EDUCATIONAL INTERNATIONALISM IN THE COLD WAR

PLURAL VISIONS, GLOBAL EXPERIENCES

Edited by
Damiano Matasci and Raphaëlle Ruppen Coutaz

Educational Internationalism in the Cold War

This edited volume delves into the intricate landscape of educational internationalism during the Cold War, providing an in-depth examination of its diverse forms, impulses, and global impacts.

Through multilingual archival research, the chapters uncover a variety of experiences that have fostered cross-border exchanges and cooperation within, between, and beyond the Western and Eastern blocs. Promoted by a wide range of individual and collective actors, internationalism in education has extended across a broad spectrum of fields, including academic mobility schemes, cultural interchanges, youth science competitions, development programs, and training courses. This collection offers, for the first time, a comprehensive analysis of these initiatives, revealing their intersections with national educational policies and processes of decolonization, development, and Europeanization. It also challenges conventional historical narratives by both uncovering forms of collaboration and solidarity that transcended the Iron Curtain and emphasizing the pivotal role of the Global South as a central arena of encounters.

Educational Internationalism in the Cold War presents a rich understanding of the Cold War as a laboratory of contemporary globalization and is a valuable addition to the scholarship on one of the most critical moments of the twentieth century.

Damiano Matasci is a senior research associate at the University of Geneva. His research explores the history of Europe and colonial Africa in a transnational and transimperial perspective, with a focus on education, childhood, and science. He is the author of *Internationaliser l'éducation. La France, l'UNESCO et la fin des empires coloniaux en Afrique, 1945–1961* (2023) and *L'école républicaine et l'étranger. Une histoire internationale des réformes scolaires en France, 1870–1914* (2015).

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Contents

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Foreword

Joëlle Droux and Rita Hofstetter

On 23 March 1921, a short article in the *Journal de Genève* reported that a meeting of the International Confederation of Students, to be attended by 28 nations, would be held in Prague the following month. A few weeks later, the same newspaper reported that the Maison du Peuple in Lausanne would host an International Congress of Christian Socialist Students in July 1921, to be followed a few days later by an International Congress of Catholic Students, again held in Prague. A careful survey of press reports in French-speaking Switzerland and neighboring parts, in the early 1920s, reveals many other echoes of the internationalist ferment experienced by the educational world, including young workers and intellectuals, which led whole groups of people to cross their national borders and join their brothers (and some sisters) from all walks of life. This enthusiasm swept all of Europe, all of the Western world, and we now know that its roots went much deeper, having mobilized – albeit unevenly and to various extents – youths of all origins. Furthermore, there were deep divisions within these mobilities: while it is true that many actors circulated, they did not do it all together or toward the same destinations, they did not rally round the same mentors, and they were far from being driven by the same goals. Pacifist tendencies were on display, but these also concealed fears and resentments, fighting instincts, and desires for vengeance; there was certainly a spirit of internationalist cooperation, but this only imperfectly succeeded in overcoming the nationalist pride that these youth populations had been brought up on, leading to denunciations of the mind-numbing education they had been victims of; calls for neutrality abounded, but they were no match for the political, religious, and ideological discord that characterized this generation. This internationalist sentiment, therefore, saw the coexistence of a wide range of networks and association movements of different types, composition, goals, history, and futures.

Exactly one century after this series of events, other kinds of enterprising intellectuals and scholars, also hailing from different countries, met in Lausanne to compare their visions and analyses. They were answering the call of the historians Damiano Matasci and Raphaëlle Ruppen Coutaz who, at the international conference that lies at the origin of this collective volume, had invited them to examine the different aspects of educational internationalism at

another crucial stage of its evolution: the Cold War.[1] The aim was to determine what this period in world history may have changed in the organization of international educational networks. Contributions gathered in this volume reveal how this period reshaped both education and internationalism ("Rethinking Educational Exchanges and Encounters"), helped change their features ("Shaping Minds and Societies"), and conveyed new contents and paradigms "Competing Models and Counter-Models", drawing on previously unexplored viewpoints ("Views from the Global South"). The extensive introduction by Damiano Matasci and Raphaëlle Ruppen Coutaz shows the originality and importance of the challenge, which the authors in this volume have risen to brilliantly.

Readers will find plenty of case studies that explore the impact of the ideological divides of this period – and their socio-economic and political implications – on a variety of educational actors. The book documents these tensions in extreme detail, vigilantly avoiding any Euro- and Western-centric projection. This is all the more necessary, considering the fact that this history is riddled with ideology, which is imprinted in our memories. Moreover, the various aspects of internationalism we learn about in these pages have required contributors to use terms gleaned from the political rather than the educational field (socialist internationalism, liberal, social liberal, communist, fascist, revolutionary, populist – and their attendant antonyms). These reflect political frictions that transnational groupings attempted to overcome, with their initiatives being cast in a new light: Pan-American, Pan-African; Christian, ecumenical; pacifist, libertarian; sports, cultural; experimental, scientific – all movements that helped make the Iron Curtain more permeable than it might otherwise have seemed. Most authors use the syntagm "Cold War internationalism" as a generic concept in order to contrast with the supposedly universal liberalism between the two world wars, placing it in its sociocultural, humanitarian, and academic environment, where education and development were conflated and measured against their economic performance.

These ideological tensions were obviously not new: since the 19th century, deep divisions ran through the worlds of education, reflecting a "long Cold War" that did not yet bear that name but clearly existed in people's minds. The postwar divide that engulfed the West and left its mark on the four corners of the world for many decades would, of course, go on to harden these tensions, as witnessed in the radical anti-communism spearheaded by Western liberalism in the name of universalism. Nevertheless, this ideological antagonism did not prevent circulation. Better still – as illustrated here – it fostered new ones at transcontinental, transnational, interregional, and local levels. The present volume has started an inventory of the ways in which they were reconfigured and the goals they pursued – an inventory that can only grow in the years to come.

Over and above the impact of ideological issues, this book reveals the extraordinary driving role played by youths in these circulatory restructurings and cultural interactions. Indeed, this internationalist sentiment was already

shared by many students in 1921, as stated above. However, at a time when secondary and therefore higher education was still the preserve of mainly male elites, the movement remained necessarily limited in scope. The context of the postwar period of economic boom – known as "Les Trente Glorieuses" in France – which this volume surveys, stands in sharp contrast to the 1920s because of the process of democratization of education that unfolded then. For the Cold War era was also the era of young people, when the baby boom caused their numbers to explode; several contributions mention that before 1968, they already made up a considerable reservoir from which the movements to internationalize education were able to draw, both in terms of (re) conceiving them and mobilizing them in their personal careers and collective enterprises. In this respect, the researchers who came together on the shores of Lake Geneva in 2021 are very much the heirs of this process of democratization of education – a process whose significance the present contributions invite us to weigh.

A greater number of children who started earlier and spent longer learning in primary and secondary schools, colleges, and universities also meant a greater number of teachers, extracurricular actors, administrators, and managers. All this in a world that was experiencing increasingly intense, multiple processes of regional and international integration. Students, trainees, volunteers, apprentices, trainers, researchers, teachers – everyone was encouraged and then required to embrace mobility. This was already evidenced at a European level by the setting up of consultation and collaboration bodies, whose fragmented geography called for a reconfiguring of circulatory centers and flows (Paris, seat of UNESCO and the OECD; Brussels, seat of the European Commission; Strasbourg, headquarters of the Council of Europe; etc.). One of the issues at stake was the consolidation of European solidarity, precisely at a time when new forms of "decolonizing" and "provincializing" Europe and the West emerged. These notions need to be understood in their multiple meanings, in a context where different countries of the Global South were becoming emancipated, while the United States uncompromisingly dominated the educational and academic field through its normative and financial force of attraction.

Perceived as a powerful tool for shaping hearts and minds, and therefore young people's destinies, education was cast as a progressive science and practice at the service of the economic and social development of nations throughout the period examined here. The standard bearers of children's causes knew, of course, how to use it to impose their norms and powers. Were school culture and educational models "weapons of war" that were all the more powerful and insidious as they operated secretly, in the name of then-consensual goals: pacification, cooperation, integration, collegiality, reciprocity, productivity? Sprinkled among the pages of this book are terms that are eerily similar to the utopias that, in the interwar period, Geneva psychologist Jean Piaget described as having a mystical veneer, stating his belief that emphatic speeches had to give way to actions and a daily democratic praxis in classrooms and schools. By favoring a bottom-up analysis of student and academic movements, this

volume offers a more nuanced and diverse picture of the resourcefulness of internationalist movements, which, while often reduced to mere ideological conflicts during these decades, also fostered ingenious forms of creativity, collegiality, and agency.

By appropriating the very tools used to colonize mentalities – education, language, science – these movements contributed to the process of political and cultural independence. The present volume allows us to discover a wide range of experiences, the originality of which also lies in the fact that they integrate the voices of the Global South. This is exemplified early by Chile, already a cornerstone of academic exchanges by the interwar period; youth educational presses in the Philippines; schools of mass communication and journalism in Nairobi; or the internationalist schools on Cuba's Isla de la Juventud. Another case in point is student associations, which as early as 1946, at a congress in Prague, joined forces globally (International Union of Students) by placing themselves under the legitimizing aegis of UNESCO. Although women still seemed to be assigned subordinate roles, gradually these Cold War generations discovered the mixing of the sexes through their enthusiasm for cultural trips and intellectual cooperation, publishing and journalism, sports competitions and political jousting, studying, of course, and diplomacy. We catch echoes of the fainter voices of early youth thanks to letters written by North Korean war orphans to their former Polish teachers and boarding school staff, in which they recount their lives back home in the service of the productivity of North Korea's socialist regime.

Although the diplomats of educational internationalism looked toward new nerve centers, they were not the only ones to move around and nourish the global educational space: the growing weight of cross-border movements – linked to the economic expansion of European and US markets – as well as decolonization-recolonization logics, reconfigured the circulatory regimes: whether they were illiterate or had a string of diplomas under their belts, many populations, young and older, women and men, circulated as well, willingly or unwillingly, posing new challenges to the educational worlds that today are clearly still in the news. Thanks to the originality of the initiatives taken by its demanding editors, Damiano Matasci and Raphaëlle Ruppen Coutaz, the present book invites us to consider their evolution and impact on both home and host societies.

Note

1 International Conference, *Internationalism(s) and Education during the Cold War. Actors, Rivalries, and Circulations*, University of Lausanne, 23–25 June 2021.

Introduction

Internationalism, Education, and the Global
Cold War

Damiano Matasci and Raphaëlle Ruppen Coutaz

In the contemporary collective imagination, the Cold War is still seen as a period of confrontation and intense rivalry between two competing political and economic models, the United States and the Soviet Union. However, over the last 20 years, historiography has attempted to deconstruct this image: drawing on new archival and documentary resources, numerous studies have shown that this conflict involved a multitude of actors and went far beyond the military and diplomatic sphere, affecting all areas of social, cultural, and political life. The transnational and global dimensions of the Cold War have also been highlighted. Besides the proxy wars that took place in Third World countries (Westad 2005), historians have shown that the ideological confrontation and political tensions between the West and the East did not prevent or put a break on contacts and exchanges between and beyond the two blocs (Mikkonen and Koivunen 2015; Babiracki and Zimmer 2014; Hochscherf, Laucht, and Plowman 2011; Autio-Sarasmo and Miklóssy 2010; Autio-Sarasmo and Humphreys 2010; Fleury and Jilek 2009). On the contrary, the second half of the 20th century was a golden age of internationalism. Indeed, this period saw the proliferation of numerous initiatives, ideas, and movements that tried, according to the historian Akira Iriye's classic definition, to "reformulate the nature of relations among nations through international cooperation and interchange" (Iriye 1997, p. 3).

This volume focuses on a central dimension of this process: education. The training of individuals and the transmission of norms and knowledge, in and outside schools, were very quickly identified as a central tool in legitimizing competing sociopolitical models and structuring the processes of nation-building and socioeconomic development, not only in Europe but also in Latin America, Asia, and Africa. It is therefore with sometimes complementary and sometimes opposing motivations, strategies, and goals that a vast range of actors – national and international, (inter)governmental and non-governmental, public and private – participated in international exchanges and multilateral cooperation. The aim of this volume is to trace this history, which has not until now been the subject of a comprehensive study encompassing initiatives from the First, Second, and Third Worlds. By focusing on different areas and educational levels, the volume sheds light on how the Cold War reconfigured older

internationalist practices and fueled new forms of connectivity that significantly transcended national frontiers and the Iron Curtain itself. The contributions reveal in particular the role played by actors that have been little studied in the historiography, especially those in the countries of the Global South, and the various rationales that drove the internationalist dynamics in the second half of the 20th century. By shifting our gaze beyond the European space and the binary opposition between the United States and the Soviet Union – or, more generally, between two monolithic blocs – this mapping of educational internationalism makes it possible to "decenter" (Faure and Del Pero 2020, p. 10) the study of the Cold War and open up new research avenues.

Educational Internationalism in the 20th Century: Continuities and Reconfigurations

The chapters in this volume, most of which were presented at a conference organized at the University of Lausanne in June 2021, are part of a rapidly growing historiography that has shed light on the long, plural history of internationalism (Reinisch and Brydan 2021; Sluga and Clavin 2017). Indeed, whether as a practice, a sentiment, or an ideal, this cultural and social phenomenon had its roots in the 19th century and went through multiple reconfigurations throughout the 20th century (Geyer and Paulmann 2008; Herren 2000). Its expressions were numerous (Di Donato and Fulla 2023; Reinisch 2016), as were the actors who drove it and who placed solidarity, exchanges, and international cooperation at the heart of a wide range of more or less institutionalized initiatives and activities, which also led to the emergence of several kinds of "Internationals" (Anceau, Boudon, and Dard 2017). Thus, forms of Cold War internationalism studied in this volume inherited older visions, ideas, and practices, which continually evolved and even survived the fall of the Berlin Wall and the Soviet Union.

But what specific role did education play in the history of internationalism? First, it must be stressed that internationalism in education was both a result and a driving force of larger globalizing processes that took place from the 19th century (Droux and Hofstetter 2014; Caruso and Tenorth 2002). World fairs, international congresses, pedagogical missions, and, from the 1920s, international organizations fueled a worldwide "circulatory regime" (Saunier 2008), which helped steer school reforms, institutionalize pedagogical theories and academic disciplines, as well as promote ideals such as mutual understanding and pacifism (Matasci 2015). In this volume, we use the term "educational internationalism" to encompass the wide range of initiatives that were undertaken against this background by a variety of actors to foster and institutionalize cross-border connections and cooperation. Importantly, this notion also includes the visions, impulses, and aspirations that underpinned and justified all these activities. Second, internationalism was far from being a naive burst of generosity. In the 19th century and later in the 20th century, it permanently intersected with nationalism, nation-states, and national identities. Admittedly,

this was also the case in many other fields (Ihalainen and Holmila 2022; Sluga 2013), but this feature was stronger in the realm of education, given the role played by modern school systems in nation-building processes. Therefore, educational internationalism was often conceived by the actors of the time (reformers, statesmen, teachers, scholars, and representatives of the labor movement) as a means to consolidate their country's place on the international or regional stage, while also working as a resource for defending the professional interests of teachers.

Still informal and relatively unstructured, internationalism was institutionalized at the turn of the 20th century, and especially after the First World War (Dogliani 2020; Laqua 2011). A new world-order vision came out of the ruins of the conflict, driven by a vast and highly heterogeneous "global community" (Iriye 2002) made up of public and private, governmental, and non-governmental actors. In 1919, the creation of the League of Nations provided a permanent institutional basis to the actors and ideals of so-called liberal internationalism, which was being challenged by the already-existing structures of the labor movement (Studer 2015; Wolikow 2010; Frajerman 2001), as well as by anti-colonial activism (Louro, Stolte, Streets-Salter, and Tannoury-Karam 2020) and fascist internationalism (Kott and Patel 2018, Herren 2017). In terms of education, it was the International Bureau of Education (1925) and the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (1926) that first laid the foundations of real intergovernmental cooperation (Hofstetter and Érhise 2022; Droux, Hofstetter, and Robert 2020; Renoliet 1999). Dozens of international associations and networks, which brought together thousands of sometimes ideologically opposed educationalists and teachers, were set up around "causes" and "values" such as pacifism, mutual understanding, pedagogical reform, or promoting alternative and even revolutionary teaching visions (Osborne 2016). Educational internationalism also crystallized on a regional scale, as exemplified by pan-Americanism, as well as in physical places such as a city like Geneva, which became a platform for internationalist educational initiatives, activities, and utopias (Hofstetter, Droux, and Christian 2020; Laqua 2015; Dugonjic-Rodwin 2014).

The end of the Second World War and the beginning of the Cold War reconfigured the expectations associated with internationalist discourses and practices. Indeed, together with culture (Ganjavi 2023; Mikkonen, Scott-Smith, and Parkkinen 2019; Romijn, Scott-Smith, and Segal 2012; Sirinelli and Soutou 2008; Major and Mitta 2004; Caute 2003; Scott-Smith 2002), science (Oreskes and Krige 2014), and sport (Edelman and Young 2020; Vonnard, Sbetti, and Quin 2018; Rider 2016), education became a major battleground in the ideological confrontation between West and East.[1] In particular, the transmission and learning of knowledge, norms, and values were invested with a double mission. The first one was to unite national communities around the ideologies embodied by the two blocs. As several recent works have shown, being a child and growing up during the Cold War meant being prepared for war, engaging in civil defense, and being committed to ideological struggle

(Grieve 2018, p. 2; Hartman 2008, pp. 71–72). Numerous studies have thus looked at the role played by educational institutions (curricular and extracurricular, from primary to higher education) in socially controlling individuals and consolidating the "values" of socialist regimes and Western countries. In particular, they have shown that curricula and teaching techniques were rethought to meet the new political and economic challenges posed by the Cold War (Boretska 2019; Hof 2018). This was the case within disciplines such as physics, chemistry, and biology, which were meant to bolster countries' scientific and industrial competitiveness, as well as the arms and space race (Rudolph 2002; Kaiser 2002). Academic research, including in social sciences (Isaac 2007), was also used as a tool to "understand and learn from the enemy", as evidenced by the rise of area studies in Europe, the United States, and the Soviet Union (Bartley 2018; Marung 2017; Popa 2016). All these examples confirm that education was very much used as a weapon during the Cold War, although it is important to stress that there was a very wide gap between the normative utopia and the actors involved in the educational microcosm: a well-known case in point is the German Democratic Republic (GDR), a country often presented as an *Erziehungsdiktatur* (Wierling 1994), where regulatory directives were not always and systematically applied; rather, they were rejected, reappropriated, or adjusted by educational actors (Droit 2009). Nevertheless, the global competition between the two blocs had a profound and long-lasting impact on national school systems, as well as on the ways in which education and learning processes were approached, leaving their mark to this day (Christophe, Gautschi, and Thorp 2019).

From the beginning of the Cold War, education was also invested with a second mission: to strengthen the "power" of a country, and more widely that of an ideological bloc, by conquering the "hearts and minds" of the world's populations. On both sides of the Iron Curtain, children's "well-being" was indeed used as a rhetorical resource in order to certify, especially on the international stage, the "visions of the happiness and security that their own sociopolitical systems made possible" (Peacock 2014, p. 221). Drawing on this imaginary, schools and educational activities of all kinds served as a means to establish spheres of influence on a global scale. In other words, education was conceived and used as a means of economic, social, and cultural transformation, playing a central role in the processes of "Sovietization" (Apor, Apor, and Rees 2008; Connelly 2000) and "Americanization" (Tournès 2020; García and Gómez-Escalonilla 2019; Ekbladh 2009) of societies. Several studies have shown, for example, that universities were the target of the United States' and Soviet Union's cultural soft-power strategies, even if they were often met with resistance, indifference, or even sabotage by local elites and academic communities (Tsvetkova 2021). Educational exchanges, which have also been well studied by historiography, were equally central (Tournès and Scott-Smith 2018). Beginning with the interwar period, many American public and private actors became involved in hosting students as well as funding teaching and research centers, not only in Europe but also in the Third World, in order to disseminate liberal values,

foster economic "modernization", and counter the expansion of communism (Tarradellas 2022; Unger 2011; Kramer 2009). Similarly, in many Eastern countries, educational and cultural exchanges became a way to promote socialism on the international scene and stimulate new forms of globalization (Mark and Betts 2022; Miethe and Weiss 2020; Mark, Kalinovsky, and Marung 2020). The training of Third World elites was one of the main manifestations of this strategy, as attested by the creation of the Lumumba University in Moscow in 1960 – which would welcome tens of thousands of students in the decades to come (Katsakioris 2019) – and the wide range of educational opportunities provided by other socialist countries (Pugach 2022; Burton 2019; de Saint Martin, Ghellab, and Mellakh 2015). Internationalism, however, did not always serve purely geopolitical or diplomatic purposes; it was also a way to reinforce political legitimacy at home. The International Children's Assembly "Banner of Peace", held in Sofia in 1979, is a good case in point. This event, which gathered hundreds of children from 77 countries, was used to reinforce and promote Bulgaria's cultural and historical heritage among the local population (also through specific educational activities), while at the same time serving as a soft power tool "for achieving international prestige and recognition" (Bogdanova 2022, p. 86; see also Dragostinova 2021).

Overall, these studies have had the merit of shifting the focus from the diplomatic-military sphere to the cultural and transnational dimensions of the Cold War, reflecting the new historiographical insights fostered by the "New Cold War History" since the early 2000s (Kozovoï 2014; Westad 2000). They show that education was a tool with which stakeholders conceived the specific features of their sociopolitical models, which they then tried to define ideologically and pass on through this conviction to the new generations and throughout the world via curricular and extracurricular devices. Education – and the various internationalist initiatives associated with it – were, therefore, a ground where power relations, struggles, as well as divergent political and cultural agendas, crystallized.

Mapping Internationalism, Reassessing the Cold War

The "educationalization" (Tröhler 2013, p. 146) of the Cold War did not only help reinforce and consolidate the antagonism between the West and the East. It also fostered exchanges and the circulation of individuals, knowledge, and models *within*, *between*, and *beyond* the blocs. This is precisely what this collective volume wishes to explore by focusing on educational internationalism during the Cold War. Through different case studies, authors provide new insights into the role education played during this period, while highlighting the entanglements and interactions that developed between countries and world regions. More specifically, they show how visions, practices, and experiences of exchange and international cooperation in education emerged *despite* but also *thanks* to Cold War rivalries. These were carried out by a wide variety of actors – sometimes wrongly considered "peripheral", such as the countries of the South

– and intersected with other major transnational processes of the second half of the 20th century, such as pan-Africanism, pan-Americanism, and European construction (Ruppen Coutaz and Paoli 2024; Dumont 2020; Boukari-Yabara 2014; Conway and Patel 2010).

In order to account for the variety of exchange and cooperation processes on a global scale, this volume pays particular attention to the sometimes very diverse motivations and ideals that governed educational internationalism. In Western countries, as Larissa Wagner's chapter on the German *Land* of Bavaria shows, it was a question of extending the strategies of cultural diplomacy while demonstrating technical superiority and the ability to ensure the "well-being" and "freedom" of a society, following in the footsteps of the long Western humanitarian (and imperial) tradition rooted in the 19th century. Against this background, anti-communism was often (but not always) a strong driving force: it fostered networking between individuals and associations, as well as new ways of thinking about education (see the chapters by Bettina Blatter, Barbara Hof, and Juliette Dumont/Manuel Suzarte). In many socialist countries, the focus was on showing "solidarity" and "friendship" between peoples, as evidenced by the exchanges between French and East German teachers (see the chapter by Franck Schmidt), the hosting of North Korean orphans in Poland in the 1950s (see the chapter by Intaek Hong), or Cuba's solidarity with African national liberation movements (see the chapter by Dayana Murguia Mendez). One goal was to convey the image of socialism – and its educational system – as a successful development model that could be exported throughout the world, it having fostered the industrialization process first in the Soviet Union and then in the Eastern Bloc countries. This ambition was expressed on multiple occasions. For instance, during the conference of African states on the development of education, held in Addis Ababa in May 1961, Soviet representative Mekhti Zade, the Minister of Public Instruction of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic, explained to the audience that his country's experience in literacy and adult education "could also be applied in many of the countries of Africa, despite the differences of political systems".[2]

All these examples show that the various expressions of Cold War internationalism, which were meant to be distinct and universal in scope, structured "national societies as well as international relations along ideological lines" (Kott 2017, p. 361). Nevertheless, these initiatives also shared a common definition of educational modernity, which facilitated exchanges and contacts between East and West. The contributions in this volume highlight precisely these points of convergence. Ideas of "peace", "mutual understanding", "humanitarianism", and "development", as well as the promotion of a certain vision of "European unity", constituted strong impulses for internationalist initiatives. Though being ideologically oriented to address a new geopolitical context, their motivations relied on and drove forward the visions, ideals, and experiences of the actors of the interwar period (see the chapters by Franck Schmidt, Hana Qugana, Daniel Lövheim, and Alice Byrne). The positivist belief in education as a key element in the economic and social development of

a country was another common point between Cold War internationalisms and the educational programs associated with them (see the chapters by Michel Christian and Ismay Milford). By emphasizing the "porosity" of the Iron Curtain, this volume shows that, although it supported seemingly rival and incompatible political and ideological projects, education was also a ground where Eastern and Western actors, especially in Europe, could effectively meet and sometimes cooperate.

The contributions further highlight the multiplicity of actors, forms, and mechanisms of educational internationalism. Historiography has so far essentially looked at academic exchange programs, as well as the migrations of university students (Tarradellas and Landmeters 2022), who were seen as "the locomotives of cultural interaction between countries" (Tsvetkova 2021, p. 1). The chapters making up this volume expand and diversify this research by focusing on school competitions (see the chapter by Daniel Lövheim), structures for hosting children (see the chapter by Intaek Hong), private activist networks (see the chapter by Bettina Blatter), regional and subnational institutions (see the chapter by Larissa Wagner), and academic diasporas (see the chapter by Qing Liu). Various chapters also shed new light on the role of "new" and "old" technologies in learning processes (see the chapters by Barbara Hof and Hana Qugana), as well as on the exchanges between teachers, students, pupils, and university staff (see the chapters by Franck Schmidt, Juliette Dumont/Manuel Suzarte, Alice Byrne, and Dayana Murguia Mendez). In doing so, they emphasize the importance of considering forms of education "outside the schools", as well as their "materiality" and visual dimensions, all of which are emerging research fields in the history of education (Allender, Dussel, Grosvenor, and Priem 2021).

The volume equally stresses the importance of international organizations, in line with the most recent trends in academic research (Stinsky 2021; Kott 2021, 2011; Gaiduk 2013). Institutions such as UNESCO and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) were key places for confrontation and showcasing national educational models (Dorn and Ghodsee 2012). At the same, they also acted as "in-between" spaces that fostered the circulation of ideas beyond the Cold War political divides. As the chapters by Michel Christian, Jamyung Choi, and Ismay Milford show, this even led to a certain hybridization of educational knowledge and policies, particularly during the détente period. Besides the actors involved, the volume pays particular attention to the intended and actual effects of internationalist projects, as well as the discrepancies between discourses and practices on the ground. In doing so, it brings to light the divergences and misunderstandings that may have arisen within the blocs themselves, as was the case with the International Olympiads in Science organized in the Eastern countries, analyzed in the chapter by Daniel Lövheim. Despite their ambition to establish friendly ties between socialist countries, these events reflected wider geopolitical issues concerning the Soviet Union's relations with its satellite states, attesting, for example, to the worsening of Sino-Soviet relations (Friedman 2015).

This means that internationalism was a tool used to promote and legitimize specific "national paths" to socialism. Yugoslavia serves as a good example in this regard. As a founding and leading member of the Non-Aligned Movement (Lee 2019; Mišković, Fischer-Tiné, and Boškovska 2014), it exemplified how a "third way" between the West and the East emerged through a broad spectrum of activities in the field of technical assistance and cultural exchange, which included the training of students from the Global South (Stubbs 2023). But educational internationalism was far from being only a strategy used by states and public/private institutions to shape international relations. It was also a "lived experience", that is, a large-scale cultural and social phenomenon that impacted the daily and ordinary lives of countless individuals for decades. This issue lies at the heart of several contributions, including the ones by Andrea Brazzoduro, who examines the encounter between French *coopérants* and Algerian students in the 1960s, and by Intaek Hong, who looks at the personal stories of North Korean orphans hosted in Poland.

Last but not least, the mapping of educational internationalism proposed by this volume brings new insights into the global dimensions of the Cold War (Field, Krepp, and Pettinà 2020; Yangwen, Liu, and Szonyi 2010). Indeed, with the decolonization process and the emergence of the paradigm of "international development" (Lorenzini 2019; Unger 2018; Engerman, Gilman, Haefele, and Latham 2003), engagement with the Third World became an element of "self-definition" (Kott 2017, p. 361), which reinforced the respective identities of the First and Second Worlds, as well as the specific features of their respective internationalist projects (Babiracki and Austin 2016; Rupprecht 2015). The manifestations of this increasing involvement were very numerous and varied, ranging from providing scholarships and sending teachers and experts to financing and building schools, libraries, and research institutes (Manière 2010). The countries of Africa, Latin America, and Asia, which were then undergoing an extraordinary educational expansion (Meyer, Ramirez, Rubinson, and Boli-Bennett 1977), were thus turned into arenas where competing models came up against each other. At the same time, they were also meeting places where different visions of educational modernity emerged, confronted each other, entered into dialogue, and converged. Several contributions to this volume detail these processes, thus illuminating a little-explored dimension of the globalization of the "worlds of education" in the 20th century (Droux and Hofstetter 2015). They also stress, in an original and innovative way, the agency of local actors – be they individuals or governments – as well as the uses and reappropriations of internationalist practices and associated educational models (see the chapters by Juliette Dumont/Manuel Suzarte, Ismay Milford, and Hana Qugana). This also included the use of international organizations as a sound box for supporting anti-colonial claims – as was already the case in the wake of the "Wilsonian moment" during the interwar period (Manela 2007) – and nation-building attempts, as the chapter by Hana

Qugana on the Philippines clearly shows. Hence, reasserting the importance of "subaltern" internationalisms, such as those stemming from the Bandung conference of 1955 (Lewis and Stolte 2022, 2019; Spaskovska 2020) or those propelled by anti-colonial and anti-racist movements (Mahler 2018; Munro 2017), helps show the capacity of actors of the Global South to evolve in a changing political context and trace their own educational "routes" (Burton 2020) between West and East. Indeed, they were able not only to navigate the world system but also to in turn fuel internationalist dynamics, as in the case of the "Internationalist Schools" set up on the Isla de la Juventud in Cuba in the late 1970s, a subject that is examined in the chapter by Dayana Murguia Mendez. By engaging with these issues, this volume enters into dialogue with recent scholarship that explores the Global South as an incubator and catalyzer of new forms of internationalism: significant examples here include studies focusing on the transfer of Paulo Freire's literacy methods from Brazil to Africa (Toulhoat 2022), South-South technical cooperation programs (Labrune-Badiane 2012), as well as the educational networks established by national liberation movements in Portuguese Africa, which facilitated the funding of schools in the liberated areas and the creation of institutions dedicated to refugee education, like the Mozambique Institute founded by Janet Rae Mondlane in Dar es Salaam (Tanzania) in 1963 (Telepneva 2021; Costa 2018). Such perspectives deserve particular attention because they shed light on previously unexplored facets of the global circuits of educational ideas, practices, and utopias, as well as the rationales upon which they were founded. Finally, in attempting to "decenter" the Cold War, this volume also looks at regional variants of educational internationalism, such as pan-Africanism (see the chapter by Ismay Milford) and pan-Americanism (see the chapter by Juliette Dumont/Manuel Suzarte), which often sought to address different rationales from the "classic" ones of the East-West confrontation in Europe.

Taken as a whole, this book offers a truly global history of education, for the first time placing within the same analytical framework a vast range of internationalist initiatives from the First, Second, and Third Worlds. Its case studies, conducted by senior and junior researchers from different national and academic backgrounds, encompass Europe, Africa, Asia, and America. They all draw on empirical research carried out in many Western countries, but also in archive centers outside Europe, particularly South Korea, Japan, the Philippines, Cuba, Chile, Algeria, and Kenya. Contributors have drawn on various methodologies, including oral surveys and multilingual literature that has at times been only sparingly used in English-speaking academic research. They further address all levels of education, from primary to higher, paying particular attention to learning processes in extracurricular settings. The volume therefore makes it possible to restore the plurality of actors, conceptions, strategies, and mechanisms of educational internationalism, bringing new insights into the history of the Cold War.

Structure of the Volume

The volume is organized into four parts, which explore distinct aspects and issues pertaining to educational internationalism during the Cold War. The first part – Rethinking Educational Exchanges and Encounters – brings together contributions that offer new perspectives on the history of educational exchanges *within* and *between* the Western and Eastern blocs. They show how mobility was firmly anchored in Cold War strategies and organized in such a way as to address various issues and objectives, which galvanized a great variety of actors. The chapter by Alice Byrne explores the inception of the Foreign University Interchange Scheme established by the British government in collaboration with universities in the aftermath of the Second World War. It focuses on the nature, scope, and ideological foundations of these exchanges, which involved hundreds of university students and staff from Western Europe. Such kinds of educational cooperation relied on the interwar tradition of cultural interchange and sought to promote a certain vision of European identity and integration, while promoting anti-communist values. From that point of view, it served both academic and diplomatic interests. Moving to the East, Intaek Hong's chapter unearths the history of a completely unknown educational structure – the State Educational Centre No. 2, situated in the small town of Płakowice in Lower Silesia (Poland) – which during the 1950s hosted around 1,000 North Korean orphans. Drawing on unpublished archives, he looks at the daily life and political stakes related to this internationalist solidarity practice. The chapter further helps us understand how national interests and cultural visions clashed within the socialist bloc itself, giving rise to misunderstandings and conflicts. As for the chapters by Franck Schmidt and Qing Liu, they provide new perspectives on the "transbloc" dimensions of educational exchanges. The first focuses more particularly on the role played by the *Association des Échanges Franco-Allemands*, created in 1958 by members of the French Communist Party. The goal of this organization was to promote a positive image of the GDR and encourage the country's official recognition by France, which effectively occurred in 1973. To this end, it organized study trips, scholarship programs, and summer camps. The author also shows the GDR's role as an educational model for the French educational community, at a time when the educational system was undergoing major reforms. Qing Liu's text illuminates another aspect of the circulation of people and ideas between blocs. More precisely, it examines the migrations of Chinese scholars to the United States between 1945 and 1970. These were refugees or, most of the time, students who happened to be on short trips to the United States when Mao Zedong came to power in 1949. The chapter details how this community, integrated into American universities, helped develop knowledge about China. While this knowledge was at first used as a weapon in the Cold War, it also fostered a diplomatic rapprochement in the early 1970s. Thus, Chinese Americans became a cultural bridge between two supposedly antagonistic spaces: they were among the first to visit China after the Cultural Revolution

and also played a central role in the renewal of academic and scientific relations between the two countries.

The second part of the book – Shaping Minds and Societies – explores how educational internationalism was used as a tool of cultural and political propaganda. More particularly, it highlights a set of institutional structures and technological devices that supported original forms of exchange and cooperation, and which have so far been little studied by historiography. By looking at the way the history of internationalism was connected to the rise of new technologies, the chapter by Barbara Hof unearths the forgotten history of a pedagogical device called Argonaut. Built by the Argonne National Laboratory in the United States, it was the first atomic reactor designed to enable training and learning on the job. By tracing the Argonaut's journey through several countries in the world, she particularly shows how it was used as a means of cultural propaganda, spreading American values. Larissa Wagner's chapter examines the educational policies implemented by the German *Land* of Bavaria. It demonstrates how a subnational actor was invested in international cooperation by promoting student exchanges, supporting agricultural projects in Latin America, hosting visitors, or setting up vocational training courses in developing countries. The author further traces relations with other – public and private – actors, as well as the driving forces underlying these activities, from economic motivations to humanitarian work and anti-communism. Finally, Bettina Blatter's chapter traces the educational activities led by the international anti-communist network People and Defense, as well as its national branch in Switzerland, the *Schweizerische Aufklärungsdienst*. By examining the political dimensions of educational internationalism, this case study illustrates how education was conceived as a means to prepare Western European populations for "civil defense", particularly during the détente period.

The chapters making up the third part of the book – Competing Models and Counter-Models – look at educational models conveyed by internationalist practices. They show how education found itself at the center of struggles to impose particular visions of society and of political and economic development, and how these visions fed on mutual exchanges and observations. In his contribution, Daniel Lövheim offers a comparative analysis of Youth Competitions in Science, which developed in both of the two blocs, beginning with the 1960s. He traces the origins of these events back to the interwar period and underlines how the Cold War helped reconfigure the content and the social, political, and economic functions of science and its teaching. The author further focuses on the divergences between these extracurricular activities, while also pointing to their similarities, including a shared vision of progress and educational modernity. The following two chapters look at international organizations as spaces for confrontation, circulation, and hybridization of competing educational models. Michel Christian takes UNESCO as his field of observation, examining how the question of preschool education, which underwent unprecedented development from 1945, evolved with the issues posed by the Cold War. Indeed, the various models that

existed in the West and in the East reflected the major debates of the time, such as peace education and the economic and social development of the countries of the South. Jamyung Choi's chapter continues these analyses by presenting the debates and discussions that arose during an OECD expert mission to Japan in 1970. He sheds light on the contrast between the educational model proposed and the partial and selective ways in which it was received by the local authorities, who were anxious to preserve the specific features of their country's educational system because it was considered to be more in tune with the expectations of the young generations.

The fourth part – Views from the Global South – offers new insights into what a decentered history of the Cold War might look like. By focusing on the activities of the Institute of International Education, the chapter by Juliette Dumont and Manuel Suzarte analyzes educational exchanges between Chile and the United States. The authors place these encounters within the long history of pan-American cooperation and bring to light their contrasting objectives, which mixed the promotion of better understanding between the peoples of America with the fight against the spread of Marxism. Most importantly, they stress the agency of Chilean actors, their agendas and interests, thereby distancing themselves from views of Latin America as a peripheral space passively subjected to the fight between East and West. Hana Qugana offers another example of subaltern internationalism. Her chapter examines the representations of the United Nations and world peace in *A World United*, an English-language primary-school textbook produced in Manila by the Abiva Publishing House in 1954. She argues that Philippine actors reappropriated "liberal" discourses on international cooperation to shape the citizenry of an emerging postcolonial nation-state. In doing so, the chapter offers new insights into the function and emotive power of internationalism across the Global South. By focusing on the journalism courses provided in East Africa in the 1960s, Ismay Milford explores how educational internationalism intersected with the Africanization and professionalization processes of postcolonial administrations. In particular, her chapter highlights the agency of East African states in their relations with international organizations, especially UNESCO, as well as the debates around the contents of these types of teaching and staff training. Similar issues are also explored by Andrea Brazzoduro. In his chapter, he provides a "bottom-up" analysis of educational internationalism, focusing on the encounters between French volunteers and their students in 1960s Algeria. He argues that these encounters led to the cross-fertilization of knowledge and practices and demonstrates how these practices impacted on the genealogy of the international New Left. Finally, Dayana Murguia Mendez's chapter traces the history of South-South educational cooperation, as embodied by the Internationalist Schools of Isla de la Juventud in Cuba. Founded in 1977, this program was intended to train students from the Third World, particularly African countries. The author presents the evolution and issues underlying this project, in relation to both Cuba and those who benefited from it. She further traces the outline of a specifically

Cuban model of international cooperation, distinct from those offered by organizations such as UNESCO, which survived, not without difficulty, the end of the Cold War.

The book closes with a chapter by Giles Scott-Smith, who discusses one of the central concepts governing educational internationalism: mobility. By supporting the hypothesis of the existence of a "Cold War cosmopolitanism" (Klein 2020), this final reflection helps put into perspective the case studies gathered in this volume and pave the way for future research.

Notes

1 We use the terms "West" and "East" to refer to the broader context of Cold War political confrontation. However, as the contributions in this volume clearly demonstrate, we consider these entities as ideological and diversified constructs and not as homogeneous "blocs".
2 UNESCO-Commission économique pour l'Afrique. 1961. *Rapport final. Conférence d'États africains sur le développement de l'éducation en Afrique, Addis-Abeba, 15-25 mai 1961*. Unesco/ED/181, p. 115.

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Part I

Rethinking Educational Exchanges and Encounters

1 British European University Interchange Policy (1945–1956)

Constructing a European Identity?

Alice Byrne

Introduction

"The universities have a unique contribution to make towards the growth of international co-operation", wrote the author of a report on the work of the British Committee for Foreign University Interchange in 1957. The "interchange of students, teachers, and research workers", he argued, not only supported the universities in the "twin purposes" of teaching and research, but it also contributed to "that closer international co-operation which is the urgent need of today" (Report on the Work of the Committee for Foreign University Interchange 1956, p. 4). The report goes on to provide details of different forms of interchange between the United Kingdom (UK) and other European countries in the period 1948–1956, and in particular the collaboration between the UK government and the British universities to this end. Combining this report with archives taken from the British Council and the UK government, this chapter seeks to explore the nature of these exchanges and probe the claims of the report: in what ways did universities contribute to the growth of international cooperation? The interchange scheme referred to was by its very nature a form of such cooperation, but also sought to promote internationalism in other ways. Although, on one level, these exchanges were run by and for academia, they were financed and administered by governments and formed part of the relations between different states. Moreover, the program that provided the framework for the exchanges, the Foreign University Interchange Scheme (FUIS), was launched in the crucial early years of the Cold War, and to a large extent mirrored attempts to construct international alliances and institutions to counter what was quickly perceived to be a Soviet bloc (Croft 1988; Deighton 1998, 2010; Mueller 2009).

In June 1944, Gladwyn Jebb of the Foreign Office (FO) sent a memorandum to the Chiefs of Staff, setting out the broad lines of the UK's policy in relation to Western Europe as part of preparations for the Dumbarton Oaks Conference of 1944 and the establishment of what would become the United Nations Organization.[1] This memorandum took as its starting point "the fundamental unity of European civilization", and the need to save that same civilization from destruction in "internecine conflicts between European States".

It was with this aim in mind, as well as the UK's political and strategic interest, that the memorandum advocated "some drawing together of the European States" with or without British, American, and Soviet participation. The memorandum emphasized the importance of not giving the Soviet Union the impression it was being excluded from a continental bloc. Despite this, one potential scenario envisaged a multilateral defense treaty bringing together France, the Benelux countries, and Scandinavia, while the Soviets organized a similar system in Eastern Europe. Although political and strategic concerns took center stage, the concept of "European civilization" not only provided the ultimate justification for this policy but also offered a way to consolidate the proposed alliance through fostering a sense of shared cultural heritage.

Academic mobility had been fundamental to the development of medieval universities as transnational communities and thus to the emergence of a European cultural identity (Brizzi 2002, pp. 95–6). In postwar Britain, universities were still perceived as the bedrock of the very notion of European civilization and as the training ground of a European intellectual elite (Bell and Morris 1993, pp. 70–1). Universities were, therefore, a key site for the regeneration of a European cultural identity that could be deployed to bolster plans for cooperation in other fields. Indeed, through the creation of formal networks linking European universities, academics acted as members of an "institutional" intellectual elite whose role was both cultural and political (Bachoud et al. 2004, p. 70) To adopt Conway and Patel's approaches to Europeanization, it could be said that they thereby participated in "Europe imagined" and "Europe constructed" (Ulrike V. Hirschhausen and Kiran K. Patel 2010, pp. 7–9). Yet following the 1948 Czechoslovak *coup d'état*, the Europe under construction was a "fractured Europe" (Deighton and du Réau 2004, p. 57); this was also expressed in the British policy, which was in favor of a "Western European system".[2]

University exchanges can be considered an expression of educational internationalism in at least three respects. First, they are a means to pursue educational objectives through the international circulation of ideas and people. Second, they form part of interstate relations and may contribute to the construction of more-or-less formal international networks and organizations. Third, they may be used to disseminate internationalism as an ideology and encourage forms of behavior that are conducive to its objectives. In this latter sense, educational internationalism shares much in common with what Akira Iriye termed cultural internationalism, i.e., "the fostering of international cooperation through cultural activities across national borders" (Iriye 1997, p. 3). This chapter will explore the ways in which the FUIS pursued these objectives in a Cold War setting. Although it certainly hindered academic exchange and mobility in some respects, the Cold War also provided additional impetus for university exchange and shaped the development of the FUIS in its early years (Kott 2017, p. 340). This was to a large extent due to government involvement, but the Cold War environment also impacted both the way non-state actors defined their role and the purpose of university exchanges. As state

support of the traditionally independent British universities increased in the twentieth century, so did the degree of state oversight. Domestically, the Labour government elected in 1945 was determined to enlarge the higher education sector and improve social mobility. Universities were thus pressured to increase their intake while benefiting from increased funding (Benn and Fieldhouse 1993, p. 300). Universities and their staff also found themselves being called on to participate in government-sponsored international projects intended to serve both academic and diplomatic interests. This was not an entirely new approach, as universities were at the heart of the British government's nascent cultural diplomacy of the interwar period.

Universities, Students, and British Cultural Diplomacy: From Projection to Reciprocity, the Increasing Importance of Interchange

The first type of formal exchange covered by the report mentioned above was the system of postgraduate scholarships offered by the British Council, launched shortly before the outbreak of World War Two, as part of a new state-sponsored drive to increase the number of foreign students coming to the UK (Byrne 2021). In response to the economic and ideological competition of the 1930s, the FO used the newly created British Council to attract students from Europe and the Middle East, in addition to the traditional contingent of students from the Empire and Dominions. The creation of the University Grants Committee in 1918, designed to channel public funds to the UK universities, had begun to change the relationship between the autonomous universities and the state, but the former remained wary of government interference and the FO was careful to avoid direct involvement. Thus, the semi-official Council worked mainly through independent organizations such as the Universities Bureau of the British Empire and the National Union of Students (NUS) and relied on academics and university administrators to man the committees that awarded scholarships and bursaries. The allocation of funds and the choice of target countries were nevertheless directed by the FO. The outbreak of war prevented the FO's university and student policy from getting beyond the experimental stage, but the experience of the interwar period, combined with developments during World War Two itself, paved the way for postwar policy.

The scholarships launched by the British Council in the interwar period were not conceived as a system of two-way exchange, although reciprocal exchanges were presented as the long-term goal. Much emphasis was placed on the importance of exposing these students to British values, achievements, and the British way of life. Similarly, the postwar scholarships focused on bringing academically gifted students to the UK in order that they might "obtain at first hand a fuller knowledge of the British educational system and of the contribution Britain has to make in the various fields of knowledge".[3] Significantly, a shortlist of candidates was drawn up by British Council representatives abroad, in consultation with local education authorities, although the final selection

rested with university representatives in the UK itself. To some extent, the scholarship scheme remained an expression of the interwar "projection" or propaganda approach, which was more concerned with spreading knowledge of Britain – and appreciation for it – than mutual understanding.

Despite this, after 1945 the British Council paid greater attention to collating and diffusing information about similar scholarships offered by other countries, and to placing their own scholarships within this wider context. As in the interwar period, it collected data on the geographical origins of "overseas" students: in 1945 the number of full-time "foreign" students had overtaken those from the Empire, while among part-time students, dominated by students learning English, the gap between "foreign" and "Empire" was even greater. Foreign students also received a far greater share of Council scholarships, representing 186 awardees in 1946, compared to 67 for the Empire/Commonwealth.[4] The percentage of European students is not indicated, but over the period 1948–1956, 684 students from the "Continent" were brought to study in the UK on these scholarships, while 549 British students were able to profit from similar programs sending them in the other direction. There was clearly a shift toward greater reciprocity in the student exchange scheme developed in the postwar period, with the slight imbalance in student flows being at least partly due to the lack of linguistic skills needed for mobility to certain countries.[5]

Further evidence of the importance accorded to collaboration with the universities as a plank of British cultural diplomacy can be found in the 1946 decision to set up a Universities Advisory Committee within the British Council.[6] This committee brought together representatives of government departments – the Foreign, Colonial, and Dominions Offices, the Scottish Education Department, and the Ministry of Education – and of higher education establishments, with university representatives holding a majority. It set up specialized sub-committees responsible for awarding scholarships, and also the FUIS, charged in 1949/1950 with handling a new scheme of exchanges directed exclusively at Europe, despite its name. Mirroring the interwar decision to set up scholarships for foreign students who did not benefit from Empire programs, the FUIS was modeled to some extent on the Commonwealth University Interchange Scheme (CUIS), which had been officially launched in 1948. Yet the two schemes differed in important ways. The CUIS emanated from the 1948 Congress of Empire Universities, whose delegates agreed to seek funding from official bodies to support intra-Commonwealth mobility. In practice, only the Commonwealth Relations Office in London, later joined by the Colonial Office, and a few Australian universities contributed to the cost of the scheme, which tended to bring younger university lecturers to the UK while enabling established British scholars to carry out shorter visits to Commonwealth countries. The scheme was administered by the British Council from London, and although the nominating Committee was almost entirely manned by members of university bodies, there were no specific Commonwealth representatives. The result was highly asymmetrical in the decision-making

process, the sources of funding, and the travel patterns that emerged (Byrne 2018). The FUIS, on the other hand, coordinated a series of bilateral exchanges of university staff, some of which pre-dated the establishment of the Committee. Unlike the CUIS, there was no centralized budget, as participating countries took direct responsibility for certain costs and the number of spaces was determined on a basis of strict reciprocity. The scheme was therefore more flexible and most likely better funded than its Commonwealth equivalent. Hence, the FUIS managed to finance 985 visits over the period 1949–1956, compared to 389 for the CUIS (Committees for Foreign University Interchange and Commonwealth Interchange 1956).[7] The FUIS exchanges grew out of wartime contacts between Allied governments, particularly in the context of the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education (CAME). At the first meeting of this conference, jointly convened by the British Ministry of Education and the British Council in November 1942, Sir Malcolm Robertson, the Chairman of the Council, expressed his hope that the collaboration between the Allied ministers of education would lead to an "educational fellowship" necessary to solving the problems of the postwar period. The invitation to the first meeting also encouraged representatives of the Allied ministries to visit British educational institutions and call on them for advice (Intrator 2015, pp. 57–8). The UK, as host, was in a position to direct CAME, but also to present UK institutions as a model and encourage contact between UK academics and educationists and their Allied counterparts. The work of the CAME commission on cultural conventions, in particular, would contribute to the development of university cooperation after 1945.

