Studies of the American periodical press will enable us to identify a broader range of models of solutions to the colonial problem than would the analysis of only the opinions of the expert community and of the diplomatic corps and, what is most important, will enable us to give a deeper and more detailed insight into the American conceptions of the practical approaches to the international relations in the context of transformation of the world order in and directly after the end of the World War II. The materials of the American press of 1945 dedicated to the search for the most efficient optimal strategy of building relations with both colonial empires and with dependent territories show, among other things, a steady interest of American mass media interest towards negative and positive experience of colonial policy. It is to be noted that this experience whether or not by will was constantly being compared in the press with American approaches and principles and in that way was shaping a steady public discourse that encompassed not only the ‘cornerstones’ of international relations of the year 1945, but actualized the almost forgotten issues (especially in the period of 1941 – 1944) such as the Malay problem, the Indian question, or the Indo-China problem.

Andrew Capistrano (LSE), Britain and the Washington System: The Alliance, the Open Door, and East Asia Order after Versailles, 1918-1922

Historians, particularly from the United States and Japan, have theorized about a “Washington System”—a multilateral diplomatic framework for great-power conduct in East Asia—that was designed at the Washington Conference in 1921-22 to transform incentives and redirect competition from security issues to the economic realm (e.g., Iriye 1965). Britain’s role, though often noted as essential, is not developed in this literature (e.g., Hosoya 1978). Elsewhere it is explicitly sidestepped to focus on explaining the brief period of US-Japan cooperation and restrained Japanese diplomacy in China during the 1920s (e.g., Asada 2006). This has left the concept open to challenges that Britain’s incentives were not shaped by any “Washington System” at all; rather, its diplomacy continued to reflect pre-Conference patterns in British policy (Nish 1977; Fung 1991). I argue instead that Britain was the key actor in shaping the “cooperative” China policy that would emerge between 1921-25 from the Washington treaties. It thus naturally reflected British preferences to a greater degree than is commonly recognized. Reintegrating Britain into the history of pre-Conference diplomacy as a key actor emphasizes how American and Japanese strategic choices were constrained by the presence of a third major power, itself bound by the League of Nations and possessing vast interests in China. The evidence suggests that the final outcome of the Conference resembled a partial fusing of the prewar Anglo-Japanese and Anglo-American relationships—the Alliance and the Open Door—which directs attention to the ripple effect following British unilateral defection in 1926 that imperiled the Washington System.

Simon Case (Lingnan University), Cultivating an image for China and the world: Opium reform, moral capital, and the trajectory of British internationalism, 1906-1931

This paper explores the changing priorities behind Britain’s foreign and imperial policy regarding drugs in the first three decades of the twentieth century, its transition towards reform, and its emerging

commitment to the internationalist institutions that came to define interwar geopolitics. It situates this analysis within the context of political change and commercial tensions in China, the period of wider diplomatic and strategic realignment that occurred shortly preceding and following the First World War, and the internationalist moment that heralded the establishment of the League of Nations. I argue that the initiative to reform Britain's opium system, developed on to the international stage, was part of a larger effort to re-forge Britain's global image, reflecting a rapidly changing commercial status quo and an effort to manage a trajectory of relative imperial decline in the early twentieth century. Having already adopted a path of reform, indicative of an existing Liberal anti-opium commitment, British policymakers, under pressure from the emergence of new imperial powers, such as Japan and the United States, and significant political and commercial developments in China, sought to utilise international efforts towards arbitration and the global regulation of drugs to forge a new foreign policy position for Britain as a leader of the emergent international community. Policymakers simultaneously sought to redefine Britain's global reputation, playing to both international and domestic public opinions, jettisoning the longstanding image of imperial unilateralism in drugs policy in favour of pursuing moral legitimisation through leading the push for the international regulation of drugs. Though this was by no means the end of empire, it was symbolic of a larger underlying shift in approach and priorities that defined this period of British policymaking.

Rachel Chin (Glasgow) and Peter Jackson (Glasgow), Imagery, History and the Politics of Franco-British Relations during the Vichy Period

This paper draws upon the AHRC-funded research project 'The Weight of the Past in Franco-British Relations since 1815' which is based at the University of Glasgow and led by Peter Jackson, Rogelia Pastor-Castro, Rachel Utley and Rachel Chin.

Louise Clare (Manchester), "I counted them all out, and I counted them all back" and "Zapatero a tus zapatos" – Media and cultural influences in Argentina and Britain during the Falklands/Malvinas War

Leaked news, cultural identities, patriotism, rallying round the flag, and suspected motivations for war all surround myth creation. But, to what extent do the media echo and promote myths? How, in a war fought on the cusp of major technological advancements, do the media exert influence? What impact does news reporting have? How do different national contexts affect news reporting? These questions become even more relevant during the 1982 Falklands/Malvinas War. The Islands' remoteness would initially suggest complete government media management by both belligerent powers. However, despite this logistical remoteness and, in 1982, still lacking the 24 hour news cycle, news reporting in this conflict pressed both belligerent powers to rethink their media management strategies for a conflict fought on the threshold of an age which ushered in new forms of embedded journalism. This paper will examine how the media of both belligerents latched onto leaked news, provided dissenting voices, rallied round the flag, and invoked cultural identities; in these ways they brought challenges for governments to the fore sooner, promoted and or provided myth creation and pressed for jingoism. Additionally, the paper will assess how media influence and reporting shifted across these national landscapes and, an often neglected facet: the role cultural forces played in this type of reporting. The 'fog of war', in this conflict, fought on the cusp of major technological advancements, did not fully mist the media's ability and any 'fog' which did descend was linked to cultural forces and not solely to governmental management.

Alexander Clarke (Kingston University), When the 'Good Guys' Go Bad: The Royal Navy and International Law in the Run Up to/Beginning of WWII

The Royal Navy is associated as an organisation with a reputation for adhering to a code of honour, maintaining a high moral standard and a being very much committed to rule based conduct. Yet in four key episodes; the Tsingtao January 1939 (SS Vincent De Paul) Incident, the boarding of the Asama Maru, the Battle of the River Plate and the Altmark Incident the RN either manipulated, ignored, flouted or used force majeure to disregard not only International Law and Treaties it had written, but also centuries of reputation, without losing this reputation! Whilst these incidents have been largely air brushed from/even in the national memory, the consequence of their actions lives on today as Maritime Law is still based largely in precedent. As example the Altmark Incident with its rescue of merchant seaman and shouts of "The Navy's Here" was crucial propaganda at time today, but now is largely forgotten, while the post war

movie of the Battle of the River Plate carefully skirted the issue of RN plans should Graf Spee not have sank herself... Three of these incidents involved warship classes (Tribal class destroyers & Town class cruisers) which considered themselves the elite of their service and as such their crews held themselves to an even higher standard of professionalism... Two of these incidents involved neutral powers; in fact both Norway and the South American nations were being actively courted whilst these operations were conducted – yet still they went ahead; both Tsingtao & Asama Maru involved the Japanese in the Far East, where the RN successfully behaved in a counter intuitive manner to preserve peace, whilst also achieving their strategic and tactical aims.

Edward Corse (Kent), “To accustom Turkish minds to a state of belligerency”: the delicate balance of British propaganda in Turkey during the Second World War

Turkey, being neutral and strategically placed between key theatres of the Second World War, was a ripe propaganda battleground for the Allied and Axis powers. Both sides wanted to maintain a relationship with Turkey on the best possible terms, meaning at the very least maintaining the status quo, and at best drawing Turkey into the active war. For Britain, there were risks involved in doing too much and too little which provoked debate and tension between the various British organisations involved regarding the aims of British propaganda. The Foreign Office, the Ministry of Information, the Special Operations Executive, the Ministry of Economic Warfare, the British Council and the BBC all had different ideas around what sort of activity would be most effective which made co-ordination of messaging and activities difficult. Partly this was down to the challenging circumstances these organisations found themselves in, but also partly down to the differing personal views of the key personalities involved such as Sir Hugh Knatchbull-Hugessen (HM Ambassador), Leigh Ashton and Tamara Talbot Rice (MOI), George Gedye (SOE), Sigmar Hillelson (BBC) and Michael Grant (British Council). Over the course of the war the position of Turkey changed significantly owing to the military battles taking place. This meant that propaganda messaging had to be adaptive to the circumstances, but the war also affected the ease at which it was possible to disseminate the British point of view. This paper will explore how all of these British organisations worked together, what methods and messages they deployed and how successful they were in achieving their aims.

Sara Cosemans (KU Leuven), The role of the British Government in the International Refugee Regime of the 1970s: Cooperation with and Pressure on the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

In the 1970s, with the decolonisation almost complete and the cold war in a state of détente, international and universal tendencies gained prominence. Renewed attention for humanitarian, long lasting solutions and what Moyn has called “the breakthrough of human rights” caused an upsurge in refugee resettlement. Nevertheless, state actors’ meddling in the international refugee regime for other motives should not be underestimated. Scholars have viewed these developments predominantly through a cold war lens, narrowing the view to American developments. My research seeks to widen the scope to other actors in international refugee affairs, which received relatively less attention. This paper explores the British role in the emerging universal refugee regime. In 1972, during the Ugandan Asian expulsion, the British government sought cooperation with UNHCR. The UK was heavily involved in the crisis as most Asians were UK passport holders. The British Government, in an attempt to disperse the group internationally, saw an opportunity to involve the international refugee organisation when a group of Asians lost their Ugandan citizenship, effectively becoming stateless. However, FCO was careful to avoid the impression that UNHCR was working at British behest. Nevertheless, British influence in UNHCR was substantial and not limited to the Ugandan Asian crisis. A year later, the British government got involved again in the resettlement of Chilean exiles, and more importantly, in finding solutions for the Vietnamese boat people from 1975 onwards. Especially Vietnamese refugees’ presence in British Hong Kong inspired the British to closely cooperate with and put pressure on UNHCR.

Richard Davis (Université Bordeaux-Montaigne), French reactions to Britain’s European Policies (1958-1969)

The question of Britain’s relations with the rest of Europe is obviously an issue of the greatest importance today as it has been over previous decades. The current crisis - in British politics, within the main political

parties, and in the UK's diplomatic relations – has reached levels that may be unprecedented. It is not, however, entirely without precedent particularly when we consider the years 1958-69. The current debate around Brexit and its fall-out for Britain's diplomatic relations with the rest of Europe has also provoked a good deal of debate in France where the reactions have been a mix of confusion, bewilderment, concern – for their own future and the future of the European project – and a degree of schadenfreude, satisfaction at seeing their old diplomatic rival in such a state of disarray. In the light of this debate the proposed paper will reconsider earlier French reactions to the various British initiatives in (possibly against?) Europe taken between 1958 and 1969. These dates correspond to the years of De Gaulle's presidency and attention will obviously be placed on his personal role. The paper will also consider the views of others in France where we see a similar mix as that seen today. The reactions in France were varied in the same way as British thinking about Europe was. While there was a tendency on both sides to see these questions in terms of a 'battle for the leadership of Europe' there were other views, perhaps less clearly and less forcefully expressed, that sought to bring the two together.

Juliette Desplat (TNA), 'An example the Egyptians wouldn't forget': The 1906 Denshawai incident

The 1906 Denshawai incident showed how tense the relations were between the Egyptians and the British, and how easily the situation could escalate. The disputable verdict handed down by the Special Tribunal, and the disproportionately severe sentences triggered nationalist feelings which showed to the British authorities that contrary to what they thought, a patriotic movement did exist in Egypt and was ready to grow. Telling the story of the Denshawai incident can almost exclusively be done, annoyingly, through the accounts written by the British administration and the testimonies given by the British officers involved; the accused did testify during the trial but only very briefly. The point isn't to build a biased case by adopting a British point of view, but only to tell a story based on facts that can be verified from available documents.