In the years immediately after the war, and as a direct result of the work of CAME, the Belgian, Czechoslovak, Dutch, and Norwegian governments expressed a desire to establish cultural conventions with the UK. Negotiations were run on the British side by the FO. However, responsibility for the implementation of these conventions was transferred to the British Council, acting as the government's agent. No detailed study of the UK's policy in this field exists, yet it is significant that the British government does not appear to have initiated any of these postwar conventions, and preferred to offer what support it gave from a distance. This was doubtless partly due to a liberal dislike of state interference in what was traditionally seen as a field best left to the private and voluntary sectors. Yet the Labour government that signed them had shown its willingness to expand higher education and extend the welfare state to culture, notably through the creation of the Arts Council (Weight 2002, pp. 92–100, 160–7). Furthermore, the FO had encouraged the British Council to establish an active presence throughout liberated Europe as a way to support programs of democratization and build on British prestige as one of the victorious Allies (Donaldson 1984, pp. 141–5). The FO's position was that "the indirect influence which the long-term work of the British Council may exert will be of particular value in postwar Europe",[8] while a more idealist stance, expressed by the British MP Kenneth Lindsay after a British Council sponsored tour of France and Belgium in early 1945, insisted on the importance of

rebuilding cultural ties with Europe as "'winning the peace' means largely winning the affection and confidence of stricken Europe and underpinning democracy with Humanism" (Lindsay 1945, p. 4). Despite this initial enthusiasm, the Attlee government and its Conservative successors were ambivalent about cultural diplomacy and refused to guarantee long-term, effective support to the British Council. The formal commitment to other countries made in these cultural conventions and the decision to entrust responsibility for them to the Council had the unintended effect of affording this organization a small degree of protection when postwar austerity led to budget cuts.

The very first of these agreements was the Anglo-Belgian Convention for the "Promotion of Mutual Understanding of Intellectual, Artistic and Scientific Activities", signed in April 1946.[9] Bearing in mind the distinction made by Benjamin Martin between the model of the cultural treaty developed by Fascist Italy and the longer-standing tradition of intellectual exchange championed by France, the wide scope of this convention is indicative of a new approach to cultural exchange that was applied in the post-World War Two era (Martin 2021). The title nevertheless suggested a dominant role for cultural elites and thus for universities. The Anglo-Belgian Mixed Commission designed a program whereby universities would be asked to nominate scholars from the partner country to visit them for one to two weeks, with the government of each country covering the costs generated in their own currency. This scheme paved the way for the FUIS, administered by a committee that assigned the agreed number of spaces each year in such a way as to ensure an equitable distribution across different universities and disciplines. Although the scheme was publicly funded by the participating countries, the long list of nominees was produced entirely by the universities and, with regard to the British invitations at least, the final selection was made by a committee made up of university representatives.

The first visits took place in 1948–1949, with twenty-one professors traveling between the UK and Belgium. The following year they were joined by visitors to and from the Netherlands and Norway, while Franco-British visits were only established in 1950, despite the fact that the two countries had signed a cultural convention in 1948. Although there was a long tradition of Franco-British academic exchange, this appears to be the first nationwide scheme with intergovernmental support. If, as argued by Guillaume Tronchet, French "academic diplomacy" was brought under the control of "government cultural diplomacy" in the 1930s, the same process applied more gradually and less extensively in the UK (Tronchet 2018). Within five years of its launch, the scheme was extended to a wider range of countries, most of which had not signed a cultural convention with the UK: Austria, West Germany, Italy, Sweden, Spain, Switzerland, Finland, Portugal, and Yugoslavia. For the vast majority of these countries, the FUIS, and the financial commitment it represented, reinforced other formal treaties. Conversely, the convention with Czechoslovakia was never applied, as the first meeting of the Mixed Commission in Prague coincided with the Communist takeover.[10] By the

mid-1950s the scheme was sending around one hundred academics abroad every year, with the majority of visits taking place between the UK, France, and Belgium, followed by West Germany, the Netherlands, and Italy. The FUIS served primarily to encourage mobility among the countries of the Western European Union, maintaining the UK's position in an academic network with the founding members of the European communities.

The FUIS and Western Union: Defending and Promoting Western Civilization

Building on the 1947 Treaty of Dunkirk, the defense alliance anticipated by Gladwyn Jebb in 1944 was finally established in 1948, when Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg – but no Scandinavian country – joined France and the UK in creating the Brussels Treaty Organization (BTO). The events of 1947 had convinced Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin that the division of Europe into two separate blocs had become a reality and necessitated some form of Western European union. The *coup d'état* in Czechoslovakia in February 1948 played a decisive role in creating a consensus in favor of a multilateral pact, as opposed to a series of bilateral agreements (Baylis 1984, pp. 621–5). Apart from Luxembourg, which had no university, the signatories to the 1948 Brussels Treaty were among the earliest members of the FUIS, which formed a partial response to their treaty obligations. Although primarily a military alliance, Article III of the Brussels Treaty committed member states to leading their peoples "towards a better understanding of the principles which form the basis of their common civilization" and promoting "cultural exchanges by conventions between themselves or by other means".[11]

    The architect of the Brussels Treaty, Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin, made frequent references to "Western civilization" and even to "spiritual union". The traditional argument runs that Bevin set up the BTO merely to entice the United States to join an Atlantic alliance – the famous "sprat to catch a mackerel" – and Dianne Kirby has posited that Bevin's language could be understood as "a rhetorical device to facilitate an American commitment to Europe" (Kirby 2000, p. 407). However, Ralph Dietl has more recently defined the Brussels Pact as "a platform for British postwar ambition" and an "expression of a genuine European concept" (Dietl 2009, pp. 432–3). John Milloy similarly argues that the British placed considerable emphasis on the non-military aspects of the treaty, quoting Bevin's reminder to the British delegation that the "success of the whole plan" rested on resolving economic, spiritual, and cultural problems (Milloy 2006, p. 10). These developments were intimately connected with a new propaganda policy that Bevin had presented to the Cabinet in January 1948 by arguing, "it is for us, as Europeans and as a Social Democratic Government, and not the Americans, to give the lead in spiritual, moral, and political sphere [sic] to all democratic elements in Western Europe which are anti-Communist".[12] Bevin's vision of Western Europe was both ideological and, to some extent, cultural.

The FO subsequently set up a working party on the "spiritual" aspects of Western Union, chaired by the Assistant Under-Secretary in charge of information activities, Christopher Warner, to consider the implications of Bevin's claim. An internal British Council memorandum suggested that "nobody seems to know quite what is meant by it", hence the decision to call on the Council's experts to establish "common elements in cultural activities", including the "independence of the universities".[13] The request sent out to various Council committees, including drama, music, and medicine, explicitly asked them to consider whether there existed "a basis or attitude common to the Western nations which differentiate them collectively from the countries behind the 'iron curtain'?"[14] The apparently incomplete results of this investigation tended to emphasize instances of political control of the arts and science in Eastern Europe, though specific examples of the British Council's activities being hindered were relatively limited. The same reports indicated the greater ease with which cultural relations were carried out in Western Europe, without producing evidence of a common cultural heritage or civilization. Ultimately, Western Union was defined negatively, in opposition to Communist-dominated Eastern Europe, rather than in positive, inclusive terms.

The original "Working Party on Spiritual Union" comprised senior FO officials such as Gladwyn Jebb and propaganda experts Robert Bruce Lockhart and Ralph Murray. It would later be chaired by Christopher Mayhew, the Labour minister who had helped develop Bevin's "Third Force" policy, which defined the UK as the natural leader of a Social Democratic European bloc, opposed to Soviet Communism but also critical of American capitalism. The Working Party gradually co-opted representatives of other government departments, such as the Ministry of Education, as well as the arms' length BBC and British Council (Defty 2004, p. 51).[15] When a meeting of the Working Party was called in May 1948 to consider how to implement Article III of the Brussels Treaty, a debate ensued as to whether their primary object was a Western Union or Five-Power conception, with the Chairman concluding that "the Five Powers formed the hard core of what would be eventually a wider group and that they could co-operate to sell to other countries a wider cultural conception".[16] Institutes of learning, including the universities, were seen as central to this mission, by producing "a clear realization of the nature and unity of Western civilization", presenting the "vitality and importance of Western civilization" and promoting its "growth and development". Educational measures combined with cultural activities would seek to familiarize "the peoples of each of the Five Powers with the life and thought of the rest".[17] The network of cultural conventions between the BTO powers would provide the basic structure for cultural exchanges, with the British arguing in favor of bilateral agreements over a multilateral commission and, where possible, direct consultation between relevant bodies in each country.

It was surely with this approach in mind that the Ministry of Education suggested to the Universities Bureau of the British Empire that it invite representatives from France, Belgium, and the Netherlands to a meeting to discuss

closer cooperation between their universities. Following discussions held in Utrecht in August 1948, the group, mainly composed of professors and university rectors, produced a report that laid claim to a prime role for universities in implementing the Brussels Treaty:

> Article III of the Treaty lays special emphasis upon the need for co-operation in the cultural sphere: and this is nowhere more apparent than in the realm of higher education. Here the Universities have both the right and the duty to take the lead in interpreting to one another and to the world at large the cultural heritage of which they are in a very special sense the guardians and trustees, and to which it is their privilege to contribute in their turn.

The report went on to consider what this might mean in practice. In addition to proposing to carry out a survey of the higher education system in each country, with the aim of increasing mutual understanding, the participants drew attention to the need to develop "reciprocal visits of Professors and other University staff" and "the interchange of students" as "the first essential to closer co-operation in the field of higher education is closer intercourse". While recognizing the contribution of individual universities and bilateral agreements, the report argued that, in addition to government grants, there was "a need for a certain measure of concerted action if the various means of cultural co-operation are to be exploited to the full".[18] Clearly, influential academics in the UK not only were enthusiastic participants in the government's attempts to construct new European alliances but also were even prepared to support the creation of new European bodies dedicated to cultural and educational affairs. University interchange deserved to be given pride of place in academics' vision of educational internationalism.

The FUIS was therefore one element of a larger cultural and educational program that was internationalist in its scope while being firmly anchored in the Cold War strategy that was gradually developed by the Labour government. The British Council's awareness of the potential pitfalls of linking international education policies to a military alliance is evidenced by discussions between Nancy Parkinson – formerly of the NUS and heavily involved in supporting international students in the UK – with representatives of the Ministry of Education: when the latter argued that the UK should pursue the implementation of Article III of the Brussels Treaty by working through UNESCO bodies, Parkinson countered this proposal on the grounds that "the Treaty of Brussels is primarily a political and economic instrument, and that UNESCO should keep quite clear of its implications".[19] The Working Party on Spiritual Union also resisted attempts to establish a Five-Power multilateral convention or specific cultural projects precisely because the BTO was seen as a potentially transitory body, or one that was bound to evolve. Similarly, when representatives of the NUS presented the FO with a list of resolutions put forward by a BTO students' conference organized by the Belgian government, the request

for a common fund for scholarships to be awarded by the BTO cultural com-mittee was rejected. Both the FO and the British Council preferred to retain the system of bilateral agreements, with the decision-making process con-trolled by the university members of the FUIS committee under the aegis of the British Council. Although the reasons given were essentially practical, nei-ther appeared keen to build up the BTO as an intergovernmental body.[20] As the debates of the Working Party illustrate, the FO was primarily interested in using the BTO as the nucleus for a wider Western Union. The same arguments were applied to the idea of a broader Western Union multilateral convention, but the argument was stated more explicitly:

> The Western Union has a mainly political base and is anti-Communist. A Western Union Cultural Convention commission could not form a UNESCO European organisation. While a four-power commission would not greatly affect UNESCO, a sixteen-power commission, in Europe, might entirely reorientate UNESCO.

Ultimately the administrative structure of the FUIS was not merely the result of its gradual development but also reflected the British government's attitude to European integration:

> If H.M. Government intend the Western Union to develop in time into a union in the usual sense of the word, closer cultural relations are bound to be the foundations of the edifice and ultimately a closer co-ordination even than is envisaged by a mixed commission will have to take place. It might be more far sighted to go as far forward now as we can, e.g. have a mixed commi[ss]ion. On the other hand if the Western Union is primar-ily only a move in the battle against Russia, there may be no need for one and it may be unwise to enter into commitments from which it may not be easy to withdraw.[21]

The former argument prevailed, but there was clearly much uncertainty among those responsible for implementing the cultural dimension to Bevin's Western Union policy about its scope: should it be understood as merely part of the nascent cultural Cold War? Or was it part of a long-term commitment to some form of European integration?

Debates about the form and extent of Western Union pre-dated the signing of the Brussels Treaty. The first meeting of the Working Party on Spiritual Union decided that its starting point should be the sixteen countries that had opted to join the European Recovery Program (ERP). While the initial plan had, in theory, been open to countries across Europe, it was designed in such a way as to encourage the Soviet Union to reject it, which it did, leading Bevin to celebrate the "birth of the Western bloc" (Steil 2020, p. 164). The "satellite" countries of Eastern Europe were instructed by Stalin to reject the invitation to join discussions in Paris in the summer of 1947, although Poland and

Czechoslovakia were both loath to do so, hence the Working Party's recognition that their feelings, like those of Hungary, should be considered but not allowed to hinder its work. Three countries that had signed up to the ERP were nonetheless omitted from the list: Greece and Turkey were "not be regarded ab initio as 'Western' for this purpose, though their treatment might be considered later"; Portugal was "to be kept in mind". Franco's Spain – described as a "non-starter" – was automatically excluded from the ERP and from the Working Party's list. Finland, which had declined to attend the ERP meeting under Soviet pressure, was "mentioned but left out of account".[22] As the FUIS expanded in the 1950s, it incorporated the vast majority of the countries identified by the Working Party, including West Germany. The exceptions remained Luxembourg (for the reasons given above), Iceland and Denmark (with whom negotiations began in 1957), and Ireland, whose universities already had long-standing connections with their British counterparts. Despite the Working Party's reservations, Portugal and Spain were brought into the FUIS in 1951 and 1952.

Most of the FUIS countries also joined the Council of Europe, which had emerged from the Hague Congress. The Cultural Resolution of the Hague Congress, voted in May 1948, refers specifically to the example set by Article III of the Brussels Treaty and the conventions established as a result. The universities feature explicitly in this resolution, being tasked with promoting "an awareness of European unity" to their students and urged to found a federation of European universities, but also indirectly, through the importance accorded to the coordination of scientific research "into the condition of twentieth-century European man".[23] The Council of Europe, whose members declared "their devotion to the spiritual and moral values which are the common heritage of their peoples and the true source of individual freedom", can be seen as embodying Bevin's spiritual union (Council of Europe 1949, p. 1). It would ultimately take over responsibility for the Cultural Committee of the BTO and succeed in establishing a common European Cultural Convention (1954). Similarly, the university congresses initiated by the BTO and developed by the Western European Union, in the form of the conferences of European University Rectors and Vice-Chancellors, also led to the creation of a Standing Conference in 1959 under the aegis of the Council of Europe (Steger 1964, pp. 90–5). But the UK's BTO partners would eventually seek alternative routes to more ambitious forms of integration, with the Five being replaced by the Six signatories of the 1957 Treaty of Rome. The British government's support for the exchange of university lecturers and professors with its European partners was tangible evidence of its commitment to postwar reconstruction and the movement toward European unity. Yet at the same time, it could also be argued that it expressed a very British approach to European cooperation, structured around bilateral agreements and essentially run by independent universities with the support of a non-governmental public body. The shorter visits funded by the FUIS arguably contributed toward the gradual structuring and development of European University cooperation, as well as the consolidation of Europe into two rival blocs (Barblan 2002, p. 34).

The period following the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (1949) and the shift toward Atlanticism coincided with a series of cuts to the British Council budget that hit Europe and the countries of the Brussels Treaty particularly severely (Okret-Manville 2002, pp. 90–1). Treasury and FO support for cultural relations with Western Europe would only recover in the 1960s when the UK attempted to negotiate entry to the EEC (Lee 1998, p. 132). In practice, the FUIS began to expand beyond the initial Western Union core as early as 1951. Following on from the addition of Spain and Portugal, exchanges were launched with Finland, which arguably lay within a Soviet sphere of influence, and Yugoslavia. Although the British Council had been expelled from Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria in 1950, cultural relations with Yugoslavia had flourished following Tito's split with Stalin in 1948 (Eastment 1982, pp. 252–4). University exchanges formed part of a wider drive to encourage these countries to look to the West. A more drastic change would come toward the end of the 1950s following the Khrushchev thaw, which allowed the UK not only to restart university exchanges with Poland and Czechoslovakia but also to develop an entirely new program of cultural relations with the USSR itself. When Greece and Turkey joined the FUIS on the cusp of the 1960s, the scheme essentially covered the whole area of the ERP and the Council of Europe and was funding up to 140 visits a year.[24]

Objectives and Impact of the FUIS: University Perspectives

The British government and the FO clearly saw a political advantage in funding university interchange with European partners. The FUIS Committee's archives and correspondence provide further evidence of its own stated aims and the goals identified by the academics who benefited from the scheme. First of all, the interchange scheme was seen as a strand of postwar reconstruction that would enable academics to re-establish networks that had been disrupted due to the conflict.[25] Yet reference was also made to the medieval "wandering scholars" and to their contribution to European civilization. One such example can be found in the papers of the Franco-British Mixed Commission:

> To increase the freedom of movement of teacher, scholar, and student from one European university to another is but to return to an earlier tradition and practice which has never been completely forgotten. In the circumstances of today this needs to be developed to a much wider extent.[26]

Unlike exchange programs with the Commonwealth, or even the United States, the FUIS was seen as drawing on a more ancient tradition, deeply anchored in the British past. It served therefore to reinforce a certain conceptualization of Europe as a civilization, and of Britain as a European nation. Moreover, a British Council report from 1953 explicitly celebrated the scheme for having "helped towards the promotion of European unity".[27] Although the postgraduate scholarships

emphasized the importance of educating students about Britain, the discourse surrounding the exchange of university lecturers tended to focus more on the common civilization shared by the participants and the advantage of sharing knowledge, methods, and techniques as a way to ensure progress for all.[28] The FUIS drew on contrasting images of Europe both as a "historic site of culture" and as a site of modernization (Harris 2010, p. 46).

Beyond the geopolitical ramifications of the scheme, the Committee and participants placed human relationships at the heart of these exchanges. The academic registrar of the University of London wrote to the British Council that the organizers of exchanges were "unanimous in their opinion of the importance of the scheme". He continued:

> The lectures delivered by the visiting professors were valuable and interesting but of even more value were the personal contacts made through the visits, both for the guest and for his hosts. Apart from their academic value, these visits must also be of great importance to the growth of international friendship and understanding.[29]

Similar reactions can be found scattered throughout the archives, with guests and hosts commenting on the friendly atmosphere that permeated the exchanges. For example: "As an exercise in international relations Professor Forbes' visit [to Cambridge] was at the same time extremely pleasant and very rewarding, and I believe that our guest would share these sentiments with us". Professor Renouard of Bordeaux was likewise moved by the friendly and cordial welcomes he had received in Oxford, Bristol, and Southampton.[30] It could be argued that beyond reinforcing a sense of protection, such friendship could be transformative and creative, contributing to the emergence of common projects (Berenskoetter 2007, p. 671). Exchange programs complemented security arrangements as instruments of positive peace (Oelsner and van Hoef 2018, pp. 120–1).

Overall, the scheme was felt to have contributed to "good will and understanding among academics" and "European unity", more than sympathy for a particular country or policy.[31] Educational internationalism drove the academics who organized and took part in visits. Moreover, while the later addition of a small number of visits for young lecturers was limited to hard science, the social sciences and humanities were considered equally important because of their value in developing a "wider citizenship".[32] The exchange of teachers and students could therefore simultaneously support national foreign policy and internationalism (Sluga 2013, pp. 3–8; Laqua 2017, p. 618).

Conclusion

The development of government-sponsored university exchange programs in the postwar era was not an entirely new approach, drawing as it did on earlier attempts to attract international students as a way of bolstering British foreign

policy. However, the creation in 1948 of formal interchange schemes for both Europe and the Commonwealth illustrates how the Labour government sought not only to extend its hold over universities domestically but also to harness their potential in its attempt to fashion a new role for the UK on the international stage. While the Commonwealth scheme reflected the unstated assumption that the UK would continue to function as the fulcrum of this international association, the European scheme respected the postwar shift toward greater reciprocity in cultural exchanges. However, the British preference for bilateral agreements as opposed to a multilateral scheme run by some form of international body is also symptomatic of the UK's reluctance to commit to more ambitious European projects.[33] Bevin's notion of a spiritual Western Union was highly ambiguous, even for those charged with giving it form, yet there was clearly a degree of political expediency involved. University exchange programs were one element of a Cold War strategy that sought to form, consolidate, and legitimize a Western European bloc as a bulwark against Soviet Communism. This tends to confirm Tsvetkova's claim that universities were "at the epicenter of the ideological competition" of the Cold War, while simultaneously proving that this was not simply a contest "between the superpowers" (Tsvetkova 2019, p. 139). It is, moreover, striking that the British Council was not directly involved in exchanges with American universities.

Universities proved themselves to be willing partners in this project, though arguably for different reasons. The FUIS helped universities to develop and extend contacts with their European counterparts as a part of postwar reconstruction. Yet universities also understood interchange, particularly of staff, as a means for encouraging international understanding, either broadly speaking or within a specifically European framework. While from a government perspective the FUIS was principally a brick in the construction of international alliances, the academics who actually benefited from the scheme were more likely to emphasize its role in generating mutual understanding and creating a transnational community. The expansion of the FUIS largely followed the pattern of European organizations created around the same time. However, the initial phase during which it was essentially coterminous with a Western European bloc ended in 1957. The British decision not to sign the Treaty of Rome meant that it would no longer play a leading role in West European integration, while the rise of Khrushchev opened new doors in the Soviet bloc. British cultural diplomacy would also feel the shock waves of the 1956 Suez crisis and the subsequent decision to shift attention to "developing" countries with the implementation of the 1954 Drogheda Report. Yet by then the foundations of a European academic community had already been laid.

Notes

1 London, The National Archives, (hereafter TNA), Cabinet Office, CAB 80/44, British policy towards Western Europe, 03.06.1944.
2 TNA, Cabinet Office, CAB 129/23/6, Ernest Bevin, The First Aim of British Foreign Policy, 04.01.1948.

3 TNA, British Council, BW 89/1, University Advisory Committee Minutes, 22.10.1946.
4 TNA, British Council, BW 89/1, University Advisory Committee Minutes, 22.10.1946.
5 TNA, British Council, BW 89/3, University Advisory Committee Report, 9–10.
6 There are relatively few studies of British cultural diplomacy. In addition to two official histories of the British Council, by A.J.S. White (1965) and Frances Donaldson (1984), Philip Taylor's (1981) *Projection of Britain* focuses on the inter-war period in some detail, while Diane Eastment's PhD thesis covers the British Council's development up to 1950. Most research into the British Council tends to focus on specific regions, for instance: Corse 2013; Hampton 2012; Okret-Manville 2003; Simony 2023; Torrent 2016; Van Kessel 2016; Vaughan 2005.
7 By the mid-1950s, the CUIS had a total budget of around £12,000: TNA, British Council, BW 89/3, Minutes of the meeting of the CUI Committee, 28.05.1956. The different funding models of the schemes make it difficult to compare their relative cost, as the FUIS committee did not deal with budgetary issues or collate figures relating even to the British financial contribution to the scheme.
8 Draft memorandum to HM representatives in Liberated Europe, 13.03.1945, quoted by Eastment 1982, p. 224.
9 Foreign, Commonwealth & Development Office treaties. Accessed online (21.01.2024): https://api.parliament.uk/uk-treaties/treaties/4235.
10 TNA, British Council, BW1/129, "Commentary" (undated).
11 Brussels Treaty, 17.03.1948, 5. Accessed online (19.11.2023): https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_17072.htm.
12 TNA, Cabinet Office, CAB 129/23/8, "Future Foreign Publicity Policy", 04.01.1948. See also Defty 2004, p. 18; Wilford 2003, p. 50.
13 TNA, British Council, BW 1/129, Shreeves to Assistant Director-General, British Council, 01.03.1948. Philip Coupland has argued that Bevin's vagueness deliberately allowed for the projection of differing visions while expressing a British preference for the "informal, evolutionary, and gradualistic" (2004, pp. 369–70).
14 TNA, British Council, BW 1/129, Minute by Kennedy-Cooke, 02.03.1948.
15 TNA, British Council, BW 1/129, Minutes of the Working Party on Spiritual Aspects of Western Union. In August 1948, the name was changed to the Working Party on Article III of the Brussels Treaty.
16 TNA, British Council, BW 1/129, Minutes, 07.03.1948.
17 TNA, British Council, BW 1/129, Implementation of Clause III of the Brussels Treaty, 26.05.1948.
18 TNA, British Council, BW1/129, Ifor Evans to Richardson, 13.08.1948.
19 TNA, British Council, BW 1/129, Parkinson to Johnstone, 12.05.1948.
20 TNA, British Council, BW1/129, Jenkins, NUS to Under-secretary of State, FO, 05.02.1951; Morrison to Mayall, 15.02.1951; Seymour to Controller Home Division, BC, 28.02.1951.
21 TNA, British Council, BW 1/129, Note on the advisability of a multilateral cultural convention, 18.05.1948.
22 TNA, British Council, BW 1/129, Note on first meeting of the Working Party on Spiritual Union (undated).
23 Cultural Resolution of the Hague Congress. Accessed online (10.08.2023): https://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/cultural_resolution_of_the_hague_congress_7_10_may_1948-en-f9f90696-a4b2-43fd-9e85-86dee9fb57a5.html.
24 TNA, British Council, BW 2/698, minutes of the FUI Joint Committee meeting, 23.01.1958; FUI report on visits, 1959–60.
25 TNA, British Council, BW 1/99, draft reports on outgoing visits 1951-53. TNA, British Council, BW 1/196, D. Hughes Parry, chair of FUI committee to Editor of the *Oxford Magazine*, 1953.

26 TNA, British Council, BW 31/33, Note on University interchange, May 1949.
27 TNA, British Council, BW 1/99, draft report on outgoing visits, 1951/53.
28 TNA, British Council, BW 1/99, T. H. Searls to Prof. McKenzie, 26.05.1953.
29 TNA, British Council, BW 1/99, James Henderson to J. Davison, 02.06.1950.
30 TNA, British Council, BW 1/196, James Henderson to J. Davison, 02.06.1950.
31 TNA, British Council, BW 1/99, for example, in the report of April 1953.
32 TNA, British Council, BW 31/33, Note on University interchange, May 1949.
33 Even among the Six, supranational higher education projects could provoke much resistance, particularly within the academic community, which was wary of political interference (Lehmann 2019).

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2 North Korean Orphans in Poland

Experiences and Legacies of Education in Socialist Internationalism, 1953–1962

Intaek Hong

Introduction[1]

Shortly before the truce agreement of the Korean War was signed on 27 July 1953, 1,000 North Korean orphans, 376 girls and 624 boys, aged from 7 to 15, arrived at the small town of Płakowice in Lower Silesia, Poland, on the 25th and the 27th of that month. They were a contingent of more than 30,000 North Korean orphans that were temporarily hosted in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, East Germany, Mongolia, and China until 1959, as part of the socialist bloc's humanitarian assistance to Pyongyang. At Państwowy Ośrodek Wychowawczy – or to give it its Polish name, no. 2 (State Educational Center [SEC] no. 2), which reused the buildings and the site formerly used for the orphans from the Greek Civil War – the North Korean orphans were accommodated and provided with elementary education from August 1953 until their return to North Korea in July 1959. For these six years, their accommodation and education were fully funded by the Polish government and provided by 100 Polish teachers and residential staff, alongside a dozen North Korean teachers.

With the goal of raising potential members of the "ideal socialist youth" who would faithfully contribute to North Korea's postwar reconstruction and further socialist state building, SEC no. 2 was an educational and humanitarian project in the spirit of socialist solidarity and provided a highly regimented and communal daily life for the orphans. In pursuance of this goal, they learned how to live in a collective without their biological parents and to discipline their behaviors, emotions, and bodies. Joining local youth organizations and learning their homeland's language, history, and culture, the orphans were meant to nurture their socialist and national identities. Spending time in an intensive daily schedule with the Polish teachers and residential staff, the orphans also developed emotional attachments to them as if they were their foster parents, which constitutes another important legacy from the orphans' childhood at SEC no. 2. While busy adjusting to new life back in their homeland after their return, the orphans sent letters in Polish to their Polish teachers and residential staff at SEC no. 2 until 1962, when the North Korean government started to pursue more self-reliant and autarkic policies and discourage

further relations with "revisionist" East Central Europe (Szalontai 2006, pp. 85–90).

Educational and humanitarian internationalism in the socialist world pre-dated SEC no. 2. The socialist states already had experience of receiving children from civil war-ravaged countries, most notably Spain and Greece, and educating them to become ideal communists (Blas 2015, pp. 496–519; Danforth and Boeschoten 2010, pp. 47–48; Marantzidis 2013, pp. 25–54). These "fraternal" international socialist bloc actions of receiving children from countries at war shared similar goals: providing them with a place for evacuation and elementary education so they might maintain their national identities and grow into future socialists for their respective countries of origin. A direct comparison between these cases is beyond the scope of this chapter; nevertheless, recognizing the parallels between the experiences and fate of Spanish, Greek, and Korean children highlights the historical continuity of socialist internationalism, as does relocating the case of SEC no. 2 from the Korean War within the broader history of the socialist countries' solidarity with foreign children and students during the Cold War. Taken together, these factors suggest the limitation of discussing SEC no. 2 simply in terms of bilateral diplomatic history or regional studies (Hajimu 2015, pp. 4–6; Kwon 2020, p. 6).

While such elements of international entanglement and interaction put SEC no. 2 in the broad category of actions in "socialist internationalism", this chapter necessitates considering the historical specificity of the Cold War. The birth of more socialist nation-states after the Second World War changed the nature of socialist internationalism and expanded the possibilities for closer global entanglement by bringing more national interests and the changed international atmosphere of the Cold War to bear. Many socialist regimes became more eager to rigorously control internationalist actions while simultaneously promoting competing ideas and visions of socialism and internationalism (Babiracki and Jersild 2016, p. 4).[2] The case of SEC no. 2 vividly demonstrates such changed characteristics. It was designed as a part of a large project of educational assistance for North Korea across the socialist bloc under the banner of socialist internationalism, responding to North Korea's postwar need of education for its young people. While following the Cold War geopolitical need of demonstrating more cohesion within the socialist bloc than the anti-communist world, the other socialist states attempted to enhance their individual relations with – and interests in – North Korea by helping them. Furthermore, the fate of SEC no. 2 and the later decision to bring the orphans back to North Korea were not free from the changing international atmosphere of the socialist bloc and individual states' own national interests, as exemplified by the North Korean regime's rejection of Khrushchev's "revisionism" and its subsequent decision in 1956 to gradually bring back university students who had been studying abroad.

The central question of this chapter is: how did individuals experience and reflect on themselves and their participation in such projects of "socialist internationalism during the Cold War" (Zahra 2011, pp. 10–22; Milei and Imre, p.

11)? Scarcely existing studies of SEC no. 2 leave space for, and indeed invite, further investigation on the orphans' own perspective (Gnoinska 2010, p. 81; Redzisz 2012, p. 13; Sołtysik 2009, pp. 195–210; Sołtysik 2010, pp. 57–95). How did the orphans perceive their experiences, and how were Polish and North Korean teachers' and state officials' visions reflected in the children's perceptions of everyday life? (Rüdtke 2016, p. 29). This chapter investigates the nature of the education and accommodation at SEC no. 2, and examines their impacts on the orphans' lives in postwar North Korean society, based on their own daily experiences depicted in the letter correspondence to the Polish teachers. Thirty-nine letters from the private possession of one of the Polish employees at SEC no. 2 might not represent the whole body of the orphans, but considering the inaccessibility of archival materials in North Korea, they can nevertheless provide a degree of insight into the intimate experiences of the students both in Poland and back in North Korea.[3] By examining the orphans' perception of their childhood in Poland and youth in North Korea on the basis of these letters, the chapter argues that the goal and legacy of SEC no. 2 were subsumed into the orphans' everyday lives in postwar North Korean society. There, the orphans continuously negotiated the meaning of their education in Poland alongside their mundane concerns in rigorous everyday life devoted to their struggle to be ideal and productive socialists in North Korea. The orphans' letters show how the fixed meaning of SEC no. 2 and their childhood, crafted alongside postwar North Korean context and interests, was left in the hands of the orphans to "digest" on their own in their everyday lives, which they did in mundane ways.

The Korean War and International Assistance to Postwar North Korea

Providing elementary education for the North Korean orphans at SEC no. 2 was just a chapter in the larger history of the socialist bloc's assistance to North Korea during and after the Korean War. The helping hands from other socialist states to a belligerent one, already seen in the Spanish and the Greek Civil Wars, were indeed actions under the banner of "socialist internationalism", which was re-surging in the new context of the early Cold War since its peak in the 1930s.

Following the full-scale invasion of anti-communist South Korea by the communist North on 25 June 1950, civil war ravaged the Korean peninsula. Until early 1951, the front moved south almost to the coast, then north almost to the Chinese border after UN intervention, and then south again once Chinese forces had entered the war, to return to almost the original demarcation line on the 38th parallel north. There then followed two years of stalemate when the front did not move, but the north in particular suffered from continued UN bombing until the armistice of 1953 (Kim 2013, pp. 17–20).

Collecting and managing more than 100,000 children orphaned by the deaths of about 1.5 million civilians during the war constituted a significant part of North Korea's postwar reconstruction plan, which started to be

configured even before the armistice (Hübinette 2002/2003, p. 24). Acknowledging the necessity of the proper upbringing of the orphans for long-term postwar reconstruction, the North Korean government sought to provide a proper education for them elsewhere, as it was not possible in their war-devastated country.[4] Starting from the first group of 200 North Korean orphans, who arrived in Poland in late 1951, other groups also found their place in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, East Germany, Mongolia, and China (Razuvaev 2001, pp. 13–16). Acknowledging and supporting the need for action to accommodate North Korean orphans abroad, the Soviet Union's war advisory body for North Korea monitored the transportation of the orphans and praised the socialist states' action "for their contributions to better relations with North Korea" (Razuvaev 2001, p. 16). The decision of the socialist states to receive the North Korean orphans as an element of international assistance to the postwar reconstruction of North Korea had larger implications for the goal of improving general diplomatic relations within the socialist bloc (Gnoinska 2010, pp. 81–83). State media in receiving countries featured the arrival of the orphans as a symbol of socialist bloc international solidarity (Sołtysik 2010, p. 67). Orphans from North Korea continued to arrive in their nation's allied states until the Korean War adversaries finally agreed to the truce deal on 27 July 1953, reaching a number of around 30,000 (Sin 2005, pp. 39–83) in total.

Raising Potential North Korean Socialists in Poland: Expectations and Challenges

With more than 1,000 orphans from North Korea, SEC no. 2 operated as one of the biggest institutions for North Korean orphans in East Central Europe. From August 1953 to July 1959, the orphans at SEC no. 2 took classes in Polish and Korean, ate, participated in extracurricular and local socialist youth activities, and slept together as a peer group. The Polish teachers and residential staff, with help from a dozen North Korean teachers, guided the children's highly regimented and communal daily life. As an international effort for elementary education between socialist states, teaching staff from both countries at SEC no. 2 worked for the common goal of providing a "special education" for the orphans in order to raise them into the ideal of socialist youth for reconstructing their war-devastated home country.[5] To reconstruct the orphans' everyday lives at SEC no. 2, this section makes use of Polish historian Łukasz Sołtysik's descriptions of how the school operated. With those, the analysis here discusses a set of minutes of the educational committee's weekly meeting at SEC no. 2, which reports and discusses the institution and student affairs.[6]

From late July 1953, the central government of the Polish People's Republic quickly prepared a budget and legislation for authorizing the operation of SEC no. 2 in Płakowice (Sołtysik 2010, p. 61). Both central (KC PZPR) and local communist authorities (the Powiat Council of the Trade Unions, KP PZPR in Lwówek Śląski) were involved in regular inspection of the institute,

while the North Korean embassy in Warsaw oversaw educational matters. About 100 teachers and residential staff, mostly in their twenties and recent graduates of pedagogical universities, were employed from all parts of Poland to provide "special education" for the orphans (Sołtysik 2010, p. 72).[7] SEC no. 2 was equipped with a 120-acre facility with more than thirty buildings, which had been occupied by the children orphaned from the Greek Civil War (1949–1951) (Sołtysik 2010, p. 57).

For the general goal of elementary education, SEC no. 2 prepared its curriculum based on the guidelines set by the Polish and North Korean ministries of education (Sołtysik 2010, pp. 61–62). Polish teachers took basic subjects for reasoning ability such as arithmetic, while a dozen North Korean teachers taught the orphans Korean history, language, culture, and geography.[8] The inculcation of loyalty to the Korean Workers' Party and the North Korean leader, Kim Il Sung, represented an important part of the orphans' daily education, as a part of their "special session", administered every evening (Sołtysik 2010, p. 69). Various other extracurricular activities, including participation in Korean traditional music and dance ensembles, were provided to "greatly enhance" the orphans' interest in their national "roots" (Sołtysik 2010, pp. 69–70).[9] The orphans' showcase of Korean performances on socialist or North Korea's national holidays often appeared in public to promote the value of socialist internationalist solidarity (Sołtysik 2010, pp. 69–70).

To achieve their educational goals, the daily lives of the orphans at SEC no. 2 were highly regimented and communal. They started their hectic schedule at six in the morning and continued until ten in the evening, as seen in Table 2.1. Afternoons for outdoor activities such as football and hiking were most popular among the orphans, especially the boys.[10]

The orphans also joined the local communist youth organizations for their ideological upbringing. Following a request by the North Korean embassy in October 1953, the KC PZPR authorized the North Korean orphans to join the Organizacja Harcerska Związku Młodzieży Polskiej (ZMP-OH) (Sołtysik 2010, pp. 62–63). Both sides anticipated that by joining this organization the

Table 2.1 Daily schedule of the orphans at SEC no. 2

Time	Activity
6:00 AM	Wake up
7:00–7:45 AM	Breakfast
7:45 AM	School
11:00 AM	1st–3rd graders return to dorm/lunch
1:00 PM	4th–7th graders return to dorm/lunch
1:00–3:00 PM	Free time
3:00–5:00 PM	Outdoor activities with residential staff
5:00–5:30 PM	Dinner
5:30–10:00 PM	Homework and extracurricular activities
10:00 PM	Bed

Figure 2.1 A group of North Korean orphans at the International Pioneer Camp of Peace, Cieplice Zdrój, July 1958. Courtesy of Stanisław W.

North Korean young people and children in Poland would no longer be "detached from political life" and would experience growth in their collective lives (Sołtysik 2010, pp. 62–63). Following this expectation, the orphans at SEC no. 2 actively participated in group activities at school, as well as at local community or party organizations, including the international youth pioneer camp in 1958 (Figure 2.1).

SEC no. 2 and its educational initiatives met several challenges, both in the classroom and in the staff room. In classrooms, the language barrier, the orphans' illiteracy, and their lack of basic educational background made the teaching hard.[11] The Polish teachers had to use body language and rather simple phrases, as if they were speaking to the "deaf".[12] For both educational and basic communicative purposes, the teachers often improvised their teaching methods, such as by using more physical objects than reading textbooks and referring to themselves as "mama and tata (mommy and daddy)".[13] Such individualized teaching methods raised the school administration's concern over the inexperienced, newly graduated teachers' digression from uniform pedagogical principles, such as nurturing "independent thinking" and "active class participation", throughout the years at SEC no. 2.[14]

The conflict between the Polish and North Korean teachers over pedagogical methods was another significant challenge at SEC no. 2. The language barrier hindered not only smooth teaching in the classroom but also relations in the staff

room. With the exception of the head of the North Korean teachers, Kim Jun Gon, who spoke Polish and Russian fairly fluently, the Koreans were not eager to learn Polish, even though the chance was offered by the Polish side (Sołtysik 2010, p. 66). The use of corporal punishment on the children caused the most serious disagreement concerning pedagogical methods between the two sides. KP PZPR's minutes in 1954 indicate how both sides debated the issue of corporal punishment, and how the Polish educators denounced their North Korean fellows' disciplinary methods as being "nationalistic and chauvinistic", further criticizing them as "not being helpful" for education at SEC no. 2 (Sołtysik 2009, p. 202). These differences of opinion concerning pedagogical methods often ended in denunciation, suggesting a culture clash between the two socialist states. They appeared to be resolved in 1954 when the two "most problematic" Koreans were dismissed by the North Korean embassy following a request from the Polish side (Sołtysik 2009, p. 202).

As a part of North Korea's postwar reconstruction agenda, the operation of SEC no. 2 was not free from its political and diplomatic concerns, nor from the changing international atmosphere of the socialist bloc. Internationally, Nikita Khrushchev's February 1956 speech at the Soviet 20th Party Congress and major revolts in East Central Europe, including the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, alarmed the North Korean state and led it to be skeptical of the future of international socialist solidarity (Sin 2005, pp. 67–71). Domestically, Kim Il Sung started to consolidate his dictatorial power, using the "August Incident" in the Korean Workers' Party to purge pro-Soviet and Chinese members (Lankov 2005, pp. 121–135). Economically, North Korea declared the beginning of a rapid five-year industrialization plan, after the "successful" completion of a three-year-long postwar rehabilitation period from 1953.[15] Against this background, the North Korean government ordered university students studying in East Central Europe, especially Hungary, to return as early as 1956, while the orphans continued to stay in Poland and other states (Sin 2005, pp. 67–71).

Nevertheless, 1956 became an ominous year in deciding the fate of SEC no. 2 because, as originally planned, the orphans who were deemed to have finished their elementary education started to return to North Korea (Sołtysik 2010, p. 67). While their return seemed to be proceeding normally, SEC no. 2 started to witness a series of structural changes consequent to the tensions between North Korea and the socialist states, especially the Soviet Union and China. In 1956, its funding gradually started to decrease, as it was transferred from the central authority to the local authorities (powiat) (Sołtysik 2010, p. 65). In 1957, Korean children started to share schooling with local Polish students, diluting the institute's special character as being designated for the Koreans' education.[16] The decision to return everyone at SEC no. 2 to Korea came in an abrupt fashion in 1959. The minutes of the educators' meeting on 15 June 1959 stated that it had been decided that the children were to return to their homeland.[17] On 30 July 1959, 566 orphans at SEC no. 2 started to leave Poland, in which they had spent five- to six-year-long childhoods. After its ceasing operation, the persistence of

the legacy of SEC no. 2, elementary education, inculcation of national identity, and the art of self-discipline in the collective, remains to be evaluated in the context of postwar North Korean society.

Letters and the Orphans' Youth in Postwar North Korea: The Legacy of SEC no. 2

From September 1959, about two months after their return to their homeland, the orphans' letters to their Polish teachers at SEC no. 2 started to arrive. The 39 letters featured in this section were written by 25 orphans who lived in "area 8 (dorm building no. 8)" of SEC no. 2. They were addressed to the school's head teacher, Edward J., and to the senior residential staff member, Stanisław K.

Figures 2.2 and 2.3 provide an overview of this correspondence, with information about the senders, the letters, and the recipients (Table 2.2).

Despite being few in number and varying in length, these letters are indeed the orphans' records of everyday life, where their childhood memories and lives as youngsters back in North Korea were entwined.[18] Entering their mid or late teenage years upon their return, the orphans witnessed their rapidly changing home country being busy with postwar reconstruction and realized that they had to be a part of that change. Filled with a variety of emotions and reflections, these letters suggest that the orphans experienced a sense of alienation, struggling to adjust to a more rigorous life back in their homeland, and at the same time missing their childhood at SEC no. 2. In this sense, while serving the apparent purpose of maintaining correspondence to their "social institution",
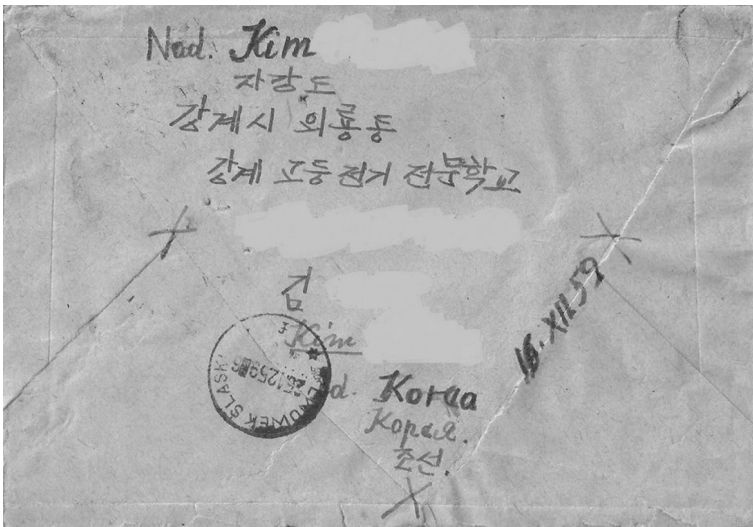
Figure 2.2 A sample letter envelope (sent by H. Kim to Stanisław K). Courtesy of Lidia J.
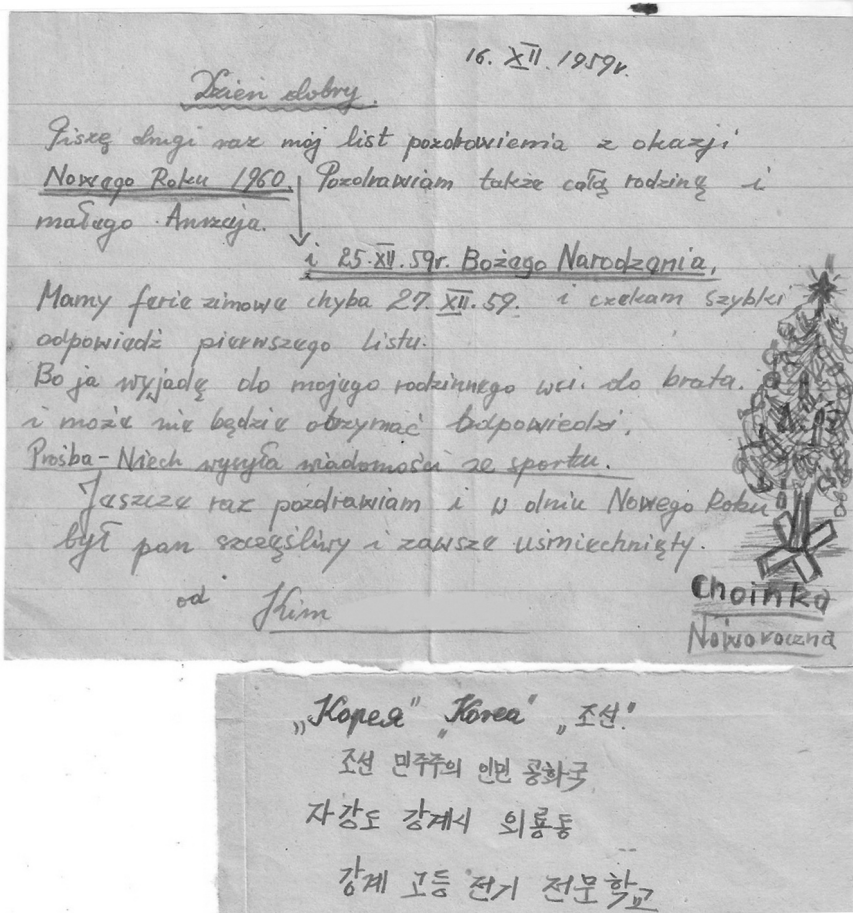
Figure 2.3 A sample letter (sent by H. Kim to Stanisław K). Courtesy of Lidia J.