Ronald Edsforth (Dartmouth), *The Worst of Times, The Best of Times: a Cultural History of Peace in the Modern Era*

The Worst of Times, The Best of Times: a Cultural History of Peace in the Modern Era. During the first decades of our modern era, imperial conflicts produced the deadliest, most destructive widespread warfare in history. Recently, since the collapse of the Soviet empire, international warfare has nearly disappeared while the scale and scope of civil wars has been sharply reduced, shrinking the annual global death toll in warfare to historic lows. This presentation will discuss several major cultural developments that help to explain this global history. 1) Imperialism is no longer celebrated, and racist ideologies that supported imperialism have been delegitimized. 2) The lived experiences and mediated representations of modern warfare have dramatically reshaped ideas, images, and stories about war. Graphic depictions and narratives of war in modern media circulating in unprecedented global networks spread war aversion, reinforcing intellectual currents, international politics, and nongovernmental institutions that have promoted peace since the Enlightenment. Romantic war stories glorifying the bravery and sacrifices of soldiers, and victory persist but are now overshadowed by countless depictions of both noncombatant civilians and soldiers as victims of war. 3) The ever-present possibility of civilization-ending nuclear warfare has sustained institutionalized efforts to prevent major power conflicts. 4) Millions of people have committed themselves to achieving to "positive peace" by eliminating deep forms of "structural violence" such as economic inequality, patriarchy, racism, and unsustainable economic development that so often cause bloodshed. 5) Global diffusion of democratic ideas, and more directly, the successful use nonviolent civil resistance to implement those ideas have been shown to be more effective methods of regime change than civil warfare. In itself, the proliferation of this modern form of serious political conflict has reduced the numbers of wars and the likelihood of new wars.

Dan Feather (Liverpool John Moores University), *British Policy Towards Cultural Relations with South Africa, 1960 to 1994*

This paper analyses British policy towards cultural relations with South Africa in the period 1960 to 1994. This aspect of UK-South African relations has gained little scholarly attention, most of the existing literature instead focusses on political or economic ties between the two countries. This paper aims to

rectify this, and demonstrate that policies towards cultural relations worked in tandem with more traditional links as a means of protecting Britain's important interests in the country. This analysis of British policy will be structured around three main themes: educational links, primarily scholarships and visiting lectureships; the exploitation of 'cultural manifestations', for example performing arts tours or art exhibitions; and London's attitude towards sporting contact with South African sides, particularly in cricket and rugby. In the period examined, South Africa increasingly became an international pariah. As African, Asian, and Caribbean Commonwealth and UN members tried to ostracise South Africa, British policymaker's ability to utilise cultural connections in its relations with the country became all the more difficult and controversial. This paper highlights how British officials attempted to navigate its cultural policy toward South Africa under these difficult circumstances, and demonstrates the importance of the country to the UK's political elite.

James Fellows (Sun Yat-sen University), Illuminating China's Opening and Reform: The Daya Bay Nuclear Power Plant, 1979-1987

Deng Xiaoping's policy of reform and opening from 1978 was a departure from the ideological dogmatism that had defined Mao's China at the height of the Cold War. The importance of China's interactions with foreign (especially Western) powers during the reform process has received a great deal of recent scholarly attention, as has the role of Hong Kong – the colony was China's largest source of external investment. Nevertheless, among these mostly macro perspectives there is an absence of case studies on individual projects, which can provide a detailed insight into the practical realities of how such co-operation played out. The Daya Bay Nuclear Power Plant – envisaged in the late 1970s and constructed between 1987 and 1994 – in China's southern province of Guangdong provides one such opportunity. The plant was one of the earliest and largest joint venture projects initiated in China in the post-1978 period of economic transition. It was a truly international undertaking: the ownership of the plant, situated 50km from Hong Kong, was split between the Hong Kong-based CLP Holdings Limited and the Guangdong Nuclear Investment Company, whilst construction was handled by British and French firms. There were also political considerations: in 1984 Britain and China agreed that the crown colony of Hong Kong would transfer to China in 1997, and the project was viewed as a means of ensuring future commercial cooperation between the involved parties. This paper is an investigation into the planning stages of the plant and the implications of this project for understanding China's new era of engagement with the global capitalist economy.

Kimberley Foy (Durham), 'Dress Diplomacy': England and the East, 1570-1642

Objects are often transnational in terms of their modes of production, dissemination, and their continual dynamic reinvention. In this way, the story of a textile or garment is also the story of many different but related cultural contexts. English representatives in the East were often savvy cultural ambassadors, fluent in a transnational language of materiality, with mutual understanding and friendship fostered through encounter and exchange, particularly in relation to clothing. International dialogues between England and the Eastern powers were opened successfully not merely because of verbal skill on the part of English delegations, but rather a shared appreciation of high quality fabrics and other adorning luxuries. As Elizabethan England opened itself up politically to the East, English courtiers dressed appropriately for this new paradigm. I consider the development of 'dress diplomacy' between the English court and Mughal India, as well as Persia and the Ottoman Empire, generally. More particularly, I will investigate the careers of Sir Thomas Roe, and the Shirley Brothers in this context.

Karen Garner (State University of New York), Friends and Enemies: Anglo-American Diplomacy and Neutral Ireland during World War II

My research focuses on some of the lesser-known but key diplomats, spies, and journalists—on their interactions, intrigues, biases, and agendas—as they tried to shape and coordinate the alliance policies of President Franklin Roosevelt and Prime Minister Winston Churchill that were designed to revise the neutrality policy that the Irish Free State adhered to throughout World War II. Among other shifting objectives that will also be explored in this study, US and British government leaders, diplomats, and Allied propagandists all wanted to ensure that Irish Prime Minister Eamon de Valera and his government, as well as de Valera's Irish Republican Army (IRA) rivals, did not provide intelligence or other material aid

to Nazi Germany or its agents who remained in Eire, some officially and some covertly. In addition, the British and US governments sought access to Irish ports and air bases for Allied Powers' war time offensive and defensive operations. The Irish government sought recognition of their national sovereignty, that included recognition of Ireland's right to claim neutral status in war and the Irish government's demand for the return of the six northern Irish counties that claimed membership within the United Kingdom. My goal is to tell the personal stories of a selected group of individuals whose interactions complicate the grand narrative of the history of World War II Western alliances that is most often relayed in World War II diplomatic histories. This paper analyzes the interactions and collaborations of US minister to Ireland David Gray and US war correspondent Helen Kirkpatrick in Dublin in 1940-41, as that is where my research project began.

Frank Gerits (Utrecht and the University of the Free State), *The Politics of Pity: Johnson's Policy Towards Africa (1963-1969)*

The scholarship on United States–Africa relations in the 1960s holds that the policies of President Lyndon B. Johnson towards this continent were a failure. The orthodox scholarship stressed LBJ's personal style, particularly his disinterest in maintaining warm personal relationships with African heads of states. Revisionists, more recently, have focussed on LBJ, the politician. For Mitch Lerner, LBJ was a president who developed a substantive policy, but tried to avoid close public association with dramatic reform in Africa to not upset conservatives and African-Americans. Moreover, LBJ's trust in modernization theory further encouraged him to take the long view. A re-examination of the evidence, however, suggests Johnson lost his faith in state-led modernization and cultural assistance. His policies materialized at a moment when criticism on state-led modernization mounted and non-governmental organizations and small-scale community development became popular vehicles of development. Instead, it will be argued here that LBJ relied on the United States Information Agency to manage the outcome of violent conflicts on the continent while also relying on public diplomacy to support the Organisation of African Unity.

Matthew Gerth (QUB), *'The Heathers Afire and the Thames is Burning': John McGovern, the Moral Rearmament Movement and Anti-communism*

By the mid-1950s the Labour Party and its chairman Morgan Philips found themselves forced to deal with a precarious problem. A current member of Parliament began accusing both the Parliamentary Labour Party and the constituency Labour Parties of being infested with hidden communists and fellow travelers. Since these charges were coming from an elected official made the issue a serious one for those occupying Transport House. Compounding this situation even further was that this McCarthyite red hunter was himself a Labour MP - named John McGovern. My paper seeks to account for the transformation of John McGovern from a former communist and anarchist into a rabid anti-communist. The explanation for this conversion will address the Moral Rearmament movement – created by Frank Buchman, an American Lutheran minister - and its effect on McGovern and how it shaped his views on communism and religion. McGovern converted into a diehard supporter of the MRA cause in 1938 and this radically altered his political views. Using McGovern as a case study, I aim to explain the ideology of Moral Rearmament and how it played a large role in shaping the fight against communism in Great Britain. I also seek to explain the relationship between John McGovern and the Labour Party and how Morgan Philips sought to deal with the accusations McGovern raised. My paper will draw on correspondences between Buchman and McGovern, the papers of MRA located in the Bodleian Library, as well as files from the Labour Party Archives.

Stella Ghervas (Newcastle), *From the Peace of Westphalia to Enlightened Peace (1648-1815): Bold Theories, Stable Practices*

The jurist Sir Henry Maine once stated that peace was a modern invention, yet it was also based on an age-old political tradition. This paper will examine the formation of new conceptions of peace during the “Classical period” from the treaties of Westphalia (1648) to the Congress of Vienna (1815). We will explore how a “republic of states” emerged in Europe after the Reformation, struggling to shed away the traditional peace conceptions of Latin Christianity, based on the alliance of the throne and the altar. And how thinkers sought, by trial and error, to replace it with innovative formulae of coexistence that may still

sound familiar to modern audiences: the balance of power, the law of nations, and a controversial but undaunted dream of “perpetual peace”.

Fiona Gibbons (UEA), Reconciliation on the Ocean Floor: the return of the Japanese to Darwin, Australia

The Japanese bombing of Darwin on 19 February 1942 was, until recently, a relatively little-known part of the Australian historical narrative. The bombing raid was so extensive that in the aftermath of the Second World War, the people of Darwin not only had to rebuild their town but also their harbour and trade links. Significant salvage operations were required in the harbour in order to make it safe for the port to resume its trading links. Despite various attempts at securing the relevant expertise and salvage experts from Australian sources, in 1959 the permission for the contract to restore the port’s shipping lanes was finally awarded to the Fujita Salvage Company from Japan. This paper will explore the debates that surrounded the appointment of a Japanese company to undertake the salvage, using government archives to track the decision-making process and framing it within the wider politics of the White Australia Policy and Japan-Australia relations. It will also consider the impact that the return of Japanese citizens – former wartime enemies - to Darwin had at both a local and national level at this time. Finally, touching on the wider commemoration processes surrounding the Bombing of Darwin, it will consider the lasting socio-political impact of the salvage operations on the local and national commemorations of the Bombing of Darwin.

Jayne Gifford (UEA), ‘A damnable blaze’: John Loader Maffey, the North West Frontier and the rescue of Mollie Ellis

John Loader Maffey was Chief Commissioner of the North West Frontier Province between 1921 and 1924 where he presided over the development of Britain’s ‘frontier policy’. This paper will use the abduction of Mollie Ellis from Kohat, located in the North West Frontier Province, by Afridi tribesmen as a lens through to understand British imperial rule on this ‘savage’ frontier. Mollie Ellis was rescued a few days later by a party that included the English nurse, Mrs Starr. This paper will argue that through the Frontier Crimes Regulation Act a brutalisation of imperial rule was normalised and extended by a combination of military force (strafing and armed expeditions) and political coercion.

Gökser Gökçay (Uskudar University, Istanbul), Debating the State of the Field in International History

This study traces the development of the state of the field essays in diplomatic/international history. It analyses the historiography of the state of the field essays that has centred around three interrelated elements. First of all, for the last 50 years, the scholars have been problematizing the existence of the field in itself. The perceived decline or crisis in the field and the causes of that phenomenon were a major source of concern for the scholars. Second, nature and scope of the field came into question especially after “the cultural turn” in the 1970s. The scholars have been debating how to go beyond “what one clerk said to another” and extend the scope of the field throughout the 1970s and 80s. Renaming the field as International History, although still not accepted universally, was only a subset of this debate. Third, the scholars have been discussing the significance of historians’ engagement with the policy making processes. The irrelevancy and declining significance of the field, at many instances, were connected to historians’ lack of involvement in foreign policy making. Max Boot’s recent article and historians’ response and rebuttal of his arguments indicate the relevancy of this debate. This study shows that these three interrelated themes were by-products of expansion of International History as a field that bring together historians and scholars of International Relations. The state of the field essays have been instrumental in broadening the horizons of (especially young) historians and helped them to develop new narratives in writing the history of international relations.