Table 2.2 Correspondence details

Senders		Letters		Recipients
Gender	School level	Year	Letters in that year	
5 female Students	4 at elementary 1 at secondary	1959	11	Stanisław K. (Senior Residential Staff)
18 male Students	4 at elementary 13 at secondary 1 graduate[a]	1960 1961	14 2	Edward J. (Head Teacher)
		1962	1	
		No date	11	
23 students in total		39 letters in total		2 recipients in total

[a] One graduate in the figure refers to a male orphan who had already finished secondary education and had started to work at a factory back in North Korea.

the letters were a "transnational epistolary space" where the orphans reflected on their formative years in Poland through the lens of their lives back in postwar North Korea (Haboush 2009, pp. 1–2; Milei and Imre 2016, p. 11), and vice versa, and they expressed their thoughts and emotions in Polish.

Arriving in their homeland, the orphans spent about one or two weeks in the capital city of Pyongyang. Their time in Pyongyang had two important purposes: exposure to the image of the "newly reconstructed socialist state" and their reassignment to different schools based on the needs of the state (Kim 2010, p. 125). During this time, the orphans were grouped again, as they had been at Płakowice back in 1953, based on their age and academic level. The orphans who had not finished the seventh grade were together sent to continue their elementary education in a single orphanage with elementary schools in Yangdeok, a remote county with a spa town, about 113 km away from Pyongyang. The orphans who had completed the seventh grade at SEC no. 2 were sent to different kinds of vocational schools all over North Korea, which later placed the graduates directly into workplaces.[19] In a very few cases, more than one orphan was assigned to the same school.

Shortly after settling at their new living places, the orphans expressed feelings of alienation and a yearning to reconnect with people at SEC no. 2, including their teachers and their fellow orphans. Although the orphans who had not finished the seventh grade moved all together to the orphanage in Yangdeok, they were mixed up in classes and dorms with other "domestic orphans" who had not been sent to foreign countries after the war. There, the orphans found themselves to be different from the others. C. Park, who was initially sent to Yangdeok, expressed his sense of alienation: "I am the only one from Poland, and they always ask about Poland and everyone [at SEC no. 2]. Then I tell them about Poland and remember it myself, about Płakowice where I spent my childhood years without leaving…"[20] The language barrier due to their relatively weak Korean skills and their different background of growing up strengthened this sense of alienation.[21]

Without most family members and the staff at SEC no. 2, the orphans continued to live the highly regimented daily lives of their childhood, but with more rigor, filled with work and study. During the daytime, they took vocational school classes; during the weekends or holidays, they worked on construction sites or in factories attached to their schools. Their life trajectories, planned at SEC no. 2, of growing into productive young people for their socialist state were now to be put into practice. A letter by Y. Park, a female student attending pharmacy school, reveals how the education that they were receiving had the practical goal of raising people specialized in certain technologies needed for North Korea's state-building project:

I went to a technical school for pharmacy. In this school there are people from the 8 block – (names) … we were dispersed in Korea…

> Studying here is very hard, here the pace is much quicker; because there is a lot of material to learn, and because of that I along with the others forgot some of our language, and that is why there are many words that we don't understand. There is very little time, when we go to school at 8 and come home to our dorm around 6 or 7, and after dinner until 10 we work on homework. This is our life. In this school we have to take three years of classes, and then we go to the hospital and make prescription drugs.[22]

Park depicted her daily life, which was highly routinized with a full schedule, going to school from eight in the morning to about six in the evening and spending the rest of the evening studying. The schedule itself resembled that of SEC no. 2, but it was far more intensive. She also expressed her concern about her weak Korean skills, which made her learning slower and harder. She already acknowledged her "staged path" after school: finishing her pharmacy education in three years and working at the hospital. Her account reflected the will of the postwar North Korean state to quickly increase potential human resources according to its staged plans, and the necessity that they participated in them (Kim 1954, p. 15).

In addition to the pressure on their studies, occasional mobilization for work in postwar reconstruction and less affluent material conditions compared to that of SEC no. 2 show how the orphans' everyday lives were not only subject to intense pressure to make them fulfill their future roles, but they were also full of material hardship. The orphans who went to vocational schools depict how they were mobilized not only for minor renovation work at their school but also regularly for urban reconstruction sites.[23] One letter (no name) provides in more explicit terms a detailed depiction of his time working at a construction site:

> We on the twenty-seventh of March went to work on construction in Pyongyang. We have to throw away 1,000 and 45 thousand cubic meters. I don't know but we threw away 20 thousand first. And 45 thousand will be May the sixteenth. For now in one second an electric explosion with dynamite we threw it away. In this work we worked 36 hours without sleeping. The least work was when we worked for 12 hours. Our life is very hard now…[24]

The orphans had to meet the expectation that they were not only intellectual but also labor resources. Such intensive study for the future and work for the present together constituted the orphans' highly rigorous everyday life back in their homeland, busy building a more autarkic socialist state and economy.

Reporting their hard lives in the letters, the orphans did not hesitate to express their complaints, which often led to their nostalgic yearning for their childhoods and a further romanticization of memories. On the one hand, the orphans deplored their current lack of food, which led them to even yearn for

food that they actually disliked in Poland: meat, bread, and dripping.[25] U. Lee, a student at a textile vocational school, connected his nostalgia toward Poland with bread by saying "I also miss the life in Poland as well as the bread".[26] On the other hand, the orphans define Poland as the "second fatherland (Pl. Druga ojczyzna)", where they spent their childhood and were raised to be "educated people". The "second fatherland" had the role of providing the orphans basic care and education. B. Lee, a student at an agricultural vocational school, adds how the education at SEC no. 2 raised him:

> From March 26 [1960] we are going to the rebuilding of a site in Pyongyang. In fifteen days it will be completed … we are working solidly to rebuild Korea, it is a socialist country. I am one of those who are rebuilding. I will not forget the Polish language that raised me to be an educated person.[27]

Lee's indication that SEC no. 2 and the "Polish language" had raised him to be an "educated person" suggests that the education at SEC no. 2 had a fundamental role by providing a basis of education for the orphan, from which he was able to further increase his work ethic to become a part of "productive youth" in North Korea.

　　Although the "second fatherland" provided fundamental education and fond childhood memories, it could not surpass the gravity of the "fatherland (Pl. Ojczyzna)" for the orphans. The orphans understood that their childhood in Poland and youth in North Korea should be distinguished. S. Kim's (at the pharmacy school) letter expresses such a distinction, with his determination to work hard articulated in an explicit manner:

> … Now I am studying [at pharmacy school] and I now remember why I wasn't studying when I was in Poland, when there was time and time to spend studying, but instead I was playing. And now there is no time to play, because I have to study a lot and work in rebuilding Korea.[28]

While fondly reminiscing about their childhood in Poland, the orphans simultaneously defined their childhood as an "immature time" and contrasted it to their youth back in North Korea, which they said should be full of studying and working. Reiterating such contrast through the letters, the orphans were self-suggesting that they had to pursue rigorous work and study, leaving behind their "immature time" in Poland. This self-disciplinary words further suggests how the orphans were practicing the "theoretical norms" of productive North Korean youth every day (Chatterjee and Petrone 2008, pp. 980–982). In such practice, their childhood had to be defined in a certain way, as productive for their current life.

　　While the orphans understood the seriousness of such fixed definitions of childhood and youth, their way of practicing it was mundane. For them, being an exemplary youth – receiving a good mark for an exam or finishing their daily work

on site without any problems – was the most important goal every day. It coexisted with their reminiscence of their childhood and the pursuit of "Polishness" in their identities, not as an antithetical element, or a privileged sphere, but simply as a component of their everyday life in postwar North Korean society. H. Kim, who showed an unusual passion for learning Polish, did indeed not hesitate to explicitly express his respect and nostalgia toward his Polish teachers and his childhood. However, his persistent yearning for "Polishness" does not go against his practice of the "theoretical norms" in everyday postwar North Korea. More importantly, his way of depicting it was not exciting or striking but calm. Depicting his experience participating in political actions supporting dramatic political events in this way signifies the mundanity of his political and collective life in postwar North Korean society. In his letter on April 21, 1960, he said:

> … We spent April 15 very happily, the birthday of our leader Kim Il Sung. And tomorrow we are observing the 90th anniversary of the birth of Lenin. We prepared a lot of things.
>
> You probably also know from work or the radio or television about the news in [South] Korea. Korea is now rebelling, and all the people are striking. Already April 11 in Masan, April 18 in Seoul (40 thousand), Incheon, Kwangju, Pusan, and other big cities. And they already have ruined a lot.
>
> We, meaning [North Korean] workers, farmers, youth, and children are happy from this, and today we also marched among other marchers with banners, "against Americans!" and "against Syngman Rhee clique!" and others. That was it.
>
> One more time my important request: I want to know about the world and about sports…[29]

Here, H. Kim was calmly reporting the April Revolution in South Korea in 1960, which toppled Syngman Rhee, who was the first president of South Korea. His calm reporting tone suggests that for him, the April Revolution, as well as his participation in the North Korean people's mass protest supporting it, and Kim Il Sung's or Lenin's birthday were just a part of his everyday life. After his report, he again quickly made a transition to his request for a Polish newspaper and sports news, to which he devoted another page of the letter to express his passion for practicing Polish. Such mundane depiction of political and collective life back in North Korea, although varied between more enthusiastic or reluctant tones, commonly appeared in other letters. This mundanity suggests that the norm of "productive North Korean youth" was an object of individual practice in the orphans' everyday lives, irrespective of their varying emotions toward it. In the letters, they were able to celebrate or reminisce about their education and childhood in Poland, and then complain about hardships in North Korea, while all the time striving to become exemplary young people for their "fatherland".

Conclusion

This chapter reveals how North Korea's goal of raising ideal socialists for post-war North Korea and Poland's interest in improving general relations with other states in the socialist world overlapped in establishing SEC no. 2 under the banner of socialist internationalism. At the same time, it was a contested space where each side's different cultural understanding of socialist education clashed. Furthermore, the parallel between the changing atmosphere of relations in the socialist bloc from the late 1950s and the ultimate closure of SEC no. 2 showed how fluctuating Cold War geopolitics was an important fertilizer that contributed to both the blooming and withering of a socialist internationalist project.

This chapter has necessitated investigating the participants' experience and perspectives in order to further examine the nature of educational internationalist initiatives and projects under the banner of socialist internationalism. The orphans at SEC no. 2, without biological parents or family members, were arguably malleable samples in whom the North Korean state continued to inculcate its vision of socialist-state making, both at SEC no. 2 and in postwar North Korean society. As their letters in Polish show, however, they were not speechless children or passive objects of the state's experiment. They express their emotions – nostalgia and complaint – and self-reflections on their childhood and youth. Their letters show how the orphans accepted or celebrated and then negotiated the vision of the state, with their self-reflection on the legacy of their education at SEC no. 2 (transnational self-identification, basic elementary education, self-discipline, and emotional attachment to their Polish teachers) in a mundane fashion within their everyday lives in postwar North Korea, beyond the simplistic dichotomy of collusion and resistance. The orphans were able to celebrate or reminisce about their education and childhood in Poland and to complain of hardships in North Korea in their letters, while all the time striving to become exemplary young people for their socialist state. Registered in the letters, the orphans' voices constitute a precious source for inquiring into the legacies of the experience of socialist solidarity. Their experience at SEC no. 2 provides glimpses into how an internationalist project in the socialist world during the Cold War could be planned, understood, and used for different national interests and visions, not only at the state level but also at the individual level.

Notes

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2 On educational and cultural exchange between the socialist and non-socialist world during the Cold War, see Chapter 3 by Franck Schmidt, Chapter 4 by Qing Liu, and Chapter 15 by Dayana Murguia Mendez in this volume.

3 A daughter of the head teacher (Lidia J.) at SEC no. 2 generously shared the copies of the letters with me during my visit to the former site of SEC no. 2 in June 2013. All letters cited henceforth are courtesy of her.

4 Polish Foreign Ministry Archive, Report from the Embassy of the Polish Republic in Korea for the Period of July through August 1951. Accessed online (10.10.2023) through Wilson Center Digital Archive, and document obtained by Jakub Poprocki and translated by Maya Latynski: https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/report-embassy-polish-republic-korea-period-july-through-august-1951.

5 Teacher council protocol at SEC no. 2 #1, 29.08.1957.

6 A daughter of the head teacher who shared the copies of the letters with me also helpfully provided the copy of a set of minutes of the educational committee's weekly meeting from August 1957 to June 1959 at SEC no. 2. All the minutes cited henceforth are courtesy of her. At the meeting, all teachers and staff at SEC no. 2 were normally present. The minutes are cited in this article in the following ways: #1 (August 29, 1957), #2 (November 15, 1957), #3 (no date, 1957), #4 (October 16, 1958), #5 (May 10, 1958), #6 (June 17, 1958), #7 (August 30, 1958), #8 (September 21, 1958), #9 (November 17, 1958), #10 (January 30, 1959), #11 (April 15, 1959), and #12 (June 15, 1959). The names of the employees at SEC no. 2 that appear in this article are in initials, not as a full name.

7 Teacher council protocol at SEC no. 2 #1, 29.08.1957.

8 Teacher council protocol at SEC no. 2 #1, 29.08.1957.

9 Teacher council protocol at SEC no. 2 #2, 15.11.1957.

10 Teacher council protocol at SEC no. 2 #1, 29.08.1957.

11 Teacher council protocol at SEC no. 2 #1, 29.08.1957.

12 Teacher council protocol at SEC no. 2 #2, 15.11.1957.

13 Teacher council protocol at SEC no. 2 #1, 29.08.1957.

14 Teacher council protocol at SEC no. 2 #2, 15.11.1957.

15 Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation, F. 0102, Op. 13, P. 72, Delo 5, 1-15, Journal of Soviet Ambassador to the DPRK A.M. Puzanov, 09.04.1957. Accessed online (10.10.2023) through Wilson Center Digital Archive, document translated by Gary Goldberg: https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/journal-soviet-ambassador-dprk-am-puzanov-9-april-1957.

16 Teacher council protocol at SEC no. 2 #5, 10.05.1958.

17 Teacher council protocol at SEC no. 2 #12, 15.06.1959.

18 The orphans' level of fluency in Polish varied. Quoted letters below, translated into English, intentionally retain the orphans' imperfection of writing in Polish to keep what the orphans originally wanted to say. The letters are cited with the number (from #1 to #39) and the initial of the orphans' full name.

19 No name, Letter #32, undated.

20 C. Park, Letter #1, 28.09.1959.

21 Y. Park, Letter #4, 05.11.1959.

22 Y. Park, Letter #4, 05.11.1959.

23 K. Lee, Letter #7, 11.12.1959; H. Kim, #22, 21.03.1960; #26, 29.09.1960.

24 Unnamed, Letter #30, 16.03.1962.

25 U. Lee, Letter #7, 11.12.1959; S. Oh, Letter #17, 14.02.1960; SEC no. 2 staff (Janina M. and Forentyna K.) at the canteen remembered how the orphans occasionally "protested" against the food they did not like, especially dripping (interview by author in Lwówek Śląski, 20.06.2013).

26 U. Lee, Letter #7, 11.12.1959.

27 B. Lee, Letter #22, 21.03.1960.

28 S. Kim, Letter #25, 05.08.1960.

29 H. Kim, Letter #23, 21.04.1960.

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3 The France-GDR Friendship Association

An Instrument of the East German Education Diplomacy in France?

Franck Schmidt

Introduction

At the end of the Second World War, Europe was a field of ruins: about 40 million dead, more than half of them civilians, 20 million displaced people or refugees, and tens of millions homeless. Similar to the reflections following the first world conflict (Droux and Hofstetter 2020), some political leaders and international organizations like the United Nations were convinced of the need to give priority to education and culture in order to rebuild societies and achieve a lasting peace across ideological divides (on this issue, see also Chapter 9, by Michel Christian). However, with the start of the Cold War, the states controlled by the Soviet Union in Central and Eastern Europe progressively remodeled their school system along the lines of the USSR's, with the aim of creating a new socialist man (Droit 2009), whereas the Western countries were split between educational innovations and conservatism. In France, for example, the Langevin-Wallon plan, after the name of two communist scholars – Paul Langevin and Henri Wallon – which called for the modernization and democratic reform of the French school system, was quickly shelved in 1947 (Prost 1997).

In postwar Germany, education received a special place. According to the will of the Allies at the Potsdam Conference, the Germans were to be thoroughly "denazified", and this was undertaken in all four occupation zones. In the Soviet occupation zone and then in the German Democratic Republic (GDR), the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (*Sozialistische Einheitspartei*, or SED) set about developing a school influenced by Soviet pedagogy, German educational traditions, and the popular education of the workers' movement. The purpose of this new school was not only to inculcate socialist values in the new generations of East Germans but also to embed anti-fascism in the (East) German people (Droit 2009).

The SED regime, which has also been described as an "education dictatorship" ("*Erziehungsdiktatur*") (Wierling 1994, Droit 2009); tried to present its school system as a model of social and democratic progress. The GDR thereby set up an education and science diplomacy system, based on the supposed

efficiency of the socialist planning, in order to make the GDR known beyond its "narrow borders" (Wentker 2007). In October 1958, Walter Ulbricht, the First Secretary of the SED, decided to take a tougher line on West Berlin by demanding the withdrawal of Western troops, an initiative supported by Khrushchev (the "Khrushchev Ultimatum") and leading to the second Berlin Crisis, which ended with the construction of the Wall on 13 August 1961. At the same time, the GDR sought to gain legitimacy on the international stage. However, the West German government claimed to represent the German nation as a whole and threatened states that also recognized the GDR with a breaking off of diplomatic relations. This policy of West Germany was called the "Hallstein Doctrine", after the conservative West German Foreign Minister Walter Hallstein.

To circumvent this diplomatic blockade, the East German regime courted the recently decolonized states and some Western European countries where there were important communist parties such as France and Italy (Malice 2023). For this reason, the *Association des Échanges franco-allemands* (Association of Franco-German Exchanges), also known as EFA, was founded in Paris in April 1958 on the initiative of the French Communist Party (FCP) to bypass official French diplomacy (Pfeil 2004). Echoing a growing interest in France in this "other Germany" (Röseberg 1999), the EFA sought to attract a wider public than just communist activists. By setting up international conferences and addressing French politicians, the EFA demonstrated their willingness to achieve de facto recognition of the then diplomatically isolated East Germany (Schmidt 2021). Well established in the departments where the FCP was strong (especially in industrial regions of northern and eastern France, Parisian "red" suburbs, Lyon and the Rhône Valley), the number of members increased from around 4,000 in 1963 to 10,182 in 1968 (Wenkel 2014). The friendship association very quickly set up numerous local committees that supported the signing of twinning agreements between French and East German towns (Richier 2014). After the diplomatic recognition of the GDR by the French government on 9 February 1973, it was renamed *Association France-RDA* in May 1973 and became the largest friendship association with the GDR in a Western country, with almost 16,000 members by the mid-1970s.

The local committees showed the GDR and its social and technical progress in a socialist context. This desire to make the GDR better known led the friendship association to coordinate trips from the early 1960s onwards, particularly for teachers and scholars, in order to show them a socialist school system that was intended to be a model. According to estimates by the historian Christian Wenkel, between 120,000 and 150,000 French people went to East Germany between 1959 and 1989 through this association (Wenkel 2014). Among them, a large proportion were working as teachers, even though it is difficult to give a precise number due to a lack of information. In consequence, throughout the GDR's existence, thousands of French teachers were able to visit East Germany through the friendship association and participate in the construction

of an idealized image of the GDR in France. The East German regime contributed to the creation of an educational and academic network through the promotion of its model in order to be recognized as a legitimate state. Following Akira Iriye's work (Iriye 1997), we can see the building of cultural internationalism centered around East German socialist values and of which the friendship associations were the main vector in Western countries, like the EFA in France. This cultural internationalism was aimed at defending the interests of the SED policy. It could, furthermore, have produced a specific form of educational internationalism (Droux and Hofstetter 2020) through the promotion of the East German education system in Western countries and the organization of meetings between teachers on the territory of the GDR. Asymmetrical meetings and exchanges between the GDR and capitalist countries, in particular France, provided an opportunity to confront professional practices and ways of life between students, teachers, and scholars from different political and economic systems.

This chapter will discuss this specific field of cultural diplomacy – the education and science diplomacy of the GDR in France between 1958 and 1989 – as part of specific East German educational internationalism. So far, the *Association des Échanges franco-allemands* has been mainly studied from a political history perspective, especially in the context of the Franco-German Cold War triangle (Pfeil 2004; Kwaschik and Pfeil 2013). The aim here is to consider Franco-East German relations for their own sake and not only as a third wheel of Franco-West German relations, which are still considered as the only legitimate Franco-German relations. Moreover, by extending the research that seeks to show the East German networks in France, notably around the EFA (Wenkel 2014), and the image that the latter conveyed of the GDR in France (Wenkel 2014; Yèche 2009), we propose an embodied history of school and university relations between France and the GDR. Furthermore, the archives of associations's local committes and universities in France and East Germany, as well as interviews, allow a ground-level approach of this specific exchanges.

What impact did the GDR's education diplomacy have on French visitors? Did it lead to the structuring of an educational internationalism centered around the GDR? What were the limits of this diplomacy? In order to answer these questions, we will first examine how this friendship association was implemented through education diplomacy in France, specifically through a campaign for the recognition of the GDR. In a second step, we will see that on different occasions, institutions such as the contacts of so-called teachers' symposia or the reception of East German researchers can be considered as East-West "points of intersection" (Werner and Zimmermann 2006) during the Cold War conducive to an internationalization of educational and academic practices. In a third step, we will demonstrate that these trips could also have served interests specific to the French school and university field without a direct link to the political and educational project of the GDR.

Educational Diplomacy to Promote the Recognition of the GDR by France (1958–Early 1970s)

The goal of the *Association des Échanges franco-allemands* was to make East Germany known in France through trips, conferences, exhibitions, or sales of East German books and newspapers. The friendship association soon sought support for its cause among teachers, of whom a significant part was active in associations, unions, or political parties (Frajerman 2008). The teachers were mostly involved in the Republican-Laic movement or in the communist constellation, such as the case of Roland Lenoir, the first General Secretary of the friendship association, from 1958 until the late 1970s, and a former teacher in colonial Algeria, where he was a leader of the local communist party. Furthermore, in the 1960s and in the 1970s, a large number of teachers joined the Communist Party when the central committee opened up to the middle class in the strategy of union with the Socialist Party (Mischi 2020).

From the early 1960s onwards, teachers and researchers became interested in the GDR and contacted the friendship association, as it was one of the only channels for accessing East German universities and cultural life outside the specific way of the communist networks. The activists had as a consequence a kind of monopoly on school and academic relations with the GDR, as long as it was not recognized by France. Teachers joined the EFA and became active members by taking on responsibilities within the committees. At the national level, members of the presidency and the national committee were also involved in education, from primary to higher education. In 1960, out of 91 members of the National Committee, 24 were scholars and six teachers in secondary education, and in 1968, out of the 197 members, 33 were scholars and 16 teachers (Wenkel 2014). For example, in the department of Bas-Rhin, in Alsace, Georges Cerf, Maurice Gay, and François-Georges Dreyfus, all professors at the University of Strasbourg, were members of the collective departmental presidency in 1965.

In 1963, the Élysée Treaty concluded between France and West Germany paid particular attention to school and youth exchanges, in particular through the creation of the Franco-German Youth Office (FGYO). One of the goals of the FGYO was to prevent French youth from being attracted to communist East Germany in the context of the Cold War (Delori 2016). However, the GDR, and its friendship association in France, continued to compete with West Germany, offering young people summer camps so called "leisure-work stays". The friendship association sought also to attract teachers by presenting a socialist education system under construction. While conferences and exhibitions were organized in France, the centerpiece of this activist scheme was the trips to the GDR, which allowed French visitors to see for themselves, but under supervision of the regime's organizations, the social and economic "achievements" of East German society. The trips were chaired by a member of the local committee and the costs were covered by the East

German state. The only material consideration for the participants of the trips was the payment of the membership fee and of the transport from the place of departure to the East German border. Therefore, the friendship association made it possible to offer access to a German-speaking country at a lower cost, and to take evening courses in German, as for instance in working-class towns of northern France. These initiatives helped to democratize the teaching of German, which was still an elitist foreign language in French schools (Mombert 2005).

The *Association des Échanges franco-allemands* offered these teachers the opportunity to reflect on their practices and to discover another education system. The departmental committees formed thematic travel delegations for different social-professional groups such as lawyers, doctors, farmers, and teachers, who were a particular target audience. Once again, for example, the departmental committee of Bas-Rhin shaped a thematic trip, in which education staff from the Strasbourg region participated, on the East German education system in the spring of 1964 in the district of Dresden. These trips enabled most of the participants to discover East Germany for the first time. In a report of this thematic trip written by a participant – certainly a member of or near the FCP – the welcome of French visitors by East German officials is emphasized:

> The warm welcome at the border station by members of the Dresden STRASB. friendship committee and trade union officials immediately instilled confidence and gave the feeling of already having friends in the GDR.[1]

In his document, however, the East German school system was not mentioned, which could lead us to believe that this visitor was especially enthusiastic about the discovery of a socialist country that was still regarded as relatively "exotic" in France, and education would have been only a mere pretext to go there. The trip was followed by a dinner-debate in Woerth, a little town in northern Alsace, where the participants in the delegation joined together to talk about their trip to the GDR. The school system was consequently a central element in the campaign for recognition of the GDR, which began in the early 1960s and intensified at the end of that decade.

Franco-East German School and Academic Exchanges as East-West "Points of Intersection" (Early 1970s–1980)

From the end of the 1960s onwards, as part of Willy Brandt's *Ostpolitik* movement, the activities of the EFA intensified in order to speed up the recognition of the GDR by the French government. This was achieved on 9 February 1973, the same day as the United Kingdom. As a result, Franco-East German relations took an official turn, even though the friendship association, renamed *Association France-RDA* in May 1973, continued to maintain a monopoly on school and university relations.

The delegations that visited the GDR for a few days were also accompanied by educational events, the so-called "teacher symposia", where people interested in the East German school system in France met with East German educational staff, in particular trade unionists of the *Freier Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund* (FDGB). These events can, however, be described as "points of intersection" resulting from a crossing, as defined by Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmerman (Werner and Zimmermann 2006), within the theorical framework of the *histoire croisée*:

> In the literal sense, to cross means 'to place or fold crosswise one over the other'. This creates a point of intersection where events may occur that are capable of affecting to various degrees the elements present, depending on their resistance, permeability, or malleability, and on their environment.

In other words, these "points of intersection", created by the GDR and fostered by its education diplomacy, allowed people from different languages and cultures, living in a socialist or capitalist society, to meet despite Cold War logics and sometimes contrary to the organizers' original intention.

These university relations also led to East German researchers being sent to France. Following exchange agreements between the *Association des Échanges franco-allemands*, on the one hand, and the East German Ministry of Higher Education on the other, places for East German researchers were reserved in French universities that had signed agreements with the GDR, which had become possible since the beginning of the 1970s following the *Ostpolitik*. (For another case study on a similar issue, see Chapter 4 by Qing Liu.) In some university centers, such as the University Lyon 2, these young guest researchers were accommodated under the supervision of activists of the friendship association. Once back in their home country, the visiting researchers wrote a report on the social and political situation in France. Thanks to these reports, we can see what the cultural and political representations of these East Germans were when they discovered France, described as a "capitalist society",[2] in which it was necessary to "defend a Marxist-Leninist point of view".[3] By adopting the official language and anticipating the expectations of the regime, we can observe the typical ethos of the communist subject shaped by the late Stalinist parties and the institutions of so-called "real socialism" (Pennetier and Pudal 2014).

Moreover, the *Association France-RDA* played a decisive role in the integration of East Germans and in the understanding of the capitalist order, as a chemist from the Karl Marx University of Leipzig, K. J., who stayed from 8 November to 18 December 1973 in Lyon, wrote: "I think it is essential to work closely with the *Association France-RDA* because they provide many contacts and help to see behind the surface of capitalist society".[4] A leading figure of the friendship association in Lyon who was a member of the FCP and a German teacher as well, Françoise Martin, also put K. J. to

work on a veritable propaganda tour in the Lyon region. He took part in both a course at the popular education association close to the FCP *Université Nouvelle* and in events set up by the *Association France-RDA*. He also visited a factory of electromechanical machine construction in Lyon and took part in a rally organized by the communist-oriented trade union *Confédération Générale du Travail* (CGT), which was attended by more than 40 participants and was a success according to the "French comrades".[5] The CGT also played an important role in the spread of information favorable to East Germany in working-class circles (Pfeil 2004). In general, most of the guest researchers at the *Institut National des Sciences Appliquées* (INSA) in Lyon emphasized that Françoise Martin and her husband "were very committed to the supervision of guests from the GDR", as an East German scientific representative invited to Lyon pointed out.[6] In this case, the investment of Françoise Martin played a decisive role in East-West educational exchanges because she was at the center of the Franco-East German network from the mid-1960s until the collapse of the GDR in 1989/1990.[7] The reports also show that she regularly visited East Germany and that they received *Neues Deutschland*, the SED's daily newspaper, at their home, which they also provided to East Germans when they were in Lyon.[8] Françoise Martin also encouraged links with schools. She took advantage of the visits of East Germans to the INSA to present the GDR to her students and fight against the influence of West Germany in German classes according to her political opinions.

Another key element of East German diplomacy that may be linked to the construction of educational internationalism was the convening of symposia on teaching in the GDR. Held in the East German district capitals from the early 1960s, these were an important event for the *Association des Échanges franco-allemands* and later *France-RDA*, as they allowed French teachers to exchange with East German colleagues and to discover a school system. For example, at the April 1973 symposium in Dresden, which attracted mainly teachers from eastern France because of the city of Dresden's links with Strasbourg and the Meurthe-et-Moselle department, we can see that exchanges took place in both directions. On the first day, the French group visited a polytechnic school, which was then coupled with a state-owned tire manufacturing company in Riesa that allowed students to become familiar with manual work according to SED education politics (Droit 2009). This visit gave the French teachers the opportunity to ask questions to the East German students who were working in the workshop. They asked them if they were happy with their work, to which one student replied that she did not enjoy the work but knew that it was essential and that she would be satisfied if she could use all the machines.[9] Another student replied that this vocational training was not useful for her future job because she wanted to become a kindergarten teacher, but that she would appreciate it later. These contacts between French teachers and East German pupils, who can be assumed to have been under surveillance of the Stasi, show that these kinds of educational events could also be considered as interesting East-West "points of intersection",[10] even biased by (self-)censorship.

On site, the French teachers also met East German trade unionists, who discussed various aspects of the teaching problem in the GDR, in particular the question of "socialist democracy" in schools and the role of elected parents, the leading role of the working class, the creation of new holiday places, children's holiday camps, and the supervision of veterans. In addition, the trade unionists also asked the French teachers questions:

> Is there a single teachers' union in France? What does the teachers' union stand for? Is the training of teachers successful? Is there a specialist subject teacher (*Fachlehrer*) system like in the GDR? What are the holiday regulations? What support is there in case of illness?[11]

As a result, even if these meetings were closely monitored by the East German regime, they still allowed East German teacher unionists to learn more about their colleagues from a capitalist country. The answers of the French did not reach us, but we can see that these questions surely corresponded to concrete questions of the East Germans. In a country where information from the West was censored and travels to Western countries were rare, these visits were therefore unique opportunities for East Germans to have information from "capitalists abroad".

Following the relaxation of tensions between East and West in Europe in the early 1970s, French universities were able to make contact more and more often with their East German colleagues through the friendship association. These university relations could be generated by political affinities, especially in left-wing universities such as the University of Paris 8: "We are indeed very interested in the social and economic experience that is taking place in your country, both in the field of the development of productive forces and the transformation of social relations, and in that of education".[12] In a document probably dating from the late 1970s, 13 French universities were twinned with East German universities, including both large universities such as the Universities of Paris 1, Paris 8, and Paris 13, twinned with the Humboldt University in Berlin, and provincial universities such as, for example, the University of Besançon with the University of Greifswald.[13]

The case of the *Centre d'Études Germaniques* (CEG) of Strasbourg is rather emblematic of the intensification of university relations, or rather of the growing interest in the GDR in French universities (Pfeil 2002). The CEG was created in 1920, in Mainz, to train French officers serving in the German territories occupied by the French army. In the 1950s and 1960s, the CEG was relocated to Strasbourg and continued to offer teaching about both Germanies to French army officers. After historian François-Georges Dreyfus took over the CEG in 1969, the institution became a laboratory attached to the *Centre national de la recherche scientifique* (CNRS) (Defrance 2005). Professor Dreyfus was born into a Jewish family of Alsatian origin in Paris in 1928 and converted to Protestantism after the war. He was politically very involved in the Gaullist movement[14] and elected onto the right-wing municipal majority in Strasbourg.

Conducting historical research on German history, he was a member of the friendship association and proposed trips to the GDR to his students. The trips made by F.-G. Dreyfus and his students were planned in such a way that the French visitors could get to know the GDR better. In the spring of 1971, for example, the professor and 36 students visited a horticultural production cooperative, a state-owned cigarette manufacturing company in Dresden, and made contact with the Technical University of Dresden.[15]

On this occasion, the French students discovered the selective orientation system in place at the East German university, where only a small minority of East German students went on to higher education. Their stay ended with a day in East Berlin where, at the invitation of the Franco-German Society of the GDR (*Deutsch-Französische Gesellschaft der DDR*), which was founded in 1962 as the partner of the EFA, they took part in a debate on some of the political problems of the GDR. F.-G. Dreyfus stated during this debate that West Berlin did not belong to the Federal Republic of Germany, just as East Berlin did not belong to the GDR,[16] which allowed him to maintain a critical position toward the GDR. In 1973, however, the trip to Berlin and Rostock by Professor Dreyfus and his students was described as too touristy by the director of the CEG, who criticized the lack of contact with workers in Rostock and the lack of interest in the visit to the University of Rostock.

In April 1974, the CEG's trip led by A. L., teaching assistant, to Leipzig, Halle-Neustadt, Potsdam, and East Berlin was, according to the CEG team, much more informative about the GDR. The Strasburger group was received at the Karl Marx University of Leipzig by Professor M., section Marxism-Leninism, Professor F., section Law, and Professor D., section History, for a debate about the social and political issues of the GDR. The next day, a visit to a transport company and an agricultural production cooperative (*Landwirtschaftliche Produktionsgenossenschaft* or LPG) was carried out in the vicinity of Leipzig. In East Berlin, the visitors were given a tour of the city, followed by a visit to two museums, the television tower, and an evening at the theatre. On the last day, they visited an industrial combine and concluded their stay with a meal with members of the *Deutsch-Französische Gesellschaft der DDR*. Beyond the political-touristic character of this trip to East Germany, one can also see the fascination that the GDR exerted on the part of the French academic world, as shown by this extract from the report written by the teaching assistant at the CEG following the 1974 trip:

> For a long time, the interest of the French was mainly focused on the Federal Republic of Germany, whose political stability, economic growth, and commercial success they admired. But during the 1960s, they also gradually discovered the German Democratic Republic, which had become one of the world's great industrial powers.[17]

It is true that despite the destruction of the war and the dismantling of large industrial sectors by the Soviet Union, the GDR experienced a phase of economic growth in the late 1950s and 1960s. This economic growth was

nicknamed the "red *Wirtschaftswunder*" (Steiner 2004) in reference to the so-called "economic miracle" of West Germany. By giving so much importance to science, technology, and education, the GDR represented a "projection surface" (Wenkel 2014) for some French teachers and academics, who could see in it a rationally planned social and economic system, spared from the inequalities and crises of capitalism, particularly in the context of the first oil crisis and growing unemployment in France in the early 1970s.

In 1973, a draft agreement between the University of Law, Political, and Social Sciences of Strasbourg and the *Technische Universität* (TU) of Dresden, led by François-Georges Dreyfus on the Strasbourg side, showed this desire to forge lasting academic links after the recognition of the GDR by France on 9 February 1973. Following the example of other French universities, such as the Karl Marx University of Leipzig, which had concluded agreements with the Universities of Aix-Marseille 2, Lyon 1, and Lyon 2, F.-G. Dreyfus promoted the rapprochement with the GDR for both scientific and academic exchange reasons, as the following extract shows:

> The two universities are willing to host a young scientist of the next generation each year for a short study period to prepare a master's thesis or a doctoral dissertation.[18]

This agreement was intended to enable the reception of East German students in Strasbourg, but of course the political dimension was never far away, as stated in another passage:

> The present agreements serve to promote the relations of the friendship and cultural exchange committees between Dresden and Strasbourg for the year 1973 and come into force as soon as they are signed by the Rectors (or Presidents) of the two Universities.[19]

Overall, the friendship association still presided over university relations between the two countries. This demonstrates the central mediating role of some of the association's local leaders, like its communist departmental secretary from 1968 onwards, René Hartmann, or its departmental president, the left-wing Protestant community activist, Blanche Heusch. Both of them were the logistical architects of this twinning and supported François-Georges Dreyfus' initiatives toward the GDR.

The 1980s: Educational and Academic Relations between Normalization and New Challenges

School trips of French teachers and students to East Germany continued after France recognized East Germany – these were still under the auspices of the friendship association. However, Franco-East German relations became more official with the signing of a cultural agreement between the French and East

German governments on 16 June 1980. These agreements provided for the opening of cultural centers in the two capitals. The GDR Cultural Centre in Paris opened in 1983 and the French Cultural Center in East Berlin was inaugurated in 1984 (Cimaz 2000). The GDR Cultural Centre presented various aspects of East German culture and history to the French public. In competition with the Goehte-Institute and the Maison Heinrich Heine in Paris, two institutions of West German culture in France, the GDR Cultural Centre sought to attract students preparing for the teaching exams and French Germanists with exhibitions and conferences, not without propaganda undertones (Cimaz 2000).

In addition, a scholarship system continued to operate in the 1980s. Applications were made to the *Association France-RDA*'s contact person at the applicant's university, and then the applications were selected by a special committee within the association. In this way, the friendship association had the power to filter French students who wanted to study in the GDR. However, the number of scholarships decreased from 18 ten-month scholarships in 1982 to 11 ten-month scholarships in 1989, which shows that East Germany, due to serious economic difficulties linked to the technological backwardness and indebtedness of the regime (Steiner 2004), could no longer maintain the same number of places for French students at East German universities.

As interest in the GDR tended to stagnate in France in the 1980s, this was reflected in the slightly dwindling membership of the *Association France-RDA*: the number of members fell from 15,710 in 1978 to 14,222 in 1987 (Wenkel 2014). Within the organization, a permanent discourse on the aging and decline in the number of activists took hold at departmental and national congresses, underlining the difficulties of attracting new people to the East German culture (Wenkel 2014). However, in the 1980s the GDR remained a favored destination for school trips by some French teachers. An interview with a teacher from a secondary school of a small Alsatian town, who planned a trip to Dresden in 1988 with two colleagues, gives us a better understanding of what traveling to the GDR meant for French teachers and secondary school students. It was a rural Catholic private high school located in a politically conservative region and in which a significant part of the population worked in nearby West Germany. However, this teacher found the idea of going to the GDR, rather than to West Germany, Switzerland, or Austria, interesting. Although she was not particularly sympathetic to the communist movement, she had already made two trips to the GDR thanks to a left-wing West German lecturer at the University of Strasbourg. These two trips, in the early 1980s, had already given her the opportunity to visit the GDR, so she did not set off into *terra incognita*. She also justified the trip by the modest price of the stay, unlike other German-speaking countries, and the possibility of sharpening the critical thinking of students who were not used to dealing with this type of ideology.[20]

The school trip went off without a hitch. The students were very impressed by the border crossing, which still showed the political significance of the crossing of the so-called "Iron Curtain". The students were accommodated in a youth hostel about ten kilometers from Dresden, which was said to have

relatively modest food and accommodation. During their visit to Dresden, the students had the opportunity to meet East German students without the presence of teachers. A briefing with East German politicians, including people with responsibilities at the district level, the administrative intermediary level of the GDR, was held, which impressed the students and teachers. We can thereby see that school trips to the GDR may have allowed a democratization of school trips in a German-speaking country, but also opened up the possibility to discover an alternative German society without necessarily adhering to the political project of the SED.[21]

At the eleventh national congress of the *Association France-RDA* (the last one before the collapse of the GDR), which took place in December 1987 in Lyon, Antoine Sanguinetti, a former navy officer, member of the national committee, deplored the fact that there were still too little agreements between universities, which was a problem for the recognition of diplomas, and called for the normalization of university relations between the two countries. As he recalled, the *Association France-RDA* was at the times the only organization that acted as an intermediary between French and East German universities, and he advocated the creation of a youth organization, based on the Franco-West German exchange model – like the Franco-German Youth Office – to help develop school and academic relations.[22] Thus despite the signing of cultural agreements between France and the GDR in 1980, the *Association France-RDA* continued to play a key role in the development of academic exchanges until the end of the East German regime.

Conclusion

To conclude, it should be emphasized that education and science diplomacy in the GDR played a triple role during the period we are interested in, from 1958 to 1989. First, at a time when the GDR was isolated on the international stage, the promotion of its education system was a crucial issue in order to seduce capitalist countries, in particular France, which was considered to be the "weak link in the Western camp" (Jardin 2000). As a consequence, through the mediation of the *Échanges franco-allemands*, which became the *Association France-RDA* in 1973, the French were subjected to an effective propaganda campaign aimed at showing the superiority and innovations of East German socialist education. In addition to brochures and conferences held locally, it was mainly through trips coordinated by the French friendship association with its partner in the GDR, the *Deutsch-Französische Gesellschaft in der DDR*, that French people of different political views were able to see how the socialist school functioned. As a showcase for so-called "real socialism", everything was done to give the best possible impression to Western visitors, which is reflected in the testimonies.

In return, this East German education and science diplomacy – and this is the second point – worked because it reached an audience that was undergoing profound social and political changes in France. Indeed, the massive access to

secondary and university education during the 1960s and 1970s also generated new reflections among French teachers, as well as an increasing politicization of its members (on this issue, see Chapter 14, by Andrea Brazzoduro). The trips organized by the France-GDR friendship association at a relatively modest price gave education professionals the opportunity to see, even if biased by propaganda, another educational model with the ambition to produce a "new man". Subsequently, these observations in a socialist country could influence the discussions of French teachers on their own professional practices. The teaching symposia held in East German cities, like Dresden and Leipzig, were moments of reflection. In addition, the GDR also created favorable conditions for the democratization of German language learning, thanks to a system of scholarships enabling French students to spend time at East German universities. Similarly, East Germany gradually became a destination for school trips seeking to visit a German-speaking country that was more original and, above all, less expensive than West Germany or Austria. Moreover, the *Association France-RDA* gradually became a sort of travel agency for French teachers wishing to plan a school trip to socialist Germany.

Third and lastly, the increase in the number of trips by French teachers and the reception of East German researchers and students in France after the diplomatic recognition of the GDR by France was also a significant means of enabling people from the East and West blocs to meet each other. Educational symposia and universities hosting French students in the GDR or East German researchers in France allowed a crossing of people and ideas between East and West, despite the constraints of the Stasi surveillance and bureaucratic difficulties for East German travelers. These "points of intersection" represented by these school and university exchanges enabled maintenance of the link between France and the eastern part of Germany throughout the Cold War. Without the work of the *Association France-RDA*, this link would not have been possible, and the activists of this organization were "bridge builders" between East and West. However, due to diplomatic constraints and the different interests of the various countries, the educational internationalism centered on the East German school and university model was incomplete: it was essentially a one-way relationship from France to the GDR, except for a few privileged East Germans allowed to go the other way.

Notes

1 "L'accueil chaleureux dès la station frontière par des membres du comité d'amitié Dresde STRASB. et de responsables syndicaux mit tout de suite en confiance et donna le sentiment d'avoir déjà des amis en RDA". Strasbourg, Archives de la fédération du Bas-Rhin du Parti communiste français, 273, *Impressions de voyages en Allemagne démocratique*, 1964.
2 Leipzig, Universitätsarchiv Leipzig, Direktorat für Internationale Beziehung, 194: Report by Dr. K. J. on his stay in Lyon, 08.11–18.12.1973.
3 Leipzig, Universitätsarchiv Leipzig, Direktorat für Internationale Beziehung, 252, Report by Prof. Dr. sc. G. L. on his stay in Lyon, 13–16.01.1975.

  4 "Ich halte es für unbedingt erforderlich, eng mit der Association France-RDA zusammenzuarbeiten, weil diese viele Kontakte vermittelt und entscheidend hilft, hinter die Oberfläche der kapitalistischen Gesellschaft zu sehen". Leipzig, Universitätsarchiv Leipzig, Direktorat für Internationale Beziehung, 194. Report by Dr. K. J. on his stay in Lyon, 08.11–18.12.1973.
  5 Leipzig, Universitätsarchiv Leipzig, Direktorat für Internationale Beziehung, 194. Report by Dr. K. J. on his stay in Lyon, 08.11–18.12.1973.
  6 Leipzig, Universitätsarchiv Leipzig, Direktorat für Internationale Beziehung, 195. Report by Dr. H. S. on his stay in Lyon, 11.01–10.02.1977.
  7 La Courneuve, Archives du Ministères des Affaires Étrangères, Fonds de l'Association des Échanges Franco-Allemands, 480PAAP-87-88, Comité du Rhône.
  8 Leipzig, Universitätsarchiv Leipzig, Direktorat für Internationale Beziehung, 194.
  9 Dresden, Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, 11430 Bezirkstag / Rat des Bezirkes Dresden, n°11187, Bericht über die Teilnahme einer französischen Lehrerdelegation am 10. Ostersymposium, 12–21.03.1973.
 10 *Idem*.
 11 "Gibt es in Frankreich eine einheitliche Lehrergewerkschaft? Wofür setzt sich die Lehrergewerkschaft ein? Wie erfolgt die Ausbildung der Lehrer? Gibt es ein Fachlehrersystem wie bei uns? Wie ist die Ferienregelung? Welche Unterstützung gibt es im Krankheitsfalle?" *Idem*.
 12 "Nous sommes en effet très intéressés par l'expérience sociale et économique qui se déroule dans votre pays, aussi bien dans le domaine du développement des forces productives et de la transformation des rapports sociaux, que dans celui de l'Education". La Courneuve, 480PAAP-26, AMAE, letter from the Director of the Unité d'Enseignement et de Recherche (UER) d'Economie Politique of the University of Paris 8, to the President of the Humboldt University of Berlin, Paris, 03.11.1972.
 13 La Courneuve, AMEA, 480PAAP-26: correspondence with universities 1969–1990, twinned universities, agreement between the University of Besançon and the University E.M.A of Greifswald, January 1974.
 14 It should be noted that some Gaullists like the French Minister of Foreign Affairs between 1969 and 1973, Maurice Schumann, or the deputy, Raymond Schmittlein, were curious about the GDR because of an interest in the socialist countries of Eastern Europe and a complacency about the division of Germany.
 15 Strasbourg, Archives départementales du Bas-Rhin, 2059W8, Aufenthaltsprogramm für die Studentendelegation aus Strasbourg, 27.03–02.04.1971.
 16 Strasbourg, Archives départementales du Bas-Rhin, 2059W8, letter from François-Georges Drefyus to the Minister of the National Education, 05.04.1971.
 17 "L'intérêt des Français s'est longtemps concentré surtout sur la République fédérale d'Allemagne, dont ils admiraient la stabilité politique, la croissance économique et les succès commerciaux. Mais, au cours des années 1960, ils ont aussi découvert progressivement la République démocratique allemande, devenue l'une des grandes puissances industrielles du monde". Strasbourg, Archives départementales du Bas-Rhin, 2059W8, Voyages d'études du Centre d'Études Germaniques de Strasbourg en République Démocratique Allemande (23–30.04.1974), 16.05.1974.
 18 "Les deux Universités sont disposés à accueillir chaque année un jeune scientifique de la génération montante en vue d'un séjour d'études fractionné en courts termes destiné à l'élaboration d'un mémoire de maîtrise ou d'une thèse de doctorat." Strasbourg, Archives départementales du Bas-Rhin, 2058W27: letter from François-Georges Dreyfus to the Minister of National Education, with a copy of the "Projet de convention entre la Technische Universität Dresden et l'Université des Sciences Juridiques, Politiques et Sociales de Strasbourg", 14.02.1973, 2.

19 "Les présents accords servent à promouvoir les relations des comités d'amitié et d'échanges culturels entre Dresde et Strasbourg pour l'année 1973 et entrent en vigueur dès leur signature par les Recteurs (ou Présidents) des deux Universités". *Idem.*, 2.
20 Strasbourg, Interview with C. M., 24.04.2020.
21 *Idem.*
22 La Courneuve, AMAE, 480PAAP-6, 11ᵉ congrès national, Antoine Sanguinetti, rapporteur de la commission nᵒ 1. Les relations bilatérales entre la France et la R.D.A., 13.12.1987.