Matthew Grandpierron (Ecole Polytechnique), The use of domestic political situation in foreign policies: narratives at work in the case of the Falklands War

A camp in the theory of international relations made the claim that under certain conditions domestic issues influence decision-makers in their foreign policy, such as at taking risky decisions in order to gain (or to avoid losing) public supports. These claims have been regrouped under the termination of the

diversionary theory of war. In the general opinion, gaining public support, diverting it from domestic political concerns was the real reason why Margaret Thatcher and her Cabinet have decided to go to war against Argentina to re-conquer the Falklands islands, which were invaded on April 2nd 1982. Whether or not this common opinion is correct remains to be proved. Indeed, until now, most of studies were based on secondary sources (memoirs, public speeches). In this article, I offer a new perspective. First by grounding the evidence only in recently declassified documents by the British government since 2010, which will give a vision from the inside. Based on this study, I will suggest that the use of the domestic situation during the Falklands war, was in fact part as double narrative used to gain U.S support during the most critical stage of the conflict, as well as, used to (re)claim great power status. This analysis will be based on a mixed critical discourse analysis approach combining both quantitative and qualitative analyses of the documents with the help of the software QDA Miner and of a detailed coding dictionary.

David Grealy (Liverpool), Rhodesia, 1977-79: David Owen, the Labour Party, and the Human Rights ‘Breakthrough’

This paper explores British foreign policy towards the former colony of Rhodesia during David Owen’s tenure as Labour Foreign Secretary (1977-1979), asking to what extent this episode was influenced by the human rights ‘breakthrough’ of the 1970s, domestic debates surrounding Britain’s post-imperial role, and the Labour Party’s historic engagement with internationalism. According to human rights historian Mark Phillip Bradley, human rights awareness may have exploded internationally during the 1970s, but it constituted such a broad and abstract concept that those activists and politicians who invoked it as a mobilising force had to imbue it with more particular meanings, resulting in “local interpretations of human rights which were laced with ideas the historical actors brought to them.” This paper will address this phenomenon from a hitherto neglected British diplomatic perspective, drawing on Foreign and Commonwealth Office files, David Owen’s private papers, interviews with key policymakers, and the records of the Labour Party’s International and Research Departments. While David Owen’s attempts to expedite Rhodesian independence – predicated on majority rule and constitutional human rights provisions – may have been framed as part of a global human rights ‘breakthrough’ during the 1970s, in its attempts to solve this “most intractable of our post-colonial problems”, Owen’s focus on Rhodesia should not be viewed in isolation from long-standing debates concerning race relations in Britain and the Labour Party’s claim to moral leadership via the reflection of the party’s domestic imperatives on the world stage.

Armin Gruenbacher (Birmingham), Margaret Thatcher and the economics of the 1980s CoCom Embargo: Anglo-American relations and business interest

After the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979, US president Carter (re) imposed economic sanctions against the Soviet Union. Following the crackdown against the Polish Solidarnosz movement in December 1981, Ronald Reagan significantly extended the sanctions and put increasing pressure on his European Allies through CoCom, the secret Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls, to follow his example. British companies which had contracts for the construction of major Soviet infrastructure projects would have been severely hit by such sanctions. The paper will examine how Thatcher, an outspoken anti-communist, reacted to American embargo demands in the dichotomy of her close personal friendship to Reagan on the one side, and the interest, even survival, of British companies involved in trade of so-called ‘strategic’ goods’ with the Soviet Union on the other. The paper will argue that in this case it was definitely ‘Britain First’ and not US embargo demands which won the day. It will show how British diplomacy and mandarins tried to neutralise far-reaching American embargo demands on the international stage, both within the CoCom meetings and on bilateral basis.

Joshua Hockley-Still (Exeter), Britain and Europe: Domestic and International Influences

This paper is based on the author’s PhD research into Euroscepticism in the Labour Party, and builds on the framework put forward by David Edgerton in his book ‘Rise And Fall Of the British Nation’. Edgerton demonstrated that the concept of British national identity altered significantly after World War II, as Britain retreated from its global commitments to become a far more insular country. Britain became a national economic and political unit, which led to economic and political nationalism. Even the ‘kith and kin’ of the Commonwealth were reduced to outsider status. However, this post-1945 nationalism was far

from a right-wing phenomenon. This paper will demonstrate how Edgerton's framework can be applied to the Labour Party, which Edgerton described as 'nationalist'. It will then use Edgerton's work to tackle the question of Europe, and show its relevance when explaining Labour's post-war tradition of hostility to the EEC. The paper will then explore primary material from senior Labour politicians, including Peter Shore and Tony Benn. Despite being internationalists in many ways, they argued that having political and economic power at a national level was vital to achieve socialist objectives. This paper will argue that, given the current Brexit debate, it is vital that we engage with, and understand, these ideas. Questions of Britain's identity, its place in the world, and the EU's impact upon both of these, are never far from the surface. These political figures from the past have much to tell us.

Martin Ottovay Jorgensen (Aalborg and Ghent), The Role of the United Nations and the US in restoring Western Europe's Oil Supply after the Suez Crisis, 1956-1957

For several decades, various aspects of the Suez-Crisis have been objects of numerous scholarly pursuits in the diverse community of Cold War, imperial, Middle Eastern, diplomatic and military historians. However, it is still possible to find new approaches and material. Expanding on the existing research landscape, this paper explores the role of the United Nations and the US in the restoration of the oil supply of Western Europe between November 1956 and April 1957, which had been cut off with the Egyptian sinking of 51 vessels and obstructions into the Suez Canal. Using records from among others the UN Secretariat, the UN Field Service, the UN Office for Special Political Affairs, and the Advisory Group for United Nations Suez Clearance Operation, the paper not only finds that the building oil shortage following the closure of the Suez Canal in the Suez Crisis represented a considerably more serious systemic problem to the West than assumed in existing research, but also that the UN Secretariat went all in to clear the Suez Canal as fast as possible to prevent worse developments for the West, both militarily and economically. In the conference setting, the paper thus links the themes of Inter-Imperial Relations and International Organisations in the context of International Economic Relations.

Seung Mo Kang (LSE), The Revival of Post-War Japanese Shipping and Shipbuilding Industry

Japanese shipping and shipbuilding companies have been continually ranked as among the world's top for several decades. How was this possible? This paper argues that Japan was able to rise to such prominence, because the US and the British Commonwealth decided not to place any restrictions on Japan's postwar shipping and shipbuilding capacity. In other words, Japan's shipping and shipbuilding sector might not have flourished, had the American and British Commonwealth governments taken a more punitive approach. So why did these former belligerents decide not to place any restrictions? The US was largely responsible for this. Wishing to rebuild Japan's economy and turn the country into an anti-communist bastion, the American government successfully lobbied with the British Commonwealth members against placing any economic limitations on Japan. In return, the US adopted a two-track policy. First, it provided security guarantees to Australia and New Zealand, who loathed any prospects of Japan's re-emergence as a military threat. Secondly, per British suggestion, it decided to station troops in Japan to defend the country from communist subversion; this in turn protected British interests in Asia. This study is significant in that the existing studies on the Japanese peace settlement have largely overlooked the questions of shipping and shipbuilding. Furthermore, it demonstrates that post-war Japanese history was much more international in scope than hitherto conceived.

Caleb Karges (Concordia University Irvine), Exploring New Possibilities: Anglo-Austrian Relations in the Nine Years War

The traditional narrative of European international relations after the Peace of Westphalia puts forward the decline of religious considerations in foreign policy with the growth of cross-confessional alliances in order to maintain the balance of power. However, more recent studies have revised this understanding in two ways. Some studies have emphasized how foreign policy makers used religious principles to justify their policies to a domestic audience that was often religiously polarized and sensitive to the fortunes of their coreligionists across the continent. Other studies have focused on the role of dynasticism and dynastic legitimacy as a primary motivator in foreign and domestic policy. The Anglo-Austrian alliance against France during the Nine Years War presents an excellent case study in a cross-confessional alliance in the decades after Westphalia. As a result of the Glorious Revolution in which religious issues were in

the fore in the overthrow of a Catholic monarch, Protestant England found itself as a part of the Grand Alliance and tethered to Austria, one of the leading Catholic powers and greatest upholders of dynastic rights in Europe. During the war both states had to suppress rebellions by confessional minorities, while maintaining alliances with states of differing confessions. Moreover, there was the additional consideration of legitimizing the Williamite overthrow of James II through foreign recognition. Finally, this paper will look at how the negotiation of these issues affected the more immediate needs of military affairs, and how this culminated in the Anglo-Austrian partnership in the War of the Spanish Succession.

David Kaufman (Edinburgh), The ‘One Guilty Nation’ Myth: Edith Durham, R. W. Seton-Watson and a footnote in the history of the Outbreak of the First World War

This paper will investigate the development of the War Guilt Question in interwar Europe through the dispute between two of the Britain’s leading experts on the Balkans, Mary Edith Durham, and R.W. Seton-Watson. The focus of their disagreement focussed on the question of Serb responsibility for the outbreak of War, a quarrel that took place between the two specialists in public as well as private. The paper will explore the role of ‘amateurs’ and ‘professionals’ in Historiographical debates during the 1920s, as well as the impact that revelations about Serb complicity in the murders in Sarajevo had on the wider debate about responsibility for the outbreak of war, within the wider debate over revisionism in Britain during the 1920s.

Scott Keefer (Bournemouth), The law of nations and Victorian conceptions of future war

The laws of war in the nineteenth century reflected assumptions about the nature of war and expectations about the boundaries of future conflict. This was natural in a century with few wars among the great powers between 1815 and 1914, and in which most conflicts were brief and with numerous neutral powers capable of intervening to enforce international norms. These rules generally could be enforced either by reprisals and other acts of self-help, which were often ineffective during a war, or by neutral enforcement, thus presuming future conflicts would not be general wars among all the great powers. The paper will argue that attitudes towards laws of war reflected conflicting views on future war, between nineteenth century experience with limited war and intimations of future total war. Drawing on developments between the 1874 Brussels Conference on the rules of war and planning for the aborted Third Hague Peace Conference, differing national experiences and expectations of future war influenced stances on the rules of war. While British conceptions of future war reflected fear of neutral American intervention, French expectations diverged with Jeune École planning for total war at sea, and correspondence between the elder Moltke and international lawyer Bluntschli hinted at German beliefs in long wars drastically different from the wars of unification of the 1860s. Diverging opinions on the role of neutral enforcement in turn reflected beliefs about the nature, extent, and duration of future war.

Seung-young Kim (Kansai Gaidai), Japanese diplomatic initiative towards France after the Manchurian Incident, 1931-33

Japanese government exerted various diplomatic efforts to justify and consolidate its territorial gains in Manchuria after the Mukden Incident of September 1931. Particularly, reflecting the wishes of Japanese Army, Foreign Minister Uchida Kosai sought out France to revitalize the Franco-Japanese Agreement of 1907. This agreement had demarcated respective spheres of influence in southern and northeastern provinces of China close to their colonies in Indo-China, Taiwan, and Korea; but it was superseded by the Nine-Power Treaty of 1922 that supported Chinese territorial integrity. Japanese ambassador to France, Harukazu Nagaoka, and its military attaches in Paris made strenuous efforts to secure French support in order to overcome Japan’s isolation in the League of Nations and to justify its expansion into Manchuria. However, the liberal leftist French cabinet, led by Édouard Herriot, and Quai d’Orsay declined Japanese suggestion because France had to prioritize consolidating collective security, which could indirectly induce Britain and the United States to support French security in future crises. Although French politicians and diplomats continued conciliatory remarks towards Japan in Paris and Geneva, they skillfully declined Japanese demarches until Japan withdrew from the League in February 1933. This paper examines the aims and methods of Japanese diplomacy towards France, including its economic proposals to secure French support for Manchukuo. It will particularly illuminate Japanese decisions and initiatives drawing on

Japanese records, while reconstructing the process of diplomacy between the two countries from September 1931 until March 1933.