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4 Building the Bridge

Chinese Immigrant Scholars in American Universities, 1950s–1970s

Qing Liu

Introduction

> "It is my responsibility to build a bridge of understanding and friendship between the two countries that are close to my heart."
>
> –Yang Zhenning

In July 1971, right after U.S. President Richard Nixon lifted his administration's travel ban to China, Yang Zhenning (Chen Ning Yang),[1] a Chinese-born American physicist who had won the Nobel Prize in Physics in 1957, visited the People's Republic of China (PRC). Yang was born in China in 1922 and got his bachelor's and master's degrees at China's Southwestern Associated University in the early 1940s. He then moved to the United States to pursue a PhD at the University of Chicago in 1945. Like many other Chinese students coming to study on American campuses during the 1940s, Yang expected, after the completion of his studies, to go back home to help China's modernization and postwar reconstruction. However, due to the dramatic political change in China in 1949 and the geopolitical shifts in relations between the United States and China thereafter, Yang and thousands of other Chinese students did not return to their home country. Instead, he remained in the United States. Yang became a professor working at different American universities during the 1950s and 1960s.[2] It was not until the early 1970s, when the door of the PRC was finally open to Americans, that Yang, then a professor at the State University of New York-Stony Brook, could visit his home country. He became one of the earliest Americans to visit the PRC after two decades of hostility between these two countries. In subsequent years, Yang and other students-turned-immigrant-scholars who worked in American universities played an important role in facilitating US-PRC scientific and educational exchanges. This chapter focuses on a group of more than one thousand Chinese scholars who came to the United States as short-term students or visiting scholars during the 1940s but ended up teaching and participating in research at American academic institutions during the 1950s and 1960s. It examines how these Chinese scholars contributed to cross-cultural understanding between the United States and China

and thus helped to build new international academic relations across the Iron Curtain.

The stories of Chinese immigrant scholars in American universities during the Cold War era complicate our understanding of American Cold War universities. As discussed in the introduction of the book, education had been a major battleground in the ideological confrontation between West and East. In the case of the United States, to prevent the perceived Communist threat to the American way of life, the American state sought to mobilize academics and universities in its global competition for "hearts and minds". Many studies on American "Cold War universities" have therefore analyzed the reorientation of academic disciplines in this period and their close relationship with Cold War pursuits. They either describe the ways in which the production of knowledge contributed to America's expanding global interests or examine how the US military-industrial complex in the Cold War era perverted, repressed, and/or co-opted the research agendas of American science and social science (Lowen 1997; Wang 1999; Latham 2000; Jewett 2012; Solovey 2013). While these studies have broadened our understanding of academic knowledge and power, none has noticed the existence of Chinese scholars who came as students but got "stranded" in the United States due to the Cold War tension and were then integrated into American Cold War universities in the 1950s and 1960s. Nor has extant scholarship recognized how, by integrating these immigrant scholars and fostering two-way fertilized ideas, American Cold War universities also created room for the formation of a new American Cold War internationalism that later contributed to the resumption of diplomatic and cultural ties between the United States and the PRC.

Investigating Chinese immigrant scholars' stories adds a new layer to the historiography of Cold War internationalism. Historian Christina Klein argues in her classic book *Cold War Orientalism* that, during the Cold War era, a new agenda of internationalism paralleled the war on Communism. She notes that the latter "imagined the Cold War as a crusade against communism". The former, however,

> represented the Cold War as an opportunity to forge intellectual and emotional bonds with the people of Asia and Africa. Only by creating such bonds … could the economic, political, and military integration of the 'free world' be achieved and sustained.
>
> (Klein 2003, p. 23)

Klein thus examines how the US government promoted cultural exchange programs between the United States and non-communist Asian countries in order to strengthen its hand in its geostrategic competition with the Soviet Union. Expanding on the framework that Klein proposes, many studies have paid particular attention to educational internationalism, examining how the United States and other Western countries promoted educational exchange with other allied countries, particularly Western European countries, but also throughout

Latin America and Africa, to disseminate liberal values, foster capitalist economic models, and counter the expansion of communism, even if they were often met with resistance, indifference, or even sabotage by local elites and academic communities (Bu 2003; Krige 2006; Kramer 2009; Iber 2015; chapters of this book by Alice Byrne, Bettina Blatter, Barbara Hof, Larissa Wagner, Juliette Dumont and Manuel Suzarte). In a similar vein, countries in the East also initiated educational exchange programs to convey the image of the socialist model as a successful development model, which has been examined in several chapters in this book (these chapters being by Intaek Hong, Franck Schmidt, and Dayana Murguia Mendez).

Yet the ways in which China fitted into this picture have not been completely clear. While the United States had been engaged in a century-long educational exchange program with China, the Communist revolution and the establishment of the PRC in 1949 brought an end to cultural and educational ties between these two countries (Wang 1966; Fairbank 1976; West 1976; Buck 1980; Chiang 2001; Hsu 2015). As China and the United States fell into two ideologically competing camps, they embarked on an era of mutual hostility and suspicion and had very limited formal diplomatic and cultural contacts in the 1950s and 1960s. It was not until the early 1970s, when the two countries shared competition with the Soviet Union, that they began to re-establish political and cultural ties. Although historians writing about Sino-American cultural relations in the post-1970s period recognize that scientific and educational exchanges had political importance, they have failed to notice the role Chinese immigrant scholars played in rebuilding US-PRC cultural exchange in the early 1970s (Lampton 1986; Kallgren and Simon 1987; Ross 1995; Li 2005). This chapter pays attention to Chinese immigrant scholars who were a legacy of the earlier Sino-American educational exchange. It discusses how Chinese immigrant scholars contributed to American knowledge about China in the 1950s and 1960s, which helped the United States "understand" China and thus paved the way for the eventual re-establishment of diplomatic ties between the two countries. It also analyzes the intermediary role that these Chinese scholars played in the resumption of cultural contacts between the United States and China in the 1970s. By investigating the stories of Chinese immigrant scholars and putting them in the long-term US-China cultural contact scenario, this chapter not only illustrates the historical continuity of trans-Pacific intellectual exchanges and reveals the historical roots of Cold War internationalism, but also emphasizes that American Cold War internationalism, at least in the case of Sino-American educational exchanges, absorbed Chinese "voices" and elements that were not entirely constrained by the Cold War framework of bipolar power relations.

This chapter bases its findings on close readings of Chinese immigrant scholars' published texts, as well as their personal papers and correspondences housed in different American universities. In addition, Chinese scholars' oral interviews, autobiographies, and media reports also provide important information about their scholarly and political activities and thus are examined here as well.

From Chinese Students to Immigrant Scholars in American "Cold War Universities"

By the time Yang Zhenning arrived at the University of Chicago in 1945, the United States had been engaged in a century-long educational relationship with China. On the American side, educational and cultural contacts developed from religious and secular impulses to spread American values, advance American interests, and craft pro-American cultural attitudes in China. In order to engage large numbers of Chinese students with various American educational programs, American missionaries, educated elites, business people, and powerful philanthropic foundations either built schools in China or funded Chinese students coming to study on American campuses. They also successfully persuaded the US government to return the overpayment of the Boxer Indemnity to China in the form of scholarships used to support Chinese students in the United States (Israel 1971; Hunt 1972; West 1976).

On the Chinese side, beginning in the late nineteenth century, the Chinese government and intellectuals saw the necessity of sending students overseas. China's decline and the pressure it felt to modernize in the face of Western encroachment after the Opium Wars of the 1840s prompted efforts to send Chinese students to Western countries and Japan to selectively learn advanced technology and the Western way of life. The United States became a favorite destination after the 1920s, when the Boxer Indemnity scholarships became available. By World War II, as China became a US wartime ally, an unprecedented number of Chinese students came to study at US universities, with the support of both the American and Chinese governments (Wang 1966; Li 2008).

While around 30,000 Chinese students studied in the United States prior to 1949, almost all of them returned to China after the completion of their studies (Bullock 1987, p. 29). Chinese intellectuals did not have a tradition of living abroad, and after the middle of the nineteenth century, nationalistic sentiments motivated them to pursue advanced knowledge abroad and bring back what they learned in order to hasten China's modernization (Ye 2001). Also, before the 1950s, America's restrictive immigration laws did not allow Chinese students to stay or work in the United States after they gained their degrees (Hsu 2015).

The rise to power of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in 1949, and especially the outbreak of the Korean War in the following year, changed the flow of Chinese students. As China turned from being America's wartime ally during World War II to its Cold War enemy, the US government, for the first time in the history of Sino-American cultural relations, refused to permit American-educated Chinese specializing in science, engineering, and medicine to return to China. The regulation was not removed until 1955, when the US Congress lifted the exit ban on Chinese students in exchange for China's release of US prisoners from the Korean War (Han 1999).[3] At the same time, the American government adjusted its immigration policy to make it possible for Chinese students to become permanent residents and citizens of the United

States. By the mid-1950s, around 4,000 Chinese students, including Yang Zhenning, chose to remain in the United States after graduation (Hsu 2015).[4] Yang became a naturalized US citizen in 1964.[5]

While Chinese scholarly immigrants were "stranded" in the United States, a door was gradually opened for them: American colleges and universities, which had excluded people of Chinese descent from professorships due to decades of anti-Asian racism (Lee 2003),[6] began to recruit and accept Chinese scholars into the American academic community. Historians have noted that the Cold War was as much an ideological conflict as it was a military one (Westad 2011). In order to prevent the perceived Communist threat to the American way of life, the US government mobilized intellectuals in its competition for the "hearts and minds" of the international community. Within this context, Chinese professionals took center stage. Unlike Chinese laborers, they were perceived as welcome immigrants, with strategic values as well as political, economic, and intellectual utility. Among these intellectuals, those who were trained in science and technology were mobilized to enhance America's military arsenal and scientific prowess in its competition with the Communist bloc, while a group of humanists and social scientists were recruited to help create "China Studies" as a new academic field that was expected to provide better and more useable knowledge about China. Although many Chinese scholars in the United States faced discrimination and suspicion about their loyalty due to their Chinese identity (Cheng 2014), as US higher education and research institutions were increasingly integrated into the US national security state, Chinese scholars' language skills, cultural knowledge, and scientific expertise prompted their recruitment into research and teaching positions. According to a survey, more than 1,000 Chinese professionals became an integral part of US academic life during the 1950s and early 1960s – before the American civil rights movement and immigration reforms of the mid-1960s that allowed for the entrance of more minority and immigrant intellectuals into American academic institutions.[7]

Contributing to the Field of China Studies in the United States

Despite increasing American cultural engagement with China from the middle of the nineteenth century, the development of China Studies in the United States did not occur until the 1930s, and even then, only a few elite universities offered courses relating to China and East Asia. The field truly flourished during World War II, when American involvement in the war in Asia led more Americans to realize the strategic importance of East Asian countries. Furthermore, following the Communist revolution in China in 1949, a desire to "know the enemy" led to more opportunities for the field to expand. As the Ford Foundation shifted its commitment to China Studies, beginning in 1955, and the US federal government made a huge investment in higher education and area study programs through Title VI of the National Defense Education

Act of 1958, the field of China Studies was no longer an affair of a few universities. Centers at Harvard and the University of Washington-Seattle expanded, and new ones opened at the universities of Wisconsin, Michigan, Indiana, and Chicago (Cameron 1948; Latourette 1955; Linton 2018).

At the same time, the expansion of China Studies in the early Cold War brought a problem: a shortage of personnel qualified to teach and conduct research about China. A lack of language proficiency was the biggest barrier that hindered American scholars from carrying out research on China. When reflecting on the development of the field in the 1950s, historian John Lindbeck commented, "Virtually no American scholars who are not of Chinese origin are bilingual; not more than two or three can write a scholarly article in Chinese for a Chinese publication" (Lindbeck 1971, p. 95). The closed door of mainland China to Westerners had made it impossible for American scholars to gain first-hand information about the new regime in China. Within this context, the existence of Chinese immigrant scholars attracted attention, and their cultural knowledge and linguistic skill were highly valued. John K. Fairbank, a Harvard historian of China and the founding father of China Studies in the United States observed, in a memorandum to the US State Department in 1950, that Chinese scholars who remained in the United States "constitute an American national asset, since they and they alone are potentially capable of analyzing the current Chinese scene in terms of its Chinese cultural and linguistic background".[8] Thus, in this period, a number of Chinese immigrant scholars entered American universities and began to teach and conduct research about China, especially contemporary China. They were hired either to build the infrastructure of the field (including translating Chinese documents, creating pedagogical materials, building up library holdings, and providing language instruction) or to produce new knowledge about China.

Since the early years of the formation of the field of China Studies, preeminent American scholars such as Arthur Hummel and Mortimer Graves had recognized the crucial need to collaborate with colleagues of Chinese origin for materials collection and translation of Chinese documents. In the 1930s and 1940s, the Harvard-Yenching Institute and the Library of Congress, the two institutions that were the earliest in the United States to build Chinese collections, hired librarians from China to purchase and catalog Chinese books.[9] By the 1950s, in order to promote studies on modern China, Fairbank at Harvard hired immigrant scholars Deng Siyu and Ren Yidu to translate and compile important Chinese historical documents from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Their project led to the publication of *China's Response to the West*, which became an often-cited source in the field for the next twenty years.[10] Fairbank also recruited Zhao Guojun, a Cornell graduate, to work on a Harvard project about Chinese Communism. Zhao was responsible for selecting and translating official documents published by the CCP and researching the development of Mao Zedong's ideology. With Zhao's efforts, this project laid the groundwork for later American scholars to embark on further research about Chinese Communism.[11] In addition, Cheng Rongjie at

Dartmouth College translated philosophical texts, and his 1963 book *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy* was highly influential in the English-speaking world and was often used as a source for studying Chinese philosophical classics.[12] Another example is Wang Jizhen at Columbia, who was one of the earliest scholars to translate the works of modern writers into English and make modern Chinese literature known to Americans (Wang 2011). Finally, Wang Ji's work at the Library of Congress, compiling information about Chinese scientific development, is particularly significant because it led him to be among the first scholars in the United States to notice that China was doing experiments with nuclear bombs in the early 1960s.[13]

Aside from selecting and translating documents and texts, Chinese scholars also served as "academic policemen", correcting the basic factual mistakes their American colleagues made in interpreting Chinese texts due to their lack of language proficiency. Many Chinese scholars felt it was their duty to bring a better understanding of China to American academia and American people.[14] Through classroom lectures, book reviews, academic conferences, personal contacts, and publications, these scholars helped their American colleagues read Chinese texts precisely. As historian John M. H. Lindbeck argued, these Chinese immigrant scholars "had a unique place in raising Chinese studies to a professional scholarly level in this country" (Lindbeck 1971, p. 95). A case in point was Harvard history professor Yang Liansheng, who noted that Karl A. Wittfogel, a Sinologist at the University of Washington, famous for his study on Chinese despotism in *Oriental Despotism: A Comparative Study of Total Power* (1957), had misread a key document. Wittfogel argued that successive Chinese dynasties requisitioned enormous manpower from the common people for infrastructure construction, which formed the basis for Chinese despotic rule. Among his evidence was a Chinese stone inscription, but due to his unfamiliarity with classical Chinese, Wittfogel mistook the number of workdays as the number of workmen, and thus overestimated the manpower used by a big construction project during the Han dynasty of China: the project involved only 2,690 people, which Wittfogel miscalculated as 764,000 people (Yu 1991, p. 182). Yang's correction of this mistake did not overturn Wittfogel's overall argument, but it did help American scholars to understand the mobilization ability of the ancient Chinese government more accurately. In addition, Yang also helped other American scholars to develop a better understanding of Chinese texts. While teaching at Harvard, he corresponded with scholars across the country, interpreting texts, providing reference information, and reading their manuscripts before publication in order to correct factual mistakes.[15]

Chinese immigrant scholars also greatly enriched American knowledge of Chinese history, literature, and the arts through their research. Driven by a need to serve the American state's demands for more usable knowledge about China, many research projects in the early Cold War period focused on modern China or "mainland China under Communism". To many Chinese scholars, these research projects, albeit important, overemphasized contemporary events without seeing their broader historical and cultural contexts, which often led to

interpretative "shallowness" and even "absurdity". They asked for more stud-
ies on the more distant past.[16] Even as these scholars were increasingly inte-
grated into the American academic community to help Americans "know the
enemy", they came to study their home country with their own political posi-
tions and agendas, which went beyond America's national security needs. Some
had close personal connections with the anti-Communist Chinese Nationalist
Party, which had failed in its competition with the CCP for political power and
had relocated to Taiwan after 1949. They wanted to understand and interpret
the failure of the Chinese Nationalist Party and the rise of the CCP. Some
believed that communism destroyed Chinese culture and saw it as their respon-
sibility as exiled Chinese to preserve what they saw as their "authentic" culture
(for example, Chinese classical philosophy). Others sought to advance cultural
internationalism and said they wanted to help Americans know more about
China's culture, history, politics, and society, even if these two countries were
engaged in a Cold War.[17]

With so many different motivations, some Chinese scholars insisted on
studies of ancient Chinese history and culture, even if this affected their fund-
ing application. For instance, Zhao Rulan at Harvard wrote a book on Chinese
music in the eleventh century (Wilcox 2015). Others attempted to interpret
China's present from a historical perspective. One example was Zou Dang, a
political scientist at the University of Chicago, who put China's Communist
revolution in the context of the country's long-term revolutionary history and
pointed out that Chinese communists were nationalists rather than mere fol-
lowers of the Soviet Union. Zou's studies not only helped Americans improve
their understanding of Chinese communism but also attracted official atten-
tion. Robert Barnett, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Far Eastern affairs in the
US President Lyndon B. Johnson administration, read and recommended
some of Zou's studies to the National Security Council. Referring to one of
Zou's articles on Mao Zedong, Barnett wrote, "I found this to be a very skillful
analysis – one of the most concise and perceptive summaries of Maoism and
implications that I have read". Zou's study, along with other scholars' work,
according to historian Katherine Klinefelter, set the intellectual foundation for
the United States' later policy shift toward the PRC from "containment and
isolation" to "containment without isolation" (Klinefelter 2009, p. 43).[18]

Although not all of these Chinese immigrant scholars produced knowledge
that could shape American policy transformations relating to China, many of
them, through translating, teaching, reviewing, and writing, improved
America's China scholarship and generated a large body of knowledge about
China, which later created a space for the new diplomatic shift in the 1970s,
when the two countries turned from enemies into reluctant allies.

Participating in Scientific and Educational Exchanges with the PRC

These "stranded" Chinese immigrant scholars did not have the chance to visit
their home country until the rapprochement of the US-PRC relations in the

1970s. After two decades of bitter animosity, the two countries realized that a thawing of the Sino-American relationship would be beneficial to both sides as they searched for strategic leverage against the Soviet Union. This led to American President Richard Nixon's historic journey to Beijing in February 1972. During his trip, Richard Nixon and Mao Zedong came to an agreement to make science and technology an area of cooperation and exchange, and both governments saw scientific and cultural exchanges as top priorities in extending their bilateral relationship.[19] From the Chinese perspective, access to American science and technology could help with efforts to modernize China's economy and society, while from Nixon's perspective, scientific and educational exchange served as a diplomatic tool to open up political and economic relationships with the PRC (Millwood 2021).

Although this dramatic development of Sino-American rapprochement surprised people across the world, many Chinese immigrant scholars in the United States found the reconciliation encouraging. After the Nixon administration lifted its ban on US citizens' travel to the PRC, Chinese immigrant scholars were among the earliest to visit mainland China.[20] While the existence of the Republic of China (ROC) in Taiwan created tension and division within the Chinese American community (in which some Chinese immigrant scholars claimed political allegiance to the ROC regime in Taiwan), as the United States normalized relations with the PRC and recognized the PRC as the sole legal government of China in 1979, an increasing number of Chinese immigrant professionals participated in scholarly and educational exchanges with the PRC.[21] Their activism was partly driven by their professional interest in China. Believing that China should not be isolated from the international scientific and scholarly community, scientists and scholars expressed particular interests in communicating with the Chinese.[22]

As scholars of Chinese descent, ethnic and cultural identification gave them additional motivation for seeking exchange with China. Many Chinese immigrant scholars came to the United States when the two countries had close diplomatic and cultural contacts, and they retained a strong affinity with both Chinese and American culture. When the two countries became hostile to and suspicious of each other in the 1950s and 1960s, Chinese scholars found they got caught in the middle of a war between the land of their ancestors and the country of their residence and felt "deeply hurt by the separation from (their) families in China, and the political separation between the United States and China, which are two sides of a tragedy" (Dyson 1999, p. 93). When the two countries resumed contacts, they were greatly relieved and believed that their bicultural and bilingual background afforded them the unique position to act as cultural bridges between these two nations; as Yang Zhenning claimed: "It is my responsibility to build a bridge of understanding and friendship between the two countries that are close to my heart".[23]

With the ability to understand both sides linguistically and culturally, Chinese immigrant scholars often served as messengers, helping spread important information to both sides, especially during the early period, when the

historical animosity and cultural and political gaps between the two countries made it hard to establish successful channels. In September 1971, even before Nixon visited China, Wang Ji, a Congress Library librarian who was working in Hong Kong at that time, was approached by a Chinese official and was invited to visit mainland China to discuss the development of Sino-American cultural exchange programs. With the approval of the US government, Wang went to Beijing in May 1972 and met with Chinese academic and political leaders, including Guo Moruo, president of the Chinese Academy of Science, and Zhou Peiyuan, president of Peking University. During his visit, Wang helped initiate an unofficial exchange program between the Chinese National Library and the US Library of Congress, in which both institutions agreed to exchange books published in each country every year. Wang also brought to the American National Academy of Sciences (NAS) a message from the Chinese government that China was interested in communicating with the American academic community. This information was one of the most important steps in creating further educational and scientific exchanges between the two countries.[24]

In addition, Chinese immigrant scholars also served as consultants for their American colleagues who were interested in visiting the PRC. Many were asked about their experience of touring their home country and were asked to provide suggestions on how to communicate with the Chinese government and professionals. Harrison Brown, the Foreign Secretary of the NAS, read an article published in *the New York Times* about Yang Zhenning's visit to China. From the article, he knew that Yang had had discussions with scientists in China and had met with both Mao Zedong and Premier Zhou Enlai. He thus telephoned Yang for his assessment of the possibilities for scientific exchange. With Yang's suggestions that only private and non-official exchanges would be encouraged by the Chinese government, the NAS gave up its original plan of setting up a formal government program for Sino-American professional collaboration and made a new plan for more informal exchanges (Smith 1998, pp. 114–136).

Intermediation by Chinese American scholars exerted a considerable impact on Sino-American scholarly communication and negotiation. Although scholars in both countries showed interest in academic exchanges, they all had difficulty communicating with each other after decades of isolation. Chinese scientists knew little about American higher education, while American professionals were not familiar with Chinese academics. During the early 1970s, almost every American academic delegation that visited the PRC included at least one Chinese immigrant, who served as interpreter and facilitator. Once they got back to American campuses, they wrote articles and reports to introduce Chinese scientific and social development to Americans who were interested in developing academic relations with China. When Chinese scientific and educational delegations visited the United States, Chinese American scholars helped to host Chinese guests. They explained Chinese culture and customs to their American colleagues and translated English professional vocabularies to Chinese academics. In addition, realizing that their Chinese

colleagues had been cut off from contact with Western academia for decades, Chinese immigrant scholars gave many lectures on the recent development of their fields in the United States and other Western countries.[25]

To foster further collaboration, many scholars actively helped their home universities establish institutionalized relations with Chinese counterparts. For instance, Zou Dang in 1978 wrote a letter to the provost of the University of Chicago, proposing a high-level university delegation to the PRC to set up a Chinese-American visiting scholar program in social science.[26] Similarly, Yang Zhenning organized the Committee on Educational Exchange with China (CEEC) at the State University of New York-Stony Brook, then his home institution, to sponsor Chinese students and scholars to visit American campuses (Xu and Dongming, 1993, pp. 149–150). In the summer of 1979, just a few months after the United States and the PRC established formal diplomatic relations, a group of Chinese American scientists decided to invite Wan Li, a respected senior member of the CCP, to visit the United States. Wan was known to have an open mind toward the outside world and was scheduled to become a vice-premier of the PRC. Yang Zhenning played an important part in this invitation. He traveled back and forth between the United States and the PRC as a distinguished scholar and special envoy on behalf of Maryland Governor Harry Hughes. With his distinctive cross-cultural background and personality, Yang impressed Wan Li, who said he possessed "the heart and soul of China". Wan agreed to visit Maryland in September 1979, and his visit led to the establishment of the Hopkins-Nanjing Center, an educational joint venture between Johns Hopkins University and Nanjing University dedicated to promoting mutual understanding between the two countries (Wheeler 2010, pp. 56–88).

While geopolitical considerations initially motivated governments of both the United States and China to encourage their efforts to promote academic exchanges between the two countries, the active participation of Chinese immigrant scholars gave these exchange programs momentum. Individually and collectively, Chinese immigrant scholars played crucial governmental and nongovernmental roles in facilitating exchange and formulating collaboration, which not only helped to advance the development of scholarship but also promoted mutual understanding and communication across the two countries.

Conclusion

The Cold War disrupted cultural ties between the United States and China and "stranded" almost thousands of Chinese students in the United States. And yet, even as China and the United States engaged in a Cold War, the "stranded" Chinese students were integrated into the American academic community and public life during that period. As the American state mobilized the entire nation to advance its Cold War national security interests, Chinese students and professionals, because of their language skills, cultural background, and scientific expertise, were recruited into teaching and research positions. They

were expected to help Americans "know the enemy" and compete with the communist bloc. However, their arrival in American universities, a result of American Cold War tensions with China, also brought Chinese voices and ideas into American intellectual life and thus made room for the development of a new form of American academic and scientific internationalism. Through translating, writing, teaching, and attending academic conferences, these Chinese students-turned-immigrant-scholars made a great contribution to the rise and development of China Studies in the United States. They not only produced knowledge that was useful to the American national security state but also created a large body of knowledge about China that transcended Cold War concerns; their contributions helped American academics and the broader American public "understand" China more thoroughly and thus created a space for the eventual resumption of cultural, political, and educational relations between the two countries in the 1970s.

In the case of Sino-American relations, American Cold War internationalism was not purely a response to Cold War geopolitical transformation. Rather, it had deep roots in earlier historical periods when China had close cultural and educational ties with the United States. It was these networks that brought thousands of Chinese students to the United States and made them believe that the two countries could maintain good relations. These Chinese students, many of whom had become faculty members in institutions of American higher education, were convinced that, with their cultural and ethnic identification with China and their contacts and careers in the United States, they were in a unique position to help these two countries understand each other and sustain their cultural and educational relations. They actively pursued the scientific and intellectual exchanges that crossed ideological boundaries. The stories of Chinese immigrant scholars in American Cold War universities – and the role their knowledge production and scientific activities played in rebuilding the bridge between the United States and China – reveal that American Cold War internationalism not only carried the legacy of early Sino-American educational contact but also absorbed Chinese perceptions that went beyond the framework of American Cold War national security concerns.

Notes

1 Note on transliterations: the pinyin romanization system is widely used and Chen Ning Yang is converted to Yang Zhenning (following the Chinese practice that given names follow the surnames).
2 Chen Ning Yang (Yang Zhenning), "Commentary (on 'A Generalization of the Quasi-Chemical Method in the Statistical Theory of Superlattices')" in *Selected Papers (1945-1980) with Commentary*. New Jersey: World Scientific, 2005, 3–5.
3 "Chinese Students Free to Go Home as U.S. Ends Curb," *New York Times*, 03.04.1955, 1.
4 Waijiaobu he gaodengjiaoyubu [Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Higher Education], "Yuanzhu meiguo liuxuesheng huiguo baogao ["A Report on Providing Assistance to Students Returning from the United States"] May 16, 1955. In *Zhonghua Liuxue Jiaoyu shi lu:1949 nian Yihou [The Collection of Documents*

Regarding Chinese Policies Toward Studying Abroad: Post-1949], edited by Li Tao. Beijing: Gaodeng Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 2000, 21–22.

5 After retiring from his position at an American university, Yang made Beijing his home. In 2017, he renounced his US citizenship and reinstated his Chinese citizenship. See Kathleen McLaughlin, "Two Top Chinese-American Scientists Have Dropped Their US Citizenship." *Science*, 24.02.2017. Accessed online (24.12.2021): https://www-science-org.ezproxy.library.wisc.edu/content/article/two-top-chinese-american-scientists-have-dropped-their-us-citizenship.

6 In the United States, Asian Americans had long been considered as a threat to a nation that promoted a whites-only immigrant policy. They were perceived as unfit for citizenship in America. In 1882, American Congress passed the infamous Chinese Exclusion Act, which barred Chinese laborers from immigrating and prohibited Chinese from becoming naturalized citizens. The Act was not lifted until 1943, when the United States' alliance with China during World War II forced Congress to support its claims of friendship by finally permitting a small number (105) of Chinese to enter the United States and gain naturalization rights.

7 Chinese Advisory Committee on Cultural Relations in America, *Directory of Chinese Members of American College and University Faculties*, 1956–1957. New York: Chinese Advisory Committee on Cultural Relations in America, 1957, 1–55.

8 Cambridge, Harvard University Archives, Papers of John K. Fairbank (hereafter cited as Fairbank Papers), Box 9, Folder JKF, John K. Fairbank, "Use of Chinese Nationals in the United States by Washington Agencies." 10.02.1950.

9 Alfred Kaiming Chiu. 1964. "Reminiscence of a Librarian." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 25, 7–15.

10 Fairbank Papers, Box 20, Folder T, John K. Fairbank to S. Y. Teng (Deng Siyu), 13.06.1952; also see Ssu-yu Teng and John K. Fairbank, *China's Response to the West: A Documentary Survey, 1839-1923*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1954.

11 Fairbank Papers, Box 17, Folder Chao KC, John K. Fairbank to Woodridge Bingham, 15.04.1952.

12 Hanover, New Hampshire, Collection of Alumni, Dartmouth College Library, Wing-tsit Chan (Cheng Rongjie), "Chronological Biography of Chan Wing-tsit," 1990; also see Wing-tsit Chan, *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1963.

13 Wang Ji, *Wo zai guohui tushuguan de suiyue [My Years at the Library of Congress]*. Beijing: Beijing shifan daxue chubanshe 2009, 16–17.

14 Xiao Gongquan, *Wenxue Jianwang Lu [Records of Inquiring Knowledge and Correcting Past Mistakes]*. Taipei: Zhuanji wenxue chubanshe, 1972, 225.

15 Cambridge, MA, Harvard-Yenching Library, Yang Liansheng, *The Diary of Yang liansheng (1948-1966)*.

16 Xiao's original words are "不知古而只求知今,不了解历史背景而只着眼于现状,研究的结果难免肤浅乖谬". Xiao, *Wenxue Jianwang Lu*, 224–225.

17 University of California-Berkeley, Bancroft Library, Zhao Yuan Ren Papers, Carton 10, Box 38, "Yuan Xiaoyuan to Zhao Yuanren," undated; Columbia Digital Library Collections, Oral history, He Lian (Franklin Lien Ho), "The Reminiscences of Ho Lien (Franklin L. Ho)." Accessed online (03.07.2023): https://dlc.library.columbia.edu/catalog/cul:3r2280gd56.

18 Robert Barnett refers to Tsou Tang (Zou Dang) and Morton H. Halperin's article. 1965. "Mao Tse-tung's Revolutionary Strategy and Peking's International Behavior." *American Political Science Review* 59, no. 1: 80–99.

19 China Embassy. 1972. Joint Communique of the People's Republic of China and the United States of America. Accessed online (15.10.2021): http://www.china-embassy.org/eng/zmgx/doc/ctc/t36255.htm.

20 1973. "Scholarly Exchange with the People's Republic of China, 1973." *China Exchange Newsletter* 1, no. 2: 1–2.
21 Chinese immigrant scholars were warmly received by the Chinese government, who wanted to foster goodwill toward the CCP among the overseas Chinese community and to encourage them to visit their homeland and contribute to the nation's scientific, technological, and economic development. Some overseas Chinese even had the privilege of meeting with leaders of the CCP. Although their movements weren't entirely unrestricted, they enjoyed more travel freedom than other non-Chinese visitors. In addition, many of these scholars were given opportunities to visit many universities and research centers. See, for example, John K. Fairbank, 1979. "Introduction." In S. Y. Teng, *China Revisited by an Overseas Chinese Historian* Washington, DC: Center for Chinese Research Materials Association of Research Libraries.
22 Kenneth Prewitt. 1979. "Social Science Exchanges with China," *Science* 204, no. 4399: 1271. Accessed online (25.03.2022): https://www-science-org.ezproxy.library.wisc.edu/doi/pdf/10.1126/science.204.4399.1271.
23 Chen Ning Yang, "Commentary (on 'What Visits Mean to China's Scientists')." In *Selected Papers (1945-1980)*, 77.
24 Wang Ji, *Wo zai guohui tushuguan de* suiyue, 48–58.
25 1973. "Scholarly Exchange with the People's Republic of China, 1973." *China Exchange Newsletter* 1, no. 2: 1–2. Tang Degang, a historian at the City University of New York, went to several Chinese universities in 1981 to give lectures on American history. His lectures were later compiled into a reference book in 1982, titled "Lectures on American History." While this work was widely circulated among Chinese scholars and students for teaching and research, it was never officially published.
26 Chicago, University of Chicago Library, Zou Dang Papers, Next Trip to China folder, box 18, Zou Dang to D. Gale Johnson, 04.12.1978.

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Part II

Shaping Minds and Societies

5 Knowledge for Free?

Why Two US American "Mobile Radioisotope Training Laboratories" Embarked on a World Tour in 1958

Barbara Hof

Introduction

In 1958, the US government donated two bus-like vehicles to the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), which were packed with equipment and materials to train scientists and technicians in the detection, measurement, and handling of radioisotopes.[1] A charity from philanthropic foundations had helped promote scientific research in the United States in the first half of the 20th century, and after the Second World War, federal agencies were established to increase funding for national science. Certainly, the donation of mobile radioisotope training laboratories to the IAEA was part of an expansion of funding strategies motivated by the belief that nuclear technoscience was fundamental to advancing modernization all over the world, but it also played another role. The gift represented an effort to generalize Western values and must be understood as part of the non-military Cold War struggle against the Soviet Union.

The extension of Cold War strategies from the domain of nuclear weaponry to civilian sectors originated with the "Atoms for Peace" initiative launched by US President Eisenhower at a plenary session of the United Nations (UN) in December 1953. "Atoms for Peace" was chosen as the motto of a conference held in Geneva in August 1955, which gave the opposing Cold War camps the opportunity to present and compare their progress in developing applications for the future atomic market. "Atoms for Peace" also became the leitmotif of the IAEA. It was established in 1957 to monitor nuclear weapons programs, set safety standards, and promote scientific and technical exchange as a basis for developing the civilian nuclear energy sector worldwide (Fischer 1997; Brown 2015; Röhrlich 2017, 2022; Adamson 2021). Representatives of the nuclear superpowers, the industrialized countries, and the developing countries were involved in this agency's foundation.[2] The United States and the Soviet Union were engaged in a tug-of-war for influence over certain developing country members of the IAEA – in particular those rich in uranium and other raw materials relevant to nuclear energy uses, such as India, Brazil, and South Africa – and these countries, in turn, sought to influence the agenda of the IAEA (Hecht 2006; Röhrlich 2016).

Given this geopolitical constellation, the donation of the two busses by the US government constituted a move to counter Soviet propaganda and action in the non-aligned territories. The intention was to use the mobile laboratories in what became collectively known as the "Third World", a group of countries in Africa, Asia, the Middle East, and the Americas, which had been experiencing forces of decolonization, struggles for independence, and nationalist movements. The two busses constituted veritable vehicles for the spread of knowledge about radioisotopes around the globe. The program offered on board was characteristic of a Cold War-driven "educational internationalism", with the mobile laboratories universalizing scientific norms, embodying the geopolitical visions of the US government, and justifying and enacting a developmentalist imaginary around the globe.

By tracing the world tours of the two mobile laboratories, this chapter describes the nature and scope of a particular form of the educational aid program in support of the contested territory of the "Third World". It aims to contribute to an understanding of the Cold War's global dimensions and the knowledge dissemination strategies associated with this conflict. Earlier historical studies have focused on the transnational movement of knowledge spurred by the mobile laboratory in Latin America, as well as on the manufacture of the busses and the act of handing them over to the IAEA (Mateos and Suárez-Díaz 2019; Rentetzi 2021). However, the symbolic power of the mobile laboratories has not yet been adequately recognized. To achieve this, this chapter elaborates on the origins of radioisotope training and the donor's perspective, traces the diplomatic negotiations involved in the tours, and reveals how the donated bus-like vehicles contributed to the dissemination of knowledge through the training offered on board. Drawing on archival sources and digitized newspaper reports, it follows both busses on their tours from 1958 until 1965, when the IAEA ended this training program.

Pinning Hopes on Radioisotopes

In the 1950s, radioisotopes became a symbol of the humanitarian application of atomic energy. There was a widespread belief that radioisotopes would improve agriculture by increasing crop yields and reducing insect populations, as well as lead to progress in human health by providing a basis for the development of many new medical treatments. Investment in research was also accompanied by optimism about the biological uses of radioisotopes, for instance, in the analysis of vitamins. Studies were believed to lead to discoveries that would be of great value to society. As a consequence, biophysics and radiochemistry experienced an upswing (Keller 1990; Rasmussen 1997; Kraft 2006; Radar 2006; Santesmases 2006; Creager 2013).

However, there was a clear international imbalance of power. After the Second World War, the United States gained a monopoly on radioisotope production, as it had the technical means, licenses, know-how, and experience to

artificially produce a large variety of these substances. Much of the radioisotope production was carried out at the Oak Ridge facilities in Tennessee, managed by the Atomic Energy Commission (US AEC). Oak Ridge – or "America's atomic apothecary"[3] – began supplying radioisotopes to domestic universities and hospitals in 1946. A year later, when the Marshall Plan for European economic recovery was announced, the US government allowed the export of material to Western Europe, and later to non-communist countries around the world, where radioisotopes were used in cancer treatment and enabled studies of nucleic acids, proteins, or viruses (Creager 2002, p. 368). However, it was not until an international scientific elite was convinced that the future of peaceful applications of atomic energy lay in radioisotopes that significant demand was established in the world market (Creager 2013, p. 86). Consequently, the number of shipments increased sharply in the 1950s, putting heavy strain on the Oak Ridge Isotope Division. It was only after 1960 that other facilities had developed the infrastructure to start competing with Oak Ridge in terms of radioisotope production.[4]

In the 1950s, Oak Ridge not only supplied products to domestic and foreign research centers, medical schools, and hospitals but also offered courses in radioisotope handling and, after the launch of the "Atoms for Peace" program, invited citizens of "friendly nations" to participate in these courses (Hof 2021). In 1957, the US AEC approved the establishment of a nuclear training center in Puerto Rico. This institute's curriculum included a radioisotope handling course identical to that established in Oak Ridge, but which was specifically targeted at Spanish-speaking participants from Latin American countries. The US International Cooperation Administration (ICA) provided information and paid for the training of participants from economic aid recipient countries.[5] The donation of two mobile laboratories to the IAEA in 1958 must therefore be considered as an extension of US policy to offer training opportunities to foreign citizens.

The monopoly on the production of radioisotopes, and on the know-how in handling them, gave the United States a competitive advantage over other nations. But during the Eisenhower administration, there was a discursive strategy of US representatives to create a sense of equality. The endowment of two mobile laboratories to the IAEA was a demonstration of good intentions and of the will to support other nations. Indeed, at a plenary session to prepare the IAEA's founding, the chair of the US AEC, Lewis Strauss, stated that science was

> without boundaries […] and a common knowledge of the peaceful application of this new science can help us all to a better understanding of each other. […] the United States does not seek for domination or control or profit. Nor shall we as a government ever do so.[6]

In the summer of 1958, in the aftermath of the Sputnik mission, which had marked a clear triumph for the Soviets, Brussels hosted Expo 58, which was to

become an important Cold War battleground. The exhibition juxtaposed the "Third World" abundance of raw materials and Western technological development, which itself was grounded in the use of those same resources. Expo 58 thus conveyed the message of the "necessity" of development aid (Pohl 2021). At the second "Atoms for Peace" conference in Geneva that same summer, the US government, in a propagandistic gesture of global support for nuclear technoscience, gifted the two mobile laboratories to the IAEA and brought one of them to the exhibition grounds. The mobile laboratory program was established with the assistance of experts from the Oak Ridge Institute of Nuclear Studies (ORINS), who designed the two vehicles. In addition, Ralph Overman, chair of the ORINS Special Training Division, offered his team to assist the IAEA in setting the training targets. He was convinced that radioisotope training should be made available in many countries.[7] The bus-like vehicle's presence in Geneva was intended to attract attention and encourage sympathy for American philanthropy.[8]

Assistance and Anti-communism

In 1956, the Australian representative to the IAEA, Sir Percy Spender, argued that atomic energy was of little value if the "less developed" countries were not given information and special materials, as well as the opportunity to train their people, including "wise advice as to how this new knowledge can be applied to their problems".[9] The technical assistance program, incorporated into IAEA policy and embodied by the two vehicles, was intended to help developing countries in their science-based industrialization development. This understanding of foreign aid was based on the teleological view that nations go through progressive stages of economic achievement (Mateos and Suárez-Díaz 2020, p. 419). In line with the IAEA's mandate to provide technical assistance to its member states as they established their civilian nuclear energy sector,[10] the mobile laboratories were to help developing countries increase their expertise so that they could make better use of their resources.[11]

However, the gift of the mobile laboratories to the IAEA was not only motivated by economic concerns. It was embedded in a larger propaganda effort to win the global battle for "hearts and minds" – a strategy that eventually served to prevent the spread of communism in postcolonial countries. New states were emerging in the mid-1950s, and there were signs that yet more would gain independence. The "Third World" was seen as in need of help, and the United States and the Soviet Union competed for their favor. Nikita Khrushchev, head of the Soviets, launched a massive offensive to assist developing countries, recognizing the strategic importance of foreign aid in the struggle with the West (Donaldson 1982; Pach 2006; Heurlin 2020). US President Eisenhower likewise anticipated that assistance programs would be helpful in gaining the allegiance of those nations that had not yet committed to a side. Interest in foreign aid grew, as did fear of enemy expansion (Easterly 2006).

In its early years, the IAEA was a contested arena rather than a place of reconciliation where Cold War tensions could be eased. The mobile laboratories emphasized the scientific capability and leadership of the United States as part of an effort to "exclude the USSR from entirely dominating the Agency training program".[12] Issues of national security provided an important impetus for the donation of the mobile laboratories. This is evident from the fact that the construction costs were financed from the ICA's Mutual Security Funds. The radioisotope training program was promoted not only by the IAEA but also by the US Information Service (USIS), which had been established in 1953 to influence public opinion in non-communist countries.[13] By giving people in foreign nations a sense of partnership with the West, US-led "educational internationalism" also served to counter communist influences abroad.

Furthermore, the attempt to weaken Soviet Union footholds in the non-aligned territories coincided with a shortage of militarily relevant raw materials, which suggests that the offer of radioisotope training also served to strengthen international relations. Popular movements for sovereignty and independence emerging in the decolonizing countries threatened access to scarce minerals and impacted US attempts to increase its stockpiles. As early as 1950, the US Munitions Board had warned that foreign countries were beginning to protect their industries by either placing raw materials under strict export controls or preparing plans to do so. Possible shortages of uranium and thorium – the latter is used to produce the fissile isotope ^{233}U – were considered problematic in the event of a national emergency. The Munitions Board thus advised the US AEC to strengthen relationships with India, Portugal, Belgium, Britain, France, and Brazil, all of which had access to key raw materials and rare-earth elements either through their own natural resources or via those they obtained through their colonies. This board suggested increasing technical and financial assistance abroad to counter nationalization processes.[14] A year later, in 1951, the US AEC handed out Geiger counters to foreign service posts and embassies in many areas in Latin America and Africa – but not those in countries under communist influence, notably Guatemala. After their collection, radioactive samples were sent to Washington for analysis, with the results forming the basis of possible trade agreements.[15]

The US government sought to dominate uranium's circulation and secretly prospected abroad for this important resource (Adamson, 2016). It is difficult to conclude from the accessible archival source material whether the world tours of the two mobile laboratories and their accompaniment of US experts were seen in similar strategic terms. Officially, representatives from the USIS and the US AEC argued that the mobile nature of the laboratories would make it possible for them to move quickly from town to town and provide access to training for many.[16] However, their expectations exceeded the actual interest on the ground in visits from these vehicles. Costs were high, and the program was hampered by international tensions and independence movements, as evidenced by the two mobile laboratories' journeys.