Bilal Kotil (Istanbul Sehir University), Runaway slaves, Anglo-Ottoman relations, and politics of humanitarianism in the late nineteenth century

There is a growing interest in the study of Ottoman foreign policy in the nineteenth century especially in regards to the ways in which Ottomans utilized international law for defending their empire. This paper is interested in the question of slavery at the time when the British increased its pressure on the Ottoman Empire to suppress the African slave-trade. I will be using diplomatic correspondences regarding runaway slaves who take refuge at the British missions. Particularly, I will be focusing on a certain young black man who was detained by the Malta police while he was traveling with his master on the grounds that he was a slave and had to be freed. Ensuing diplomatic scuffle surrounding the case tells us a great deal about how Ottomans imagined their slavery to be, and how they created a difference between themselves and the West in an effort to strengthen their imperial legitimacy. In this regard, the debate around the issue of domestic slavery was about the status of slaves as much as it was about sovereign independence and compassion. I argue in this paper that, for the Ottomans, European intervention was a type of moral intervention that violated the customs and traditions of the Ottoman family. Studies on the history of colonialism have shown how managing of inter-racial relations, master-slave, or free-freed relations, in the colonies, were important instances and questions through which imperial categories of inclusion and exclusion were developed. In this regard, the case of the Ottoman Empire is an important addition to the study of slavery, domestic arrangements, and politics of intimacy.

Jan Koura (Prague), An Exceptional Agent: Czechoslovak Intelligence, Ben Barka and Cold War in Africa

Czechoslovakia belonged to the socialist countries that were significantly involved in the Third World. The country not only through political and economic relations (including arms and military equipment sales) with the newly decolonised countries, but also its intelligence activities. Morocco was no exception. Although Czechoslovakia maintained good diplomatic relations with Moroccan government, Czechoslovak intelligence (StB) established top-secret contact with leading opposition politician Mehdi Ben Barka, who sympathised with Marxist ideology. Czechoslovak intelligence soon realized that Ben Barka could be used for its other activities in the Global South and recruited him under the code name ŠEJK. After his mysterious disappearance in 1965, StB launched a global secret campaign using its network of agents and collaborators to accuse Moroccan government of the Ben Barka's death. On the example of Ben Barka, it will be demonstrated how Czechoslovak intelligence tried to influence the Cold War in Africa and revolutionary movement in the Global South using various linkages between the "Second" and the "Third World". This Paper is based on recently de-classified intelligence files and other Czechoslovak documents.

This Ly Le (Nottingham), Park Hang-Seo: From a Football Coach to an Accredited Diplomat

Dating back to 1971, the first sports diplomacy initiative – ping-pong diplomacy fulfilled the desire to reconnect the disrupted diplomacy relations of the U.S. and China. Since then, sports diplomacy has been regarded as a public diplomacy element which mobilizes worldwide interest in sports to bridge cultural and social differences and strengthen international relations. The image of a South Korean coach, Park Hang-Seo, along with the string of victories by the Vietnam "Golden Star" teams in Asian regional football competitions has emerged as a phenomenon and attracted wide coverage of both regional and international press and media since 2017. This has unintentionally wielded profound effects on diplomatic relations between South Korea and Vietnam. In the past, South Korean government's sending troops to Vietnam in support of its U.S. ally during 1964-1973 made its relations with Vietnam deteriorate. About 20 years later, their bilateral diplomatic relations were established and partnerships have been formed in multiple sectors. Nevertheless, not until the amiable "wizard"'s invaluable contribution for the revival of Vietnam national football spirit that Vietnamese public's "hearts and minds" has been surprisingly won. He has not only been a catalysis for a sequence of diplomatic breakthroughs between the two countries but also been accredited as a diplomat. This presentation will seek to justify the public diplomacy role of this non-state actor on the grounds of legitimacy and effectiveness.

Yaroslav Levin (Samara State University, Russia), ‘Domino effect’: American secret services and the collapse of the British Empire

The article dwells on the development of views of the Federal Bureau of Investigation on the process of decolonization. Certain cases and relations with other counterintelligence agencies are used to see the shaping by the American counterintelligence of their own unique approach to the decay of the colonial system. At the same time, work in the same areas and, often, against the same organizations the FBI gradually borrowed in direct or indirect ways many of the methods of their British counterparties. The article makes a conclusion on the change of the FBI’s perspective on the problem of decolonization and gives a justified view of the COINTELPRO program as the quintessence of borrowing of the British experience by the American federal agents. For a more complete understanding of the attitude of the US secret services to the process of decolonization one needs to analyze the position of the Federal Bureau of Investigations, the main agency of the American counterintelligence and internal security, to this very complex and multi-faceted phenomenon. Due to the tremendous influence of the FBI and its first Director, John Edgar Hoover, on many spheres of the American policy and due to the unique position which the Bureau achieved during his term in the office, the views of the American counterintelligence on decolonization seem very important for the general understanding of the US perspective on this point. FBI and decolonization are yet one more ‘missing link’ in the history of secret services and former colonies.

Adonis M. Y. Li (Hong Kong), ‘Kowtowing Sinophile’: Sir Percy Cradock and the Future of Hong Kong

My paper is about Sir Percy Cradock, who was the British Ambassador to China in the years 1978-1984. He was the chief British negotiator during the talks regarding the future of Hong Kong in this period, and later became an outspoken critic of British and colonial policies regarding the territory during his retirement from 1993 onwards. Cradock’s historical legacy in the history of Hong Kong and of Sino-British relations is often overshadowed by those who are better known, such as Lord Patten. My paper uses the recently released Cradock personal papers collection, in conjunction with his published memoirs and archival material at the National Archives, to explore how and why Cradock became a harsh critic of the government that he had just retired from. I will discuss how his Foreign Office Sinologist background affected his thoughts and actions when dealing with Hong Kong. My paper will discuss the very public argument between Cradock and the last Governor of Hong Kong, Chris Patten. I will also explore his media appearances during his retirement, and his private misgivings over the media portrayal of his views. I will talk about the value and shortcomings of using memoirs and personal papers in the study of history, particularly diplomatic history, and suggest some potential future topics of research in Sino-British history.

Yorai Linenberg (LSE), The Experience of British and American Jewish Prisoners of War in German Captivity in the Second World War

The paper will explore the experience of British and American Jewish prisoners of war (POWs) in German captivity during the Second World War. The topic is of special interest as it examines the contrast between Germany’s murderous policy towards Jews on one hand and the relatively non-discriminatory treatment of Jewish POWs from Western countries on the other. The radicalisation of Germany’s anti-Semitic policies entered its final phase in June 1941 with the campaign in the East; during the following four years, six million Jews were murdered. In a parallel development, Germany’s POW policies had gone through a radicalisation process of their own, eventually shifting the responsibility for POWs from the Wehrmacht to the SS in October 1944. And yet, it seemed that these policy changes did not filter into POW camps where Jewish POWs from Western countries had been kept. Jewish POWs in these camps were not discriminated against and were treated, in most cases, according to the 1929 Geneva Convention. Individual stories of mainly Jewish POWs had been documented in books, memoirs, letters and diaries, and focus on different aspects of the Jewish POW experience; archive material, including Red Cross and Protecting Power reports, and OKW commands and regulations, provide insights into the evolution of German policies. Bringing together these two bodies of sources, the paper will discuss questions regarding the experience of British and American Jewish POWs in German captivity and their treatment by their

captors. Overall, it will thereby reshape our understanding of the intersection of racism, anti-Semitism, law, and military strategy during the years of the Holocaust.

Lori Maguire (University of Paris 8), The British and French Consulates in Hanoi, 1954-1959

There is growing recognition that the demission of the British Empire in the post-war period did not necessarily equate with the ending of Britain's interests in its former imperial demesne. This was especially the case in the resource-rich Gulf States which were among the last territories to experience a severing of formal ties with Britain following the so-called withdrawal from 'East of Suez' in 1971. Not only were they a key source of oil, but also a significant and expanding market for British goods and services. The Gulf States' continuing importance to Britain despite formal withdrawal can be incorporated into wider debates about the relevance of the concept of 'informal empire' to the process of British decolonization. By focussing on one particular Gulf State – Qatar - the paper will demonstrate that, despite British aspirations to preserve as much of its influence and as many of its interests as possible after 1971, Britain's position was eroded by a combination of deficiencies in British commerce, growing competition from industrial rivals, and the intrusion of the Arab world into the Amirate. The overall conclusion will be that Britain succeeded in maintaining a diluted form of influence at best in Qatar which did not equate with 'informal empire'.

Ylber Marku (Xiamen University, China), The End of a Special Friendship: the Sino-Albanian Alliance in the Late 1970s as a Prelude to the End of China's Cold War

In July 1978 China interrupted its economic and military assistance to Albania, ending one of the most unique alliances of the Cold War period. Since 1961 Albania had been China's strongest European ally after both Beijing and Tirana had firmly rejected the destalinization process and the reforms promoted by then Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev. The Sino-American normalization in early 1970s, however, signified a dramatic shift in China's foreign policy with great consequences for China's alliance system. For Albania, it represented the beginning of Beijing's rejection of the orthodox communist ideological line upon which Tirana and Beijing had built their alliance. The dynamics of the relationship between China and Albania— one of the Cold War alliances least studied by scholars – in the period 1972-78 provides insights into the radical shift in Chinese foreign and domestic policies during this period. Based on newly released archival sources, my research reveals the fragility of this alliance once the ideological dogmatism that had reigned in China during the 1960s and into the 1970s was replaced by political and economic pragmatism, transcending ideological boundaries established in the context of the Cold War. The reorientation of the ideology underpinning China's policy also impacted the international communist movement, as Albania had played an important role in conveying China's message, in particular towards the galaxy of small Marxist and revolutionary groups that in Europe, Latin America, and beyond, had seen in Mao the new leader of the global revolution. These newly revealed dynamics in Sino-Albanian relations reveal the inevitably limited reach of the Chinese revolution beyond China's borders. They show that China's Cold War, understood primarily as an ideological confrontation between blocs, in effect ended before the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the communist camp.

Hamish McDougall (LSE), Staying Alive: New Zealand, Britain and European Integration 1960-1973

New Zealand is a small nation as far from Europe as it is possible to be. Yet during the 1960s and early 1970s, it held an extraordinary influence over the fate of European integration. New Zealand was seen to be the pivot on whether Britain, its close ally and erstwhile colonist, would be able to join the European Communities. This paper breaks new ground by investigating how this 'New Zealand paradox' came to be. It will chart the political relationship between Britain and New Zealand in the context of Britain's repeated accession attempts and eventual entry 1960-73. The research will outline the political and diplomatic views of the key players, identifying the broader international context; objectives on all three sides (Britain, New Zealand and the EEC members), how they were arrived at; how effective each of the parties were at achieving these. Although primarily an international political history, it will also draw on work by economic historians to illuminate trade flows and the intersection of politics and business. Culture, identity and the history of ideas will also be referred to. New Zealand is a valuable case study of how an increasingly integrated Europe dealt with its former colonies at the end of the twentieth century. It

shows that in an era supposedly dominated by decolonisation in the metropolis and former hinterlands, colonial bonds and networks remained, sometimes subconsciously, resulting in extraordinary political outcomes. The topic also illuminates power relationships between Britain and its EC partners. The research fills several historiographical gaps, including a lack of research on Britain and European integration in the 1970s.