Foreign Aid in a Time of Political Instability: The Tour in Europe, Asia, and Africa

The two busses had a 10-kW generator on board and an air-conditioned interior. Each unit had a radiation counting room and a chemical laboratory. Dual sessions alternating with lectures allowed twelve students to participate in each course.[17] These courses were identical to those given at the home institute in Oak Ridge, but also allowed the subject matter to be adapted to the presumed interests of the participants.[18] The laboratories (see Figure 5.1)
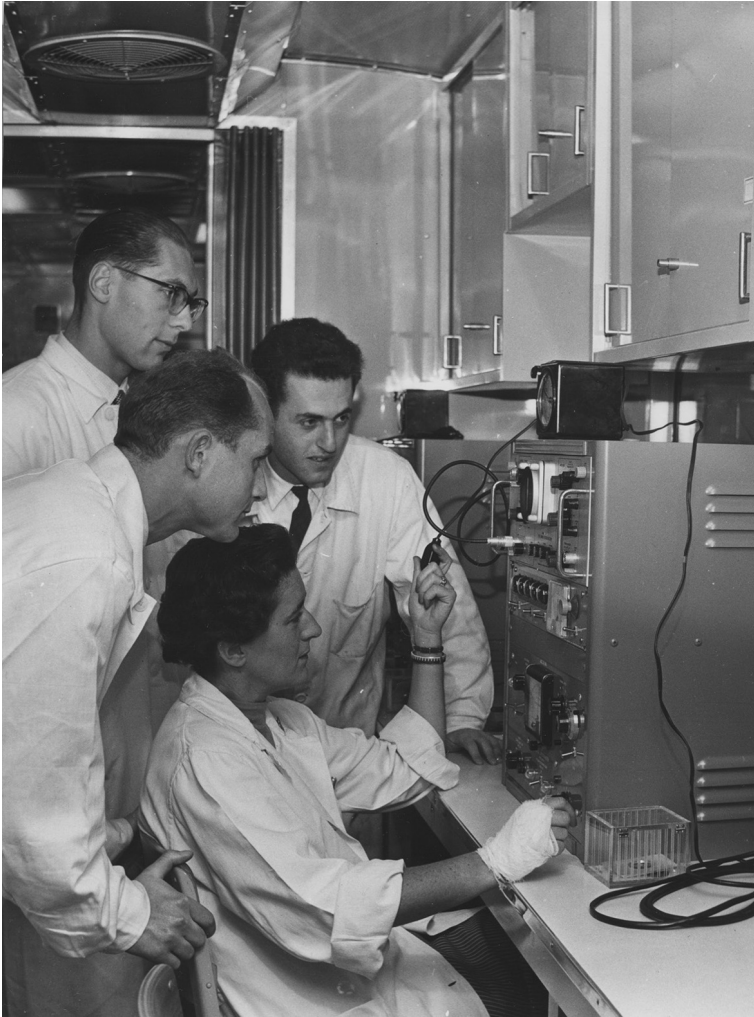
Figure 5.1 The interior of the mobile radioisotope training laboratory. Dr. Traude Bernet, Head of the Austrian Isotope Distribution Centre, is explaining the handling of an oscilloscope (picture: IAEA Archives, E0033_11. 1959). Credit: IAEA.

were designed to provide appropriate basic training in radioisotope handling. They facilitated lectures on radiation, radiochemistry, instrumentation, the principles of health physics, nuclear structures, modes of decay, and on general problems of radioisotopes. The practical experiments provided knowledge of counting techniques, measurements, chemical manipulations, and separation methods.[19]

The first vehicle left the exhibition grounds in Geneva after the "Atoms for Peace" conference and was driven to the IAEA headquarters in Vienna, where it was received in an official ceremony in September 1958.[20] The IAEA had to divert funds from its annual budget to make use of the gifted radioisotope training program. Operating and maintenance costs increased because a driver had to be hired and the vehicle had to be modified to comply with European traffic regulations. The estimated costs for the first two years of operation totaled almost 100,000 US dollars. Consequently, knowledge was *not* provided free of charge: the IAEA decided that the visited countries had to cover a proportion of the costs, which included transport, paperwork, and fifty percent of the drivers' salaries. The drivers were Austrian mechanics who were also trained to help teach part of the radioisotope handling courses.[21]

The first vehicle was stationed in Vienna in the winter of 1958 and was used in the training of medical officers, while plans were under way to transfer the bus to other countries. The chair of the IAEA, the US lawyer William Sterling Cole, sent a circular to member states explaining the content and scope of the training opportunities on offer. Cole suggested that governments cooperate with each other to reduce the cost of transporting the vehicle to their country.[22] However, his letter went unanswered by many representatives. Most IAEA member states were already able to offer radioisotope training to their citizens, since they had benefited from the invitation for training at Oak Ridge after the launch of the "Atoms for Peace" program in 1955. The Japanese Atomic Energy Research Institute, for example, began inviting students from Southeast Asian countries to its training facility in 1958.[23] Ceylon built its own facility with support from the IAEA, which further reduced the need for a mobile laboratory in the Far East.[24]

In fact, the number of countries reporting a need for a visit was low. Moreover, there was an unspoken expectation regarding the infrastructure and expertise required. While the representative of Haiti requested further information on the program, the local UN technical assistance office considered this country "too underdeveloped", because no studies on nuclear energy problems had been carried out in Haiti to that date.[25] The Belgium government, in turn, had no interest, arguing that the mobile laboratories should serve the "underdeveloped countries".[26]

Although the first mobile laboratory was originally intended to be used mainly in Europe, only three countries besides Austria received visits. In April 1959, the vehicle departed Vienna for Athens.[27] From the Greek capital, the journey continued to Yugoslavia. Here, the nation's President Tito was engaged in an attempt to decouple the country from Soviet paternalism and control and

transform it into a modern knowledge society. From Yugoslavia, the journey continued to the Federal Republic of Germany, the last European country visited.[28]

In autumn 1959, the US government rejected the IAEA's request to send a unit directly to Korea on the grounds that the first mobile laboratory had met with little interest.[29] Instead, the third and fourth vehicles built at Oak Ridge were to be used for training in small communities and rural areas in the United States. This decision was based on the assumption that radioisotope use was experiencing limited growth because there were not enough US scientists and engineers trained in the field.[30]

Therefore, after its tour of Europe, the first mobile laboratory was loaded onto a ship in Italy in 1960 and transported to South Korea.[31] After five months of service there, it was driven to China, triggering heated discussions among railway employees about whether, considering the many tunnels along its route, the vehicle might have been mounted a little too high.[32] Although representatives of the Soviet Union had arranged for China's admission to the IAEA in 1956,[33] a serious ideological conflict had developed between the governments of the two communist regimes in the meantime, which may explain why China approved a visit by a US-sponsored mobile laboratory. After five months in China, the vehicle set out for the Philippines in 1961, where the US radioisotope specialist Ralph Overman joined the project for eighty days, giving talks and interviews, thereby promoting the training content and assisting in its organization and day-to-day running.[34]

After the Philippines, the mobile laboratory was stationed in Indonesia for four months, from where the journey continued to South Vietnam. At the time, with the conflict with North Vietnam having already erupted, the Eisenhower administration sought to transform the South into a model of successful decolonization (Statler 2006). The US projection of science-based social progress also provided the framework for the visit to Singapore, where the training program was offered in 1963. At that time, Singapore not only received development aid under the Colombo Plan, whose aim was to strengthen the economy of Southeast Asia, but the US government had also supported the establishment of an Asian regional nuclear center there in 1955, based on the "Atoms for Peace" initiative and under the responsibility of the ICA. This project was supported by the US AEC, which provided technical advice. The mobile laboratory visit thus contributed to continued aid from the West.[35]

For unforeseen reasons, Singapore was the last country in Asia to be visited. After initially considering it unnecessary because of the many training opportunities already available, the Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission invited the mobile laboratory in March 1964 to both West Pakistan and East Pakistan (which became the independent nation of Bangladesh in 1971).[36] In preparation for the program, spectrometers were delivered from the United States. However, the Pakistan government canceled the visit in December 1964 because of the administrative burden involved. It had originally been intended

to transport the laboratory from East to West by rail, as this would be much more economical than shipping it along the coast. However, the train journey involved crossing the territory of India. This was undesirable, as tensions between India and Pakistan were high. Indeed, they were soon to erupt into outright conflict over the Kashmir region in September 1965.[37]

Thus, instead of being sent to Pakistan, the IAEA decided to ship the mobile laboratory to Ghana, which by that time had been independent for eight years. Ghana was the only country on the African continent to receive a visit. This was a period in which many African states were going through (post-)colonial conflicts and political unrest. The IAEA discontinued the mobile laboratory program, having concluded that there was not sufficient interest for this kind of technical assistance. The first unit was brought back to Austria in 1965 and parked in the IAEA's new laboratory in Seibersdorf to expand the limited space there.[38]

Raw Materials in Exchange for Economic Aid: The Tour on the American Continent

South American countries, especially Brazil and Argentina, became important trading partners for the US government in the late 1940s, as North American soil contained too few of the minerals needed for bomb fuel (Hamblin 2021, p. 21). This partnership was characterized by an asymmetry of power, however: in 1954 US officials took advantage of a famine in Brazil to trade valuable minerals for wheat (Adamson and Turchetti 2021, p. 52). The US assistance program to Latin America expanded in the wake of "Atoms for Peace", and reactors and the training of experts subsequently became important bargaining chips in the US pursuit of access to uranium and thorium deposits. Brazil benefited the most from US financial support to expand nuclear technoscience, allowing exploration for rare materials in return.[39]

While the decision had been taken to keep the third and fourth units in the United States, in March 1960 the US government gave the IAEA the second mobile laboratory in order to provide the "American Republics" with a training program similar to the radioisotope courses offered at Oak Ridge.[40] The second mobile laboratory was driven to Mexico, accompanied by US experts, to offer radioisotope training.[41] The vehicle was then shipped to Argentina, where, for once, not US American experts but local organizers were responsible for the course content.[42] From Argentina, the journey continued to Uruguay. Uruguay was not actually a member of the IAEA in 1961, but its government had agreed to the Revised Standard Agreement on Technical Assistance in 1955, and the provision of the mobile laboratory could be financed through the UN's Expanded Program of Technical Assistance for Economic Development. Therefore, the chief of the Exchange Section of the IAEA's Division of Exchange and Training, Arturo Cairo, had no objection to the deployment of the mobile laboratory in Uruguay.[43]

Brazil was next. The Brazilian government had been the second in the world (after Turkey) to sign a bilateral agreement with the United States in 1955 on cooperation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy. This agreement allowed the leasing of enriched uranium for reactors and the exchange of unclassified information. As a result, US companies built reactors in Brazil for research, education, and radioisotope production. The media subsequently reported that Brazil had entered the nuclear age and that radioisotopes would fundamentally change medicine.[44] The mobile laboratory toured seven Brazilian cities for nine months in 1962 for demonstration and training purposes and, according to a media report, was met with great interest.[45]

However, similar to the first unit's tour (see Figure 5.2), the second mobile laboratory came too late to tout radioisotope training as a novelty and create a large demand for it in Latin America. After a visit to Bolivia in 1963, the mobile laboratory was housed in a garage in Brazil until 1966, when the IAEA donated the vehicle to Costa Rica to support a "special fund" project to eradicate fruit flies. Thus, after seven years, in which 1500 course participants were trained in one African, four European, five Latin American, and six Asian countries, both units were withdrawn from service.[46]
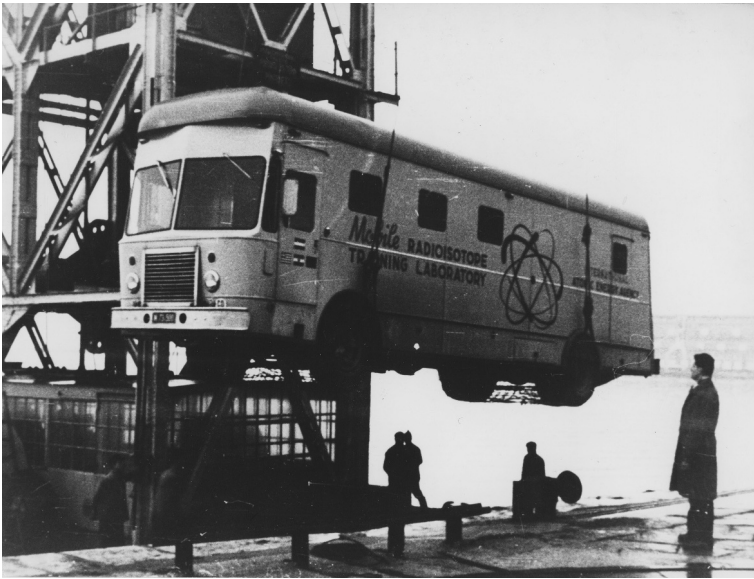
Figure 5.2 The first mobile radioisotope laboratory being shipped in Italy for the Far East. Both vehicles were painted light green, were over 10 meters long, 3 meters high, and 2 meters wide, and had an unladen weight of 13 tons (picture: IAEA Archives, E0033_13. 1960). Credit: IAEA.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored a tangible manifestation of knowledge circulation in the Cold War, illustrating how the United States nurtured its image of a blessed and generous nation giving gifts to others. The two self-contained laboratories were to bring expertise training to remote places in the world in order to disseminate knowledge about radioisotopes. Their donation to the IAEA was a clever propaganda move to make national representatives aware of the positive attitude of the United States and to outdo the Soviet Union in providing assistance. However, the knowledge offered was not entirely free: not only did those visited have to pay for transport, paperwork, and salaries, but also, due to concerns about the stability of international relations, the radioisotope training program had to be seen as a soft power intervention abroad and a means to establish contacts that would help to build the Western-led nuclear world market the US government aspired to.

The mobile laboratories had symbolic power, as they embodied geopolitical visions, but they also enacted a technoscientific developmentalist imaginary. In the 1950s, radioisotopes were considered vital for the economic growth of developing countries and were seen as highly beneficial to the prosperity of young nations. The lending of the mobile laboratories to interested parties was meant to facilitate practical experience in radioisotope handling and to expand access to know-how. The intention was to bring knowledge to people who would otherwise not have the opportunity.

However, the original vision whereby education about nuclear energy would reach all sections of the population changed when the program was deployed. Both units were usually stationed at university campuses to offer advanced training for specialization to only a small number of qualified academics. Apart from the Geneva exhibition in 1958, the vehicles were only used to conduct public outreach in South Vietnam and Mexico. The training program was not as successful as expected: for several periods of time, the two mobile laboratories were neither on the road nor being used for training purposes. In all, they accounted for only 0.8 percent of the IAEA's expenditure on technical assistance during their world tour period. Nevertheless, the IAEA signage on the busses helped build public awareness about this new global player shortly after its founding. Several times, the drivers had to disperse curious crowds along their routes.[47]

The roads, ships, and rail used, as well as the motorized laboratories themselves, make apparent the way in which the circulation of knowledge was dependent on infrastructure. The vehicles' journeys over land and sea could be arduous and were often hindered by bureaucratic obstacles. The mobility of the two laboratories also depended on political will. The radioisotope training program became entangled in myriad national interests and faced diverse local needs. Countries with sufficient training opportunities turned down the offer, while others had their own priorities for development. Furthermore,

international tensions and decolonization struggles added to these difficulties, meaning that negotiations for visits failed with many governments. On top of this, an increasing number of sites worldwide already had the technical capabilities and know-how to produce and use radioisotopes in the 1960s, while the promising discourse that had characterized their promotion in the previous decade was beginning to fade.

Notes

1 Radioisotopes – or radioactive isotopes, today more often called radionuclides – are unstable and decay. In the 1950s, they could be produced artificially by reactors, chemical processes, or cyclotron bombardment (Seaborg 1994).

   The author thanks Miguel Pereira for translating the Portuguese sources, the participants of the HSSuisse workshop in May 2021 for their comments on the first version of this chapter, Bruno J. Strasser for providing additional information on radioisotope history, Kirsty Stone-Weiler for her proofreading, and Raphaëlle Ruppen Coutaz and Damiano Matasci for their feedback.

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6 Assessing the Role of Subnational Actors in Educational Cooperation and Development Aid

The Case of Bavaria

Larissa Wagner

Introduction

The Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) is an interesting object of investigation when referring to the East-West conflict since it was in direct competition with the German Democratic Republic (GDR). Nevertheless, in the field of educational internationalism, it is worth looking not only at national actors at a national level but also at subnational actors like the German *Länder*, which – incidentally, to this day – have sovereignty in the German education sector. Thus, educational internationalism not only is a phenomenon that describes connections and practices between two nations but also is an entity in which subnational actors also come into play and should be considered as such.

One point of the direct competition between the FRG and the GDR was developmental measures in the education sector, which have been implemented since the late 1950s until 1989 and beyond and will be looked at in more detail in the following chapter. However, it is not sufficient to consider the Federal Republic as a national actor; instead, the German states must also be taken into account, as they had cultural sovereignty and were thus responsible for educational programs in development cooperation. The federal and state governments were essentially in agreement on this issue regarding the cultural sovereignty of the *Länder*, and thus in regard to their competence in development aid. The *Länder's* responsibility was already laid down in the first declaration on development cooperation by the Minister Presidents on 3–4 May 1962.[1] This raises the question as to what role subnational actors such as Bavaria played in educational internationalism during the Cold War. Kramer, in his recent study about the federal multi-level system, also illustrated the importance and responsibility of the *Länder* as subnational actors (Kramer 2021). Depending on the financial possibilities and the importance that development cooperation had for the *Länder*, some actors like Baden-Württemberg and North Rhine-Westphalia became pioneers, while others, like the Saarland and Schleswig-Holstein, invested comparatively few resources. However, the education ministries spent more than the other ministries.[2] Furthermore, a comparative view shows that the activities were very heterogeneous and ever-changing during the study period. For example, specific thematic or regional focal points

developed in certain *Länder*: while Hamburg awarded tea-tasting scholarships, Bavaria trained in the field of tourism and beer brewing. Historical connections, for example, through the mission and personal commitment of decision-makers, also played a role in the unfolding of development cooperation. The example of Bavaria as a representative of the federal states is interesting in several respects, because Bavaria was just in the average range when it came to financial commitment compared to the other ten federal states, but on the other hand, it repeatedly held a pioneering role and also often acted as a spokesperson for the *Länder* vis-à-vis the federal government.[3] This is also remarkable, because after 1945 Bavaria developed from an outsider in the economy and education system to a model state in Germany (Fenn 2012).

There were five areas of development cooperation that were particularly noteworthy and, in this combination, specific to Bavaria. First, Bavaria designed vocational training programs for specialists and executives from the so-called developing countries[4]; second, it supported foreign students during their studies; third, it developed agricultural projects primarily in South America; fourth, it sent experts all over the world; and fifth, it was the location for excursions by visitors from across the globe. This chapter will focus mainly on the first area in order to illuminate the possibilities and limits of German educational cooperation with developing countries during the East-West conflict. This will concretely address the concept of educational internationalism, which is the subject of this volume. It will be shown that educational internationalism should by no means only be considered at the national level, but that central actors also acted at intermediary and local levels. This very approach shows, as if in a burning glass, which possibilities and limitations subnational actors such as Bavaria had in shaping the international education sector in the context of the fight against communism. Three essential aspects are to be considered here. First, internationalization processes changed the federal state itself, for example, through people from the developing countries staying in Bavaria or through increasing international contacts (Schemmer 2016). Second, personal and economic interdependencies have grown, in the context of the increasingly globalized economy (Himpsl 2020). Third, knowledge transfer also played a particularly important role, i.e., knowledge and practices passed on by Bavarian actors abroad during cultural exchange programs (Jehle 2018). The following can be said about the current state of research: although a large number of works on the internationalization of Bavaria have been published in recent years, including those just mentioned, development cooperation has largely been left out. For the federal level, on the other hand, research on development cooperation is booming, but here the involvement of the states hardly plays a role; rather, the connection between global and local phenomena is pointed out and thus Robertson's approach to globalization is used – although this ignores intermediate state levels in the multi-level system.[5]

First, we will clarify the distribution of responsibilities between Bavaria and the federal government, followed by the motives of engagement with regard to development cooperation in the education sector. The central pillar, vocational

training, will then be presented in more detail, followed by an overview of the other pillars of Bavarian development cooperation, namely, student scholarships, projects abroad, deployments, and state visits.

Bavaria's Role in National and International Development Cooperation

Although the focus of this chapter is on the state of Bavaria as a subnational actor, it should briefly be explained how Germany's policy played an important role in Bavarian development cooperation. With the Hallstein Doctrine of 1955 in force, the FRG attempted to influence international partners in the area of development cooperation and educational matters (Scholtyseck 2010; Gülstorff 2016; Das Gupta 2004, 2008). The key point was that countries that had cooperated with the GDR could not receive development aid support from the FRG because of its claim to sole representation. The purpose of the Hallstein Doctrine was to prevent countries of the so-called Third World from finding it attractive to recognize the GDR as a state. Ultimately, the developing countries were to choose between East and West, which shows how strongly the Cold War dominated political affairs in the 1950s and 1960s. This clearly demonstrates that the FRG used the Hallstein Doctrine as a means of exerting pressure. The doctrine also influenced the federal states of Germany by restricting their development policy cooperation. In some cases, they were requested to act as mediators to defuse deadlocked diplomatic situations on a subnational level. In 1988, for instance, Franz Joseph Strauß, in his capacity as then Bavarian Minister President, acted as a mediator when he visited South Africa, which was politically isolated at the time.[6] Although he would occasionally act entirely on his own behalf or agenda, and was eager to be provocative with this typical so-called secondary foreign policy, most of his activities were coordinated with the German Foreign Office. Bavarian companies, for example, the Marox group of companies, owned by the März brothers, which had set up a meat-processing factory in Togo and were friends with Franz Josef Strauß for many years, benefited from the Minister President's international contacts. The term *Nebenaußenpolitik* (secondary foreign policy) for the actions of the *Länder* representatives is justified in that the *Länder* were used at a subnational level to engage in dialogue with difficult partners. However, the term is also used to describe the competition between the federal government and the states when it comes to foreign policy (Knodt 1998, p. 153).

While the federal government was primarily responsible for foreign policy, including development cooperation, educational issues were and still are one of the main competencies and responsibilities of the *Länder*, in accordance with the principle of subsidiarity (Borchmann and Memminger 1992). By actively shaping that very sector, the *Länder* played an essential role in the development policy for all educational activities. At this point, one should take a closer look at the underlying motives: for Bavaria and the other *Länder*, economic reasons were a major factor, considering that trained people from developing countries would later preferably use Bavarian machines and thereby

boost foreign trade relations (Michelmann 1990, p. 233). Furthermore, foreign policy motives were important. Promoting a good image of Bavaria on the international stage was one of the main concerns. Even more significant for the measures of development cooperation was Bavaria's positioning in the East-West conflict. The conflict was already a conceptual framework in contemporary times, conditioned numerous development cooperation measures, and played an essential role as a reference point in everyday political life (Bressensdorf 2019). The federal state tried to establish and maintain "friendship",[7] for example, with China or Togo, aiming to make Western development cooperation more attractive. In the latter case, Franz Josef Strauß cultivated a friendship with the President of the Republic, General Étienne Gnassingbé Eyadéma, and they visited each other several times. For the Bavarian Minister President, "Eyadema was one of the few statesmen in Africa with whose help the tipping of the Black Continent into the communist camp could still be prevented".[8] This situation stands exemplarily for competition with the GDR in vocational training. A concrete example is the financing of a cameraman's training from what was then Dahomey by Bavaria and Hesse, which absolutely had to be successful in order to prevent future training courses from being held in the GDR.[9] In this case, the Hessian and Bavarian Ministries of Economics cooperated directly with each other. Again and again, there was such cooperation on a case-by-case basis, for example, with Hesse or Baden-Württemberg – in addition, the representatives of the *Länder* and the federal government met several times a year in the Federal-Länder Committee for exchange and joint planning. Historical contexts such as decolonization and contemporary concepts like North-South relations were naturally present in Bavarian development cooperation, although they were hardly problematized in depth. On the contrary, historical links from the colonial era or the mission were rather uncritically interpreted as demonstrating proximity to the so-called developing countries (on the African perspective on ideological conflicts, see the chapter by Ismay Milford in this book; on the concept of South-South development cooperation, see the chapter by Dayana Murguia Mendez).

Bavaria repeatedly succeeded in building bridges with communist countries, namely, in Eastern Europe and China, which will be discussed in more detail below (on building bridges between China and the US, see the chapter 4 by Qing Liu in this book). Furthermore, humanitarian reasons for an engagement were repeatedly cited by the officials of the Bavarian ministries, although this played a more important role for the non-governmental actors. Due to the cultural sovereignty of the *Länder*, the implementation measures focused primarily on knowledge transfer and further training. On a more global level, the aim was to internationally promote structures such as the German dual education system, which treats schools and companies as equivalent training places for the future profession of trainees (Maslankowski and Pätzold 1986). In concrete terms, apprentices receive a salary during their training period of approximately three years but attend vocational school at least once a week, in addition to their work in the company. This system helps to keep youth

unemployment in Germany low and therefore serves as a role model internationally. Development cooperation and education were hence closely intertwined at the subnational level. Looking at the German states, in this case Bavaria, clearly underlines this correlation, and this shall now be broken down further.

Vocational Training as a Central Instrument of Bavarian Development Cooperation

The first of the five pillars that can be identified in the analysis of Bavarian development cooperation relates to vocational training and further education. That one, falling under the remit of the Bavarian Ministry of Economic Affairs, was the central instrument of Bavarian development cooperation in the field of education and will therefore be given special emphasis (Wagner 2020). From the early 1960s on, the ministry was supporting people who came to Bavaria from all over the world for a period of approximately six months up to several years (Himpsl 2020, pp. 202–8). In 1961, for example, more than 1161 interns from the so-called developing countries stayed in Bavaria, from a total of 52 nations, but most of them came from India, Greece, and the United Arab Emirates (VAR).[10] The selection of these skilled workers and managers in their home countries was usually carried out with the help of the local German embassies and was based on qualifications, language skills, and future career prospects through further training.[11] Having arrived in Germany, they had to take a language course over several months, as their prior language skills were usually insufficient for the internship to be fruitful. In fact, the responsible supervisors from the ministry, implementing organizations, as well as companies, regularly complained in subject reports, certificates, or protocols about the poor language skills of the trainees and professionals, which often required adjustments in the program and its implementation. Theoretical and practical training sessions in a Bavarian company followed, supplemented by workshops and excursions. The interns worked in a variety of companies, ranging from small specialized firms to large enterprises, or in the public sector, depending on the specialist area. Evaluation forms, correspondence, and protocols show that there were various challenges in everyday life due to cultural barriers, lack of language skills, and unattainable expectations on both sides (on cultural and language barriers, see the chapter by Intaek Hong in this book). The interns were mostly accommodated in residential homes and were looked after by the Carl-Duisberg-Society on behalf of the Bavarian Ministry of Economic Affairs and the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (Carl-Duisberg-Gesellschaft 1999, pp. 82–91). The Carl-Duisberg-Society, founded in 1949, has been providing care for people from the so-called developing countries on a full-time and voluntary basis throughout Germany since 1954. Financed by the federal and state governments, from 1964 onwards, it developed into a subordinate implementing organization of the Federal Ministry for Economic Development, but continued to see itself as a private

organization. In Bavaria, it ran two residential homes, in addition to supervising secondary schools, organizing excursions, language courses, and specialized theoretical courses. At the end of the 1990s, it partially merged with the German Foundation for International Development to form the *Internationale Weiterbildung und Entwicklung gGmbH* (InWEnt), which finally merged with the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit* (GIZ) in 2011 (Nuscheler 2013). In Bavaria, the Ministry of Economic Affairs was much more involved with their programs and projects, due to economic motives, than the Ministries of Education and Cultural Affairs, Agriculture, or the State Chancellery. For the purpose of comparing, it is worth adding that there were similar efforts in the other federal states (Ruhenstroth-Bauer 1984; Kapp 1993; Späth 1985). Bavaria was in the middle of the field with its expenditure. Nevertheless, as mentioned above, the states each developed their own priorities, depending on economic or regional historic disparities.[12]

There were certain focal areas in Bavaria that have been modified over the years. Initially, the Bavarian Ministry of Economic Affairs supported trainees and skilled workers who had come to Germany for further training without exercising a major influence on their activities or countries of origin – with the only prerequisite being that they were residents of Bavaria. In that case, the ministry cooperated with the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation, which covered the costs of travel to and from the internship if the countries of origin were not able to do so. Moreover, it covered the costs of the language course, travel expenses, and other subsidies. The *Länder* paid the living costs, group insurances, and course fees, in addition to the placement in Germany, through scholarship payments for vocational and further training courses. The maintenance subsidy paid by Bavaria was DM 400 per month per person in 1964, and it increased – due to inflation – over the years to DM 850 in 1983.[13] If one looks at the total expenditure on Bavarian development cooperation, it increased significantly from the 1960s to the 1980s, mainly due to the increasing number of projects. Compared to other countries, Bavaria was mostly in the middle of the field. Since 1963, the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development has surveyed the performance of the *Länder* by means of questionnaires, each of which was completed by the responsible federal ministries.[14] In 1962, 620,000 DM were spent on state development activities by all Bavarian ministries; in 1972, the figure was 2,702,470 DM and in 1982 8,835,280 DM, with the expenditure leveling off at this rate. Since 1972, the Federal Government and the *Länder* have tried to coordinate the influx of interns more strictly by only supporting those who came to Germany through state cooperation.[15] The way this was achieved was by targeting specific occupational groups or companies and developing so-called internship programs, which were increasingly monitored. Until the beginning of the 1970s, more freelance interns than state interns were further trained in Bavaria. The total number of interns had risen to just under 3,000 by then, after which the number declined until the mid-1980s, settling at less than around 500 persons, with rising total costs.

The first advanced training program was the plastics program in Würzburg. Since 1965, Bavaria, in collaboration with Baden-Württemberg, and at times Hesse and the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation, has promoted training and further education in the field of plastics processing at the South German Plastics Centre in Würzburg.[16] Within this program, a relatively heterogeneous group of up to 50 people, grouped according to age, origin, and professional experience, was promoted for each course. This support was clearly intended as an educational aid, but was also designed to promote German companies in the plastics industry in a targeted manner – for example, by obtaining orders from developing countries. In the public perception, the plastics program with its new technologies appeared as a spearhead against communism, as shown, for example, by a 1967 newspaper article that labeled it a "peaceful plastic bomb against world communism".[17] The Bavarian plastics programs were carried out regularly until 1980. After that, an additional regional focus was developed, with Africa as the main target region. The role of the *Länder*, in terms of relations with Eastern Europe, most notably Bavaria, can also be shown very well in the plastics program. In the 1960s, the former Bavarian Minister of Economic Affairs, Otto Schedl, established contacts with the countries of the Eastern Bloc, and in 1968, for this very reason, even the purpose of development policy funding was changed. In the future, not only people from developing countries were eligible for funding support in scholarship programs, but also people from "foreign countries"[18] in general. This wording made it possible for qualified people from countries other than developing countries to receive training scholarships. The Bavarian Ministry of Economic Affairs cited "considerable interest in technological cooperation"[19] between the Federal Republic and the socialist countries as the motive for establishing the so-called Eastern Europe Program. This cooperation was also explicitly intended to deepen foreign economic relations. From 1969 to 1972, the Ministry led by Otto Schedl sponsored two courses of the so-called Eastern Europe Program. Specialists from Romania, Hungary, the CSSR, Poland, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and even Russia were further trained at the Plastics Centre in Würzburg. However, the Federal Government did not agree with the sponsorship of trainees from communist countries, suspecting that know-how and experience could be passed on.[20] Under the premise that Bavaria would bear the full costs of training, and that the invitation would not be made public, the federal government had let the states have it their way. However, it criticized the fact that this serious decision had not been discussed in advance with the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation:

> With regard to the inclusion of the Russian participants in the V. Program, I cannot conceal from you my surprise that a decision with potentially serious consequences is not agreed with me before the official invitation is issued; especially as it was evidently not made sufficiently clear during the unilateral agreement with the Foreign Office by telephone that the Federal Government is involved in the financing of the V. Plastics Program.[21]

Nevertheless, Bavaria carried out the program, putting its economic interests ahead of the Federal Republic's foreign policy interests. This again shows that the German *Länder* operated as actors with their own agendas in the field of development cooperation.

In addition to the plastics program, there were other focal points, some of which should be mentioned. At the end of the 1960s, at the request of the federal government, a multi-year master craftsman program with Iran was set up in Bavaria, which served as a model project for other country-based training courses.[22] In the 1970s, a so-called reintegration program started, in which skilled workers who had received further training in Germany were to be helped to enter a profession in their countries of origin.[23] This addressed a problem that has called into question the continued success of many scholarships, as many trainees who were trained in Germany were unable to apply their new skills upon their return to their home countries because they later often worked outside their field of expertise or were overqualified. The reintegration program was carried out by Bavaria, together with Baden-Württemberg and the Karl Kuebel Foundation, and was also supported by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation. The Karl Kuebel Foundation was founded in 1972 in Bensheim by the entrepreneur Karl Kuebel and has been active in the field of further education at home and abroad ever since. From 1976 to 1982, the Foundation took over the ASA Program (Arbeits- und Studien-Aufenthalte), which was set up by students and promoted stays abroad by young academics. This program was subsequently handed over to the Carl-Duisberg-Gesellschaft. At the end of the 1970s, as a new focus, a so-called energy program was created, in which experts from Asia were given further training in Bavarian electricity and power plants.[24] In the wake of the oil crisis, the focus was on the electrification of rural regions. Bavaria had not only nuclear energy to offer but also hydroelectric power. This program, unlike the reintegration and the industrial craftsman program, was successful until the 1990s. Training and further education in the hotel and tourism sector – an industry that has had a long tradition in Bavaria – was also a perennial issue and was carried out through various forms of cooperation (Zech-Kleber 2020; Lobenhofer-Hirschbold 2018; Rosenbaum 2016).

Of particular interest in the context of this volume are the China programs, which were carried out from 1980 to 1994 with different thematic focuses, and in which up to 220 Chinese could be successfully trained. Bavaria once again took on a pioneering role and was "the first state in the Federal Republic of Germany to make intensive efforts at government level to improve economic and technical cooperation with the People's Republic of China"[25] – even before the FRG via the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development itself; Bavaria installed the first vocational training program at its own expense – before the development cooperation between Germany and China began at the official national level. At a technical internal meeting a few years later, the Bavarian Ministry of Economic Affairs therefore even claimed that Bavaria was the "first Western country"[26] in general to establish economic relations

with China. This statement, which is incorrect in its abbreviation, however, demonstrates the great self-confidence and self-image of Bavarian actors very well. The special Bavarian contact with China can be traced back to the personal commitment of two Bavarian politicians. First, in 1974, the Bavarian Minister of Economic Affairs, Anton Jaumann, traveled to China together with a delegation of Bavarian companies to establish foreign trade contacts (Himpsl 2020, p. 326). The following year, Franz Joseph Strauß, at the time spokesman for economic and financial policy for the CDU/CSU parliamentary group in the *Bundestag*, visited China twice and was the first German politician to meet Mao Zedong in person (Meier-Walser 2019). Since 1980, Bavaria has been training skilled workers from Shandong Province in China – a region with which there were already contacts in early modern times (Hartmann 2008). Both subnational actors reaffirmed their cooperation with a partnership agreement and exchanged "mutual declarations of intent on economic and technical cooperation on 7 March 1985".[27] Relations between China and Bavaria as a subnational actor can thus be placed in a historical tradition and have gained a new quality since the 1970s through China's economic programs of development cooperation, in which Bavaria stood out ahead of the federal government and other states, especially at the beginning.

Other Instruments of Bavarian Development Cooperation

The other four pillars of development cooperation are not so much the focus of this analysis, but should nevertheless be mentioned briefly in the following to provide an overview. These were fields of activity that were located in different ministries, were pursued with varying degrees of intensity, and in some cases had temporal peaks.

As a second pillar, the *Länder* were responsible for the care and support of students from the developing countries, and thus for a target group that clearly belongs to the task remit of education. In Bavaria, the Bavarian Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs awarded scholarships to students. However, they were not intended for the entire period of study but were instead given for a maximum of one year.[28] Scholarships were only awarded after the foreign student, who was already enrolled at a Bavarian University, had demonstrated successful progress in his or her studies, worthiness, and need. In practice, this meant that the support of foreigners at a Bavarian University with state funds generally only began in the second half of their studies. The universities, on the other hand, were responsible for the selection and enrollment of students at the beginning of their stay in the sense of university autonomy. The students came from all over the world and were part of almost all courses of study. These were therefore not specially offered and supervised courses of study within the framework of development cooperation, but instead the students took up studies in the FRG on their own initiative and with their own resources. In 1977, there were 238 sponsored students in Bavaria who came from so-called developing countries and studied subjects such as fine arts or cultural studies,

in addition to medicine or economics. This, in turn, leads to the conclusion that they were privileged individuals who had already enjoyed proper education in their home countries and came from secure financial backgrounds. Support from the Bavarian Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs was for this reason mainly limited to support on a semester-by-semester basis. Since the 1960s, the Ministry has also financed so-called *Studienkollegs*, which were intended to bring foreign students up to a common level of knowledge before they took up their regular studies. It was achieved by providing intensive courses on technical and linguistic basics. In Bavaria, such colleges with their own curricula were established, at first in Erlangen and Munich, as the universities located there had particularly high numbers of students from abroad at the beginning of the 1960s. In 1963, for example, Erlangen was in second place in Germany after Heidelberg, with 12.2 percent foreign students relative to the total number of students, i.e., 1,111 students, and Munich was in fourth place with 6.5 percent, i.e., 1,470 students (Slobodian 2012, p. 30). The Bavarian ministries estimated that about half of them came from the so-called developing countries.[29] In 1962, for example, the Bavarian Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs budgeted a sum of 206,000 DM for the *Studienkollegs*, which was two thirds of the Ministry's total expenditure on development cooperation for that year. Incidentally, the aim here was also to compete with the Eastern Bloc: "This is the only way to effectively counter the favorable offers made to foreign students from the Eastern bloc countries".[30] In addition, the Bavarian Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs was involved in the construction of student residential houses in the cities of Munich and Würzburg and later in Erlangen. This was necessary because in the 1960s there were already complaints about housing shortages in these bigger Bavarian cities, and foreign students had hardly any chances in the housing market. In summary, the promotion of students from developing countries was an important factor in Bavaria, but was limited to grants and the provision of infrastructure. It was not a matter of developing programs or projects that specifically promoted certain courses of study or groups of people. This, in turn, would be the task of the universities – in Bayreuth, for example, an African focus developed in the 1970s (Förster 1998).

As a third pillar of Bavarian development aid, the Bavarian Ministry of Agriculture has supported projects abroad since 1973, initially mainly in Latin America. The ministry primarily cooperated with Catholic mission stations or expatriate German people and funded their projects for many years. Funding was mainly given to projects that served training in the agricultural sector and, thus, belonged to the education sector. One lighthouse project was the agricultural school in Loma Plata at the beginning of the 1980s, funded in cooperation with the Alfons-Goppel Foundation and the state of Baden-Württemberg, with a total amount of DM 1,247,342.[31] The Bavarian Ministry of Agriculture was the first Bavarian ministry to pursue projects abroad. In doing so, it mostly cooperated with church or non-governmental

organizations. The other Bavarian ministries initially rejected this, mainly because of potential conflicts of competence with the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation.[32] It was not until the 1990s that the other Bavarian ministries became involved abroad.

The fourth pillar of the German states' development cooperation was the deployment of personnel, i.e., experts aiming to pass on knowledge abroad.[33] In 1965, the Federal Government and the *Länder* sent 262 mainly skilled workers from the commercial sector, 231 from agriculture, but also 71 people from the health sector, 47 from the postal and telecommunications sector, and 47 from public administration or information.[34] In this context, school teachers from schools or university staff can be mentioned as examples. Although these experts usually went abroad on behalf of federal organizations such as the *Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit*, they had to be approved by the state authorities for this purpose. In this case, a well-working cooperation between the federal and state governments was required. In general, there were far fewer people interested in going abroad than there was a need. The *Länder* tried to tackle this through incentives like, for example, that the workplace would be kept free until their return, but the central question was whether a stay abroad would have long-term professional disadvantages, for example, in relation to pay, promotion, accident protection, or reintegration.[35] While other *Länder* such as Baden-Württemberg granted a bonus to returnees and allowed teachers on the waiting list to move up, Bavaria was still opposed to this in the 1980s.[36]

Finally, in the context of cultural diplomacy, Bavaria was also of particular interest as a destination for excursions and state visits at all levels, as a result of which the Bavarian actors succeeded in promoting the country. Bavaria could offer regional elements, art, and culture, on the one hand, as well as landscape, tradition, and folklore on the other, but through this focus it also reproduced and manifested stereotypical images (Munz 2013). Nevertheless, Bavaria was certainly a good place to illustrate various economic sectors and structures, such as the tourism industry in the Alpine region, or its special geographical position along the Iron Curtain, which made Bavaria a border zone in Europe. Bavaria wanted to present itself as an attractive business location during these visits, by introducing central companies and industries that were located there, such as Siemens or MAN. Personal interaction provided opportunities for conversation – and, on such occasions, it was not unusual for Bavarian politicians to award coveted scholarships for education and training to strengthen the relationship with their guests.

Conclusion

In all forms of the stated development aid measures, Bavarian ministries closely cooperated with federal and state ministries, local authorities, commercial enterprises, and non-governmental players such as churches. This was mainly because the *Länder* themselves could not become actively involved abroad, but

were dependent on local organizations. The ministries thus acted as donors, supporting projects that were brought to them, as well as participating in their planning and actual implementation.

The German *Länder* compared their efforts with each other, e.g., the number of interns from developing countries, resulting in a competitive situation to a certain extent.[37] This was also the case with the repeatedly raised question of responsibilities in education between the federal government and the *Länder*. Nevertheless, it is safe to say that, on the whole, cooperation rather than competition prevailed. All actors at the various levels worked together, for instance, when the scholarship holders received funding from multiple sources. Bavaria insisted on its competencies and often defended the interests of the *Länder* toward the federal government, even if pragmatic solutions did prevail in everyday life.[38]

In summary, after having taken a closer look at the Bavarian development cooperation during the Cold War, the following observations can be made: in addition to national interests and activities, the *Länder* clearly played an important role when it came to internationalist contacts and practices in the education sector. This is due to the fact that they have cultural sovereignty in the multi-level system of the FRG. Although the federal and state governments usually cooperated by implementing joint programs and financing them in a mixed way, Bavaria also asserted its own interests, for example, regarding economic and political motives. The *Länder* can thus be described as actors in their own right who maintained their own international contacts and provided the essential resources for development aid in the education sector in a perspective of containing communism. In light of the competitive situation in the East-West conflict, Bavaria succeeded on various occasions in taking on a pioneering role and establishing initial contacts with socialist countries. Educational concepts were developed in Bavaria and the FRG and were implemented abroad. As a result, a keyword in this context is international knowledge transfer, thus less a material, but an intellectual development cooperation (Lipphardt and Ludwig 2011). The analysis, which was carried out primarily on the basis of archival documents, shows above all – supplemented by complementary material from the federal archives – the perspective of the Bavarian government. This is due – besides the intention to focus on the subnational actor level in this chapter – to the fact that the records are significantly more complete than those of non-governmental actors or archival material accumulated in the so-called developing countries. This leads to a bias that, on the one hand, limits the view and should therefore be made public, but, on the other hand, also opens up new perspectives, such as the emphasis on economic issues or the observation that the *Länder* supported Germany's development cooperation. Therefore, it is important that historical research should focus not only on national actors but also on subnational actors, in order to differentiate all levels and aspects.

Notes

1 Cf. München, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Bayerische Staatskanzlei, Entwicklungshilfe, 1960–1961, BayHStA, StK 14486, stenographic report of the meeting of the Minister Presidents of the Länder in Bonn on 26 January 1961 on the participation of the Länder in development aid.

2 Koblenz, Bundesarchiv, Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit. 1970–1972. Sitzungen des Länderausschusses Entwicklungshilfe (1969–1972), BArch, B 213/399, note from the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation from 10 June 1970 in the run-up to the 35th session, concerning the development assistance provided by the *Länder*, reporting in the year 1969.

3 The Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation collected annual statistical data, which was made available to the Länder as a table titled "Overview of Budget Appropriations". Cf. for the period under study: Koblenz, Bundesarchiv, Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit. 1966–1967. Sitzungen des Länderausschusses Entwicklungshilfe (1965–1967), BArch, B 213/396 and München, Registratur Bayerisches Wirtschaftsministerium. Fragebogen 1972–1988, BStMWV Registratur Az 6776. And cf. German Bundestag, 13th legislative period. Printed Paper 13/3342. Information by the Federal Government. Tenth report on the Development Policy of the Federal Government of 14 December 1995, 178. Accessed online (07.07.2023): http://dip21.bundestag.de/dip21/btd/13/033/1303342.pdf.

4 The term "developing countries" is problematic because it reflects a Western perspective. However, there is no adequate better term. Nevertheless, the term "so-called" is not used in the following in order to increase readability.

5 See the dissertation in preparation for printing: Larissa Wagner, *Neuland betreten. Entwicklungszusammenarbeit staatlicher und nichtstaatlicher Akteure in Bayern in den 1960er bis 1980er Jahren.*

6 The trip through Africa in 1988 received a lot of attention from the media. Cf. München, BR-Archiv, 80596, 30.01.1988, Günther von Lojewski: Pendulum Diplomacy. Franz Josef Strauß in Southern Africa. Foreign reporter [translated by Larissa Wagner].

7 The first scholarships for China were interpreted "as a sign of friendship with the Chinese people". Cf. München, Registratur Bayerisches Wirtschaftsministerium, 1978–1981, 6773/Ba, I. Chinaprogramm, Band 1–5, BStMWV Registratur 56530/81, letter from Wang Yao-Ting, President of the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade, to Anton Jaumann, 06.06.1979.

8 München, Archiv für christlich-soziale Politik, 1977, Besuch Eyadema, ACSP HSS V IBZ Togo: 2, Article "Staatspräsident Gnassingbe Eyadema: Bayern kommt nach Togo – ruft mich einfach an. CSU betreibt eigene Außenpolitik: Stiftung in Lome, Gnadenakt in Zaire und ein Versuch in Rhodesien" [State President Gnassingbe Eyadema: Bavarians come to Togo – just call me. CSU pursues its own foreign policy: Foundation in Lome, act of mercy in Zaire and an attempt in Rhodesia] in the Münchner Merkur by Michael Heim of 23 September 1977.

9 München, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Bayerisches Wirtschaftsministerium, 1968–1970, Staatliche Förderprogramme für einzelne Entwicklungsländer in Zusammenarbeit mit der Carl Duisberg-Gesellschaft. Dahomé: Rechnungsjahr 1969, BayHStA, MWi 28220. Letter from the Carl Duisberg Society to the Bavarian State Ministry of Economic Affairs and Transport concerning the extension of funding, Government Program VI Dahomey of 8 August 1969.

10 München, Registratur Bayerisches Wirtschaftsministerium, 1969–1985, 6784, Statistik über Praktikanten aus Entwicklungsländern im Bundesgebiet, BStMWV Registratur 10399/69, cf. in each case the preliminary comments of the Bavarian Ministry of Economic Affairs on the surveys for the years 1969 to 1985.

11 Cf., for example, in the files on the plastics program among others: München, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Bayerisches Wirtschaftsministerium, 1965–1967, Süddeutsches Kunststoffzentrum Würzburg Programm 1966, BayHStA, MWi 28311; München, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Bayerisches Wirtschaftsministerium, 1967–1968, Süddeutsches Kunststoffzentrum e.V.: 3. Fortbildungsprogramm, Beiakt 1, BayHStA, MWi 28314.

12 Cf. Koblenz, Bundesarchiv, Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit. Beteiligung der Bundesländer beim Abschluß von Rahmenabkommen über Technische Zusammenarbeit (Lindauer Vereinbarung), T2250, BArch, B 213/20067, minutes of the 47th meeting of the Federal States Committee for Development Aid in Munich on 30–31.05.1979.

13 München, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Bayerisches Wirtschaftsministerium, 1963–1964, Entwicklungshilfe (Generalia), Entwicklungshilfe allgemein Band 7/1963 Nr. 40001-60.500 September – Dezember, BayHStA, MWi 28060. Cf. for the year 1964 the overview "Financial expenditure per intern for the implementation of a government program (for interns from developing countries) according to the joint internship guidelines of the Federation and the Länder" as an attachment to a note in the context of the grants for the accounting year 1964. And cf. for 1983 München, Registratur Bayerisches Wirtschaftsministerium, 1983, 6773/Ba-Fz, Symposium 5-8.4.83, Dillingen, BStMWV Registratur, 38532/83, statement on "Fundamentals, perspectives and strategies of development policy and development aid" in the context of the panel discussion by Gottfried Zeitler from the Bavarian Ministry of Economic Affairs at the Dillingen Symposium on Political Education on 5 April 1983.

14 Cf. for 1962 the table "Übersicht über die Haushaltsansätze 1962–1966" (Overview of the Budgetary Appropriations 1962–1966) of the Länder, compiled from report contributions of the Länder to the development aid statistics by the Federal Office for Trade and Industry on behalf of the Federal Minister for Economic Cooperation of October 1966 in the context of the 25th Länder Committee Meeting on Development Aid of 9 and 10 November 1966. In: Koblenz, Bundesarchiv, Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung, Sitzungen des Länderausschusses Entwicklungshilfe (1965–1967), BArch, B 213/396. For the period 1972 to 1988, the questionnaires are available in the registry of the Bavarian Ministry of Economic Affairs: München, Registratur Bayerisches Wirtschaftsministerium, 1972–1988, Az 6776.

15 Cf. the distinction between free interns and government interns: München, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Bayerische Staatskanzlei, Entwicklungshilfe, 1962–1963, BayHStA, StK 14488, letter of the Federal Minister for Economic Cooperation to the Bavarian State Chancellery and others concerning the meeting of the Federal States Committee for Development Aid on 7 August 1962, 15.08.1962.

16 Cf. the file material on the plastics program in the registry of the Bavarian Ministry of Economic Affairs, e.g., München, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Bayerisches Wirtschaftsministerium, 1965–1967, Süddeutsches Kunststoffzentrum Würzburg Programm 1966, BayHStA, MWi 28311.

17 München, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Bayerisches Wirtschaftsministerium, 1967–1968, Südd. Kunststoffzentrum, 2. Progr. Zuschuss 1967, Teil 2, BayHStA, MWi 28313, article "Friedliche Plastik-Bombe gegen Weltkommunismus" by Manfred Schwab in the Nürnberger Zeitung of 1 December 1967.

18 München, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Bayerisches Wirtschaftsministerium, 1968–1969, Süddeutsches Kunststoffzentrum e.V. Würzburg: 5. Fortbildungsprogramm, Beiakt 1, BayHStA, MWi 28319, note from the Bavarian Ministry of Economic Affairs of 12 July 1968 on the V. Advanced Training Program for

specials and managers from foreign countries at the Süddeutsche Kunststoff-Zentrum e.V. in Würzburg, accounting year 1970.

19 München, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Bayerisches Wirtschaftsministerium, 1969–1970, Süddeutsches Kunststoffzentrum e.V. Würzburg: 6. Förderprogramm, Beiakt 4, BayHStA, MWi 28322, notice of grant from the Bavarian Ministry of Economic Affairs and Transport from Juni 1970 concerning the V. Plastics program.

20 "The concerns expressed by my representative in the meeting about the inclusion of Russian participants in the aforementioned program are withdrawn, on the condition that the Hessian Ministry of Economics will bear the full cost of these scholarship holders and that no publicity will be given to the invitation." Cf. München, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Bayerisches Wirtschaftsministerium, 1969–1970, Süddeutsches Kunststoffzentrum e.V. Würzburg: 5. Fortbildungsprogramm, Beiakt 3, BayHStA, MWi 28321, letter from the Federal Minister for Economic Cooperation to the Bavarian Ministry of Economic Affairs, dated 7 November 1969, subject: further training of specialists from distant countries at the South German Plastics Centre in Würzburg; here: V. Plastics Program – Eastern Europe.

21 München, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Bayerisches Wirtschaftsministerium, 1969–1970, Süddeutsches Kunststoffzentrum e.V. Würzburg: 5. Fortbildungsprogramm, Beiakt 3, BayHStA, MWi 28321, letter from the Federal Minister for Economic Cooperation to the Bavarian Ministry of Economic Affairs, dated 7 November 1969, concerning further training of specialists from distant countries in the South German Plastics Centre in Würzburg; here: V. Plastics Program – Eastern Europe.

22 Cf. the file material in München, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Bayerisches Wirtschaftsministerium, Iran: Rechnungsjahr 1972, BayHStA, MWi 28247; Iran: Beiakt 1, BayHStA, MWi 28248; Iran: Beiakt 2, BayHStA, MWi 28249; Iran: Beiakt 3, BayHStA, MWi 28250; Iran: Beiakt 4, BayHStA, MWi 28251; Iran: Beiakt 5, BayHStA, MWi 28252.

23 Cf. the planning and conception of the reintegration program: München, Registratur Bayerisches Wirtschaftsministerium, 1976, 6783/Ba, Reintegration von Fach- u. Führungskräften aus Entwicklungsländern (Kübel-Stiftung), Rechnungsjahr 1976, Beiakt, Band 1 und 2, BStMWV Registratur, 27201/77.

24 Cf. the planning and conception of the energy program: München, Registratur Bayerisches Wirtschaftsministerium, 1977–1979, 6773/Ba, I. Energie-Progr., Band I-II, BStMWV Registratur, 68450/80.

25 München, Registratur Bayerisches Wirtschaftsministerium, 1987, 6773/Ba, X. Chinaprogr., BStMWV Registratur, 56321/87, Manuscript of the speech for the farewell of construction technicians from the PR China by Siegfried Frischmuth, 28 July 1987.

26 München, Registratur Bayerisches Wirtschaftsministerium, 1991, 6773/Ba, 19. China, BStMWV Registratur, 15462/92, note from the Bavarian Ministry of Economic Affairs on its own remarks at a technical discussion on 13 December 1990, on the occasion of the visit of a Chinese delegation to Bavaria from 3 to 14 December 1990.

27 München, Registratur Bayerisches Wirtschaftsministerium, 1999, 6773/Ba, 22. China, Band 1–3, BStMWV Registratur, 60514/94, note by Treutlein on the examination of the application by Carl Duisberg-Gesellschaft for economic and technical cooperation with Shandong Province/PR China, hotel management teachers (Shandong VII-22nd China Programme) of 4 January 1993.