Thomas Mills (Lancaster), An Anglo-American Free Trade Tradition? British and American Approaches to International Trade, 1846-1948

This paper explores British and American attitudes towards free trade from the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century. This period saw the United States replace Great Britain as the world's leading trading nation. Simultaneously, there was something of a role-reversal in the attitudes of the two powers towards free trade. From the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, Britain emerged as the leading advocate of free trade globally. At the same time, the industrial revolution in the United States took place behind a protectionist screen of high tariffs, aimed at nurturing domestic industry. Britain's commitment to free trade began to waiver in the early twentieth century and the country adopted the protectionist Imperial Preference system at the Ottawa Conference of 1932 following the onset of the Great Depression. As depression led to world war, the United States emerged from the conflict as the world's leading industrial power. At the same time, US policy-makers increasingly championed a new system of global commerce based on free trade, culminating in the creation of institutions that collectively formed the Bretton Woods system. One explanation for the approaches adopted by the United States and Great Britain towards global trade in this period is that the countries' leaders simply tailored their policies to suit the nations' changing status in the global economy. While there is certainly merit in such an interpretation, this chapter asks whether Britain and America's approach to free trade throughout the century from the mid-1800s to the late 1940s was informed by more fundamental ideological underpinnings – an Anglo-American free trade tradition.

Francesca Morphakis (Leeds), Missing Dimensions in Foreign Policy: Maurice Hankey and the Channel Tunnel, 1919-1930

Historians studying the formulation of British foreign policy tend to focus overwhelmingly on the actions and ideas of politicians or individuals within the Foreign Office. This paper contends that the missing dimension in this conception of decision-making is the role played by key members of the Civil Service outside of the Foreign Office. It examines the vital role played by Maurice Hankey, Cabinet Secretary, in the formulation of foreign policy through the lens of proposals for a Channel Tunnel between 1919 and 1930. Schemes for a Channel Tunnel were interwoven with questions surrounding communications, trade and defence; proposals amounted to no less than the fundamental reorientation of British policy towards Europe. This paper employs a range of private collections and official records to explore a particular conception of Anglo-Continental relations and British security, founded on insularity. It reveals the agency and informal operating methods of the Cabinet Secretary, and demonstrates the ways in which Hankey obstructed three separate bids for a Channel Tunnel and succeeded in bending the will of Cabinet ministers and defence experts alike. It thus reflects the growing interest in the significance of the individual in policy-making, and the importance of unorthodox actors. This paper contends that studying politicians and the Foreign Office does not always account for the nature of Britain's external policy, and that a more holistic approach to decision-making sheds far greater light on the exercise of power at the heart of the state.

Jolanta Mysiakowska (The Institute of National Remembrance, Warsaw), For the political and territorial shape of Central and Eastern Europe: Polish aspirations in the eyes of the British political elite (1919-1923)

The 100th anniversary of the Treaty of Versailles, held on 28th June 1919, seems to be a perfect opportunity to reconsider the British involvement in creating the shape of Central and Eastern Europe after the First World War. Establishing the new order in Western Europe, the clauses of the treaty did not bring peace to independent Poland. The young state was struggling with external threats. Most notably from Soviet Russia but the Ukrainian national self-determination movement was endangering the security of the Polish state as well. To make things worse, in 1919 the Polish-Lithuanian antagonism sprang to life.

In reality, Poland's political, social and military situation was anything but 'stable'. Those conditions made the Polish-British inter-state diplomatic relationship the essential factor in Polish foreign policy. This paper attempts to explain the evolution of the British political elite's perception of Polish matters. It will evaluate British attitudes towards Poland since the Peace Conference in Paris until 15th March 1923, when Poland's eastern borders were recognised. In this work I wish to answer the following questions: what was the image of the Polish political elite in Great Britain, how did the British government and its political parties' leaders assess the domestic situation in Poland, what kind of factors — a political theory or a strategic necessity — determined British foreign policy, and whether there were any factors that influenced the British approach.

Raimond Neironi (Milan), The U.S. and appropriate involvement in Southeast Asia and the Origins of ASEAN, 1958-1967

This study examines the U.S. contribution to the creation of ASEAN, by analysing the origins – since the foundation of the South-East Asia Friendship and Economic Co-operation (SEAFET) in February 1959 – and the ultimate evolution of Southeast Asian regionalism in 1967. Throughout the 1960s the United States was interested in the promotion of an 'independent nations zone' in the region as a means of accelerating the economic co-operation and social progress. Both the U.S. State Department believed regionalism embodied a necessary element of 'containment', that should have pursued two main objectives: first, to preserve and strengthen the will of the peoples of the area to resist Communist threat; second, to assist these governments in coping with the major problems of development. Moreover, the partial failure of SEATO to ensure security in the area was conceived as a means to enhance regional co-operation. Grounded mainly in the analysis of declassified records from the National Archives and Records Administration at College Park (Maryland), this proposal provides a historical account of U.S.-Southeast Asian states relations and, at the same time, traces a states-to-states interaction between ASEAN's founding members. Whenever necessary, records from the National Archives at Kew (London), and the National Archives of Australia were consulted to supplement the American documents. This study concludes that United States has long worked actively to encourage regional cohesion among the Southeast Asian nations. These states, albeit territorial disputes, were committed to set up a truly co-operative association that provided Asian solutions to Asian problems.

Juho Ovaska (Turku), Neutral states, mediation ventures, and Great powers: Finnish mediation attempts, 1982-1984

War scares in the beginning of the 1980s have been extensively studied in Cold War research, from NATO's dual-track decision and the beginning of war in Afghanistan in 1979 to the Able Archer exercise in 1983. The relationship between Moscow and Washington froze to a halt, and formal contacts decreased to minimal levels. Nevertheless, some contacts endured, involving European neutral states in attempts to maintain dialogue in the Madrid CSCE review meeting, 1980–1983. While the general features of the CSCE and Madrid meeting are well documented, less attention has been paid to backchannel mediation ventures on the part of neutral states in the early 1980s. During the Cold War, Finland's relationship with the Soviet Union diverged from the relationship experienced by other neutrals. Finland became in many ways a special case, a democratic market economy nonetheless labelled as an advocate of the Soviet Union in international initiatives. This special relation can be seen as the reason why the head of the US delegation in Madrid asked the Finns to deliver a message across to the Soviets. The recently elected Finnish President Mauno Koivisto (1982–1994) delivered the message, regarding US demands to advance the meeting, to Soviet leaders at the end of 1982. Archive material surrounding this incident, retrieved from the collection of President Koivisto, help one to characterize his willingness to mediate the U.S.–Soviet dialogue. His personal role opens wider questions concerning the agency of neutral states in the 1980s. In this paper, I will study the role of Finland in 1982-1984 as an example of backchannel diplomacy aiming at a reduction in tensions between Great Powers.

Nicholas Peeters (Waseda University), Britain and Japan's Quest for OECD Membership: From Opponent to Proponent

Exactly 12 years after Japan regained sovereignty, Japan's admittance in 1964 into the inner circle of the OECD marked the end of its long economic integration into the Free World comity of trading nations. It

put, furthermore, a halt to Japan's threatened political isolation and generated a structural change in the outreach of the Organisation. Despite its growing economic prowess and international standing at the start of the 1960s, however, Japan's OECD admission was the result of a highly contested accession process between the Americans and the Europeans, in particular the British and several smaller continental members. Yet, as much as the British initially resisted Japanese membership, so strong did they support Japan's bid during the actual accession negotiations. As Japan's most important European trading partner and leading nation of the EFTA, Britain's position was decisive in bridging the gap in the transatlantic alliance and between the bigger and smaller OECD members. By linking Anglo-Japanese relations to the changing multilateral contexts in the Western hemisphere and rising concerns about East-West and North-South problems, the paper attempts to explain the evolution of Britain's position vis-à-vis Japan's OECD admission. The paper goes on to show that Britain's profile can be better understood by paying particular attention to the broad range of Whitehall ministries' attitudes. In this way, the paper sheds light on the British involvement in the incorporation of Japan into an exclusive Western organisation which, in turn, would serve as a progenitor of the Free World's Trilateralism in later decades.

Sean Phillips (Nuffield, Oxford), British Imperial Relations in the Air Age: The Emergence of Trans-Pacific Aviation and the Character of Dominion Diplomacy in the 1930s

By the early 1930s, many were convinced that an emergent 'Air Age' would fundamentally alter the economic and geopolitical character of world affairs. In the Pacific where British interests were vast and varied, from settler states (Canada, Australia and New Zealand and their Mandatory responsibilities – New Guinea and Western Samoa) to an island empire which stretched from the Gilbert Islands to Pitcairn, the pitfalls and potential posed by flight seemed particularly prescient. This paper investigates the emergence of trans-Pacific aviation as a means of weaving together a variety of disparate historiographies and inter-relating themes, including the relationship between business and government (particularly the role of Pan American and Imperial Airways) and the blurred boundaries between official and unofficial representation, as well as the shifting character of inter-imperialism and regional geo-strategy in the Pacific, with increasingly divergent British and Dominion approaches toward it. Drawing upon recent archival work in Australia, New Zealand, the United States and the United Kingdom, the paper will offer an analysis at multiple scales from the sub-global, with reflections upon British imperial relations at large through an investigation of Dominion diplomatic representation regarding aviation issues in the region, to the local, with a focussed case study of discussions concerning Canton Island (an atoll in present-day Kiribati), an island designated as Pan-American's key refuelling site on the Honolulu to Auckland crossing and a site where British and American interests clashed before the agreement of a Condominium status on the eve of world war.

Artemis Photiadou (LSE), Denazified, democratised, and anti-Russian: the political 're-education' of German prisoners of war in Britain, 1945-1947

In 1945 the Allies were convinced that the end of the war would not, in itself, end Nazism. More than an ideology, National Socialism had been engrained in Germany's social, political, and economic spheres, while its roots were seen as part of a military culture that pre-dated Hitler. To eliminate those influences for good, a number of actions were to be taken after the war, such as prosecuting war criminals and disbanding the German armed forces. But long-term denazification was to be effected through the 're-education' of the German public. This paper focuses on the first receivers of these efforts: the over 500,000 prisoners of war in Britain in 1945-1947. With this having been the first time a nation was to systematically re-educate another's nationals, the paper explains what re-education meant and how a policy for it was devised within government, mainly the Foreign Office's Political Intelligence Department on whose files the paper draws. The paper then demonstrates how central re-education became to post-war internment and how it defined most other matters pertaining to prisoners, notably labour and repatriation. The argument that emerges is that re-education facilitated two overarching aims: the use of prisoners as instigators of German democratisation, and their use as proxies who would promote Britain's position in Central Europe. In other words, re-education would ensure that a large number of repatriated Germans could be trusted with key positions within the country's education, legal, and civil service sectors; while having been immersed in British culture and language, they would be pro-British and anti-Russian - vital attributes in the early Cold War.

Christopher Prior (Southampton), ‘A special knowledge of African problems’: Expertise and Knowledge Diplomacy in post-colonial Anglo-American relations

In the wake of decolonisation and the UK’s greatly-diminished role in Africa, the development and deployment of the notion of Britain as a repository of expertise became central to British foreign policy makers’ refashioned sense of purpose, serving as a highly-visible means of demonstrating to the outside world that they represented a power worthy of a continued role in the continent. This paper will consider the role of knowledge and expertise in how British policy makers sold their value to the United States in the early years of post-colonial Africa, and how they sought to harness this as a means of shaping their ally’s behaviour towards both Africa and to the UK itself. It will assess the nature of the grounds upon which UK policy makers developed their projections of expertise and how far they actually felt secure in making such claims, as well as the extent to which such efforts proved effective.