28 Cf. München, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Bayerisches Wirtschaftsministerium, 1969–1970, Gabun, BayHStA, MWi 28231, letter from the Bavarian Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs to the Bavarian Ministry of Economic Affairs with the subject: granting of three university scholarships for Gabon on 20 September 1969.

29 München, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Bayerische Staatskanzlei, Entwicklungshilfe, 1961–1962, BayHStA, StK 14487, letter from the Bavarian State Ministry of Finance to the Bavarian Minister President, Dr. Hans Ehard dated 20 February 1961.

30 München, Registratur Bayerisches Wirtschaftsministerium, 1999, 6783/Ba, Entwicklungshilfe, Zuschüsse Carl Duisberg Ges., Haus München, Band 1-3/1960-1965, Nr. 7509t, BStMWV Registratur, note from the Bavarian Ministry of Economic Affairs of 5 December 1960, concerning the Studienkolleg for foreign applicants in Bavaria.

31 München, Registratur Bayerisches Wirtschaftsministerium, 1980, 6773/Ba, Band 2, "Togoprojekt", BStMWV Registratur, 36735/86, letter from Ruhenstroth-Bauer of the Bavarian Ministry of Agriculture to Zeitler of the Bavarian Ministry of Economic Affairs, dated 17 February 1981, concerning technical cooperation with the Republic of Togo, establishment of an industrial training center with master craftsman level in Lomé.

32 Cf. München, Registratur Bayerisches Wirtschaftsministerium, 1970–1971, 6774, Entwicklungshilfe – Mitwirkung d. Bundesländer, Band 1, 1970/71, BStMWV Registratur, Keppler's note from the Bavarian Ministry of Economics, concerning the promotion of the Xingu Mission in Brazil.

33 Cf. the annex "Principles for the work of the Länder in the field of education and training assistance" to the resolution of the Minister Presidents' Conference of 3/4 May 1962. Accessed online (07.07.2023): https://ez-der-laender.de/sites/default/files/bundeslaender/mpk_beschluesse_1962-2017.pdf.

34 Cf. the questionnaire for the year 1977. In: München, Registratur Bayerisches Wirtschaftsministerium, 1999, 6783/Ba, Entwicklungshilfe, Zuschüsse Carl Duisberg Ges., Haus München, Band 1-3/1960-1965, Nr. 7509t, BStMWV Registratur.

35 München, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Bayerische Staatskanzlei, Entwicklungshilfe, 1962, BayHStA, StK 14492, letter from State Chancellery Simmel (Bavarian State Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Forestry) to the Bavarian State Chancellery, 4 April 1962, concerning the 1962 Minister Presidents' Conference in Bremen.

36 München, Registratur Bayerisches Wirtschaftsministerium, 1983, 6777, Deutsche Lehrer f. Simbabwe, BStMWV Registratur, 17062/89, letter from the Bavarian State Ministry for Education and Cultural Affairs (Knauss) to the Federal Minister for Economic Cooperation on 8 December 1983, concerning recruitment of German teachers for Zimbabwe.

37 Cf. the comments of the Bavarian Ministry of Economic Affairs on the quarterly surveys of the Federal Employment Service in the years 1969 to 1985. In: München, Registratur Bayerisches Wirtschaftsministerium, 1969–1985, 6784, Statistik über Praktikanten aus Entwicklungsländern im Bundesgebiet, BStMWV Registratur, 10399/69.

38 For example, the Bavarian Minister of Economic Affairs, Otto Schedl, was referred to as the "spokesperson for the Länder". Koblenz, Bundesarchiv, Bundeskanzleramt, 1960–1962, Mitwirkung der Länder bei der Entwicklungshilfe, BArch, B 136/2917, Note by Praß (Department 6) in the Federal Chancellery of 1 September 1961.

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7 Fighting Communism with Political Education

The *Schweizerische Aufklärungsdienst* and the Anti-Communist Network People and Defence, 1965–1985

Bettina Blatter

Introduction

The *Schweizerische Aufklärungsdienst* (SAD) constituted the largest anti-communist organization in German-speaking Switzerland. Founded in 1947, its aim was to educate the Swiss population on defense matters. The SAD also maintained relations with an international network called People and Defence. From the early 1960s into the 1980s, the SAD met, in the frame of this network, with other anti-communist organizations from several Western European countries.[1] The participating organizations were from Sweden, Norway, West Germany, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Switzerland, and they took turns in hosting the meetings. The meetings were a platform for discussing common problems such as "the aims, means, and cost of defence-information", but also "the difficulties of being a contact-organization, a go-between and intermediary with military defence on the one side and the developments in the outside-world"[2] on the other. Despite different characteristics and financial capabilities, all the organizations aimed to educate the populations of Western Europe on national defence by means of pamphlets, seminars, and films. Working as a bridge between the governments and societies of their respective countries (Scott-Smith 2016, p. 218), they intended to educate their populations about defence problems and to strengthen the bond between the nation and its armed forces.[3] Based on an international exchange of ideas and educational strategies, the People and Defence network was a platform for both cooperation and competition. The participating organizations traversed national borders to work on challenging situations in their home countries that would have otherwise been solved on a national level by the respective organizations themselves. These relations are of interest especially during the period of détente, when anti-communist organizations were struggling with a continuing loss of legitimation due to the socio-political changes of the 1960s (Scott-Smith 2016, pp. 207–208).

In this chapter, I focus, on the one hand, on specific contact persons and the nature of the People and Defence meetings. On the other hand, I examine how the international meetings influenced and inspired the work of the SAD so as to consider how this anti-communist network and its interest in the political

education of young people, and citizens in general, participated in a certain form of educational internationalism shaped by the Cold War context. This desire to exchange ideas was fueled by the Cold War and the ever-changing political situation, which forced anti-communist organizations to adjust their planning and raison d'être. By focusing on political education during their meetings, the participating organizations wanted to find ways to educate young people on how to participate actively in democracy – thus linking education and the ongoing existence of democracy. This is especially noticeable for the SAD, whose country of origin, Switzerland, is based on direct democracy as a state form. The analysis of the exchange and interaction between the SAD and the People and Defence network on political education shows how the exchange of ideas on an international level influenced the work of an organization on a national level.

The focus of this chapter lies on the years between 1965 and 1985, because the People and Defence network meetings took place in this time frame. Drawing on documentation from the Archives of Contemporary History in Zurich and interviews with key figures of the SAD, this chapter embeds the SAD and its networks, especially People and Defence, in the concept of educational internationalism. Apart from a non-published thesis from 1993, neither the SAD as an organization nor its international activities have been studied before. The use of previously unseen archive material makes this approach original, as do the three time-witness interviews I conducted. I will first briefly present the SAD and give a short overview of the participating organizations in the People and Defence network, before focusing on the ongoing exchange of experiences and resources between the SAD and the People and Defence network. With the example of how People and Defence discussed ways to reignite interest in defence matters in schools, I will then illustrate how the SAD not only actively contributed to these discussions about political education but also transferred ideas into its own work.

The SAD and the People and Defence Network: Exchange of Experiences and Resources

Founded in 1947 and financially supported by both the government and donations from insurance companies, banks, and employers' associations,[4] the SAD had a strong tradition of educating the Swiss population, focusing from the beginning on informing the broader population on defence matters. They envisioned a population that could participate in the "total defence" of Switzerland during the Cold War. "Total defence" refers to the institutionalized merging of military and civilian defence efforts (Breitenmoser 2002, p. 23). In 1973, Switzerland's government passed a "concept for total defence" that especially saw subversion and psychological warfare as potential threats (Kälin 2018, p. 275), and as prone to occur even during peacetime. The concept included compulsory military service, but civil institutions and resources were also put at the service of national defence (Kälin 2018, p. 18). Since the Swiss militia

system still ensures today that military and political tasks are "undertaken by citizens for the benefit of the community, alongside normal professional work" (Fenazzi 2019), there is an even tighter entanglement of civil and military circles. The SAD thus fits into the concept of total defence and was, with its expertise, a significant partner at international meetings.

The other organizations in the People and Defence network also had strong ties to military structures and were focused on providing information on defence matters and the military to the public. The Scandinavian organizations from Sweden, Norway, and Denmark published articles in journals, held lectures in schools about national defence, provided material for teachers,[5] and organized courses for political youth organizations.[6] In the Federal Republic of Germany, the *Deutsche Arbeitsgruppe Volk und Verteidigung* focused on conferences for adults but published pamphlets for teachers as well – especially on subjects such as "Schools and Defence".[7] Belgium's *Militianen Actie* (Milac), meaning "Action for the Recruits", emphasized establishing contacts between the recruits' families.[8] The Netherlands' *Stichting Volk en Verdediging* mostly worked on psychological research, conferences, and publications.[9] Since People and Defence was a private network, the different participating organizations paid their own expenses when traveling to a meeting, and when they hosted a conference, they paid for it out of their own organization's funds, which were mostly based on state money and members' contributions.[10] Exchanging information and the personal relations established at the People and Defence meetings were very important for the SAD. The practical form of collaboration made internationalism a resource for them, especially the international and personal connections that came with it. This is repeatedly stressed in many of the minutes of the SAD's board meetings. The main contact person between the People and Defence network and the *Schweizerische Aufklärungsdienst* was a surprisingly low-key figure who maintained the SAD's international contacts: the general secretary of the SAD, Hans Ulmer, born in 1933. A primary teacher (who thus brought an interest in pedagogical questions and relevant working experience), a member of the Liberal Party, and a freelance journalist, Ulmer was not only part of the People and Defence network but also had connections to the *Ostkolleg* in Cologne and participated in Interdoc meetings.[11] The *Ostkolleg*, founded in 1957, gathered information on international communism and organized conferences (Klessmann 2016, pp. 88–89); the Interdoc network, on the other hand, was a platform for representatives from the military, politics, and academia from Western European countries such as France, Germany, Belgium, and the Netherlands. Interdoc's aim was "to discuss the question of Communist infiltration into industry, scholastic, and public life, and to determine what steps should be taken to deal with the problem" (Scott-Smith 2012, p. 126). Some people who participated in the Interdoc network were also part of the People and Defence network.

Hans Ulmer did not always attend People and Defence meetings alone. At times he brought another member of the board with him. Ulmer took a certain

pride in being a part of the People and Defence network: he was especially satisfied when he was assigned a speech during a conference in Copenhagen in 1976.[12] The SAD also hosted two People and Defence meetings itself: in 1969 in Zurich and in 1978 in Lucerne.[13] Ulmer organized both conferences, and in 1969 he managed to arrange a meeting with the Swiss anti-aircraft defence troops' chief of armaments.[14]

The People and Defence conferences were informal gatherings, an aspect that was stressed by Boye Hansen, for example, the host of the meeting in Copenhagen in 1976: "This informal People and Defence get-together has created a background for earnest and important deliberations in an atmosphere which is the product of the goodwill and experience of the individual personalities involved".[15] Ulmer claimed that the international connections were significant for the SAD's work[16] because most of the attendees had relevant functions in their countries.[17] "Relevant functions" seems to be the key expression here: People and Defence meetings offered connections not only to other organizations but also to representatives and delegates from various ministries of defence and people from other remarkably high institutions, such as the Netherlands' deputy minister of defence,[18] Thorvald Stoltenberg,[19] Norway's minister of defence, or Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands,[20] who was the governor of the *Stichting Volk en Verdediging*. These personal connections in different countries also promised access to relevant speakers, who could be recruited and invited to conferences and provide exclusive knowledge,[21] an aspect that the former SAD president Peter Arbenz mentioned as well.[22] The SAD was also especially interested in exchange with other organizations from neutral countries such as Sweden.

For the SAD, the People and Defence meetings offered various benefits and resources: the first-hand experiences of other organizations, contact with influential, well-linked people, and access to exclusive information shared only in selected circles. The meetings were also a "safe space" where like-minded people could share their experiences, while in their respective home countries, their ideas were met with increasing skepticism and at times even ridiculed. The organizations also kept inviting each other to their own conferences.[23] This strengthened the network and enhanced the visibility of the SAD,[24] which allowed it to reach a wider audience and to represent itself as a broadcaster of knowledge, which they perceived as highly undervalued in Switzerland. For instance, Ulmer claims that he basically toured Austria with his speeches,[25] talking to members of the General Staff of the Austrian Armed Forces, to the Ministry of Defence, and to the Ministry of Education.[26] These connections also meant that the SAD could invite relevant speakers from foreign institutions. In January 1981, for example, the SAD organized a conference in Bern on political education and invited speakers from the Department of Political Science at the University of Vienna, the Austrian Federal Ministry of Education,[27] and the West German National Agency for Civic Education.[28] During the two-day conference, the invited speakers from Austria and West Germany held presentations on the state of political education in their

respective countries. The invited speakers can be clearly identified as acquaintances established during People and Defence meetings. According to Ulmer, many of these contacts eventually turned into close friendships, and even after the end of the Cold War, when the People and Defence network had long been dissolved, former members of the network continued to meet in more personal contexts.[29]

Exchanging experiences at People and Defence meetings was another advantage for the SAD. Because organizations from different countries took turns hosting the meetings, each meeting provided an opportunity to illustrate and exemplify some of the host country's specific problems.[30] Once back from a conference, Ulmer would summarize the outcomes for the other members of the board. He claimed that it was interesting to see how other countries worked, especially the different ways they tried to maintain the morale and motivation of soldiers and recruits – for instance, by allowing certain forms of participation and involvement.[31] According to the SAD president Peter Arbenz, exchanges of experiences were then integrated into the SAD's national activities.[32] Ulmer collected knowledge from these conferences and turned them into presentations; he held a presentation for the Armed Forces Staff of Switzerland on the subject of "Probleme des Wehrwillens" (Problems in our willingness to defend the country),[33] which the SAD board decided to publish in written form.[34]

The younger generation's attitude to matters of defence was a priority for organizations in the People and Defence network. The network criticized how the younger generation only had second-hand knowledge of the Second World War and a critical view of the military.[35] In 1973, the People and Defence organizations defined conscientious objectors and conscripts as subversive potential pressure groups,[36] because the rising number of conscientious objectors was perceived as symptomatic of challenging times ahead. This growing interest in young people's attitudes toward the state had much to do with the changing political and social environment in the late 1960s. While a military attack by the USSR was perceived as an imminent danger before 1968, the social movements after 1968 were viewed as the embodiment of the "communist danger" and as an infiltration into the state (Grisard 2013, p. 129). Non-conformism and youth protests were interpreted as a possible vanguard of a revolutionary overthrow (Kälin 2018, p. 110). At the same time, due to the ongoing détente, governments cut back on financial support for private anti-communist organizations.

Reigniting Interest in Defence Matters at School

Both the SAD and the other organizations in the People and Defence network aimed to obtain access to public schools to tackle the interest of young children in defence matters.[37] Public schools were perceived as a protected setting where People and Defence organizations could experiment with their newest ideas and pedagogic approaches. They believed that in schools there was a lower possibility of being criticized and more options for action, in contrast to the greater public sphere, where the People and Defence organizations were

increasingly scrutinized because their ideas were seen as outdated and extreme. Against this background, the People and Defence organizations discussed how to convey information about problems of defence in schools[38] and debated "the influence of teachers and youth leaders on the attitude of youth towards military service and conscription"[39] as early as 1966. The organizations determined that the most effective way to educate pupils was through history lessons and political education – preferably from a young age, since it was thought that the German Democratic Republic also started "indoctrination" early.[40] At a People and Defence meeting on "public education and defence" in Zurich in 1969, attendees extensively discussed how to reignite interest in defence matters and how to influence education in schools. Participants from Austria and Belgium suggested a focus on civic education that would convey a close relation to the state, as well as spark interest among pupils for different kinds of political participation.[41]

On this topic, the SAD also provided valuable knowledge in the form of qualified specialists such as Erich Hegi, who was a member of the SAD board from 1968 to 1973. Hegi was in charge of the *Pädagogische Rekrutenprüfungen*[42] after 1967. The *Rekrutenprüfungen* were initially created in 1854 to ensure that every conscript possessed basic skills in writing and reading, but they soon developed into an instrument for measuring the quality of public primary schools in Switzerland (Crotti and Kellerhals 2007, p. 48). In the years after the social revolts of 1968, the field of pedagogy increasingly worked with sociological methods. Educational research was intensified, and several institutions in this field were founded in the 1970s and early 1980s, including the Swiss Society for Educational Research in 1975 (Lustenberger 1996, pp. 214–215). Sociological methods made it possible to objectively evaluate and present the results of the *Rekrutenprüfungen*: they were increasingly seen as an instrument for recording the "intellectual status" of the young generation (Lustenberger 1996, p. 218). In the questionnaire, recruits were asked, for instance, about their attitude toward Swiss foreign policy (Lustenberger 1996, p. 225). As the president of the school evaluation commission of the canton of Bern, the superintendent of schools, and a member of the federal education commission, Hegi saw the outcome of these *Rekrutenprüfungen* as a seismograph of Switzerland's education system. He especially stressed the importance of local history as a primary school subject that should awaken "love for the home country" in young pupils[43] and suggested a more emotional approach to the topic. Similarly, Ulmer, who was himself a primary teacher, wished for a stronger emphasis on the importance of defence. He believed that when educating the youth, one had to point out to them that defence was an "unalterable necessity",[44] and he saw it as his "moral duty to inform the population about defence problems, inclusive of the threat which endangers the state".[45]

In addition, the SAD and the other participating organizations in the People and Defence network did not want to leave the responsibility for political education up to their respective states. Hasso Viebig from the *Arbeitsgruppe Volk*

und Verteidigung of the Federal Republic of Germany argued that the education process should not be dominated by just one government or state institution, but should rather be an independent process,[46] which meant that other players should participate in its development and realization. Viebig opted for education in close coordination with state institutions, but thought that state directives should never be solely responsible for education.[47] Instead, he contended that education should help students learn how to form their own opinions and provide them with balanced information.[48]

Taking Home a New Idea: Focusing on Teachers

Although not explicitly stated in the meeting minutes, it is apparent that the SAD focused more on political education after starting to attend the People and Defence conferences. This becomes clear when one looks at the topics of the SAD's publications, but it is also evidenced by the fact that in the late 1970s, the SAD created a special work group on political education. In this context, political education can be understood as education on the particularities of the Swiss political system with its direct democracy, but also as including influencing pupils' opinions.[49] It is interesting to note, though, that the SAD used the terms "political education" and "civic education" synonymously[50] – and in the discussions held by the People and Defence network, the terms are also used without further definition or differentiation. In 1979, the SAD's work group discussed possible new fields of action and intervention.[51] It is possible that the SAD's focus on teachers as mediators for influencing education resulted from exchanges with the People and Defence network: in 1978, the People and Defence organizations agreed that the teacher was the "central figure who has to be approached to win his support for the objectives of our organizations".[52] They perceived teachers as mediators for conveying defence policy. Hasso Viebig, a representative of the *Arbeitsgruppe Volk und Verteidigung*, reported on a new organization that had been founded in the Federal Republic of Germany called *Wehrkunde*; its aim was to help teachers learn how to talk about defence problems.[53] *Wehrkunde* organized seminars for pupils from schools and tested new methods for reaching young people, such as "visits to the troops by school classes".[54]

Günther Böhm of Austria's Federal Ministry of Teaching and Art also stressed the importance of motivating teachers, but underlined that "there are also teachers who are pacifists and occupy themselves with non-violent-resistance or social defence".[55] According to Böhm, this was especially true for teachers who had not served in the military in their younger years and were thus not familiar with the armed forces.[56] For participants in the People and Defence meetings, it was thus crucial to find a balance between freedom of education on the one hand and influencing and providing teachers with information and material on defence matters on the other.

In addition, the SAD also focused on course instructors and organized political education events. More specifically, the SAD saw teachers as

multiplicators[57]: by providing them with "SAD-approved" materials, teachers could "improve" political education in Switzerland. With the focus on teachers, the SAD believed it could ensure the "future of democracy" by helping to educate young pupils to become responsible citizens able to participate actively in Switzerland's direct democracy. Here, the nature of the Swiss political system played an important role in the SAD's perception of a "decent political education". Switzerland's direct democracy – with participation, joint responsibility, and co-determination – seemed to be the foundation for the SAD's understanding of a good political education, with the idea that due to the increasing complexity of popular votes, the demands placed on citizens were higher.

The SAD therefore prioritized services for teachers and course instructors in charge of political education.[58] For that purpose, it also proposed more conferences on political education[59] and provided participants with information on general, current, and political questions – on upcoming votes, for example. They also encouraged contacts and discussion between politicians, teachers, and experts.[60] Finally, the SAD briefly toyed with the idea of proposing educational journeys for teachers as a form of further education,[61] but the archive material suggests they did not pursue the idea further. The SAD also acknowledged that it was difficult to excite teachers about the topic of political education. There was a concern that even though teachers might be intrigued by the content of the SAD workbooks and interested in using them during their lessons, they might be hesitant for fear of being labeled as "SAD teachers".[62] Peter Arbenz, the president of the SAD, suggested evaluating how the organization was being assessed by teachers as a source and producer of material in order to see whether it made sense to keep working in this direction.[63] There is, however, no further information in the sources about such an analysis in the meeting minutes.

In the 1980s, the SAD launched a new workbook series on political education. The main reason for this initiative was the SAD's opinion that there was a lack of good material for political education.[64] While there is no information on the distribution of these manuals in the sources, we know that almost 3,000 copies of the series' second book were printed.[65] With such a publication on political education, the SAD aimed at a broader public, but mostly at people involved in conveying political information,[66] such as history and civics teachers, as well as commanding officers.[67] The SAD believed that due to the increasing complexity of the state and the high demands that direct democracy places on its citizens, political education and training had to become more methodologically conscious and effective.[68]

The first of the three volumes came out in 1980, with the title *Can Democracy Be Learned?* It was a collection of documents from a conference on political education held by the SAD in 1979, and it included the topics of learning in schools and further education for teachers.[69] The SAD made Josef Weiss, the head of the SAD workgroup on political education, responsible for the second workbook. Weiss was an expert in the matter: he was a primary-school teacher,

a school evaluator, and a department head of a school of education, and he also taught further education courses for teachers.[70] Furthermore, he was a colonel in the Swiss General Staff and the director of vocational schools in the canton of St. Gallen.[71] This is another example of how the SAD chose experts in a specific field in order to (re-)gain legitimacy and authority. In 1981, Weiss's workbook was published with the title *Didactic Issues in Civic Education*. Ulmer, who was also an active teacher familiar with didactic problems in many different settings of teaching, praised Weiss in the book's preface.[72] With this workbook, according to Ulmer, the reader could learn from Weiss's rich body of experience in education.[73]

In 1985, the last of the three textbooks on political education was published, and it received a considerable response in the media with book reviews on the radio, on television, and in different professional journals.[74] This textbook was an anthology based on articles by authors with different backgrounds in education. The anthology was edited by the SAD, under the direction of Joseph Weiss, and titled *Current Events as an Approach to Political Education*.[75] In the book, the different authors showed how to implement current political topics in civic education and how to spark an interest in politics.[76] Some of the contributors suggested that teachers should let students work on the topics themselves and choose controversial topics like an upcoming vote, such as the one in 1984 in Switzerland on banning further construction of nuclear power stations.[77] Ulrich Klöti, the SAD's point person for research and a professor of political sciences, suggested working on international rather than only national conflicts, as they were usually of more interest to students.[78] The backgrounds of the different authors show the institutions that the SAD collaborated with when it came to questions of political education[79]: the author's list includes several school teachers, a lecturer from the Swiss Institute for Vocational Education,[80] and the head of Swiss advanced training courses.[81] This particular publication makes visible the collaboration between the SAD and other educational institutions.

The preface by Kurt Werner, the SAD president at the time and the successor of Arbenz, is of particular interest.[82] Werner deplored the increasing influence of the state in almost every aspect of life and saw it as the reason for the upheavals among the youth.[83] He also viewed political education as an important part of personality development.[84] Ulmer had already stressed in 1980 that deficiencies in political education put the operability and efficiency of free democracy at risk.[85] The fact that the SAD linked political education with the sheer existence of democracy may be traced back to a People and Defence meeting in 1976. Already by then, the People and Defence network had linked knowledge and information with the existence of democracy itself. They based their interest in changing education on the idea "that the individual citizen must have the opportunity to become a capable democrat".[86] They viewed it as crucial for a democracy that its citizens possess the required knowledge: "Once you have chosen for democracy, it is your duty to educate people in that direction".[87] According to a participant whose name is not disclosed in the

conference report, the fact that education was necessary was undeniable: "Nevertheless one should try to educate, especially young citizens, in such a way that it calls upon their willingness to participate in a democratic society, to feel responsible, even at the stake of their own personality".[88] Without this willingness, the same speaker argued, democracy itself and defending it would become impossible.[89] Education was thus equated with democracy and the work of the People and Defence network with the sheer existence of democratic countries.

The People and Defence meetings offered the SAD enough thought-provoking input to contribute to several professional journals and other publications in the field of teachers' education. The SAD published articles in the *Schweizerische Lehrerzeitung*[90] and in the journal *Staatsbürger*, the official journal of the *Schweizerische Staatsbürgerliche Gesellschaft*. At the request of the *Schweizerische Lehrerzeitung*, they published texts about the United Nations,[91] but they also proposed their own ideas on other topics such as deforestation, the question of Europe, and the politics of neutrality.[92] Hans Ulmer and Josef Weiss, in particular, published articles in the *Staatsbürger*,[93] for instance, on "Political Education in Vocational Schools" and "Further Education for Teachers".[94] The SAD thus used the *Staatsbürger* as a mouthpiece for the work group dedicated to political education.[95]

In addition, the SAD aimed to collaborate with institutions that provided further education for teachers in the different cantons,[96] as well as with other organizations and responsible authorities.[97] This strategic plan for collaboration highlights the SAD's search for legitimacy in the field of political education. One can draw two conclusions from these multiple links established by the SAD in the 1980s: on the one hand, the SAD felt more certain about its expertise in education and had gained considerable self-confidence by annually presenting its suggestions in the People and Defence network; on the other, the SAD based its proposals for collaboration with the Swiss Institute for Vocational Education[98] or the Swiss Documentation Centre for School and Education Issues[99] on its exchange of experiences with the international network – again assuring legitimacy and cementing its stance in the field of education, but also in the field of defence policy.[100]

The People and Defence network continued to meet into the 1980s but started to slowly fall apart in the late 1970s with the ongoing détente. For the 1978 meeting in Switzerland, the "founding fathers" of the People and Defence network were no longer present: Dr. Hornix from the *Stichting Volk en Verdediging* was ill, and Carl Riggert from the German *Arbeitsgruppe Volk und Verteidigung* had died in 1977.[101] With the disappearance of the generation that served in the Second World War, the network began to fall apart. Hans Ulmer left his position as the general secretary at the SAD, and with him gone the connection between the SAD and People, and Defence also broke off. In 1985, no one from the SAD participated in the annual People and Defence meeting, and the new SAD president, Kurt Werner, considered the benefit of these meetings to be minimal.[102] Name changes in the

organizations suggested changing times as well: in the late 1970s, the German *Arbeitsgruppe Volk und Verteidigung* was absorbed into the *Gesellschaft für Wehrkunde*[103]; the Netherlands' *Volk en Verdediging* was renamed as *Maatschappij en Krijgsmacht* (Society and Armed Forces) in 1981 (Scott-Smith 2016, p. 216); and the *Schweizerische Aufklärungsdienst* changed its name in 1982 to the *Schweizerische Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Demokratie* in order to improve its image.[104] The archival material also thinned out over the years: the meticulous conference reports from the 1970s gave way to brief invitations with ever fewer programs. The last official meeting of the People and Defence network took place in Bonn in 1983; the lack of a report leaves us in the dark about decisions on other meetings in the following years.

In the 1990s, there was one last return of the People and Defence meetings. In 1996, Hans Ulmer wrote a letter to the then-president of the SAD, Andreas Iten, reminding him of the SAD's amicable international relations with the People and Defence circle.[105] Ulmer wrote that his "Austrian friends" had asked for help with organizing an international conference in 1997 with the goal of reviving international contacts – without mentioning a particular motivation for the revival. Ulmer reminded Iten of his international connections in the 1960s and 1970s and of how the SAD had relied on information exchange through the People and Defence network for conferences and publications.[106] Ulmer stated that he regretted how the SAD had neglected these contacts and emphasized how some of these relationships developed into important friendships.[107] There are not, however, any further documents, letters, or press articles in the archive that suggest the conference in 1997 actually took place.

Conclusion

With the example of the *Schweizerische Aufklärungsdienst*'s (SAD) work on political education and its interactions with the People and Defence network, this chapter has shown how exchange and interaction on an international level influenced and inspired the work of an organization on a national level. On the one hand, the *Schweizerische Aufklärungsdienst* benefited as an organization from personal contacts and shared experiences within the framework of People and Defence conferences. The SAD gained valuable connections from these meetings and used this internationalism as a resource. By bringing relevant figures with specific know-how to conferences – like Erich Hegi, an expert on recruit exams – the SAD not only proved to be a valuable and resourceful member of the People and Defence network but also reaffirmed its identity as an important player in defence policy.

On the other hand, this case study shows how new methods and strategies in the field of political education, discussed in an international environment, influenced the work of a national organization. The SAD converted the discussed information into publications with the goal of enhancing political education in Switzerland by focusing on providing material for history teachers – an idea discussed in the international space of the People and Defence

network. This becomes evident and tangible through the SAD's publication of a workbook series based on insights it gained from the People and Defence network and published shortly after a series of international meetings. This chapter has thus presented a case where internationalism in the form of exchange and influence is not merely a "hollow concept", but an arena where ideas discussed in an international environment lead to changes in the strategies of a national organization. In addition, the SAD sought to have an impact on the education sector and tried to professionalize its role as an important partner in political education – which would eventually help it to remain a relevant organization, even during the challenging time of détente and beyond. The international People and Defence network supported the SAD in this undertaking by providing an international platform for exchange. The Cold War context shaped the notion of political education in the People and Defence network as well as in the work of the *Schweizerische Aufklärungsdienst*: by improving the means and methods of political education for the younger generation, who would become the responsible citizens of tomorrow, these anti-communist organizations interlinked education with democracy and its future.

Notes

1 Zurich, Archiv für Zeitgeschichte (hereafter cited as AfZ): Institutioneller Bestand – Schweizerischer Aufklärungsdienst (hereafter cited as IB-SAD Archiv) /887, Volk u. Verteidigung, Hans Ulmer's notes on People and Defence, 1.
2 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/892, People and Defence, Confidential Report, meeting in Oslo, 12-14.10.1971, 1.
3 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/887, People and Defence, Volk u. Verteidigung, Autobiographies 1968, 12.
4 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/246, SAD, Gönner, allgemein/diverse, Beiträge 1950–1954.
5 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/887, People and Defence, Volk u. Verteidigung, Autobiographies 1968, 9.
6 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/887, People and Defence, Volk u. Verteidigung, Autobiographies 1968,16.
7 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/887, People and Defence, Volk u. Verteidigung, Autobiographies 1968, 40.
8 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/887, People and Defence, Volk u. Verteidigung, Autobiographies 1968, 58–59.
9 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/887, People and Defence, Volk u. Verteidigung, Autobiographies 1968, 72.
10 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/887, People and Defence, Volk u. Verteidigung, Autobiographies 1968, 72.
11 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/47, SAD, LA-Sitzungen 1967, Protokoll Sitzung 17.11.1967, 5.
12 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/55, SAD, LA-Sitzung 22-23.3.1975, Protokoll, 3.
13 Afz: IB SAD-Archiv/887, Hans Ulmer, Volk und Verteidigung, 1973–1980.
14 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/49, LA-Sitzungen 1969, letter from Ulmer to the members of the board, 17.9.1969.
15 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/896, E. Boye Hansen, Annex II: opening speech by E. Boye Hansen, 2.
16 Interview with Hans Ulmer, Uetikon am See, 23.1.2020, 00:52.
17 Interview with Hans Ulmer, Uetikon am See, 23.1.2020, 00:53.

18 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/895, Th. M. van den Hamer, Volk und Verteidigung: Konferenz in Noordwijk, 28.4.-3.5.1975, Participating Organizations, 2.
19 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv 898, Folk og Forsvar, Volk und Verteidigung: Konferenz in Oslo, 19-20.5.1980, Program.
20 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/895, Th. M. van den Hamer, Volk und Verteidigung: Konferenz in Noordwijk, 28.4-3.5.1975, Participating Organizations, 2.
21 Interview with Hans Ulmer, Uetikon am See, 23.1.2020, 00:32.
22 Interview with Peter Arbenz, Winterthur, 4.10.2019, 00:42.
23 Interview with Hans Ulmer, Uetikon am See, 23.1.2020, 1:26.
24 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/51, SAD, LA-Sitzung 2-3.7.1971, Protokoll, 10.
25 Interview with Hans Ulmer, Uetikon am See ZH, 23.1.2020, 00:35.
26 Interview with Hans Ulmer, Uetikon am See, 23.1.2020, 00:37.
27 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/1016, SAD, Arbeitstagung "Politische Bildung im internationalen Vergleich", 17-18.1.1981.
28 Original name in German: Landeszentrale für politische Bildung.
29 Interview with Hans Ulmer, Uetikon am See, 23.1.2020, 1:31.
30 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/51, Ulmer, LA-Sitzung 5.11.1971, Protokoll, 3.
31 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/53, Ulmer, LA-Sitzung 14.12.1973, Protokoll, 2.
32 Interview with Peter Arbenz, Winterthur, 4.10.2019, 00:43.
33 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/53, Ulmer, LA-Sitzung 14.12.1973, Protokoll, 2.
34 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/53, Ulmer, LA-Sitzung 14.12.1973, Protokoll, 2.
35 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/53, Ulmer, LA-Sitzung 14.12.1973, Aktennotiz Volk und Verteidigung, 1.
36 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/53, Ulmer, LA-Sitzung 14.12.1973, Aktennotiz Volk und Verteidigung, 2.
37 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/887, People and Defence, Volk u. Verteidigung, Autobiographies 1968, 9, 30, 35, 59.
38 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/889, Th. M. van den Hamer, Volk und Verteidigung: Konferenz in Noordwijk, 12-15.10.1966, 31.
39 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/889, Th. M. van den Hamer, Volk und Verteidigung: Konferenz in Noordwijk, 12-15.10.1966.
40 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/891, SAD, Confidential Report of the meeting in Zurich, 21-23.10.1969, 15.
41 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/891, SAD, Confidential Report of the meeting in Zurich, 21-23.10.1969, 11.
42 Pädagogische Rekrutenprüfungen can be loosely translated as "pedagogic recruit exams".
43 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/891, SAD, Confidential Report of the meeting in Zurich, 21-23.10.1969, 15.
44 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/891, SAD, Confidential Report of the meeting in Zurich, 21-23.10.1969, 12.
45 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/896, Th. M. van den Hamer, Confidential Report of the meeting in Copenhagen, 25-30.10.1976, 40.
46 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/896, Th. M. van den Hamer, Confidential Report of the meeting in Copenhagen, 25-30.10.1976, 43.
47 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/896, Th. M. van den Hamer, Confidential Report of the meeting in Copenhagen, 25-30.10.1976, 43.
48 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/897, Th. M. van den Hamer, Confidential Report of the meeting in Lucerne, 25-30.9.1978, 21.
49 Bern, Schweizerische Nationalbibliothek (NB), SAD, Arbeitsheft "Ist Demokratie lernbar?" (1980), 4. In academic literature, political education (*politische Bildung*) refers to education in terms of politics, usually with a focus on democracy as a form of life, society, and state (Fritz Reheis 2014, pp. 17–18). Civic education

(*staatsbürgerliche Erziehung*) aims to build democratic competencies in members of society so as to influence their actions and ensure that the democratic model of society works in practice (Frank 2005, p. 1).

50 Bern, Schweizerische Nationalbibliothek (NB), SAD, Arbeitsheft "Ist Demokratie lernbar?" (1980), 6, and NB, SAD, Arbeitsheft "Didaktische Fragen der Politischen Bildung" (1980), 5.

51 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/793, SAD, Fachgruppe Politische Bildung, Sitzungen 1979–1985, 22.8.1979, 1.

52 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/897, Th. M. van den Hamer, Confidential Report of the meeting in Lucerne, 25-30.9.1978, 20.

53 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/897, Th. M. van den Hamer, Confidential Report of the meeting in Lucerne, 25-30.9.1978, 15.

54 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/897, Th. M. van den Hamer, Confidential Report of the meeting in Lucerne, 25-30.9.1978, 16.

55 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/897, Th. M. van den Hamer, Confidential Report of the meeting in Lucerne, 25-30.9.1978, 18.

56 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/897, Th. M. van den Hamer, Confidential Report of the meeting in Lucerne, 25-30.9.1978, 19.

57 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/793, SAD, Fachgruppe Politische Bildung, Sitzungen 1979–85, SAD-Konzept, 1.

58 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/793, SAD, Fachgruppe Politische Bildung, Sitzungen 1979–85, SAD-Konzept, 2.

59 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/793, SAD, Fachgruppe Politische Bildung, Sitzungen 1979–85, SAD-Konzept.

60 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/793, SAD, Fachgruppe Politische Bildung, Sitzungen 1979–85, SAD-Konzept.

61 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/793, SAD, Fachgruppe Politische Bildung, Sitzungen 1979–85, SAD-Konzept, 3.

62 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/60, Ulmer, LA-Sitzung 22.5.1980, Protokoll, 3.

63 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/60, Ulmer, LA-Sitzung 22.5.1980, Protokoll, 3.

64 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/793, SAD, Fachgruppe Politische Bildung, Sitzungen 1979–85, SAD-Konzept, 1.

65 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/63, SAD, LA-Sitzungen 1983, Kostenvergleiche für 1982/83 erschienene Publikationen.

66 Bern, Schweizerische Nationalbibliothek (NB), SAD, Arbeitsheft "Ist Demokratie lernbar?" (1980), 4.

67 Bern, Schweizerische Nationalbibliothek (NB), SAD, Arbeitsheft "Ist Demokratie lernbar?" (1980), 4–5.

68 Bern, Schweizerische Nationalbibliothek (NB), SAD, Arbeitsheft "Ist Demokratie lernbar?" (1980), 4–5.

69 Bern, Schweizerische Nationalbibliothek (NB), SAD, Arbeitsheft "Ist Demokratie lernbar?" (1980).

70 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/29, SAD, Generalversammlung 7.5.1988, Neue Mitglieder für den LA.

71 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/29, SAD, Generalversammlung 7.5.1988, Neue Mitglieder für den LA.

72 Bern, Schweizerische Nationalbibliothek (NB), SAD, Arbeitsheft "Didaktische Fragen der Politischen Bildung" (1980), 5.

73 Bern, Schweizerische Nationalbibliothek (NB), SAD, Arbeitsheft "Didaktische Fragen der Politischen Bildung" (1980), 5.

74 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/793, SAD, Fachgruppe Politische Bildung, Sitzungen 1979–85, 1.5.1985, 1.

75 Original title: "Aktuelles Zeitgeschehen als Ansatz politischer Bildung".

76 Zurich, Schweizerisches Sozialarchiv (SozArch), Bibliothek: HF 786, SAD,

Schriften der SAD 19: "Aktuelles Zeitgeschehen als Ansatz politischer Bildung" (1985), 1.

77 Zurich, Schweizerisches Sozialarchiv (SozArch), Bibliothek: HF 786, SAD, Schriften der SAD 19: "Aktuelles Zeitgeschehen als Ansatz politischer Bildung" (1985), 6. The popular petition aimed at a prohibition of building and operating of new nuclear power plants in Switzerland. See https://www.bk.admin.ch/ch/d/pore/vi/vis147t.html (03.01.2022).

78 SozArch, Bibliothek: SAD, HF 786, Schriften der SAD 19: "Aktuelles Zeitgeschehen als Ansatz politischer Bildung" (1985), 6, 71.

79 SozArch, Bibliothek: SAD, HF 786, Schriften der SAD 19, Autoren.

80 In German: Schweizerisches Institut für Berufspädagogik.

81 In German: Leiter von schweizerischen Fortbildungskursen.

82 SozArch, Bibliothek: HF 786, SAD, Schriften der SAD 19, 1.

83 SozArch, Bibliothek: HF 786, SAD, Schriften der SAD 19, 1.

84 SozArch, Bibliothek: HF 786, SAD, Schriften der SAD 19, 1.

85 Bern, Schweizerische Nationalbibliothek (NB), SAD, Arbeitsheft "Didaktische Fragen der Politischen Bildung" (1980), 5–6.

86 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/896, Th. M. van den Hamer, Confidential Report of the meeting in Copenhagen, 25-30.10.1976, 43.

87 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/896, Th. M. van den Hamer, Confidential Report of the meeting in Copenhagen, 25-30.10.1976.

88 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/896, Th. M. van den Hamer, Confidential Report of the meeting in Copenhagen, 25-30.10.1976, 42.

89 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/896, Th. M. van den Hamer, Confidential Report of the meeting in Copenhagen, 25-30.10.1976, 43.

90 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/794, SAD, Fachgruppe Politische Bildung, Sitzungen 1986–87, 16.3.1987, 3.

91 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/793, SAD, Fachgruppe Politische Bildung, Sitzungen 1979–85, 18.1.1983, 2.

92 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/793, SAD, Fachgruppe Politische Bildung, Sitzungen 1979–85, 7.1.1985, 2.

93 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/794, SAD, Fachgruppe Politische Bildung, Sitzungen 1986–87, 21.1.1986, 2.

94 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/793, SAD, Fachgruppe Politische Bildung, Sitzungen 1979–85, 7.1.1985, 3.

95 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/794, SAD, Fachgruppe Politische Bildung, Sitzungen 1986–87, 21.1.1986, 4.

96 In German, these were called *kantonale Lehrerfortbildungsstellen*.

97 Bern, Schweizerische Nationalbibliothek (NB), SAD, Arbeitsheft "Ist Demokratie lernbar?" (1980), 4. The SAD especially wanted to harmonize its activities in the field of political education with the Swiss Conference of Cantonal Ministers of Education, the Swiss Institute for Vocational Pedagogy, and other educational institutions.

98 In German: Schweizerisches Institut für Berufspädagogik.

99 In German: Schweizerische Dokumentationsstelle für Schul- und Bildungsfragen.

100 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/793, SAD, Politische Bildung: Sitzungen 1979–1985, Konzept Politische Bildung, 5.

101 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/897, Th. M. van den Hamer, Conference Report of the meeting in Lucerne, 25-30.9.1978, 2.

102 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/65, SAD, LA-Sitzungen 1985: Protokoll Sitzung 17.6.1985, 5.

103 AfZ: IB-SAD-Archiv/901 V+V meeting in Bonn, 1983, letter from H. Viebig to R. Johanni, 28.12.1982.

104 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/62, SAD, LA-Sitzungen 1982: Protokoll Sitzung 7.5.1982, 4.

105 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/ 887 Letter from Hans Ulmer to Andreas Iten, 9.10.1996.

106 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/ 887 Letter from Hans Ulmer to Andreas Iten, 9.10.1996.
107 AfZ: IB SAD-Archiv/ 887 Letter from Hans Ulmer to Andreas Iten, 7.10.1996.

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Part III

Competing Models and Counter-Models

8 American Fairs and Soviet Olympiads

Scientific Youth Competitions as Elite Fostering and Cold War Internationalism

Daniel Lövheim

Introduction[1]

> It seems clear that there is a remarkable similarity of idea between the competitions in the Soviet Union and the "Olympiads", and the science fairs and the Science Talent Search in the United States. In all cases the aim is to encourage, discern, and develop the individual talent, to provide experience broader and richer than is to be found in the formal curriculum – in fact, to provide the enrichment of the human individual, which is the object of all out-of-school activity.[2]

In 1969, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) published a handbook that was called *Out-of-school Science Activities for Young People*, with the aim of giving "a broad picture" of promising global developments in a growing field of interest. The book painted a landscape of flourishing extracurricular initiatives taking place on every continent in the form of clubs, museums, meetings, camps, and excursions for scientific youth. With its strong mandate to support learning projects, UNESCO was one of the more outspoken advocates of the phenomenon of "out-of-school activities" – a phrase that sought to capture the idea of bringing young people into educative leisure-time engagements during the first decades of the postwar era.[3]

The handbook also had a section on school competitions as a way of enticing particularly talented students into future scientific pursuits. In the quote above, a comparison was made between developments in the Soviet Union and the United States. With the examples of "Olympiads" and "science fairs", UNESCO had brought together the two largest and most widely disseminated forms of such contests. In doing so, the UN-special agency also placed two educational models next to each other that exercised separate, yet similar, forms of Cold War internationalism. As such, they displayed what historian Sandrine Kott calls "the international ambitions that each bloc held for its own universalism" (Kott 2017, p. 340). Since 1945 the gradual spread of the competitions had confirmed extracurricular engagements in school science as important components of the East-West rivalry. It also displayed a strong belief in taking special care of individual excellence for the sake of ideological

supremacy. Despite their respective parts to play in an existing struggle, how-ever, the events' global expansion was in many ways strikingly parallel. In their separate paths, they would share a number of assumptions about talented sci-entific youth and its international significance.

Below I will compare and analyze these two forms of competition for sec-ondary school students that UNESCO presented as showing "a remarkable similarity of idea" – the International Olympiads in mathematics, physics, and chemistry that were disseminated within Eastern Europe following an original Soviet Union model, and the American concept, the International Science Fair (ISF).[4] I will argue that the simultaneous transfer of these events from national to transnational phenomena during the late 1950s and early 1960s made them executors of parallel internationalisms during the Cold War. School systems, curricula, and textbooks can all be understood as instruments for exporting and implementing global ambitions (Wojdon 2017). But the educational trans-fer of values, ideals, and timeless truths could also happen through after-school programs and activities. In fact, in some ways, it is reasonable to assume that the absence of formal curricular frames and practices could create phenomena that traveled easier across national borders.

The increasingly transnational character of the competitions also made them resemble other global theaters of the conflict where excellence in sports, architecture, or fine arts was conceived as representing a specific country and its ideological foundations (Rider 2016; Parks 2018; Molella and Knowles 2019; Caute 2003). In this specific case, high-performing students in upper sec-ondary school science were selected in ways that made them embody and showcase the quality of their national educational system, and sometimes its political points of departure. In my analysis of the two forms of competition below, I will focus on how their exercise of educational internationalism during the 1960s and 1970s was shaped by Cold War tensions, and how this, in turn, affected them as environments for fostering youth elites in science.

The sources that I use come from a couple of Swedish archives where the pro-ceedings of the competitions are present, mostly in the form of invitations, programs, speeches, letters, newspaper clippings, and travel reports. Since these archives hold information on much more than merely the activities of Swedish secondary school students, this chapter is also able to discuss and analyze the participation of contes-tants and actors from other countries.[5] I have also examined newspapers, journals, and other types of printed material to cover the events or developments that were related to them. Even though there are no oral sources in my material, I have used biographical accounts from former participants to some extent.

Interwar Structures and Developments

When Leningrad State University in the spring of 1934 organized a mathemat-ical secondary school competition named "Olympiad", among its key ambi-tions were not only to stimulate an increased interest in the subject but also to identify the most gifted young people for further academic studies.[6]

Mathematical contests for school students were not new to the interwar period. Among its predecessors were the French *Concours général* and the Hungarian *Eötvös contest* during the 19th century. Still, the Leningrad Olympiad could be described as an extracurricular innovation that would not only establish stronger ties to the university but also remain a lasting feature in many socialist societies over the years.[7] During the following decade, the concept gradually expanded to other cities like Moscow and Kiev. Soon contests in subjects such as chemistry (1938) and physics (1939) would be launched and contribute to a broadened scope and framework (Kukushkin 1996, pp. 553–554; Kunfalvi 1984, pp. 66–67; Tyulkov et al. 2008, p. 236).

From a wider perspective, the gradual growth of school science contests during the 1930s can be said to have confirmed the presence of competition in early communist culture. As has been shown by historical work on Soviet interwar years, "socialist competition" was presented as an activity that – contrary to the individualism that was said to prevail in the old capitalist world – led to unselfish forms of participation and that had the ability to develop talents who could spearhead a new form of society. This notion had been strong within the labor heroism of the Stakhanovite movement, but also among athletes and within sports culture in the same period. The advent of Olympiads in mathematics, physics, and chemistry added yet another layer of competition discourse in Soviet society, as it was extended to scientific youth within upper secondary schools (Miklossy and Ilic 2014, pp. 1–2; Scherrer 2014, pp. 12–17; Parks 2018, pp. xiv–xv).

After 1945, the educational systems of Eastern Europe would be subject to a rapid Sovietization. By 1953, for instance, all institutes for higher education had adapted to the Soviet model (Connelly 2000, pp. 5, 45; Nisonen-Trnka 2021, pp. 58–59). The spread of science Olympiads fitted within this larger pattern, as all members within the Warsaw Pact would gradually launch national arrangements of their own. It was a development that confirmed postwar extensions of socialist internationalism within extracurricular science, but also illustrated its fairly one-sided direction, with Moscow as its epicenter (Turner 1978, p. 804; Babiracki and Jersild 2016, p. 4).

The interwar years were as important to the infrastructural growth of American science fairs as they had been to the development of an "Olympic" model within Soviet secondary education. As in the Russian case, these after-school activities did not appear out of nowhere. Youth clubs in rural areas for both boys and girls existed during the first decades of the 20th century, especially in the fields of agriculture and farming. Another example in the same period that had successfully sought to fuel children's interests was the nature study movement that was visible in urban areas, and that proposed interaction and observation outside the classroom in locations such as parks, gardens, and museums (Terzian 2013, p. 15; Scripps 2014, pp. 86–89; Kohlstedt 2010; Onion 2016, pp. 19–21). However, when the American Institute in 1928 organized the Children's Fair in New York, it was the first event of its kind solely for youth. Unlike the Soviet Olympiads, which were arranged as written exams over a

couple of days and divided into both theoretical and (in the case of chemistry and physics) experimental parts, fairs took the form of public exhibitions where students displayed scientific projects that had been developed over the course of several months. Because the events were seen as activities that could make a substantial contribution to science learning, close ties to the formal educational community were already present at the onset. Participation was channeled through membership in local school clubs, and many prominent science teachers were engaged on different levels during the 1930s (Kunfalvi 1978, p. 66; Terzian 2013, pp. 33–56; Scripps 2014, pp. 86–89).

While the first children's fairs reflected an older tradition dominated by agriculture and gardening, a growing classification of projects would also take place that corresponded to categories ruled by modern school curricula, such as chemistry, physics, and biology. Under the leadership of a non-profit news agency named Science Service, the events – soon renamed as "science fairs" – expanded gradually during the early postwar years, with most participants being between 15 and 18 years of age. The arrangements became increasingly popular in many states, with large crowds being drawn to the exhibitions – a process that culminated in 1950, when the first National Science Fair opened at the Franklin Institute in Philadelphia (Terzian 2013, pp. 125–126; Scripps 2014, pp. 99, 248).

Despite a number of differences between American and Soviet contests – for example, in their design, funding, and execution – there were also many similarities. They both originated in metropolitan environments in the time period between world wars and expanded from being local phenomena to regional and eventually national events being arranged annually. They were also presented as meaningful activities during a period when leisure time became a growing part of young peoples' lives in many countries of the industrialized world (Terzian 2013, p. 10). Furthermore, in their parallel growth, they would eventually take on the characteristics of movements with a steadily rising number of participants and affiliations to other youth organizations, such as the Soviet Pioneer and Komsomol groups, or the Science Clubs of America (Vasiliev and Egorov 1988, p. 10; Peacock 2014, p. 66; Terzian, pp. 62–63; Scripps 2019, pp. 54–55; Scripps 2014, p. 165).

Another characteristic that the two competitions shared was built into the very purpose of the arrangements, namely, their dual mission to address both the masses and the elites. In public calls, participation was often presented in a way that was inclusive and tried to encourage as many young people as possible to enter. However, the structure of the events was selective and designed to eventually single out individuals who could demonstrate the most advanced and innovative form of scientific thinking. To reach such levels, the contestants would often study subject matter that went beyond regular secondary school science. Achievement and effort, thus, were qualities that distinguished those who performed most successfully. Furthermore, many of them could also draw upon other resources in the form of adult support. There are many examples of teachers, parents, or university students helping participants by discussing

with them, providing books to read, or giving extra access to laboratories in order to further their advancement in scientific pursuits (Szalay 2010, p. 13).[8]

The double-sided aim of the competitions reflected a larger tension within science teaching during the 20th century, when democratic and participatory ideals of citizenship existed alongside rationales of elite education. In the early postwar period, the gap between these two goals increased. In the American context, mobilizing school science for wartime and later Cold War needs transferred the fairs into more meritocratic phenomena, while civic ideals were downplayed (Terzian 2013, pp. 141–145). Regulations concerning the national "All-Russian" Olympiads in the mid-1960s also more formally started to emphasize aims such as finding "the most capable" and attracting them to leading higher scientific institutes. From this period and onwards, increased levels of difficulty and selection were also noticeable (Tyulkov et al. 2008, p. 237). Following this development, the two forms of competitions would also share another feature, in that they confirmed gendered and socio-economic patterns of youth participation in science during the 20th century. Boys from urban, privileged backgrounds were overrepresented both as participants and as winners (Tarasuk 1981, p. 5; Scripps 2014, pp. 258–260; Terzian 2013, p. 140).

Extracurricular Science and the Cold War

School competitions are but one example of the cultural dimension of the Cold War. A host of historical research in various disciplines during recent decades has opened up the East-West conflict to perspectives that focus less on military and political consequences and more on aspects such as arts, science, architecture, and sports, but also to concepts of other dimensions such as travel, culture consumption, social mobility, and grassroots activity. This has made it possible to portray aspects of the everyday lives of ordinary people and furthered a more nuanced image of a sometimes not-so-divided world with entanglements and shared developments between the two blocs (Mikkonen and Koivunen 2015; Oldenziel and Zachmann 2009, pp. 1–3).

Education, youth, and childhood fit well into a broadened analytical scope of the Cold War. Since they embodied the future state of the conflict, children and teenagers were involved in it for different purposes and in different ways. Studies have shown that growing up during the 1950s meant being prepared for war, engaging in civil defense, or in other ways being committed to the ideological struggle (Grieve 2018, p. 2; Hartman 2008, pp. 71–72). But during these years, young people could also be mobilized as a rhetorical resource for propaganda. Through various forms of media representation, they became, to quote historian Margret Peacock: "visions of the happiness and security that their own sociopolitical systems made possible" (Peacock 2014, p. 221). Thus, to a certain extent, a "Cold War childhood" could be described as a shared experience across the East-West divide.

Other aspects involving the "educationalization" of the conflict have been well covered, not least with reference to physics, chemistry, and biology

(Rudolph 2002, pp. 83–111; Kaiser 2002, pp. 131–159; Tröhler 2013, p. 146; Hof 2018). Even before Sputnik, science teaching was seen as of crucial importance if the United States were to defend its position as a leading industrial nation (Rudolph 2015, pp. 186–192). To a large extent, this was the result of the proven technological uses – both from military and civil perspectives – of scientific research during the war. But the specific emphasis on improved teaching of these subjects after 1945 also reflected the growing image of education as an economic investment, not only of benefit for the individual but also for the nation. A modernized curriculum – especially in physics – bore the promise of a strengthened research base, high-quality industrial production, and continued economic growth (Lövheim 2014, pp. 1767–1768; also on this issue, see Chapter 10 of this book, by Jamyung Choi).

Science competitions, camps, and clubs were already seen as pillars of the extracurricular movement before the Second World War. The fact that these activities were deemed almost as important as regular teaching after 1945 was confirmed by the intensified ways in which the United States started to export concepts for after-school engagements to the postwar world. In a general trend of Americanization that reached every continent, and initially accompanied by the universal vision of a "One World", there was a promotion of cultural goods that also included education (on this issue, see "Conclusion" in this book, by Giles Scott-Smith). For example, attempts were made during the 1940s to build, with the aid of UNESCO, a network of science clubs in the hope of reducing global tensions (Scripps 2014, pp. 165–166; Terzian 2013, p. 110; Iriye 1997, pp. 157–158; Tröhler 2013, p. 143). As relations with the UN-organization did not develop as planned, however, most efforts to spread extracurricular science were made by the United States on their own.[9]

By the end of the 1950s, domestic science fairs had been initiated in Canada and the pre-occupied countries of Japan and West Germany. Following the turn of the decade, the United States would continue its effort to disseminate science fair movements in Latin America and on the Iberian Peninsula.[10] Historian of science education, Sarah Scripps, pointed to how this development led to the domination and standardization of after-school science activities across the Western Hemisphere (Scripps 2019, pp. 68–69; Scripps 2014, pp. 273–274).

"International" Arenas

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, thus, two internationalist movements in the field of extracurricular science expanded on the world stage, each corresponding to a universalism of either the "free world" or communism. Their dissemination followed a similar pattern of spreading secondary school competitions in countries that were ideologically or geographically close and, in more than one case, had been previously occupied. As a result of this combination of military superiority and cultural diplomacy, there was a dual transfer of models for an elite fostering of scientific youth.

In a final extension of this development, international versions of the respective forms of competition were arranged. When, for instance, the 1958 National Science Fair in Flint, Michigan, welcomed winners from Japan to the event, they were soon followed by participants from Canada, Thailand, and Army Dependents' Schools in Europe.[11] In 1963 – the same year as Sweden sent a delegation to cross the Atlantic – there was a name change to symbolize the new format: "National Science Fair—International".[12] In 1965, when St. Louis welcomed more than 400 finalists to display their projects, the label would be changed again to ISF, although the arrangements were always situated in an American city.[13]

In a parallel series of events, the first International Mathematical Olympiad (IMO) was arranged by Romania in 1959, and in the following decade similar competitions in physics (IPhO) and chemistry (IChO) were inaugurated in Poland and Czechoslovakia. No formal collaboration existed between the three Olympic organizations, but they were all built around the same idea and used an almost identical structure for the arrangements. The number of participants varied during the 1960s but rarely exceeded 100 students per event. Contrary to the American contests, the Olympiads shifted the hosting country every year (Lövheim 2021).

Following both competitions' growth and gradually extended scope during the 1960s, two important developments could be noted. First, they facilitated a flow of knowledge and people across national borders. As a consequence, individuals and organizations became involved as actors of transnationalism who – literally and figuratively – transgressed the nation-state as a meaning-making framework for their partaking in the events. In the recollections of Alexander Sándor Szalay from Hungary, winner of the first IPhO in 1967, participating helped him and his fellow contenders to transcend geographical boundaries beyond their school, hometown, and country. But it also made them realize that physics could create imagined communities in the minds of kindred spirits. According to Szalay, they learned that "other smart people and our common interests can form a special bond" (Szalay 2010, p. 13).

Among those who turned up at the different venues, however, were also teachers, accompanying adults, and members of local organizing committees. Many of these individuals would be attending seminars and round tables, where they discussed future matters in close attachment to science learning. Their presence corresponded to an outspoken aim of both competitions to spread pedagogical ideas, and to also stimulate contacts between educators (Kunfalvi 1978, p. 66).[14]

The second trait that was accentuated as the events were gradually made parts of an educational internationalism was that their elite profile became even more visible than before. Now, selected students represented not only themselves, their school, and local surroundings – they were also understood and presented as the fruits of their country's educational system and, at times, even its ideological points of departure. The global competitiveness was rhetorically staged in numerous reports and summaries from the contests.

"Winners from all over the world pit their exhibits against each other" touted one article in the weekly magazine of Science Service from the 1967 ISF in San Francisco.[15] The finalists were presented as an impressive gathering where each student was a winner of a fair back home. "Here he [sic] comes face to face with the best work of his contemporaries".[16] As mentioned above, the finalists at each event had already displayed high levels of talent getting selected beyond local and regional stages. In some cases, competing for international laurels added yet another stage of qualification. For instance, the small number of individuals (four–eight students) that were chosen for the Olympiads in mathematics, chemistry, or physics were more or less formed into junior national teams in their respective disciplines. At this stage they often attended special forms of training camps for longer or shorter periods, when they could prepare themselves with support from university staff (Lövheim 2021).

As the events more and more came to be positioned as global standards for extracurricular science, their role as platforms for fostering youth elites also became internationalized. Prizes and awards in the form of money, books, or scientific equipment were won in competition with champions from other nations, something that meant greater claims of excellence could be made. The most successful participants could also be distinguished from their peers in other ways, for instance, through direct entrances to universities or summer job opportunities at research laboratories.[17] In her study of Nobel Laureates as a scientific elite, sociologist of science Harriet Zuckerman has pointed to "social processes in the accumulation of advantage in science" (Zuckerman 1996, p. vii). She argues that, in these processes, certain individuals receive rewards and other resources in a way that gradually separates them from others within the same field, thereby contributing to a stratification of science. The participation in International Science Olympiads and Science Fairs suggests that such stratifications could commence as early as secondary school levels.

Within these processes of attaining international recognition, it is also important to stress the role of adults. Often present at the solemn closing ceremonies would be highly ranked scientists such as Nobel laureates or other award winners.[18] Political leaders were also present in one way or another. Ministers of Education, for instance, could be seen at the ceremonial parts of the Olympiads, thereby enhancing the importance of the arrangements. A similar role was played by American presidents, who traditionally sent their greetings for a successful science fair.[19]

Despite the rhetorical openness to the world, however, the "international" format of the events would to a large extent be restricted by a Cold War logic. At the ISF, only winners from non-socialist countries participated during the 1960s and 1970s. On more than one occasion, the contrast between appeals to scientific youth around the world, on the one hand, and different forms of boundary work that demarcated who could or couldn't participate on the other was demonstrated. In a public message, sent by Science Service to welcome Sweden to the 1963 ISF in Albuquerque, the organization spoke about a "growing international program designed to increase scientific understanding

and interest among talented secondary school students everywhere".[20] Yet in other presentations during the fair, there would be many reminders of the truths and ideological points of departure that accompanied such global calls. In a special issue of the magazine *Albuquerque Progress*, the participants were said to "represent the best young scientific minds of our 50 states and six foreign countries of the free world".[21] This ideological demarcation would be confirmed by four-star General Bernard Schriever in a public lecture given in conjunction with the fair. When addressing the students, he saluted their talent and aptitude, but also warned them that science in modern society could become evil when stripped of its moral principles:

> This is what has happened under communism. The leaders of the Soviet Union have placed great emphasis on science and technology. At the same time, they have rejected all moral values that would interfere with their drive to control the world. […] This system is a source of continual threat to peoples who wish to live in freedom. It has no conscience, and it respects only one thing – the demonstrated strength of its opponents.[22]

In speeches like this, Schriever and others invested an outspoken anti-communism in the international science fair movement that reflected political tensions at the time. With the Cuban missile crisis being just six months old, it was no coincidence that his lecture contained such a confrontational tone. The connection between secondary school science and war was also made explicit by the United States Navy, who had launched their own Science Cruiser Program, where they sought to find and encourage well-performing participants whose projects were of interest to them. Among the materials handed out to the finalists in Albuquerque was a brochure telling its readers that a totalitarian nation was for the first time in history posing a threat to "free men throughout the world", equipped with a well-advanced technology:

> This means grim competition; competition in which money, programs, and machines are perhaps less vital than brains, imagination, and will. And in this competition lies a challenge to you, the science-minded high school student of America; your intellect, your creativity, and your will can keep the Free World free in this and the coming century.[23]

Links between extracurricular science and world politics would also become present at the arrangement of the Olympiads in Eastern Europe. At the closing ceremony of the 1969 IChO in Warsaw, Dr Zbigniew Kwapniewski, chairman of the organizing committee, told the audience that the goals of the event were to compete and measure strengths, but also to create friendly bonds between young chemistry students from different countries of the "peoples' democracies".[24] His speech confirmed a pattern that, despite the somewhat different timeframes, had been identical for all the Olympiads; they had expanded carefully within the socialist sphere of Eastern Europe, from a few countries to

eventually incorporate the whole Warsaw Pact. Consequently, during a first phase toward the end of the 1960s, the IMO, IPhO, and IChO would prevent meetings between participants of the two world systems in the same way as the science fairs did.

Despite this ambition of creating friendly bonds between socialist countries, however, the execution of the Olympiads did not prevent them from reflecting larger geopolitical issues involving the Soviet Union's relations with its satellite states. Invitations to join the IChO in 1973 were sent to most other non-European socialist nations, such as Cuba, North Vietnam, and Mongolia. China, however, did not receive a call, which mirrored the aggravated Sino-Russian relations of the time (Davids 1998, p. 8; Crump 2015, pp. 270–273). Five years earlier, Romania had been excluded from the 1968 inaugural event in Prague as a result of the ongoing tension between Bucharest and Moscow. When the political situation in the Czech capital escalated in the spring, the Soviets eventually decided not to take part themselves. Czechoslovakia was also to host the IPhO in Brno 1969. That tension lingered was proved when the Soviet participants, for security reasons, were not allowed to sleep in the university dormitories. Recollections of the Hungarian team from the week of the competition include encountering openly declared support for the recently deposed leader, Alexander Dubcek (Horváthy 2003, pp. 302–307).

Elite Fostering and Cold War Youth

The development described above suggests that during most of the 1960s, social processes of cultivating future scientific elites at international competitions were likely to be inseparable from the political aspects of the Cold War. Places and events where young participants received rewards and were told that they bore great promise were the same sites that separated them – geographically and ideologically – along the borders of capitalism and communism.

With the case of the Olympiads, however, this situation gradually started to change in the late 1960s and early 1970s as Western countries began to be invited. Not only neutral states such as Sweden and Austria joined, but also France, Great Britain, and the United States participated in some of the contests.[25] This rapprochement coincided in time with détente and the fact that tensions within each bloc had generated a more complex structure of the conflict. As a consequence, the IMO, IPhO, and IChO now started to fulfill their pretensions to create global meeting places for school students and science educators, irrespective of ideological belonging.

During this time UNESCO also started to support the Olympic events, both economically and morally. Their presence on site contributed to legitimizing the arrangements, but also affirmed the organization's interest in out-of-school science beyond producing texts such as their 1969 handbook. As an important global actor for science and education during the period, UNESCO's engagement can be seen as the result of both political and economic factors.

Their support of international school contests blended the interest in generating peaceful coexistence with a need for more and better scientists in order to further technological progress and economic growth (Lövheim 2021).

As a consequence, during the 1970s, the Science Olympiads could literally be seen as Cold War arenas where top students from both sides of the divide displayed their scientific skills. In contrast to Pia Koivunen's investigation of the Soviet-sponsored World Youth Festivals – which were broad cultural events in sports, dance, film, theater, and fine arts – they slowly started to develop into an "agreed field of play", to quote David Caute (Koivunen 2014, pp. 137–138; Caute 2003, p. 4). At the same time, it is hard to depict the Science Olympiads as evenly balanced arenas for competition. The contests were not traditionally rooted in the Western countries, and many students who participated were not prepared in the same way as their Eastern contenders, who in contrast had been able to focus on the competition for a long time and were studying science courses more aligned with the problems presented at the events. This led to a steady dominance of winners from the socialist nations, not least the Soviet Union (Kabardin and Orlov 1985, p. 7). Furthermore, the events were still to a large extent controlled by the Eastern Bloc, since they were always arranged in those parts of Europe, with only two exceptions during the 1970s.

Nevertheless, inviting Western students and their leaders gradually allowed for a more complex Cold War formation of youth elites in science. At the 1977 IChO in Prague, participants enjoyed experiences that had not been possible in the previous decade. For instance, speeches at the closing ceremony did not only praise the Socialist Union of Youth and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic for giving the event full moral support in pursuit of education and selection of young talents; the fact that school students from nations with "different social systems" were present was also mentioned as of specific importance. The young competitors were told:

> You have met with friends from different countries. You have made sure that you could both compete with them and be friends with them. The Olympiads will stimulate your wish not only to become better chemicians [sic], but also to be better and more progressive people, ready to give all your capacities to social progress.[26]

The growing encounters with peers from different political systems suggest that the shared experiences of being Cold War youths were given a deeper meaning than before. At this point, students from East and West intermingled at the same "Olympic" sites where they – together – became involved in processes favorable for developing elite self-images. The competitions would remain phenomena where national and ideological pride were of great importance. But as the events were aimed to be positioned as more neutral in a – still – highly polarized world, such discourses were now blended with appeals to unite in global responsibilities and identities.

Conclusion

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, two forms of science competitions for secondary school students started to expand simultaneously on the world stage, reflecting processes of educational internationalisms of the Cold War. Both the Soviet concept of Olympiads in mathematics, physics, and chemistry and the American science fairs became instruments of cultural diplomacy and political dominance in their respective spheres of interest. As a result, they quickly took on the form of standards within extracurricular science.

Built on the premises of capitalist or socialist world orders, the competitions shared a belief in the importance of nurturing highly gifted secondary school students as a way of taking on the political, industrial, and economic challenges of divided postwar societies. Even though they departed from opposing worldviews and differed in their organization, they also showed great resemblance in their origins in urban, interwar settings. Furthermore, they were assigned the somewhat contradictory task of approaching both the few and the many. In the postwar years – as science education became tied closely to the East-West rivalry – meritocratic aspects started to weigh heavier and the contests experienced raised levels of difficulty. The participants who were chosen to represent their countries in the final stages excelled in knowledge, but they often had other resources as well, in the form of support from the adult world. Through awards at exclusive ceremonies and contacts within scientific networks, they were given a type of recognition that distinguished them from their peers. As a consequence, they were involved in social processes of accumulation of advantages in science.

The same processes of distinction took place on both sides of the divide, leading to a shared, yet spatially separated, experience of belonging to a youth elite in science. During most of the 1960s, this joint membership was demarcated by Cold War tensions in a way that sought to make high-achieving students embark on a scientific career for the sake of their country or its political system. In the first half of the 1970s, however, as far as the East European Olympiads were concerned, a change was under way that coincided in time with loosened tensions between the two blocs. Western countries started to partake in the competitions and, thus, a more complex form of Cold War fostering of scientific youth began to take place. The shared experiences of belonging to an elite could now be made at the same time, on the same sites, leading to strengthened transnational bonds, not only between those representing the same ideological system but also between those that represented different systems.

Notes

2 R. A. Stevens, *Out-of-school Science Activities for Young People* (Paris: UNESCO, 1969), 48.

3 R. A. Stevens, *Out-of-school Science Activities for Young People* (Paris: UNESCO, 1969), 16.

4 I treat the different Olympiads as one competition format even though they were separate events with separate organizations.

5 These archives are from the *Swedish National Board of Education* and *Unga Forskare* (Young Researchers).

6 Chistyakov, I. I. 1934. "Итоги Ленинградской математической олимпиады", Математика и физика в средней школе, no. 4 ("Results of the Leningrad Mathematical Olympiad", *Mathematics and Physics in High School*, No. 4): 134–136.

7 The Olympiad movement would survive the fall of communism in Russia and many other countries that formerly belonged to the Eastern Bloc.

8 Shirley Moore, "Origin of the Scientist", *Science News-Letter* 78, no. 10 (September 3), 1960, 154.

9 R. A. Stevens.1969. *Out-of-school Science Activities for Young People*. Paris: UNESCO, 36–38. Documents and publications from UNESCO show that the organization continued to spread the American model in the 1950s and well into the 1960s. See, for instance, *Unesdoc Digital Library*, NS/TS/12, WS/048.44, Dewey E. Large "The Science Fair – Tool of Science Education", Study Conference on Science Teaching, Bangkok, 1956.

10 Stockholm, Swedish National Archives, Archive of Unga Forskare, Utställningen Unga Forskare, vol. 1, letter from Watson Davis to Sigvard Strandh, 10.09.1962.

11 [s.n.]. 1960. "Youth Explores Space Age", *Science News-Letter* 77, no. 2: 326.

12 Stockholm, Swedish National Museum of Science and Technology, archive of Unga Forskare, box F3D:2, Science Service, "Sweden joins national science fair – International", 1963.

13 [s.n.]. 1964. "Science Fair Award Winners", *Science News-Letter* 87, no. 21: 323–324.

14 Stockholm, Swedish National Museum of Science and Technology, archive of Unga Forskare, box F3D:2, "Science Fair Directors' News Bulletin", 03.03.1963.

15 Patricia McBroom, 1967. "International Fair Opens in San Francisco", *Science News* 91, no. 19: 452.

16 Patricia McBroom, 1967. "International Fair Opens in San Francisco", *Science News* 91, no. 19, 452.

17 Danuta Trynkowska, *Physics Olympics in Poland: Organized by the Polish Physical Society in Collab. with the Ministry of Education in Warsaw* (Warszawa: Państwowe Zakłady Wydawnictw Szkolnych, 1965), 7–8; [s.n.].1960. "New Awards at the National Science Fair", S*cience News-Letter* 77, no. 9: 133.

18 Glenn T. Seaborg. 1966. "Nurturing New Scientists", *Science News* 89, no. 22: 417, 426–429.

19 [s.n.]. 1971. "Kronika", *Chemia w szkole*, no. 3: 159; Lyndon B. Johnson. 1965. "Message from the President of the United States to the 16th National Science Fair-International". *Science News-Letter* 87, no. 21: 323.

20 Stockholm, Swedish National Museum of Science and Technology, archive of Unga Forskare, box F3D:2, Science Service, "Sweden joins national science fair – International", 1963.

21 [s.n.]. 1963. "New Mexico Welcomes the National Science Fair – International", *Albuquerque Progress* 30, no. 2: 2.

22 Stockholm, Swedish National Museum of Science and Technology, archive of Unga Forskare, box F3D:2, Bernard Schriever, "The Scientific Challenge in the Space Age", 1963, 2.

23 Stockholm, Swedish National Museum of Science and Technology, archive of Unga Forskare, box F3D:2, Thomas J. Killian, "Navy Science Cruisers: Future Leaders in Science and Technology", 1963, 1.

24 Andrzej Rubaszkiewicz. 1969. "Kronika", *Chemia w szkole*, no. 5: 256.
25 *A Report on International Science and Mathematical Olympiads*. 1990. Edited by Peter J. O'Halloran. Belconnen, A.C.T: World Federation of National Mathematics Competitions, 51–52.
26 Stockholm, Swedish National Archives, Archive of National Board of Education, SE/RA/420262/30/06/F I bd 25, Jan Gazo, "Comrade minister", 1977, 2.

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9 UNESCO and the Question of Early Childhood Education During the Cold War

Michel Christian

Introduction

Modern early childhood education can be traced back to the 19th century, as a range of educational experiments with children under school age emerged in several European countries. These experiments took place within a network of European and transatlantic educationalists exchanging ideas across borders (Luc 1999). Samuel Wilderspin's *infant schools* and the French *salles d'asile* influenced each other throughout the 19th century (Burger 2014). Friedrich Fröbel visited Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi in Yverdon, Switzerland, before he created his own *Kindergarten* in Germany, which then circulated through various channels to the USA (Baader 2009), France (Luc 2006), and Switzerland (Schärer 2008). The same occurred with Maria Montessori, who experimented with her *Case dei Bambini* in Rome at the beginning of the 20th century and was diversely imitated in Europe (Konrad 1997). These educationalists shared a common vision that the young child should be educated as a human being and not trained as a small animal, a vision that connected them to the ideas of the Enlightenment. They were also willing to face national differences, either by valuing them or by overcoming them. With their universalist vision of the child and their willingness to exchange ideas and practices across borders, they embodied what can be termed "educational internationalism" (Roldán Vera and Fuchs 2019, pp. 4–9). Their internationalism, however, worked most of the time without the state. Unlike primary schools, early childhood education experiments did not strongly relate to nation-states. Often criticized in their own country, early childhood educationalists were more likely to look abroad, where they could find fellow practitioners sharing a common progressive ideology. In addition, the diversity of public and private actors, as well as confessional and secular actors, made early childhood education difficult to oversee by national governments, which most of the time left it outside their scope of action, with rare exceptions like France (Luc 1997).

This may explain in turn why early childhood education initially had a very weak echo in the United Nations Education, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), so much so that it was not even mentioned at its founding conference in London in November 1945. This absence did not only

reflect the simple fact that early childhood education was quantitatively marginal at the time. It also expressed the intergovernmental nature of this new international organization, where national sovereign states collaborating with each other played the primary role. Only after 1945 did early childhood education grow and progressively become a public concern, in the East as well as in the West. Thus, the emergence of early childhood education in UNESCO during the same period can be viewed as the addition of a new intergovernmental dimension to the older, transnational educational internationalism that dates back to the 19th century. Accordingly, this chapter will raise three questions. First, since UNESCO initially showed little or no interest in early childhood education, it is worth asking how this particular kind of education was perceived, who the actors advocating for it were, how difficult it was for them to be heard, and how they managed to push for its integration in UNESCO's programs. Second, early childhood education grew at an unprecedented pace after 1945, but under the specific conditions of the Cold War. This raises the question of its ideological dimension, as the Cold War seemed to generate two different models of societies, which necessarily had a strong impact on education in general and on early childhood education in particular. Third, early childhood education first grew massively in industrialized societies and was logically seen as a feature of "developed" societies. This raises the question of the potential transfer of early childhood education from the developed to the developing countries, in accordance with a dominant development model.

To answer these questions, this chapter will use archival material not only from UNESCO[1] but also from other organizations, such as the International Bureau of Education (IBE) and the non-governmental World Early Childhood Education Organization (*Organisation mondiale pour l'éducation préscolaire*, OMEP). The chapter argues that the different phases of the Cold War had a direct influence on when and how early childhood education emerged on the agenda. Accordingly, this chapter will examine successively the three main phases of the Cold War, highlighting their effects on early childhood education. During the late 1940s and the 1950s, early childhood education appeared as a weak cause, as Europe was divided into two opposing blocs. Conversely, in the 1960s and the 1970s, Détente had an obvious positive effect on the way UNESCO dealt with early childhood education and contributed to a shared vision of early childhood education. However, during the 1970s and the 1980s, that dominant model was questioned, as its transfer from the developed to the developing world appeared difficult, if not impossible. This made the Cold War division fade into the background, to the benefit of the North-South divide.

1945–Mid-1950s: Early Childhood Education and the "Liberal" Cold War Agenda

At its founding Conference in London in November 1945, UNESCO was charged with two main tasks: "educational reconstruction" and "international understanding" (Maurel 2012, pp. 24–27), which were both meant to deal with

the massive material damages and human suffering endured by European societies in the wake of the Second World War. In this context, primary education was given priority, and advocates of preschool education from outside UNESCO had to push for its integration into the agenda. With that purpose in mind, a small group of educationalists met several times in Zurich, Oslo, Copenhagen, London, Paris, and Prague between 1945 and 1948.[2] The group consisted mostly of female educationalists from Western and Central Europe, who had gained their experiences during the interwar period. They came from different countries, where early childhood education had often reached a certain level of institutionalization, and most of them were women who held quite significant positions in their national educational systems (Christian 2019c, pp. 270–271). Alva Myrdal (1902–1986) was co-founder and head of the National Educational Seminar in Stockholm and Jens Sigsgaard (1910–1991) headed the Froebel Teacher Training College in Copenhagen. The Frenchwoman Suzanne Herbinière-Lebert (1893–1985) and the Czech Marie Bartušková (1900–1978) were "inspectors" for public nursery schools and held high positions in their respective ministries of education. An exception to the rule was Marjory Allen (1897–1976), a landscape architect, who chaired the *Nursery School Association of Great Britain*. Some of them were internationally trained, such as Bartušková, who studied in the USA, or Myrdal, who had spent the war years in the USA, where she published a book with her husband,[3] the economist Gunnar Myrdal, who acted as the Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Europe (Stinsky 2018). Among them, Herbinière-Lebert was very soon concerned with the necessity of building an international network. As early as 1931, she had convened a "Childhood International Congress" in Paris, with more than 50 educationalists from 16 European countries and the USA, and an attendance of around 3,400 people.[4]

In a document submitted to UNESCO in November 1946,[5] this group stressed the potential contribution of early childhood education to peace. It explained that "in order that conflicts shall be made less and less likely to occur, the very art of peaceful cooperation and of acting in groups [had] to be cultivated", and argued that "early childhood education in home and schools [was] of supreme importance for attaining such a goal", since "the formation of character in general and the foundation of citizenship qualities in particular [could] receive a lasting impetus in nursery school". It also stressed the heavy consequences of war, which ranged from a high number of "physically and mentally handicapped children, orphans and illegitimates, whom [they] wish to see brought back as far as possible into the mainstream of education" to the growing female employment that increased the need for day care. The document was submitted by the Nursery School Association of Great Britain, but was also backed by the members of an "ad hoc committee for an International Council on Early Childhood Education", whose aim was "neither [to build] a federation of professional workers nor a humanitarian organization, but rather a worldwide institute on early childhood education". This necessarily implied a "cooperation within the orbit of UNESCO", where this organization would

not be "hampered by the lack of funds and support". This *ad hoc* committee used the opportunity of a UNESCO Seminar on "Education for a World Society" held in Prague in August 1948 to convene a World Conference that laid the foundation for the World Organization for Early Childhood Education, whose name in French (*Organisation mondiale pour l'éducation préscolaire*) bestowed the acronym of OMEP.[6]

OMEP was founded at the very moment when international tensions increased. The beginning of the Cold War hampered UNESCO's work considerably. It froze the affiliation process of the Soviet Union, while other Eastern Bloc countries such as Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland (Maurel 2012, pp. 111–113), which were already members since before 1948, became inactive or withdrew their membership. The Cold War broke the momentum OMEP had created by cutting the ties with the countries that now formed the "Eastern European Bloc". In addition, several of the OMEP founders were identified with the Left. The Myrdals were staunch members of the Swedish Social-Democratic Party and Gunnar Myrdal was a supporter of pan-European economic cooperation (Stinsky 2018). Allen's husband had been a leftist politician and a pacifist in the 1930s. Herbinière-Lebert was close to the psychologists Henri Wallon (1879–1962) and René Zazzo (1910–1995), both members of the French Communist Party. OMEP may have consequently been considered a "leftist" organization and suspected of being too close to the Soviet Union. Herbinière-Lebert recalled years later: "I had to explain to our friends from the USA that OMEP had no political character at all".[7]

As a result of the Cold War divide, UNESCO's member states were almost exclusively countries of Western Europe, Latin America, and North America, and overwhelmingly sided with the USA in their competition with the Soviet Union, a situation that other organizations or schemes experienced in the field of international education until the late 1950s (see Alice Byrne's chapter in this volume). This logically favored a continuity of the liberal agenda that had already prevailed in the League of Nations and in the IBE (Kulznarova and Ydesen 2017) during the interwar period. This liberal agenda relied on the idea that one should change minds rather than social structures to prevent war. It was reflected in the very preamble to UNESCO's Constitution: "Since war begins in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed". This framework had, of course, consequences on the way "preschool" could be back on the agenda. To adapt this framework, preschool advocates, especially among OMEP, linked two topics together: children's mental health on the one hand and international understanding on the other hand. As a result, they managed to have a resolution included in the 1951 UNESCO Program that pushed for the development of "programs designed to promote the healthy mental and social development of preschool and early school age children, in order to lay the basis for international cooperation".[8]

The task of implementing the resolution was given to two respected scientists. The first was Jean Piaget, who had been Director of the IBE since 1931 and had already developed a coherent vision of "international understanding"

(Hofstetter and Schneuwly, 2020) that UNESCO was in fact drawing on (Kulznarova and Ydesen 2017). Moreover, as a developmental psychologist, Piaget had always linked international understanding with early childhood education and had the topic addressed at the 9th International Conferences of Public Education, convened by the IBE in September 1939. In the "three-year plan" he set up in May 1951, he explained again that "education for international understanding at these ages cannot indeed be confined to teaching in the narrow sense of the word, still less to oral teaching".[9] On the contrary, it implied "inculcating a certain intellectual and moral outlook that shall influence the whole character and social behavior of the pupil". In this regard, he stressed the "great educational importance" of "crèches and day nurseries",[10] as well as the "formative influences of early childhood education" in infant schools.[11] The second figure involved in early childhood education with Piaget was William D. Wall (1913–2003), a British psychologist and educationalist, who headed the Unit for Education and Child Development at UNESCO from 1951 to 1956. Having witnessed the harshness of the economic depression in Great Britain, as well as the consequences of war on children in Europe, he introduced the notion of "mental hygiene" to promote early childhood education. Wall's and Piaget's efforts resulted in a *Conference on Education and the Mental Health of Children in Europe*, held in Paris in 1952. This conference raised the question of how to care for the mental health of children who experienced war conditions so that social stability may be fostered and war prevented.

The rising interest in early childhood education was carefully followed by OMEP's most active members, who stepped into the process as soon as they could. Herbinière-Lebert, as the president of OMEP from 1950 to 1954, was especially active. Her relationship with Piaget was excellent and dated back to 1931, when she invited him and the whole Geneva team of the Jean-Jacques Rousseau Institute to the Childhood International Congress she had organized. In 1952, she got to know Wall during an expert meeting on "mental hygiene in the nursery schools" that inspired the Conference on Education and the Mental Health of Children in Europe.[12]

UNESCO organized the conference in cooperation with the World Health Organization (WHO), which had already participated in the experts' meeting on "mental hygiene in the nursery schools", mentioned above. European countries were exclusively invited, since the concern about mental hygiene emerged from the awareness of the massive psychological damages caused by the war on this continent. Among them, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Yugoslavia were invited. However, only the latter joined the conference. The main participating countries were thus Great Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany, Austria, France, and Sweden. Non-governmental organizations also contributed, among them the New Education Fellowship, OMEP, but also the Catholic Church, represented by its Childhood International Catholic Office.[13]

The profiles of the participants had, of course, an influence on the conference discussions, which took place in four working groups holding several

sessions. In the working group specifically devoted to "preschool education", research on "institutionalism" led by John Bowlby and René Spitz was at the center of discussions.[14] Bowlby and Spitz had both brought to light the issue that the separation from the family had strong negative effects on young children who had spent a long time in "institutions" (hospitals, orphanages, or nurseries) and in turn led to severe troubles in development, which were termed "institutionalism". This research was *de facto* in tune with rather conservative stances on early childhood education expressed by a range of participants, especially from West Germany and Austria. They questioned the very conception of an early childhood education outside the home by stating that "preschool education [took] place essentially in the family".[15] This echoed the opinions expressed by the Childhood International Catholic Office in a document issued for the conference: "The family provides the most natural environment for the child", while "kindergarten and nursery schools should be regarded merely as extensions of home upbringing, which are necessary when the family cannot assume full responsibility for it".[16] On the contrary, other participants from Switzerland or from France stood up for "preschool", stressing its "great positive contribution to the satisfactory development of young children" and the fact that "it provided the chance to enlarge and liberalize the education given at home".[17] Herbinière-Lebert, who participated as OMEP President, stated that the contribution of "preschool" to "international understanding" was not to be compared with what the families could provide, parents being "hardly able to provide such an education", since "most of them had themselves prejudices" that were "quickly copied by the children".[18] One last controversial point was religion. The document issued by the Childhood International Catholic Office stated bluntly that "the idea of a secular kindergarten appeared incongruous, since kindergartens should work in close cooperation with the family", "religion [being] one field where this coordination seemed to be particularly necessary".[19] At the same time, "religious education and the Christian symbols" were also strongly criticized and it took "a good deal of tentative and rather difficult discussion" to agree that "there [was] nothing in the basic Christian teaching that [was] contrary to modern psychological findings about mental hygiene".[20]

Early Childhood Education and the East-West Convergence (Mid-1950s to Mid-1970s)

"Preschool education" had been a controversial topic during the 1952 Conference on Education and the Mental Health of Children in Europe, so it sometimes appeared to be questioned as such. This may explain why UNESCO did not take any other significant initiative in favor of early childhood education during the 1950s, although it had been integrated into UNESCO's Program at the General Conference of Florence in 1950 as a result of a proposal made by the French government delegation, probably lobbied by Herbinière-Lebert.[21] Just a few weeks after its creation in Prague, OMEP President Myrdal sent an

eight-page draft questionnaire to UNESCO to serve as a basis for an international survey on early childhood education, in order to update the only existing survey made by the IBE in 1939. However, the document was found to be too detailed and Pedro Rosselló himself, Deputy Director of the IBE, explained that such a survey would not be feasible. He suggested that, instead, the IBE conduct a survey on the basis of a shorter questionnaire.[22] Yet his initiative, too, did not succeed. Nevertheless, during the 1950s, UNESCO sent representatives to meetings on early childhood convened by other organizations. UNESCO was regularly represented at the OMEP World Conferences.[23] It cooperated with the WHO to organize an expert meeting on "the problem of the child of preschool age" held in Geneva in 1955,[24] as well as with the UN Office in Geneva, which organized a "Seminar on Crèches, Day-Care Centres and Kindergartens" held in Paris in 1956.[25] Some UNESCO officials appeared as supporters of early childhood education, such as Wall, who helped the UN Office in Geneva to find contacts and to organize its meeting on children of preschool age.[26] However, if UNESCO did contribute to these meetings, it did not develop its own initiatives on early childhood education at the time.

UNESCO's interest in early childhood education only grew at the start of the 1960s as a result of two changes. The first was after 1956 Eastern Bloc countries and the Soviet Union again became active members in UNESCO, where they expressed a positive view of early childhood education as a way of sharing education between family and society so that women could work outside the home.[27] Second, early childhood education grew in many countries in Europe and in English-speaking countries. That process occurred both in the East and in the West, with sometimes striking parallels. (For a comparison between France and the GDR on day nurseries, see Christian 2019a.) With many new members from Eastern Europe after 1954, as well as from the former colonial empires after 1960 (Maurel 2012, pp. 127 and 141), the need was felt for updated statistical surveys, especially since early childhood education had grown in many countries. In 1958, the UNESCO General Conference adopted a recommendation aiming to standardize educational statistics, with a specific definition of "preschool education" and a list of data to be collected periodically ("number of schools", "number of teachers by sex and by qualification", "number of pupils by sex"). This recommendation certainly helped to launch two surveys that came out in 1961. The first was conducted by the IBE and presented at the 24th International Conference of Public Education as an update of the survey that had been presented at the 8th Conference in 1939 (Christian 2022). A particular sign of interest was that UNESCO published its own international surveys in 1961 and 1963, apparently drawing on the data already collected by the IBE.[28] In addition, the participation of the Eastern Bloc countries on many occasions changed the balance of power in the debate on early childhood education, in favor of their supporters. In 1961, during the discussions on the recommendation to be adopted by the 24th International Conference of Public Education, the rapporteur Herbinière-Lebert could count on the Eastern bloc countries' representatives to support provisions

promoting public preschool or stressing the duty of companies that employed women to provide childcare, against the opposition of the US and West German representatives.[29]

However, UNESCO did not yet initiate any regular program at the beginning of the 1960s. Rather, it strengthened its cooperation with OMEP. This interest was largely the result of the tireless efforts of Herbinière-Lebert as the OMEP representative in UNESCO. In 1962, UNESCO confirmed OMEP's status as a consultative non-governmental organization of category B ("consultation and information"). This cooperation entered a new phase in 1967, when UNESCO accepted the move to considerably increase its funding. This made new initiatives possible for OMEP, like publishing its own journal (*International Journal of Early Childhood*),[30] or conducting a new large international "Survey on the Status of Preschool Teachers".[31] In return, UNESCO entered the World Council of OMEP in 1967 with one representative. During the 1960s, OMEP expanded its activities, creating new national committees, especially in Eastern Europe, with the creation of national committees in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland from 1966.[32] In 1971–1972, UNESCO eventually included for the first time a specific program in "pre-primary education" in its Program and Budget, within the framework of the new concept of "lifelong education".[33] A note from 1972 explained that "due mainly to the priority assigned by member states to other levels of education and problems relating to their expansion and development, UNESCO had only a general concern with preschool education until about 1970".[34] It also defined the scope of the UNESCO program by identifying it with the "more limited area of pre-primary education", that is, a more formal, school-like education, as opposed to "preschool", which was viewed as more general and not the task of UNESCO.[35]

While early childhood education had been a rather controversial topic in the Cold War context of the 1950s, a consensus was gradually built in the course of the 1960s, resting on the idea that early childhood education was a necessary adaptation to urbanization, industrialization, and female paid work in "modern" societies. In 1971, the working document of the 33rd International Conference of education made the following observation:

> The reported expansion of pre-primary education in developed and developing countries alike is an indication of the importance accorded to this form of education and at the same time poses an issue for policymakers: What should be the responsibility of the state?[36]

The document listed three reasons for that expansion, which eventually justified that the state took that responsibility.[37] The first was "school readiness", with examples from Australia and Ceylon that stressed the task of early childhood education to prepare children for school. Second, the document mentioned "social reasons", with examples from New Zealand and Thailand. The third and final reason was that it made it "easier for mothers to do their duties

in the home and in an occupation" and the document gave here the example of the Soviet Union. The document suggested, on the one hand, that "industrialized" societies faced the same challenges, whether in the East or in the West, and on the other hand, that "pre-primary" education, which was growing in the developed countries, was or would soon be relevant for the developing countries. The Cold War perspective was put aside and replaced by a convergence perspective that was also intended to integrate the developing world.

At the beginning of the 1970s, UNESCO expert meetings on early childhood education seemed to become one of the places where Detente took place. UNESCO provided the opportunity for psychologists from East and West to meet and exchange views, which contributed to a shared vision of the young child and its education. In 1974, UNESCO organized a "Meeting of Experts on the Psychological Development of Children and Implications for the Educational Process" in Champaign-Urbana, USA. Five papers were to be discussed by 17 experts from the Western and Eastern Bloc countries, as well as from the developing world. The United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) and OMEP also had one representative each. Among the papers' authors, Geoffrey P. Ivimey from Great Britain and Halbert B. Robinson from the USA represented the West, while Tamas Varga from Hungary and Alexander Zaporozhets from the Soviet Union represented the East. The developing world had only one representative, A. Babs Fafunwa, from Nigeria.

The working document sent to the participants emphasized three points of consensus, mainly quoting authors from the developed world.[38] First, there was a consensus on a "developmental view of childhood with distinct, irreversible, and cumulative phases". Second, "the role of children's social and cultural environment was fully recognized". Third, there was a "necessity of a provision of early childhood education". Divergences emerged only on that very last point, since "Western authors stressed the importance of pluralism, while Eastern authors advocated for a unified education". Unlike other initiatives or institutions where East-West competition prevailed in the field of educational internationalism (see Daniel Lövheim's chapter on "American fairs" and "Soviet Olympiads" in this volume), this UNESCO experts' meeting was clearly regarded as a contribution to the East-West dialogue and focused accordingly on the elements that could build a consensus between East and West, leaving aside the questions raised by the situation in the developing countries. These questions would nevertheless soon become central in UNESCO.

Mid-1970s to the 1980s: Early Childhood Education from Convergence to Culture

UNESCO was not the only international organization interested in early childhood education, and not the first. In fact, UNICEF had been active earlier in this field, at least when its strategy shifted from humanitarian action to development policies (Villani 2020). UNICEF, which was itself drawing on

conceptions already elaborated at the Centre international de l'enfance, and supported the "basic services", also called for an "integrated" approach that would become its official policy in 1976 (Christian, 2019b). This approach took note that education, health care, and social protection from the developed world could not be transferred as such to the developing countries. Consequently, it rested on three principles. First, existing personnel should be trained rather than new services be created. This implied that services should not be specialized but cross-sectoral. Early childhood education did not have to be a specific occupation, with employees being specifically trained. Second, early childhood education had to rely on the family as well as on communities at the local level. Third, it had to take into account – and to adapt to – local and national cultures. These conceptions were new and in tune with the demands of the developing countries at the UN, where "Third Worldism" was at its peak. In 1972, UNESCO and UNICEF created a "Co-operative Unit" to collaborate on topics related to children out of school, but only in 1976 did this unit extend its scope to early childhood education.[39] In 1979, UNESCO and UNICEF jointly celebrated the International Year of the Child and started the collaborative publishing of several booklets on "preschool education", "parents education", and "basic education", with 195 booklets published between 1979 and 1991.

This closer cooperation with UNICEF was just one aspect of a larger debate that went on in UNESCO about early childhood education in the 1970s. With its emphasis on the "Responsibility of the State", the report delivered to the participants of the International Conference of Education in 1971 had already faced criticisms from the representatives of the developing countries.[40] At that conference, they tended to contrast "compulsory education" on the one hand, which was universal and should be given "high priority", and early childhood education, on the other hand, which was "extremely costly" and most of the time "privately run" in institutions charging "high fees", which contributed "to perpetuate the existence of a privileged class". More conservative tones that echoed the debates of the 1950s even emerged, with references to the "deprivation experienced by young children through the absence of the mother". In response to these arguments, some other representatives from the developed countries stressed that "pre-primary education" provided "the all-round development of the child's personality and the preparation for successful primary school education", but had also proved "satisfactory enough to transcend class barriers".[41] The debate went on at the expert meeting held in Champaign-Urbana, in 1974. Again here, the working document, which focused on the building of an East-West consensus, was criticized during the discussions by the representatives of the developing countries. "Several participants", the final report noticed, "stressed that the potential contribution of psychologists (90 percent of whom work in Europe and North America) [was] rather restricted", adding that "many speakers emphasized the relative lack of knowledge about child development in different cultural settings" and "felt a need for more cross-cultural research".[42] For the first time, the final report also cited

institutional arrangements that were not based on the developed countries' model, suggesting that "Government support to families might be improved by coordinating the activities of all agencies concerned with health, education, and welfare at the local level".[43]

These criticisms eventually emerged as the new consensus at the "Meeting on Preschool Education as the First Phase of Life-Long Education" held in Paris in 1976. Its working document took note that "preschool education" should "in no way be viewed as a luxury", but at the same time "required a drastic effort to reduce its costs" in "many countries with limited budgets".[44] Conceptions from the developed countries were considered unsuitable for the developing countries and early childhood education in the developing countries was suggested to develop along specific lines, including optimizing existing facilities (like health care or social centers) and relying on local human and material resources by involving teachers, social workers, health care personnel, and "animateurs", as well as older people and families in early childhood education.[45] This new consensus was reaffirmed in 1981 at an International Consultation on Preschool Education in Paris, where participants brought to the fore "models which are not only low cost but also more relevant to the social and cultural context of the communities concerned".[46] It reflected a global shift within educational internationalism toward a vision in which the South did not only have to learn from the North but could also develop its own solutions to local problems.[47] In the case of preschool education, this consensus had not been built in UNESCO but rather in UNICEF, and still earlier in the Centre international de l'enfance. UNESCO largely adapted to this new consensus by establishing cooperation with these two organizations, building a "Co-operative Unit" with UNICEF, and asking the Centre international de l'enfance to write a study on children's development that was published in 1976.[48] By contrast, OMEP, which was primarily a teachers' organization, did not unanimously embrace these new conceptions and went through a phase of internal crisis and tensions with UNESCO until the beginning of the 1980s (Christian 2019b).