Volker Prott (Aston), ‘We Must Tread Warily’: East Pakistan, India, and the Pitfalls of Foreign Intervention, 1971

This paper re-examines the Indo-Pakistani war of December 1971 from the perspective of foreign intervention and Cold War humanitarian politics. It does so by addressing the puzzling restraint exercised by the Indian government: why did India wait for over eight months to act on the humanitarian and political crisis that had been unfolding in East Pakistan since late March 1971, and that seemed to offer a unique opportunity to strike a decisive blow at its enemy? Based on archival research in India, the United States, and the United Kingdom, the paper argues that humanitarian concerns worked to constrain, not expand, India’s foreign policy options. With state sovereignty enshrined in the international fabric of the Cold War, there was no support for armed humanitarian intervention by either India, the UN, or another external power. As the self-acclaimed champion of human rights and leader of the non-aligned movement, moreover, India was wary of appearing as military aggressor. In a wider perspective, India’s restraint illustrates the fluidity of international politics in the early 1970s and the troubled origins of foreign intervention as a tool of transnational policymaking. As the paper demonstrates, there was no pre-ordained solution to the crisis in East Pakistan: the UN, the great powers, and India and Pakistan had to balance national sovereignty with humanitarian concerns and strategic rationales. Only when a ‘double-deadlock’ had emerged—no UN or great power intervention in East Pakistan AND no UN or great power intervention to stop India—was India able to act, albeit in a limited manner.

Fatima Rhrochi (Moulay Ismail University), The Bittersweet in the Anglo-Moroccan Diplomatic Relations

As P. G. Rogers describes it: “the course of Anglo-Moroccan relations, like true love, never ran consistently smooth.” According to historians, it took many centuries for the two countries to know one another and to trust one another. British- Moroccan relations were always vigorously dynamic and were never characterized by indifference or lack of concern. However, these relations witnessed periods of tension but there were much of the time long periods of mutual respect, friendship, alliances and cooperation. Britain has been a political and an economic partner for Morocco since the 16th Century and for the whole of the 19th Century it was the first ally and partner of the country during a key period of its history. Despite occasional disagreements and misunderstandings, mutual interests and alliances against their common enemies brought the two countries to close cooperation and the signing of many peace and trade treaties. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were characterized by an increasing interest in the barbary as a trading partner and a potential threat to European maritime activities. With the development of British imperial projects, Morocco has become a popular commercial, diplomatic, tourist and tourist destination for many British citizens. In addition to its appeal as an English market, Morocco was a potential supplier of gold and sugar, most of which were a useful resource for Gibraltar. " Throughout the common history of Morocco and Britain, many peace treaties have been signed and British ambassadors have encouraged Morocco to undertake deep reforms of its old administration and trade policies, particularly by opening its borders to European trade and modernizing its administrative methods. In the 19th Century, a remarkably close British-Moroccan relationship developed under two successive British Consuls-General, Edward Drummond-Hay (1829-45) and his son Sir John Drummond-Hay (1845-86). On his retirement in 1886, Sir John Drummond-Hay wrote that he would never forget the kindness of

Moroccans, and went on to list a number of the Sultan's officials whom he counted as personal friends. Sultan Moulay Hassan replied that he regarded Hay as a sincere friend and said that his departure caused great sorrow. However, this British- Moroccan cooperation is seen in a different light with his Son Sir John Drummond-Hay who did not hesitate to press the sultans and force them to take many initiatives that do not necessarily serve the interests of Morocco. For instance, the signing of a general agreement in 1856, which will open the door wide in the face of European intervention and it has finally put an end to the sovereignty of the Sultan and has deprived him of any possibility of exercising his rights to maritime trade. Hence, the purpose of the present paper is to highlight the ups and downs of the Anglo- Moroccan diplomatic relations.

Adam Richardson (Leeds), ‘We are in danger of being submerged by paper’: Orme Sargent as Foreign Office Manager, 1946-49

Keith Neilson and Thomas Otte in their ground-breaking study of the Permanent Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs stated that “it is people who make institutions work”. The Permanent Under-Secretary (PUS) of the Foreign Office was not only the Foreign Secretary’s chief advisor on foreign policy, but was also responsible for the efficient administrative of the Foreign Service. However, most literature on the various PUS’s has tended to focus on the political aspect of their work rather than the administrative angle. This paper proposes to explore the three-year Permanent Under-Secretary-ship of Sir Orme Sargent, the first post-war PUS. While the literature on Sargent as a political advisor continues to grow, we know little of his time as chief administrator of the office. This was not only a time of immense global change, but one where, by 1949, the number of incoming papers to the Foreign Office had almost trebled since 1938. Examining Sargent’s tenure from his attempt to remove the burden of being chief accounting officer for the Foreign Office on his appointment in 1946, to implementing the Eden reforms, to dealing with the Cheke scandal on the eve of his retirement in 1949, this paper highlights some of the tasks Sargent had to undertake as well as defending him from the view that his tenure was one of a loss of influence for the Foreign Office. Instead, the nature of the job, alongside the rapidly changing post-war world and Whitehall fatigue, suggests that this view is unfair and that the job was, as William Strang – Sargent’s successor as PUS – put it, “arduous, exacting and exhilarating”.

Simon Rofe (SOAS), Life after the Embassy: Grosvenor Square as a Diplomatic Space without a Legation

President Donald Trump's description of the new US Embassy in Nine Elms, in Vauxhall, South London as 'lousy' was undoubtedly playing to his immediate audience at Michigan Rally in April 2019, but his following remarks contained a lament to the location - for much of the previous two centuries - of the US Embassy in London. Trump stated, 'we had the best site in all of London. The best site', referring to the prominent location on the north side of Grosvenor Square that the legation occupied. The Embassy moved to Nine Elms in January 2018 leaving behind its Grosvenor Square site. Nonetheless, the legacy of the US chancellery remains in the physical form of statues of Presidents Roosevelt, Eisenhower and Reagan as well as the 9/11 and Equal Squadron memorials. The paper, building upon the author's previous work on the subject, addresses issues of heritage and memory as it explores Little America in the aftermath of the US embassy's presence. It considers Iver Neumann's understanding of diplomatic spaces and how diplomacy is constructed from its physical and emotional components. The article argues that the extra-territoriality of Grosvenor Square beyond the physical boundaries of the embassy was established over a long period of time and that this extends beyond the relocation of particular diplomatic functions. This paper draws on primary material from the US Embassy files, as well as interviews with members of the embassy past and present and has a consciously interdisciplinary approach which draws on a variety of disciplinary perspective.

Ilaria Scaglia (Aston), Internationalism and Friendship at the University Sanatorium of Leysin, Switzerland, 1922-1960

As emotions are increasingly recognized as a fundamental dimension of international history, it is crucial to investigate the role they performed in the construction of various notions of internationalism in the twentieth century and beyond. This paper pursues this line of inquiry by examining the case of the University Sanatorium of Leysin, Switzerland, an international institution established in 1922 with the

explicit objectives of fostering “friendship” among intellectuals from various nations and of allowing students and faculty from numerous countries to continue their academic work while healing from tuberculosis. The Sanatorium’s stated objective was to heal not only individual bodies but also the political health of the world as a whole. As this study demonstrates, it was especially designed to make students and faculty from different countries interact in what was constructed as an amicable environment and to advertise its positive effects on the relationships among them. This model, which was inspired by—and also inspired—the League of Nations proved influential and long-lasting. Though by the early 1960s the widespread use of antibiotics made the University Sanatorium obsolete, the notion that international encounters engendered specific feelings persisted and continue to permeate initiatives of international cooperation to this day.

Fausto Scarinzi (Reading), International political context and the use of indiscriminate violence against the peasant insurgencies in the South of Italy (1861-1865)

Between 1861 and 1865, the Kingdom of Italy was engaged in a fierce military campaign against the peasant insurgencies in the Southern regions of the country. Often dismissed as mere banditry – Brigandage – by the Italian government, the insurgency was rooted in social, economic, and political grievances. Scholars have explored the reasons why the Italian government faced the insurgency with mass violence rather than reforms. They pointed to factors like the perception of the enemy as ‘uncivilized’, the military threat posed by the insurgency, a military culture that rewarded indiscriminate punishment, and the uncompromising approach of the ruling élites to the socio-economic problems behind the rebellion. While acknowledging the importance of those factors, this paper explores the impact of a different and relatively overlooked factor on the level of brutality of Italian counterinsurgency: the international political context. Scholars have considered the diplomatic challenges that Brigandage posed to the Italian government, but the fallout of those challenges on the conduct of counterinsurgency have received less attention. My paper tries to fill this gap. Using data from primary and secondary sources, I will argue that the international threat environment as perceived by the Italian government did contribute to gear Italy towards a brutal military strategy to defeat the insurgency. I will conclude by reflecting on the importance of the case of Italy not only for historical research on mass violence in counterinsurgency, but also for social scientific research on civilian victimization in counterinsurgency.

Timothy Schmalz (Cambridge), Austria’s Trapdoor? Diplomatic Backchannels of Communication between Britain and Austria, 1934-1938

This paper explores how diplomats react in moments of crisis—do they adhere to their government’s policies or do they prioritize personal interests, acting in favor of friendships with their counterparts on the ground? Specifically, it examines Austrian and British diplomats at legations in London and Vienna, respectively, from the period of the Austrian civil war in February 1934 to the German annexation of Austria in March 1938. Amongst Austrian diplomats, paranoia that Nazis had infiltrated government offices prompted them to withhold anxieties about increasing German antagonism from official documentation. Instead, they expressed their concerns in other, more unofficial ways, such as through personal correspondence, social events intended to evoke nostalgia, and covert meetings. These diplomats relied on pre-existing networks of personal and social connections to supplement conventional methods of conducting diplomacy, providing diplomats who felt cornered with their backs up against the wall with a trapdoor to keep open the lines of communication between Austria and Britain when, ‘from above,’ relations became stagnant. In a political climate characterized by British appeasement, these personal backchannels of diplomatic communication were used in the hope that appeals to emotion, morality, and friendship might result in rallying support for Austria on the international stage. Methodologically, this interdisciplinary research uses approaches from political science and the history of emotions to craft a cultural history ‘from below.’ It thereby adds a fresh perspective to this interwar bilateral relation that has been almost exclusively written ‘from above.’

Falco Schnike (GHIL), From Actualisation to Systematisation: Changes in Twentieth-Century British Foreign Policy Knowledge Practices

My paper will undertake an analysis of the knowledge pertaining to British state visits in the twentieth century. First, I highlight British historical uncertainty in relation to state visits; it becomes clear that the

various actors in the Foreign Office and the Palace often found themselves confronted with a considerable lack of knowledge as to what a state visit actually was. Second, I discuss how foreign policy knowledge production has changed. I argue that it was only in the course of the twentieth century that historical actors developed a systematic approach to state visits, and that two distinct phases mark this development. During the first, relatively long phase from the beginning of the century up until the 1960s, hardly any standardised knowledge about state visits was available, and such knowledge was only developed in response to specific situations. I view these responses as practices of ‘knowledge actualisation’. The second phase, from the 1960s onwards, was characterised by targeted interventions made with the deliberate intention of providing more knowledge. These interventions represented a reaction to former practices, viewing them as problematic. From the 1960s on, the British governments and the Palace were no longer content to treat each visit as a discrete occurrence but introduced new organisational forms and increased standardisation. This is what I call ‘knowledge systematisation’. In sum, my paper shows that foreign policy knowledge and ignorance are mutually dependent. My examples indicate that their relationship is evolutionary, as it is not until ignorance is characterised as problematic that increased standardisation becomes desirable.

Ingrid Sharp (Leeds), Writing a Cultural History of Peace for the long nineteenth century

This presentation will explore key events and ideas that influenced attitudes towards peace between 1815 and 1920. It will show continuities in the ways that cultures of peace, despite many setbacks and interruptions, took shape and grew during the long nineteenth century. It will also explain how industrial, scientific and technological developments, as well as changing social and political attitudes, influenced ideas about peace even as they changed warfare and the relationship between civilians and war. The term “positive peace” has been widely recognized since the late twentieth century. However, during the nineteenth century grudging and often interrupted progress towards positive peace emerged out of the convergence of greater awareness of the interconnectedness of humanity, growing commitments to individual human rights and greater democracy, and expanded efforts to reduce egregious social inequalities. The goal of creating and sustaining societies that were peaceful because they managed conflicts nonviolently while pursuing greater justice entered political mainstreams. Campaigns for the abolition of slavery, against the state regulation of prostitution, and for women’s emancipation from the laws and customs that constrained them took hold in all developed countries. Ideas about peace as more than simply the absence of war, but rather as a manifestation of positive commitments to human rights, and to greater equality between races, classes and genders gathered support, and remained remarkably resilient in the face of the internal and external forces that sought to destroy them. By 1920, moral, secular, and even pragmatic commitments to cultures of peace within and between nation states had become firmly entrenched.

James Simpkin (Leeds), How ideational structures shape international relations: a strategic-relational analysis of the influence of the ‘Special Relationship’ on UK missile defence policy 1997-2010

I would only be able to present on the 6th or 7th of September as I am a part-time PhD student. This paper attempts to popularise the strategic-relational approach (SRA) as a hermeneutic for analysing international relations. The SRA maintains that ideas themselves form ideational structures which delineate the very policy choices political agents perceive as being open to them. The notion of the ‘Special Relationship’ forms one such ideational structure which has a powerful influence over the type of foreign and defence policies that actors within the ‘core defence policy community’ of the British government believe they can enact. In this case, the Special Relationship is an ideational discourse that has selected for particular policies so persistently across long stretches of time that it has become a ‘constituent element of reality’; able to shape political policy-making to its own ends. In practical terms this means that the ideational structure of the Special Relationship compels the British government to enact policies that ally the UK as closely as possible with the US in order to maximise the UK’s national security. The paper then uses the Labour government’s cooperation with the US over missile defence policy between 1997 and 2010 as a case study to demonstrate the effectiveness of the SRA in explaining the influence of the Special Relationship on shaping that policy. It is hoped that this paper will be of interest to both IR theorists interested in learning about a relatively little-known model which provides

unique insights into the role of discourse in IR, as well as historians interested in an under-examined aspect of US/UK relations and Labour Party history.

Stuart Smedley (KCL), Towards a flexible Europe? British public opinion and party policy regarding the direction of European integration, from the Single European Act to Lisbon

The 1986 Single European Act represented a watershed moment in the process of European integration, sparking a period spanning two decades in which both ‘deepening’ and ‘widening’ accelerated. But within the European Union, these twin developments created tensions. Most notably, disputes arose among member states regarding the speed of integration and the EU’s direction of travel. To deal with this issue, flexibility became increasingly embedded into the organisation’s structure through the use of opt-outs, and the codification of concepts such as subsidiarity and enhanced cooperation. While helping solve the puzzle at a European level as to how to pursue integration in an organisation in which the interests of its ever-growing number of members appeared to diverge, this begs the question as to whether these developments were supported by domestic political actors and public opinion. Using evidence from party manifestos and historical opinion surveys, this paper will explore the views of such groups in Great Britain, where Euroscepticism became a potent political force. It will argue that, despite there being significant concerns about the speed of integration, the emergence of a flexible EU seemed to satisfy certain Conservative, Labour and Liberal Democrat policy positions. Yet, Eurobarometer and British Social Attitudes survey data from this period suggest that public opinion regarding the speed and flexibility of European integration was somewhat muddled. And, in certain important respects, it appeared out of step with party preferences, implying that these had not been effectively communicated.

Jamie Smith (Nottingham), The Bishops of Durham: unconventional medieval diplomats?

Following his subjugation of England, William the Conqueror had a consistently poor relationship with King Malcolm III of Scots, owing to the Scottish King’s policy of harbouring English rebels. In 1067, William gave Bishop Æthelwine of Durham peace terms to take to the Scottish King. However, Æthelwine did not simply go as William’s messenger, but was identified as a *pacis mediator*- mediator of peace. The event is characteristic of the medieval Bishops of Durham. Though English bishops, they were commonly involved in Scottish affairs. This presentation will explore the diplomacy of the Bishops of Durham in the eleventh and twelfth centuries to determine their exact role in Anglo-Scottish relations. As well as investigating the Bishops during this period, I will compare them with other clergymen that frequently engaged in diplomacy, such as the Bishops of Worcester and the Priests of Archenfield. I will also consider how the Durham bishopric’s unique position, both geographically and historically detached from the English kings, affected its role in Anglo-Scottish relations. The evidence suggests the Bishops of Durham were unconventional “liminal” envoys, bonded to both the English and Scottish kings, making them useful mediators. Such a conclusion not only engages with the historiography of medieval diplomacy, which has often approached envoys through reductive definitions, leaving limited room for unusual diplomats, but also modern diplomatic concerns. As we move towards a post-state world, the medieval Bishops of Durham provide insight into the role and behaviour of non-state diplomats.

Richard Smith (FCO), Britain and the Revolutions in Eastern Europe, 1989

1989 saw momentous change in Europe. It was the year that Communist rule in Eastern Europe finally ended; with mass demonstrations, an end to one-Party rule, free elections and the opening of borders. In Poland, the independent trade union Solidarity went from being an illegal organisation to running the country. Vaclav Havel went from being jailed dissident to President of Czechoslovakia. In October 1989, the German Democratic Republic marked the 40th anniversary of the Socialist state, only to see the state collapse a month later following the opening of the Berlin Wall. In December, the Romanian leader Nicolae Ceauşescu, saw his near quarter century rule brought to an end in a matter of days. This volume charts the events of this historic year in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland and Romania. This papers looks at how events unfolded from the perspective of British embassies in Eastern Europe and looks at attempts by the UK government to develop policy against the backdrop of unfolding revolution.

Simon Smith (Hull), Imperialism after empire? Britain and Qatar in the aftermath of the withdrawal from East of Suez

There is growing recognition that the demission of the British Empire in the post-war period did not necessarily equate with the ending of Britain's interests in its former imperial demesne. This was especially the case in the resource-rich Gulf States which were among the last territories to experience a severing of formal ties with Britain following the so-called withdrawal from 'East of Suez' in 1971. Not only were they a key source of oil, but also a significant and expanding market for British goods and services. The Gulf States' continuing importance to Britain despite formal withdrawal can be incorporated into wider debates about the relevance of the concept of 'informal empire' to the process of British decolonization. By focussing on one particular Gulf State – Qatar - the paper will demonstrate that, despite British aspirations to preserve as much of its influence and as many of its interests as possible after 1971, Britain's position was eroded by a combination of deficiencies in British commerce, growing competition from industrial rivals, and the intrusion of the Arab world into the Amirate. The overall conclusion will be that Britain succeeded in maintaining a diluted form of influence at best in Qatar which did not equate with 'informal empire'.

James Southern (FCO), Woke Britannia? Identity Politics and British Diplomacy since the 1960s

The 1960s were a period in which two deep currents of historical change – British economic and military decline, and the growth of so-called 'identity politics' – collided in a way that would have far-reaching consequences for the British Diplomatic Service. No longer able to project unilateral influence, British power would have to be predicated on multilateral alliances and, crucially, on what came to be known as "soft power". The emergent legal and moral imperatives behind second-wave feminism, gay rights and race relations in the 1950s and 1960s forced the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) to reconsider the boundaries of diplomatic identity – reassessing the image it presented to both the international community, and the UK population it represented. Today, the idea that Britain as a country whose diplomatic service is 'diverse' and 'representative', and that Britain is a tolerant, open society for whose governments gender, race and LGBT equality are policy priorities, is a cornerstone of UK foreign policy – evidenced most conspicuously in the rhetoric around the new 'Global Britain' agenda. This paper uses internal policy discussions to investigate the historical relationship between the FCO and identity politics, from its roots in the late 1960s, through to the latter twentieth century and the rise of 'diversity' ideology.

Simon Tate (UEA), Who thought what and why it matters: The Eastern Department, 1905-1914

This paper will discuss the different views held by members of the Foreign Office's Eastern Department in the years before the First World War, in order to show how this can add valuable context to an understanding of the period. The Foreign Office, as an organisation, underwent a significant reorganisation in 1905, a shift marked by the replacement of Sir Thomas Sanderson with Sir Charles Hardinge as the Permanent Under-Secretary. In consequence of this reform, the role of clerks was enhanced. Freed from many administrative tasks, clerks took a more active role in discussion and policymaking. Seeing the value of multiple perspectives, such involvement was encouraged by senior officials. Much of this increased involvement was facilitated by the use of minute sheets. This means that many of these conversations have been recorded, and can therefore be analysed by the historian. This paper will use these records, along with other archival sources such as private letters, to reconstruct the views held by members of the Eastern Department on various Foreign Policy issues of the pre-war period. It will argue for the importance of discerning policymakers' thought processes and views of events, suggesting that this is essential to a full understanding of the issues in question. This paper will draw on some of the classical insights on the topic, such as James Joll's call for an understanding of 'unspoken assumptions' and Zara Steiner's work on the Foreign Office, along with more recent work such as T.G. Otte's 'Foreign Office Mind', to support material from British Government and other archives.

Natala Telepneva (Warwick), The End of Development: The Soviet Union and Modernisation in Guinea-Bissau

In September 1974, Guinea-Bissau became an independent state after eleven years of anti-colonial wars. Throughout the period of anti-colonial struggle, the Soviet Union had been the most important ally of the PAIGC, the nationalist movement that had fought against the independence of the country. Thousands of

PAIGC cadres had gone through military training camps in the Soviet Union and even more had received higher degrees in the Soviet Union. Upon independence, the Soviet believed, Guinea-Bissau—a small state in West Africa—could serve as a model of a successful micro-state. However, the following years were years of political strife and recurrent coups. This paper traces Soviet attempts to affect modernisation in Guinea-Bissau and other lusophone Sub-Saharan countries against the backdrop of debates about economic reform in the Soviet Union. Using Guinea-Bissau as a case study, this paper focuses on debates about Soviet development assistance in sub-Saharan Africa and how Moscow's experiences affected policy back home. While most recent studies take a narrow view of modernisation as development assistance, this paper takes a broader view, encompassing Soviet attempts to establish effective institutions in the newly independent African states. This paper is based on the newly declassified documents from the Russian archives and oral history interviews with those men and women who went for education and training in the USSR.

Yu Cheng Teng (BISA), *Neutrality in the Global Cold War: Eisenhower's Response and the Soviet Economic Offensive in Latin America*

This paper re-examines the Eisenhower's response to the Soviet economic propaganda towards the Third World, with a particular emphasis on Latin America against the Cold War setting. Nikolai Bulganin's presentation to enhance cooperation in economic, cultural and technical aspects in 1956 was known as the Soviet Economic Offensive (SEO), which would not limit Eisenhower's economic policy in the global setting. The existing literature regarding the impact of the SEO on the U.S.-Latin American relations has been scarcely discussed. Stephan G. Rabe has argued that Latin America was sub-connected to U.S. global strategy but did not develop the theme; Bevan Sewell's historiography came to a conclusion that Eisenhower made the reappraisal of the current policy when Bulganin developed the theme of its strategy but he did not build up an analytical framework through the valuable materials. The SEO, though not remarkably arouse much positive response in Latin America, tipped the balance in favour of military purchase based on the reimbursable basis. The military interests in Latin America further explained the correlation between national security concerns and the Cold War system. As a result, how to advance military interests in Latin America was brought upfront for discussion. This paper has found that the SEO triggered a series of bureaucratic debates over the Mutual Security Acts Funds, challenged the U.S. commitments in neutral nations and motivated Congress's dedication to the foreign-aid programme (Smathers Amendment), with the latter as a distinct contribution to the Development Loan Fund (DLF).

Quentin Tonnerre (Lausanne), *Are the Olympic Games the Business of Diplomats? The Example of Lausanne's Bid (1952-1955)*

Historiography has clearly demonstrated the extent to which the origins of modern Olympism were linked to the world of diplomats (Clastres, 2002). The same applies to the place of the Olympic Games in American public and cultural diplomacy during the Cold War (Rider, 2016) and the role of state diplomacy in campaigns to boycott these sporting events (Gygax, 2012). On the other hand, historians have paid little attention to a very unconventional type of diplomacy: the support of the bid committees of cities that wish to be entrusted with the organization of the Olympic Games. In this contribution based on the archives of the City of Lausanne (Switzerland) and the International Olympic Committee, as well as on the diplomatic documents available at the Swiss Federal Archives, we want to address this issue through the candidature of the City of Lausanne to host the 1960 Summer Olympic Games. While the Swiss government considered that sport was not part of foreign policy until the 1980s, its diplomats were nevertheless mobilized from 1952 to ensure that Lausanne won the race against its main competitor: Rome. We propose to analyze here the role of Swiss diplomats in this failed exercise, which combines local level, national issues, international organizations and transnational networks.

Rachel Utley (Leeds), *'The French have so far shown least willingness of all our partners to meet our requirements': Britain, France and Europe, 1979-81*

Difficult British relations with Europe are not new, and membership of the European Economic Community was no exception. By the time of the Conservative Party's election victory in 1979, bringing Margaret Thatcher to office as Prime Minister, the terms of Britain's membership were already contentious. This was particularly the case regarding Britain's contribution to the EEC budget: as

economic difficulties increased in the late 1970s, Britain was scheduled to become the second-largest contributor to Community funds. Under Thatcher, then, the British Government set out to achieve a large part of “its money back”. Doing so required the accord and indeed the cooperation of Britain’s European partners. Among the principal of these was France, a founder member of the Community, a heavyweight in that sphere, and a traditional rival of Britain. Using a wide range of British and French archival sources, this paper assesses the prospects of UK-French cooperation to pursue the British goal. It will argue that in three key areas – personal relations, political priorities and public diplomacy – the Prime Minister, Foreign Secretary and the Foreign Office made concerted efforts to engage the support of the French Government under President Giscard d’Estaing. However, they consistently fell short. Perceptions of personal indifference, diplomatic slight and limited reading of the French domestic context militated against co-opting the French in support of Britain’s objectives, in the period from Thatcher’s accession to Giscard’s election defeat in 1981. Moreover, differences ran more than surface-deep: Giscard’s removal brought no swift resolution to the British Budget Question.

James Vaughan (Aberystwyth), The Road to Perdition: historical perspectives on anti-Zionism, antisemitism and the British Labour Party

This paper will provide a critical overview of anti-Zionist and antisemitic politics within the British Labour movement from the 1930s to the period of the clash between Labour modernisers and the hard left in the 1980s. It looks, in particular, at four formative moments in the evolution of Labour Party anti-Zionism: the 1930 Palestine White Paper drawn up by Sidney Webb during the second MacDonald government; the controversy generated by Ernest Bevin’s approach to the Palestine question during the 1945-51 Labour government; the establishment of the first significant pro-Palestinian and pro-Arab groupings within the Party in the years following the 1967 Arab-Israeli war; and the emergence of a more strident, radical anti-Zionism in the early 1980s. It provides an analysis that casts light on the diminution of the historic appeal of Zionism for many British socialists and how particular forms of anti-Zionism became ‘become part of the common sense among people of a broadly progressive temper’ (Julius, 2010). In addition, it identifies the historical perspectives from which to view one of the most emotive and contentious contemporary battlegrounds in the struggle for the Labour Party’s identity. Furthermore, it argues that the growing influence of more radical forms of anti-Zionist activism within the Party after 1967, provided the gateways through which emergent contemporary discourses of antisemitism became established within the mainstream Labour movement of the 21st century.

Zhaodong Wang (Edinburgh), Disputes over the China-Tibet-India Road, 1942-1943: The Other Side of the Anglo-Chinese Alliance during the Second World War

Traditional Sino-British studies of the WWII focus on their military cooperation and the end of British imperialism in China proper. Issues concerning Tibet are largely ignored. Tibet’s de facto independence after 1912 mainly depended on two factors: the weakness of the Chinese regime and British diplomatic and military logistical support to Tibet. However, the war changed the picture. After the Burma road fell into the Japanese hands, the British had no good reason to refuse the Chinese proposal for a new international motor road passing eastern Tibet. Britain thus pressured Lhasa to open an animal pack route to China instead, which with a small transport capacity was deemed less threat to Tibet’s autonomy. Yet this alienated the Tibetans from British India, coupled with their contradictions over the border issues. The Chinese were also irritated by Britain’s interventions in Tibetan issues which in their mind was of an exclusive Chinese matter. This argument brought the United States’ attention to Tibet’s sovereignty and let the latter make a statement in favour of the Chinese. Meanwhile, London and New Delhi started to re-examine their policies towards Tibet in anticipation that China would reoccupy it after the war. It, in practice, resulted in hastening British control over the McMahon areas because the Chinese would strongly claim these territories once they reincorporated Tibet. This further tensed Indo-Tibetan relationship and pushed the latter to seek accommodation with the Nationalists in 1946 and other international support for maintaining Tibet’s status quo. In this way, the WWII deeply impacted the Sino-British relations, as well as Tibet’s future.

Ksenia Wesolowska (Strathclyde), Kissinger-Rogers bureaucratic rivalry and U.S. foreign policy towards the Arab-Israeli peace process

This paper looks into the hierarchy in Richard Nixon's administration and the dynamics of the U.S. foreign policy decision-making processes related to the Arab-Israeli dispute. It investigates the role of William Rogers, the U.S. Secretary of State, who operated within a structure where power shifted from the State Department towards both the President and the National Security Advisor, Henry Kissinger. Nixon, 'deftly sure-footed on the world stage' considered foreign relations as an important presidential duty, to be controlled from the White House. However, at the beginning of his administration, Nixon assigned the Middle East exclusively to Rogers and Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, Joseph Sisco. Yet, regardless of an overwhelming number of duties, Kissinger managed to save on time to move in on Arab-Israeli diplomacy soon after his appointment for a National Security Advisor, which played a role in Rogers' exclusion. Why did Nixon decide to assign the Middle East to Rogers in the first place and how did the internal bureaucratic rivalry influence the U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East and the peace process itself? Was the Rogers Plan for the Arab-Israeli settlement hindered mainly because of the internal bureaucratic rivalry between the White House and the State Department? This paper addresses the above questions through an investigation of ways in which the processes of government as a struggle for power among those holding public office can impact foreign policy-making.

Sarah Wilder (Marburg), *Civilizing the Leviathan? Conceptions of state sovereignty and the development of International (Criminal) Law in the United Nations (1949-1957)*

State sovereignty is considered one of the main concepts within academic state theory as well as IR theory and International Law. While endless thinkers, most prominently Jean Bodin, conceptualized state sovereignty from a political theory point of view, not much historical research has been done on the changing conceptions and outlines of state sovereignty. This appears to be particularly true for the 20th century, even though various academics repeatedly claimed a "decline" of the (nation) state and state sovereignty after 1945. In the context of recent historical research on the history of the United Nations and the history of international politics in general, research findings emphasize a growing influence of international organizations and especially the UN on international politics, thus challenging the traditional status of states as the main actors of the international system. Agendas trying to control and civilize the aggressive and untamed face that states had shown the world in the first half of the 20th century therefore after 1945 collided with states' fear of losing their sovereignty to supra-national non-state organizations. Against the exemplary background of the development of International Criminal Law, the paper aims to analyze and discuss how different ideas and conceptions of "state" and "state sovereignty" shaped the work of the UN General Assembly as well as the International Law Commission and their attempts to establish a permanent international criminal court in the 1950s. The paper hence wants to offer a new perspective on "state" and "state sovereignty" as variable historical concepts and potent ideas in international political processes.

Natalya Yakovenko (National University of "Kyiv – Mohyla Academy"), *The Development of UK-Ukraine Diplomatic Relations in the Course of Ukraine's Independence*

Ukraine gained its independence in 1991. Until then it existed as a part of the former USSR though during the soviet period it had its Ministry for Foreign Affairs and four diplomatic representations abroad. Moreover, Ukraine was one of the UN founding states in 1945 having signed the UN Charter in San Francisco. Diplomatic relations between independent Ukraine and the United Kingdom were established on January 10, 1992. Embassy of Ukraine in the United Kingdom began its work in September 1992. The British Embassy in Ukraine was opened later in the same year and the first British Ambassador was Mr Simon Hemans. Since then the United Kingdom and Ukraine have been concluding lots of diplomatic agreements and treaties embracing various spheres, including political, military, economic, cultural and humanitarian areas. The leaders and high officials of both states paid a number of diplomatic visits. In May 2008, Kyiv and London signed a joint statement where both parties highlighted the strategic character of their partnership and close cooperation between Ukraine and Great Britain. The UK also supports Ukraine on its path to membership of the EU and NATO. The state of Ukrainian-British bilateral relations corresponds to a high level of mutual understanding, including the issues related to the European integration of Ukraine as well as the development of cooperation in many spheres. The UK Government condemned Russian aggression against Ukraine, after Russia had annexed and occupied Crimea in 2014 and attacked Donbas

Takahiro Yamamoto (Heidelberg), Japanese Pacific Mandate through a settler's eyes: The case of Koben Mori

Japan's Pacific expansion was heavily conditioned by the activities of individual migrants. Koben Mori (1869-1945), a Japanese entrepreneur who settled and set up a trading business in Micronesia (controlled by Spain until 1898 and then Germany), was a prime example in this regard. His life as a trader in the Pacific has later become a subject of popular literature, embellished with romantic and jingoistic praise as an expansionist and pioneer in the Japanese control of the 'South Seas'. By studying Mori's private correspondence in Kochi Library and People's Rights Museum in Kochi, Japan, and diaries of Hijikata Hisakatsu, an anthropologist specialised in Micronesia who stayed in the Satawal Island from 1931 to 1938, stored at National Museum of Ethnology in Osaka, among other sources, I aim to critically examine Mori's activities and his impact on the Japanese rule of Micronesia. In particular, the paper will aim to study the continuing impact of indigenous social structure in the colonial rule of Japanese Micronesia, and places Mori, who married a daughter of the chief of one island, at the nexus of old and new social space. This micro-scale analysis will allow us to complicate the conventional understanding of Japanese rule in Micronesia that highlights the dominance of Japanese colonial settlement and cultural assimilation. Responding to the recent rise in the research on Pacific history and Japan's 'pelagic empire', my study of a Japanese expatriate in the South Seas will provide a comparative lens through which to arrive at a more nuanced understanding of Japanese colonialism and its relations with individual members.

Baturay Yurtbay (Oxford), The Menemen Incident and its impacts on Kemalist regime

In 1920s, Kemalist policies on Islam were considered as liberal, however this liberal secularism began to be more aggressive in 1930s (Ahmad 1988, 754). The reason of this important change can be explained by emerging of significant political oppositions in 1930s. One of these issues is called Menemen incident which occurred in Izmir and caused to emerge significant threats to the government. Izmir was one of the biggest cities of that time and therefore had a different position than other small regions in the eastern parts. The starting point of this issue was attempting to restore of Caliphate by Dervish Mehmed Efendi who was a member of Naqshbandi-a religious group. This incident was seen as an important rebellion by gendarmerie and an officer was sent to the region to maintain order to suppress the rebellion. However this young officer was killed brutally by the supporters of the rebellion. Menemen Incident which emerged in 1930 in İzmir was one of the main issues that caused to shift of Kemalist regime in Turkey. It should be understood that Menemen incident had significant effects on Kemalist regime in the framework of implementation of Kemalist regime as well as causing to shift the ideology of Kemalism later on. First, this essay will focus on main causes and effects of Menemen incident. Then the essay will explain its impacts on Kemalist regime by evaluating the concepts of six arrows of Kemalism, people's houses and cadre in the framework of relationships between Menemen incident and the new secular regime.

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