The criticisms from the developing countries that triggered debates inside international organizations like UNICEF and UNESCO questioned early childhood education models from the developed countries, with no distinction between East and West. As the voices of the developing countries were increasingly taken into account, the Cold War divide was fading in the background, while the gap between developed and developing countries was emphasized. In this context, UNESCO viewed it as its task to collect positive experiences around the developing world and to disseminate them so that they could be replicated by interested countries or communities. A significant part of that task was to identify and popularize the many solutions that they thought communities or states would find useful to expand early childhood education at a low cost. UNESCO published a booklet series called *Notes and Comments… Child, Family, Community* jointly with UNICEF. These booklets put emphasis on the traditional form of collective childcare, such as the Indian *balwadi*[49] or

the African Koranic schools.[50] They were also interested in methods to involve parents[51] or students.[52]

As a result of that new task, the Cold War had less impact on UNESCO's work on early childhood education. Not only were the suggested transfers from developed to developing countries very few and selective, but they also largely ignored the Cold War divide. In 1979, a UNICEF-UNESCO booklet collecting "approaches to pre-school education" mentioned experiences from 23 countries but included only three developed countries – one had been selected to represent the East (Hungary), one the West (Australia), and one neutral countries (Finland). The potential transfers of experience from developed to developing countries were always selective and justified more by specific questions or local circumstances than by ideological affiliation. Examples of good practices from developed countries showed how personnel with no previous pedagogical experience were trained in Israel,[53] or how isolated children in rural areas were taken care of in Australia.[54] Only in very rare cases was an ideological affiliation visible, as observed in a 1976 study on Vietnamese day care centers that suggested a transfer of knowledge in the field of architecture from Hungary to Vietnam, two "socialist countries".[55] This, however, was not a rule. The case of Benin in the 1970s is illustrative in this regard. Although the regime had become "Marxist-Leninist" in 1975, it turned to the Centre international de l'enfance – notoriously funded by the French government – to develop its own public and universal early childhood education system (Christian, 2024). In the case of Benin, the ties with the former colonial power were clearly stronger than the Cold War ideological divide.

Conclusion: A New Convergence?

UNESCO's interest in early childhood education only grew slowly during the Cold War. Other international organizations, large (such as UNICEF) or small (such as the IBE or the CIE), and other non-governmental organizations (such as OMEP) often took the initiative first. Although early childhood education was a controversial topic during the 1950s, it turned out to be a field favorable to dialogue and cooperation between both sides in the 1960s within the framework of the "convergence" of "industrialized societies". The universalist and cooperative values that lie at the core of the notion of educational internationalism advocated by early childhood educationalists undoubtedly helped to build bridges between East and West. However, that cooperation process largely left aside the developing countries. UNESCO's policy on early childhood education was thus reoriented in the 1970s to promote local solutions commensurate with the cultural background and the financial constraints of the developing countries. This reassessment not only pointed out the centrality of East-West relations within the conversation about early childhood education at UNESCO but also questioned the very notion of educational internationalism by refusing any universal model from the developed countries and promoting local solutions seen as respecting developing countries' national and cultural specificities. It is

difficult to assess the results of UNESCO's work with the developing countries in the field of early childhood education because although they were already meant to be "integrated" and "low cost", early childhood education programs were very badly affected by the "structural adjustments" policies that the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank imposed on the developing countries throughout the 1980s (Reinalda 2009, chaps. 13 and 14). In this regard, early childhood education can be seen as one of the many casualties of the so-called lost decade of development (Singer 1989).

Only at the beginning of the 1990s did early childhood education come back on UNESCO's agenda, with the World Conference on Education for All, held in Jomtien (Thailand).[56] Other conferences followed in Dakar (Senegal) in 2000,[57] in Moscow (Russia) in 2011,[58] and in Incheon (South Korea) in 2015,[59] which bears witness to the growing importance of the topic. Interestingly enough, UNESCO did not get back to the "cultural turn" that it had advocated in the 1970s. For 30 years, it has rather supported early childhood education programs as a preparation for school. By doing so, it has accompanied the emergence of an educated, urbanized world middle class, also characterized by an increasing number of women in paid work. At the same time, UNESCO managed to promote early childhood education as an essential feature for education, gender equality, and sustainable development, which can be seen as our present conception of "modernity". Thus, more than the "cultural" approach of the 1970s, the present discourses and programs of UNESCO rather recall the "convergence" framework that emerged during the 1960s, with the difference that the convergence today takes place between middle classes in the North and in the South.

Notes

1 Much of UNESCO's material is accessible on the online platform https://unesdoc. UNESCO.org/. On the 8th of June 2021, a request with the keyword "early childhood education" gave access to 412 UNESCO programs and meeting documents, as well as nine journals published by UNESCO between 1945 and 1990. Additional material (especially correspondence) was consulted in the UNESCO Library at its headquarters in Paris.

2 Prague, OMEP Archive (OMEPA hereafter), box 66, Roberts, Margaret. 1989. *Organisation mondiale pour l'éducation préscolaire. Les dix premières années*, 8–16.

3 Myrdal, Alva, and Gunnar Myrdal. 1945. *Nation and Family*. London: Routledge and Paul Kegan.

4 Comité d'organisation du congrès, ed. 1933. *Congrès international de l'enfance. Paris. 1931. Organisé à l'occasion du cinquantenaire de l'école laïque. 1881–1931.* Paris: Librairie Fernand Nathan.

5 Paris, UNESCO Archive (UNESCOA hereafter), EDUC/2, Early Childhood Education. Document submitted to UNESCO by the Nursery School Association, 20.11.1946.

6 OMEPA, box 66, Roberts, Margaret. 1989. *Organisation mondiale pour l'éducation préscolaire. Les dix premières années*, 23–24.

7 "J'ai dû expliquer à nos amis des États-Unis que l'OMEP n'avait aucun caractère politique", OMEPA, box 42, 25 let OMEPu: presentation by Mrs Herbinière-Lebert, founding President of OMEP, undated (1973), 10.

8 UNESCOA, C5/1.314 and 1.3141: Resolutions of the 1951 Program.
9 UNESCOA, WS/041.20: Early Childhood Education: three-year plan based on resolutions 1 and 1.3141 of the 1951 program and on the action prescribed in items A.27, A.271, A.272 et A.273 of the Basic Program of UNESCO, 1951.
10 UNESCOA, WS/041.20: Three-year plan, 6.
11 UNESCOA, WS/041.20: Three-year plan, 7.
12 OMEPA, box 66, Roberts, Margaret. 1989. *Organisation mondiale pour l'éducation préscolaire. Les dix premières années*, 8–9.
13 UNESCOA, ED/126, account of the conference, 1953, 1–2.
14 See Bowlby, John. 1952. *Maternal care and mental health: A report prepared on behalf of the World Health Organization as a contribution to the United Nations program for the welfare of homeless children*. Genève: World Health Organization and Spitz; René A. 1951. "Hospitalism-An Inquiry into the Genesis of Psychiatric Conditions in Early Childhood". *Psychoanalytic Study of the Child* 1: 53–74.
15 UNESCOA, ED/126, Account of the Conference, 1953, 3.
16 UNESCOA, CONF/EMH/30B, Considerations on Preschool Education, 1952, 2–3.
17 UNESCOA, ED/126, Account of the Conference, 1953, 3.
18 UNESCOA, CONF/EMH/44, Summary Records of Working Groups I-IV, Debates on 02.12.1952.
19 UNESCOA, CONF/EMH/30B, Considerations on Preschool Education, 1952, 3.
20 UNESCOA, CONF/EMH/48, Summary Records of Working Groups I-IV, week of 8th to 13th December 1952.
21 OMEPA, box 39, UNESCO: Report by Mrs Herbinière-Lebert, Deputy President in charge of relations with UNESCO, 10.2.1963.
22 UNESCOA, ED/372.21, Rossello to Beeby, 12.11.1948.
23 UNESCOA, ED/372.21, Goodykontz to Elvin, 08.08.1950.
24 UNESCOA, ED/372.21, Verhoestraete to Brune, 05.09.1951.
25 UNESCOA, ED/372.21, Seminar on Crèches, Day-Care Centres and Kindegartens, organized under the Exchange Plan France, July 1955.
26 UNESCOA, ED/372.21, Wall to Milhaud, 4.10.1955.
27 Education was frequently used to showcase the modernity of the "socialist societies" internationally. See Franck Schmidt's contribution on the France-RDA association in this volume.
28 UNESCOA, WS/0461.138, L'Éducation préscolaire dans 114 pays; développement quantitatif de 1950 à 1958 environ, 1961; ST/S/7, Preschool Education, Statistical Reports and Studies, 1963.
29 Bureau international d'éducation. 1961. *24ᵉ Conférence internationale de l'instruction publique*, 107–121.
30 OMEPA, box 40, OMEP Annual Report 1967, 11.
31 OMEPA, box 40, OMEP Annual Report 1966, 10.
32 OMEPA, box 66, Mišurcová, Věra, *et alii*. 1998. *The History of OMEP 1959-1971*.
33 UNESCOA, EDS/1007/14072, Pre-primary Education, 1972.
34 UNESCOA, EDS/1007/14072, Pre-primary Education, 1972, 1.
35 UNESCOA, EDS/1007/14072, Pre-primary Education, 1972, 1–2.
36 UNESCOA, ED.71/CONF.13/4, Main Trends in Education, 1971, 6.
37 UNESCOA, ED.71/CONF.13/4, Main Trends in Education, 1971, 8.
38 UNESCOA, ED.74/CONF.623/3, Meeting of Experts on the Psychological Development of Children and Implications for the Educational Process, Champaign-Urbana, Illinois, USA, 4-9.03.1974: working document, 14.01.1974.
39 UNESCOA, ED.76/WS/38, Report UNESCO-UNICEF, inter-secretariat meeting, 14.04.1976.
40 UNESCOA, ED/MD/21, International Conference on Education, 33rd session, Geneva, 15-23.09.1971: final report, 12–13.

41 UNESCOA, ED/MD/21, International Conference on Education, 33rd session, Geneva, 15-23.09.1971: final report, 14.
42 UNESCOA, ED.74/CONF.623/8, Final Report, 1974, 2.
43 UNESCOA, ED.74/CONF.623/8, Final Report, 1974, 13.
44 UNESCOA, ED.76/CONF.608/COL.9, Final Report, 1976, 1.
45 UNESCOA, ED.76/CONF.608/COL.9, Final Report, 1976, 8.
46 UNESCOA, ED/EPP/36, International Consultation on PreSchool Education Final Report, 19.2.1982.
47 See Ismay Milford's contribution on journalism training in East Africa in this volume.
48 Centre international de l'enfance. 1976. *The child from birth to 6 years old; better understanding for better child-rearing*.
49 A *balwadi* is a type of rural early childhood education and care facility created in India. See UNESCOA, ED 79/WS/125, How to run a Balwadi: sample of a do-it-yourself guide-book, October 1979.
50 UNESCOA, ED.82/WS/2, Developing Koranic schools to meet the educational needs of the young child, Preschool 23.
51 UNESCOA, ED.80/WS/97, The role of parents in the education of children of preschool age in tropical Africa, India and the Maghreb countries, 1980.
52 UNESCOA, ED.79/WS/133, University and college students as child development workers: experience of M.S. University, Baroda, Guyarat, India, Preschool 9, 1979.
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10 Envisioning Egalitarian Education

The OECD Perspective on Japanese Education in 1970[1]

Jamyung Choi

Introduction

In 1970, Ministry of Education bureaucrats in Japan joined the multilateral debates about educational policies in the Education Committee of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), an international organization of governments of North American and Western European countries established in 1961 for economic prosperity, which surfaced as a global governing complex of education around the contemporary world (Papadopoulos 1995; Leimgruber et al. 2017; Ydesen 2019). Embodying the Cold War mission of the United States and its allies to bring economic prosperity to counter the expanding Soviet communism, OECD leaders envisioned more democratic, egalitarian, and economically prosperous societies through the expansion of higher education, and they led research projects in education policies and reforms to support that vision. Beginning in the late 1960s, they initiated a country review, in which a group of OECD-appointed education experts visited each member country and evaluated the accomplishments and possible solutions for the problems of its educational system (Papadopoulos 1995, pp. 25–26).

The Japanese government found this OECD leadership useful. Japan, a significant beneficiary of the US-led free trade global regime, as well as an East Asian wing of American Cold War politics, joined the OECD in 1964 and embraced its agenda of educational expansion for economic progress. In January 1970, the Japanese government invited OECD education experts to Japan for review, and in November 1970 they dispatched a delegation to Paris, where the OECD headquarters are located, for a meeting with the OECD's Education Committee. Following the advice of OECD education experts, leaders of the Ministry of Education justified the steady expansion of higher education, which incorporated roughly 50 percent of the entire age grade by the end of the twentieth century.

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1 This chapter was previously published as an article titled "Nŭngnyŏk juŭi wa pyŏngdŭng kyoyuk ŭi saiesŏ: Ilbon kyoyuk ŭl parabonŭn kyŏngje hyŏpnyŏk kaebal kigu kyoyukjosagwandŭl kwa munbukwanryo ŭi sisŏn, 1970" in *Ilbon yŏksa yŏngu* no.56 (December 2021) in Korean.

This collaboration entailed tension, however. When the OECD's education experts assessed Japanese education in 1970, they poignantly criticized institutional hierarchy among Japanese universities dominated by top state-managed schools, most notably the University of Tokyo. According to the Vice-Minister of Education, Amagi Isao, this hierarchy took shape under a specific condition of late-developing Japan. The Meiji government "created a small number of state universities" whose diplomas led their graduates to "high positions in Japanese society". But not all aspiring students could enter these universities and "find their way into the mushrooming private universities". And, noted Amagi, "the latter naturally imitated the universities in which their students would have preferred to be". In this process, Japanese universities were assimilated into the state-managed privileged schools, while latecomer universities came to be "unscrupulous" universities admitting "students of low ability" (OECD 1971, p. 25).[1]

During the meeting in 1970, the OECD experts and the officials of Japan's Ministry of Education exchanged opinions and revealed their fundamentally different attitudes toward this school hierarchy. While the OECD experts tried to advise Japanese policymakers on how to destroy school hierarchy, Japanese education bureaucrats declined to do so and even articulated the necessity of the hierarchy for Japan's development. In other words, Japanese bureaucrats co-opted the OECD's idea of education for economic take-off for only their own goals.

By looking at this tension regarding school hierarchy through the meeting's official report published in 1971 (OECD 1971), this chapter considers the multilayered meanings of the OECD review of Japan as an educational internationalist project in the Cold War period. This collaboration was conducted as an American leadership project to help non-Communist countries create education policies that would allow them to prosper economically. But, as Japan was the only East Asian country in the OECD then, the review of Japanese education was also a Westerners' review of an Asian country, making the confrontational meeting a somewhat neocolonial event, wherein Westerners judged the distorted developmental path of education in a late-developer Asian country. Still, the Japanese education officers embraced the OECD as a source of authority to justify their educational policies, while declining the suggestions from their European critics. In other words, the OECD's educational internationalism was not just the strategic move of the hegemonic United States against communism, or the Europeans' neocolonial commentaries on the proper development of education for Asian members, but also an opportunity for Japanese bureaucrats to co-opt the hegemon's agenda in order to advocate their policy interests in the national arena. Historians of internationalisms, in this case cooperation through international organizations, have extensively explored the significance of national interests in the making and operation of international organizations and the power relations within them. (For the recent survey in this field, see Sluga et al., 2016; Iriye 2002. For a recently published comprehensive work on the history of the OECD, see Schmelzer 2016.).

The ways each member country, especially one outside Europe and North America, capitalized on their initiatives have hardly been analyzed. Even for members who were not hegemonic in power relations, internationalism was an opportunity rather than simply a forced assignment (see also the chapters by Juliette Dumont and Manuel Suzarte, Hana Qugana, and Ismay Milford in this volume).

It is within these circumstances that this chapter seeks to contextualize Japanese responses in this meeting within the Japanese educational policies of the 1960s. If the OECD leaders did not force Japanese politicians to accept the Cold War initiatives of the OECD, why did the Japanese join it? By reading the white papers of the Japanese government published right after major political confrontations between the conservatives and leftists in 1960, such as the *National Income Doubling Plan* (*kokumin shotoku baizō keikaku*) and *Japan's Growth and Education* (*nihon no seichō to kyōiku*) (Keizai Shingikai, 1960; Monbushō Chōsakyoku, 1962), I explore how the Ministry of Education officers *used* the data and opinions produced in the OECD to justify their larger presence in governmental policies and expenditure, and highlight how the Japanese and the OECD experts diverged in their opinions.

Japanese Education Officers Embracing the OECD

During the late 1950s, leaders of the Liberal Democratic Party (*jiyūminshutō*, hereafter LDP), then Japan's biggest conservative party in power, initiated the revision of the post-1945 constitution that had banned Japan from waging war, only to meet desperate resistance from leftist parties. Neither did LDP leaders manage to get the support of the Japanese people. In 1960, when LDP Prime Minister Kishi Nobusuke tried to revise the US-Japan Security Treaty to improve Japan's position vis-à-vis the United States by committing the United States to defend Japan if it was attacked by a third party (Kapur 2018, pp. 17–18. Also, according to this new treaty, the United States had to consult the Japanese government before sending abroad US troops based in the archipelago, and Japan gained the right to discontinue this treaty every ten years with a one-year notice), his cabinet faced unprecedented national protests against a political stance that threatened to entangle Japan in the dangers of the Cold War. Although Kishi managed to revise and renew the treaty, his tenure as prime minister ended with the protests.

After the tumultuous conflict, Ikeda Hayato, the new prime minister from the LDP, sought to change the tone of Japanese politics. The Ikeda cabinet (t. 1960–1964) envisioned a politics of "tolerance and patience", which meant avoiding ideological conflicts with the opposition parties and focusing on the country's economic take-off, or a "free and prosperous Japan" (Kapur 2018, p. 77). Officers of the Ikeda Cabinet articulated their vision for a prosperous Japan in a document titled the *National Income Doubling Plan* (*kokumin shotoku baizō keikaku*) in December 1960. The author of this document belonged to the Economics Council (*keizai shingikai*), an advisory board for the prime

minister, which accentuated the significance of human resources. "One of the basic prerequisites for economic growth", argued the author, "is to extract the potential ability (*nōryoku*) of nationals (*kokumin*) as much as possible" (Keizai Shingikai 1960, p. 31).

What especially interested the Ikeda cabinet officers was the training of technical experts and workers, and Ministry of Education officers took this chance to expand their reach to social policies. In 1961, the Ikeda cabinet raised the Ministry of Education budget by 24 percent – compared to its 1960 equivalent – for the promotion of technical development. With this money, the Ministry of Education officers increased the number of engineering students, both in higher educational institutions and secondary educational institutions. The newly established institutions included the Faculty of Basic Engineering at Osaka University, three two-year community colleges in engineering, and the three-year teacher training programs in engineering at nine universities (Kubo 2006, pp. 1015–1016). Also, Ministry of Education officers passed a Higher Vocational School Act (*kōtō senmon gakkō hōan*) in 1961 and created a five-year higher vocational school (technical college) program, which combined the three-year high school program and a two-year community college program in engineering.

As historian Kubo Yoshizō pointed out, the emergence of the higher vocational school marked a departure from the education reform under the American Occupation, which, in the name of educational equality, aimed to unify different types of higher educational institutions in pre-1945 Japan into one single type – university (Kubo 2006, pp. 1016–1019). Higher vocational schools (*kōtō senmon gakkō*) existed as centers of higher learning inferior to universities in pre-1945 Japan, but all of them were incorporated into universities during the Occupation Reform. The return of higher vocational schools, although their curricula were different from their pre-1945 predecessors, meant a re-stratification among higher educational institutions, an unlikely by-product of the Ikeda Cabinet's strategy to handle ideological confrontations within Japan.

In 1962, officials at the Research Bureau (j. *chōsakyoku*) of the Ministry of Education published a white paper titled *Japan's Growth and Education* (*nihon no seichō to kyōiku*), which envisioned a systematic investment in education for economic take-off. In the preface of this white paper, its author noted the emerging consensus within the contemporary international community that education which developed "human ability (*ningen nōryoku*)" was "equally important in the economic progress as the amount of capital and labor". Subsequently, the author endorsed this idea by mentioning Japan's dramatic post-1945 economic recovery, led by the beneficiaries of education, despite the catastrophe of the war (Monbushō Chōsakyoku 1962, pp. 1, 9). Based on this idea, the author reviewed the history of Japanese education from the late nineteenth century in order to articulate a long-term comprehensive plan for education for Japan's economic prosperity, and envisioned the expansion of secondary and higher educational facilities in general, but especially in schools

in regard to the sciences and engineering, as well as their educators. In so doing, the author demanded a more assertive role of the state in the field of education in terms of expenditure, state financial support, and supervision for private educational institutions (Monbushō Chōsakyoku 1962, pp. 140–145).

This initiative was inherently internationalist, as international comparison was the basis of the argument for state-led educational expansion. The authors of *Japan's Growth and Education* embraced the fundamental idea of education for economic growth from the outside world. They closely followed what was happening in Western European and North American countries to propose additional investment in science and engineering education and championed the necessity of a long-term plan for educational investment to meet this challenge while introducing the ambitious plans created in 1958 by the OEEC, the predecessor of the OECD, to expand education until 1970 (Monbushō Chōsakyoku 1962, pp. 157–163). The Ministry of Education officers did not neglect to identify Japan as an exemplary case for this idea of education for economic progress. In the preface of this white paper, Minister of Education Araki Masuo attributed the remarkable economic growth since the Meiji period to "the dissemination and development of education" and defined the purpose of this white paper as "long-term and comprehensive planning for education" to buttress future economic growth of the country (Monbushō Chōsakyoku 1962, p. i). Since the late nineteenth century, the leaders of modern Japan considered education a leverage to transform the nation. However, their initiatives to expand higher education had rarely been associated with the *advanced* plans for economic take-off. As educational sociologist Ito Akihiro pointed out, the leaders of Japanese education led the expansion of higher education in the interwar period in order to meet popular demand during the economic boom after WWI (Itō 1986, pp. 118–121; Itō 1999; Amano 2005; Amano 2013). In contrast, state officials positioned education as a driving force for the economic take-off of the country and initiated a nationwide expansion of higher educational institutions in the 1950s and 1960s that resulted in a triple increase in the number of university entrants in an age grade (441,113 in 1953 to 1,365,564 in 1970). Based on this perception, the Japanese government invited the OECD's examiners to review Japan's science policies in 1966, their education policies in 1970, and their social science policies in 1976.[2] In sum, Japanese Ministry of Education officers had a good reason to invite OECD education experts to justify its post-1960 educational policies.

The Examiners' Critique of the Institutional Hierarchy in Japanese Education

The OECD education experts, who were called the Examiners in the report, visited Japan between January 11 and 24, 1970. The Examiners included renowned scholars and policymakers in education: Joseph Ben-David, a sociologist in education at Jerusalem University, Israel; Ronald P. Dore, a sociologist of Japanese education at the Institute of Development Studies, Sussex

University, UK; Edgar Faure, a former prime minister (t. 1952-5) and former minister of education (t. 1968-9) of France; Johan Galtung, a Norwegian sociologist at the University of Oslo and founder of the Peace Research Institute Oslo; and Edwin O. Reischauer, a Japanese historian at Harvard and former US ambassador to Japan (OECD 1971, p. 46). The Ministry of Education officials, including Minister of Education Sakata Michita and Vice-Minister of Education Amagi Isao, organized these Examiners' meetings with university professors, students, teachers, and school administrators, as well as business leaders and workers in major cities, such as Tokyo, Kyoto, and Osaka (OECD 1971, p. 47).

In their report published in 1971, the Examiners praised Japanese primary and secondary education as a significant "achievement", "which they might be in a position to learn from" (OECD 1971, p. 49). However, they understood Japanese higher education as having "grown very rapidly and without much advance planning during the last twenty-five years" (OECD 1971, p. 49), and thus with fatal problems, one of which was its primary focus set on the selection rather than the development of the innate abilities of students. In this context, the Examiners envisioned the diversification of educational experiences through making universities independent corporations to shape a system that would cater to "different kinds of talents and inclinations" (OECD 1971, pp. 50–51).

The rigid hierarchy among educational institutions was the central target of the Examiners' criticism. Despite the intense student protests at many Japanese universities one year before their visit, what struck them most seemed to be institutional hierarchy, not student radicalism. They found "Japan's system of higher education" as "distinctively hierarchical" (OECD 1971, p. 69). Japanese universities, they understood, comprised a double structure of pyramids with "very narrow apices and little movement, either of students or staff, between levels or pyramids". The first body of the pyramid consisted of the national and public universities, at the apex of which was the University of Tokyo. Beneath this top school were a group of well-recognized national universities, such as the University of Kyoto, Hitotsubashi University, Tokyo Institute of Technology, and universities established as imperial universities in the pre-1945 period (Kyushu University, Tohoku University, Osaka University, Nagoya University, and Hokkaido University). At the lower reaches of this pyramid were the 46 national universities in each prefectural capital after 1945, and some less recognized city universities (OECD 1971, p. 70). The second body of the pyramid consisted of private universities. This pyramid was dominated by "some few universities of high prestige and quality" (OECD 1971, p. 70), such as Keio Gijuku University and Waseda University. While Japan's private universities accommodated three quarters of Japanese university students, their budgets comprised only 40 percent of the funds spent on Japanese university education, which means that the prestige and quality of private universities were "increasingly being debased" and "even more distinctively stratified" (OECD 1971, p. 70).

Then why was this hierarchy bad? In the eyes of the Examiners, this hierarchy was not able to "meet the generally accepted educational objectives of the highly technological society" in contemporary Japan, as "students' futures are largely determined according to the type of university to which they obtain entrance, and little allowance is made for the further development of their abilities beyond that designated by their university label" (OECD 1971, p. 71). This unusually intense competition for the big-name universities distorted pre-university education, as students came to focus on "examination techniques" rather than "real learning and maturation". The intense competition for entering elite universities seemed to affect even "the suicide curve", argued the Examiners, "which has a life-cycle maximum for both sexes at the age of university examinations" (OECD 1971, pp. 87–88). To the Examiners, Japan's lifetime employment practices were linked to this system, which "gives enormous importance to the first job one gets and hence to the educational qualifications with which one gets it" (OECD 1971, p. 93). The Examiners noted that they were "told by some that this situation is changing, but very little evidence was offered of the nature of this change, either in the substance of university education or in the perceptions of prospective employers or of students" (OECD 1971, p. 71).

The Examiners did not find it difficult to locate the tangible impact of this institutional hierarchy, which was materialized as students' career opportunities. The Examiners expressed their frustration in the following:

Tokyo and Kyoto Universities […] have at present a near monopoly on the positions of high prestige in the bureaucracy and in politics, and their graduates are also heavily over-represented in the directorates of the leading business firms, in the mass media, and in the professions. Eleven of the eighteen members of the current Japanese cabinet were drawn from these two institutions, no less than six of them from the faculty of law at Tokyo alone, although it is true that part of the reason for this lies in their age since, at the time that they were studying, Japan had very few universities. This does not explain, however, why more than 90 percent of the faculty at Tokyo University has been drawn from its own undergraduate student body and between 80 percent and 90 percent in the case of Kyoto. Many important companies in which these universities are also overrepresented do have quotas, or upper limits, on the number of graduates they employ from them, but the quotas tend to be very high. A few of the top private universities and specialized universities are also similarly overrepresented, but to a lesser degree. It is the Examiners' conviction that entrance into any new level of education or into post-educational careers could better be determined not by the prestige or quality of the institution the candidate has attended, but, rather, by his own qualifications embodied in his record and experience. Again, it has been maintained in some quarters that there is some change in this direction, particularly in some sectors of business, but little evidence has yet been

made available on the extent of this change (for example, the recent recruitment of new people into one prestigious government department was entirely from Tokyo University).

(OECD 1971, p. 82)

In other words, the Examiners' criticism of the institutional hierarchy among Japanese universities revolved around their demand for a diverse education system that trained diverse skill sets, not one shaped by a uniform entrance examination for the top schools.

Also, the Examiners pointed out one more significant side effect of this hierarchy – social disrespect for vocational schools. Higher vocational schools, the Examiners noted, became "low prestige schools which can recruit only children of lower ability who have little chance of entering the best academic schools" (OECD 1971, p. 63). In their eyes, it was "better to differentiate classes and courses within more heterogeneous comprehensive schools, rather than to differentiate by ability between schools", but this possibility is lost because of a "rigid social class structure" associated with the lower social expectation for vocational school graduates (OECD 1971, p. 62).

In pursuit of solutions, the Examiners envisioned a series of reform plans, which included the expansion and egalitarian distribution of education expenditure, the restructuring of higher education, the reformulation of university entrance practices, and the autonomous management of universities to promote diverse purposes of higher education. Each of these goals was directly targeted on the university hierarchy, whose impact stretched from financial resources to the quality of education. Their language on university reform revolved around the idea of diversity in human talents, and universities' adaptation to embrace it. Different types of schools should be equally endowed, they contended, so that every type of school could recruit equally qualified teachers, while vocational schools could teach diversified courses and send some of the pupils to universities (OECD 1971, p. 64).

The Examiners argued for an upgrading of private universities through financial support from the state, which would challenge the status quo that placed the top schools above other universities, and the public institutions above the private ones (OECD 1971, p. 77). They championed significant state support for private universities to improve the quality of education and research facilities at private universities, which, they believed, would make the Japanese higher education system multi-centered (OECD 1971, p. 77). Also, the Examiners demanded the establishment of industry-financed foundations to support teaching and research at universities that would enrich industry with technologies and skilled workers. It would also expand funding support for students, which would diminish the "significance of the financial circumstances of the parents" (OECD 1971, pp. 77–78).

Also, the Examiners criticized the university admission practices, as the entrance examination stratified students in the university hierarchy at the age of 18, which "determined the rest of the student's life" (OECD 1971,

pp. 88–89). As the Examiners argued that "man is more like an expandable reservoir of latent ability that may be stimulated and more manifest through adequate stimulation" (OECD 1971, p. 90), the Japanese university admission practice through a single test at the age of 18 was not acceptable. They suggested the introduction of other measures to check the unduly heavy significance of the entrance examinations, such as high school reports on students' academic performance evaluated by their teachers, the national achievement tests, and the scholastic aptitude tests. This evaluation system, the Examiners argued, "would better predict success in university studies" (OECD 1971, p. 93).

Also, as a more fundamental solution, the Examiners suggested the support of faculty and student mobility across institutions. They demanded more open faculty hire processes, to phase out the practices of insular internal hiring pervasive at top Japanese universities at that time, while encouraging faculty members to "move from one university to another, especially in connection with promotion from one level to the next, or when obvious under-achievers among the staff are encouraged to leave" (OECD 1971, p. 85). Also, they envisioned pervasive mobility of students across universities, "especially those who proceed to higher degrees; between universities would be desirable for the students themselves and beneficial to the institutions" (OECD 1971, p. 85). The Examiners hoped that this potential mobility would

> diminish the significance of the original sorting process of graduates of higher secondary schools between the various universities, and would make it possible through a number of subsequent sortings to achieve a better matching of students to the institutions that best fit their needs and capacities.
>
> (OECD 1971, p. 86)

In this way, they wished equal respect for different types of higher educational institutions, such as junior colleges (*tanki daigaku*) that provided two-year programs, often considered for "brides", and higher vocational schools. These two institutions were often considered "programs of inferior quality", argued the Examiners, which stopped "most of their students from moving on to further education later in their careers" (OECD 1971, p. 82). The skills taught in these institutions, in other words, should attract similar respect to those taught at four-year colleges, given the prospects of their competent students.

In order to encourage universities to take bold steps to meet the aforementioned recommendations, the Examiners suggested making privileged state universities independent corporations (*hōjin*). "Since it is the members of universities who will have to operate any new constitutional structures which are devised, and it is on their commitment to them that the legitimacy and effectiveness of these new structures will depend", argued the Examiners, "there is every reason for leaving universities the greatest freedom to devise their own form of government" (OECD 1971, p. 97). The high level of the institutional initiatives these Examiners envisioned had to be executed by the hands of

professional administrators, who could manage "the university as a corpora-tion" by reorganizing the decision-making bodies (OECD 1971, p. 97). The Examiners were aware that the decision-making of these potential administra-tors should be "circumscribed by public financial controls, subject, of course, to parliamentary review, and by the pressures of opinion from society at large", but noted that "such constraints should be minimal", and universities should "bear the burden of responsibility" (OECD 1971, p. 102).

Was the issue of institutional hierarchy unique to Japan? Actually, the Examiners knew and constantly mentioned that the issue was ubiquitous around the world. However, this issue was framed in the context of Japan's status as a late developer with a unique developmental path. Among the Examiners, the Norwegian sociologist, Johan Galtung, stood up to discuss this point (OECD 1971, pp. 131–152). To Galtung, Japan in 1971 was a "degreeocracy", which was "essentially an ascriptive system in the sense that once one is allocated to a group it is very difficult to change one's class". "It is like being born into a class, only that in a degreeocracy social birth takes place later than biological birth". More precisely, argued Galtung, "it takes place at the time of the various entrance examinations" (OECD 1971, p. 139). Galtung thought that under the "peculiar circumstances surrounding Japan in 1853-68", the Japanese leaders shaped their society "to put the old structure to work for the new goal by a minimal change, by the replacement of the old aristocracy […] with a degreeocracy". He con-cluded that Japanese education remained in the "feudal" stage, and thus had not yet arrived at the liberal stage, as individuals' social standing did not change under the circumstances of Japan's lifelong employment after their university education. To Galtung, Japan's top schools, the University of Tokyo and the University of Kyoto, were feudal institutions "training the new aristocracy" in the workforce and "in-breeding" their faculty members. Despite Japan's success in establishing egalitarian access to elementary and secondary education, in Galtung's eyes, higher education in Japan was functioning "as a substitute for the old caste structure" (OECD 1971, p. 140).

Galtung's preoccupation that the late-developing Japanese state created this hierarchy and should vitalize a civil society to dismantle it echoes the ways the Examiners understood student radicalism and democracy in Japan. They were aware that rampant protests of student radicals were a global phenomenon (OECD 1971, p. 103). Still, noting that "democracy involved effective commu-nication between groups", they characterized Japan as an extreme case for the failure of communication across the ideological line, which was expressed in "the breakdown in communication" between staff and students during "the student disturbances" in the late 1960s (OECD 1971, p. 32). The Examiners criticized the Japanese government for its authoritarian approach to the Left, or in their language, for confusing "education for values" with "political indoc-trination" (OECD 1971, p. 28). According to Galtung, student radicalism par-tially resulted from the underperformance of professors and the government, who should organize conversations between "conflicting viewpoints" from the

Left and the Right (OECD 1971, p. 34). The Examiners' solution for this prob-
lem was the reconstruction of university governance, incorporating students'
representatives, which echoes their vision to render universities as independent
corporations making decisions for themselves.

Looking back from the early twenty-first century, Galtung's insight was
partially incorrect. The Japanese higher education system could be an extreme
case of credential competition, but it is the result of a more complete construc-
tion of a competitive written examination system, not the persistence of a feu-
dal hereditary status. The university entrance examination was an open system
to select qualified candidates for university education, which is very different
from the feudal system guaranteeing access to elite education and positions
only for youths of noble birth.

As Daniel Markovits has recently explored with the American experience,
fierce competition to enter big-name universities, which provides a significant
reward for the recipients of their education, indicates a more complete depar-
ture from, not return to, an ascriptive system or feudalism. American elites,
whose reputation was nowhere near "tiger moms" in the 1950s, embraced a
competitive training system at elite universities that brought their children
privileged jobs in finance, medicine, and law in the latter half of the twentieth
century. In the early twenty-first century, the competition to enter the Ivy
League schools has been getting fiercer and fiercer, which, Markovits contends,
reflects the completion, not erosion, of meritocracy. It is true that wealthy fam-
ilies' children have clear advantages in credentials and professional competi-
tion. However, it is not because of the revival of feudalism, but because their
parents learned how to invest their wealth to prepare their children for the
competition (Markovitz, 2020).

Whereas Galtung's argument about Japan's feudality was inaccurate,
though, his assessment of Japan's credential competition was actually the first
serious critique of the global meritocracy, which in many ways was a prescient
warning to the early twenty-first century world. In Japan, the Examiners found
an inhuman competition for entering elite universities, systematic distortion of
pre-university education, and the excessive impact of elite universities' diplo-
mas on the careers of their graduates. And they came to question the vulnera-
bility of fairness with the competitive college entrance examinations, although
they admitted that the system was "fair" (OECD 1971, p. 87). According to the
Examiners, Japan's university entrance examinations "distorted the pattern of
distribution of opportunity", as

> they unduly favor those who have received specialized training in the arti-
> ficial activity of exam-taking and disadvantage the young person who
> may have a greater educational capacity, but who has not been so trained,
> or who has a difficulty in displaying his ability under the peculiar and
> stressful conditions of an examination.
>
> (OECD 1971, p. 90)

This critique is not so different from what contemporary Japanese sociologists, and sociologists in other countries, such as Markovits, have passionately pointed out in the twenty-first century.

Japanese Response

After the Examiners conducted research in January 1970, in Japan, the OECD's Education Committee invited a delegation of Japanese education officials led by Amagi Isao, the Vice-Minister of Education, to have a meeting in Paris, in November 1970.[3] During this meeting, Japanese education officials generally echoed the assessment of the Examiners but defended Japan's institutional hierarchy.

Amagi admitted that "the development of Japan […] was dependent on education's competitive procedures for selecting talent", which "had broken down the centuries-old pattern of social stratification, stimulated social mobility, and made it possible to recruit the talent necessary for modernization from all social classes", but "encouraged people to improve their examination skills rather than develop their innate abilities" (OECD 1971, pp. 13–14). In *Educational Policy and Planning*, Japan's education officials also envisioned what the Examiners suggested – the state's financial subventions for private universities, the introduction of alternative assessment policies of students' ability, and the diversification of higher educational institutions to meet the demand of diverse human resources. They also envisioned restructuring "universities' organization" to "encourage their spontaneous creativity", which should be "supplemented" by the state (Department of Planning and Research 1973, pp. 253–254). They shared the Examiners' strong belief that individuals' educational opportunities should not be limited by their familial backgrounds and expressed concerns about intensifying competition to enter "certain well-known schools" (Department of Planning and Research 1973, p. 151).

However, the Japanese education officials had a different attitude toward institutional hierarchy. Nishida Kikuo, then a figure in *de facto* charge of the Central Council of Education, argued that "uniformity in the university system" did not necessarily mean the "hierarchy stressed by the Examiners". To him, "hierarchy was a form of diversity, of diversity of quality". He explained that "the Central Council stressed the need for further diversification in higher education to meet social and economic needs, by a greater differentiation of courses – general degrees, professional courses, junior colleges, and so on" (OECD 1971, p. 17). In other words, Nishida did not accept the egalitarian vision of the OECD Examiners on education and society. By turning a blind eye to the diverging prestige of each type of educational institution as the fundamental source of social stratification and the social stresses resulting from it, Nishida justified the existing hierarchy among educational institutions and the jobs defined with the differing prestige.

Despite the expression of concerns from Joseph Ben-David that this stance could lead to "the perpetuation of hierarchy", if "graduates of one type were

clearly favored in their subsequent careers over the graduates of others", Nishida argued that "this type of hierarchy was necessary". Nishida defended his position with the language of the Cold War: "In a democratic society in which all individuals had a fair opportunity to gain an education suited to their particular level of ability", Nishida contended, "such a hierarchy was justified and was indispensable" (OECD 1971, pp. 18, 26). The Examiners highlighted the weakness of Japanese democracy by looking at the government's authoritarian attitude toward student radicalism. When discussing institutional hierarchy, they also characterized Japan as a somewhat immature member of the free world in the Cold War period. In contrast, Nishida located Japan within the free world of democracy, in which every citizen felt free to compete in the education and job market. As historian Masuda Hajimu pointed out, numerous historical agents used Cold War rhetoric to promote their interests around the world (Masuda 2015), and Nishida joined them to justify the Japanese government's reluctance to destroy the school hierarchy. Ronald Dore noted the gloomy prospects of university reforms to "promote human enrichment" as long as students used universities for social mobility, and Galtung urged not to "accept present trends on the grounds that hierarchy was inevitable" and "professional specialization required discrimination" as "educational inequalities could create a type of society with new problems to which we must try to be sensitive" (OECD 1971, p. 24). But there was no room for this kind of debate within Nishida's answer.

Nishida's response reflected the tone of Japanese educational policies since the Ikeda Cabinet, which acquiesced to institutional hierarchy in the name of meritocracy. The Economic Council (*keizai shingikai*), an advisory board for the prime minister on economic policies that authored the *National Income Doubling Plan* in 1960, further articulated its vision for merit-based hierarchy in 1963 in a document titled *Cultivating Human Talent for Economic Development*. Pointing out that Japan was in transition from the stage of "importing advanced technology" to that of "developing its own technology", members of the Economic Council envisioned the systematic training of a "high talent", who "pushes the development of science and technology creatively", or "leads organizations of industrial society" (Kyōiku Shiryo Shūsei henshū iinkai 1983, p. 139). As for the range of this "high talent", the author of this document argued that the "truly original" were roughly three percent of the age grade, surrounded by another two–three percent of "semi high talent (*jun hai tarento*)" (Kyōiku Shiryo Shūsei henshū iinkai 1983, p. 157). Given that 200,000 people entered four- or two-year colleges in 1963 thanks to the recent expansion of Japanese higher education, but three–five percent of this "high talent" accounted for only 60,000 to 100,000 people, it was clear that the author did not think all college entrants, not to mention higher vocational school entrants, were of "high talent".

Instead, the author of *Cultivating Human Talent for Economic Development* wanted to make sure that the "students with high intelligence and academic ability" could manage to receive a good university education regardless of

whether they lived in urban or rural areas, or whether they were wealthy or not. The author justified the aforementioned argument in the name of the "equal opportunity of education", and the "completion of meritocracy (*nōryokushugi no tettei*)" (Kyōiku Shiryo Shūsei henshū iinkai 1983, pp. 158, 160). This author believed that "high talent" could be developed with "innate quality and post-natal efforts" (Kyōiku Shiryo Shūsei henshū iinkai 1983, p. 155) and had to be selected from all social classes of Japanese society, not exclusively from wealthy families. The wide range of student and faculty mobility within the higher education system, or the equal respect for different types of schools, was far from the focus of Japan's Ministry of Education.

The author of the OECD report about this meeting concluded that Nishida's response was a "reminder of the difficulties of carrying through effective reforms of this kind". "In a system wholly geared to social selection functions", argued the author,

> the most powerful universities have strong vested interests in preserving it. So do their graduates, who occupy the important positions in society. It is in the nature of the democratic process that such groups – the most interested and informed parties – exercise a very powerful influence on the policy-making process.
>
> (OECD 1971, p. 26)

Seemingly pointing to the fact that Nishida, a graduate from Tokyo Imperial University, a predecessor of the University of Tokyo, advocated university hierarchy in the Japanese delegation led by another Tokyo Imperial alumnus, Amagi, this line was an unusually straightforward commentary for the conference of an international organization. And as Japanese education officers embraced the OECD idea of education for economic progress but declined to accept the egalitarian reform plans from the OECD, the result of this collaboration could hardly be more than Japan's co-optation of the idea for its stratifying education.

Conclusion

Whereas Japan was a late developer in industrialization, its transition from a hereditary status system to credential-based meritocracy was by no means late in the modern world. Tokyo Imperial University authorities had already abolished Japanese aristocrats' privilege to enter the university without taking the entrance examinations in 1918, a privilege which was never revived (Takeuchi 2012, pp. 162–166). In other words, all Tokyo Imperial University applicants have had to pass the entrance examination to enter Japan's most popular university since the interwar period, which was far earlier than elite universities in Western Europe and North America. By 1970, Japan was a global front-runner in competitive education, experiencing a variety of its appalling side effects that had been unknown to the OECD Examiners.

Still, the Examiners understood the Japanese experience as a variation of feudalism, rather than an extreme modern meritocracy. They argued that their own countries "had been more affluent for longer than had Japan", and "the urgency of the material need to qualify for a middle-class occupation was an objective less prominent in students' minds" (OECD 1971, p. 24). Not all Examiners agreed that Japanese university education had to be radically reformed, but few recognized a general crisis of modern meritocracy within Japan in 1970. According to Nishida Kikuo, Edwin Reischauer, in his casual conversation with Nishida about the university entrance examination, argued that "complicated university admission systems will fail in Japan". "The beauty of determining success and failure with just one test is", said Reischauer jokingly, "the tradition of the way of the warrior", "and that's why they called those who failed to enter university *rōnin* (unaffiliated samurai)" (Nishida 2004, p. 179). In other words, Reischauer also understood this heated credential competition as an essential form of Japanese culture.

Japan's credential competition or institutional hierarchy was by no means unique to Japan. For instance, Edgar Faure from France, which also had a clear institutional hierarchy among higher educational institutions, agreed with Nishida that hierarchy among educational institutions was "both good and essential" (OECD 1971, p. 19). Credential competition and the stratification of higher educational institutions, which, as Nishida beheld, resulted from "students rating some universities more highly than others" (OECD 1971, p. 19), was a modern phenomenon eventually appearing and worsening in most countries. Reischauer might not have been able to imagine American elites anxious to have their children enter the kindergartens of good reputations in the early twenty-first century (Markovitz 2020, pp. 224–232).

The Examiners' prescription for this institutional hierarchy was not completely accurate. The Examiners assumed that the autonomous management of universities would promote a more diverse and egalitarian educational environment. During the conference, Nishida was already doubting this simple faith. To him, "the restructuring of the present national and public universities as independent corporations" would not lead to "diversification within the university system and the development by each university of a distinctive character of its own", as "the majority of universities continue to copy the few of highest prestige". Also, Nishida did not find any necessary causality between "the individualistic development of the universities" and the well-balanced restructuring of higher education (OECD 1971, pp. 16–17). And Nishida's insight turned out to be right. According to educational sociologist Amano Ikuo, Japan's most national universities in 2003 became independent corporations, but their financial independence resulted in a bifurcation between the rich and the poor (Amano 2008). Managers of elite universities, not just in Japan but anywhere, sought to enhance the prestige of their own universities, not necessarily dropping their advantage over other institutions or treating graduate students well.[4]

Japanese education officials did not accept advice from the Examiners about institutional hierarchy, as they firmly embraced the chant of meritocracy. But

it was difficult to keep "high talent" from turning into "an exclusive privileged class", as the author of the *National Income Doubling Plan* envisioned. The country that 1960s educational sociologists believed to be a bastion of social mobility turned into a society where parents' university credentials seemed to be inherited by their children, while children whose parents did not go to university rarely aspired to enter university (Kikkawa 2009). It was difficult to sustain the steadily high level of social mobility after a long but transient economic boom during the Cold War period.

Japanese educational internationalism through involvement with the OECD in 1970 could not transcend Western prejudice. Japanese politicians shrewdly co-opted the OECD idea to justify their educational policies during the Cold War. Still, this encounter does not have to be seen as meaningless. This internationalist encounter was one of the earliest occasions of the multinational conversations about the crisis of meritocracy, which recent sociologists have passionately explored in other parts of the world, especially the United States (Labaree 2017; Markovitz, 2020). Despite their misunderstandings, they were right about one important point – as long as school and occupational hierarchy persisted, respectable careers for non-elite school graduates were hardly possible. Japan's education officials rightly noted that universities managed as independent corporations would not easily solve the issues debated in this meeting. In this sense, this meeting is more than worthwhile to revisit. It is a model for renewed debates about the current status of education around the world, as well as a lesson regarding how confidence in meritocracy and prejudices of late-developing countries can overshadow an important issue waiting to be addressed through the cooperation of the global community.

Notes

1 For the detailed analysis about the making of this institutional hierarchy in modern Japan, see Choi, 2018.
2 Three reports resulted from these reviews and they are the main primary sources for this chapter. Their references have been simplified as follows in order to improve the general readability of the text: Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). 1967. *Politiques nationales de la science: Japon*. Paris: OECD (OECD 1967 hereafter); Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). 1971. *Japan: Reviews of National Policies for Education*. Paris: OECD (OECD 1971 hereafter); Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). 1978. *Social Science Policy: Japan*. Paris: OECD (OECD 1978 hereafter).
3 The OECD Examiners wrote a report, and the Japanese delegation members, by commissioning the Central Council of Education (*chūō kyōiku shingikai*) within the Ministry of Education, prepared their own report, titled *Educational Policy and Planning: Japan*, for this meeting (Department of Planning and Research, 1973).
4 David Labaree articulated how new universities enhanced their positions in the education market by imitating old universities, which also supports Nishida's insight into US higher education history (Labaree 2017, p. 9). Also, elite American universities were infamous for their hostility toward their graduate students' efforts to organize in the early twenty-first century (Markovitz 2020).

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Part IV

Views from the Global South

11   From "Mutual Understanding" to Anti-Communist Propaganda?

The Institute of International Education and Chile (1919–1961)

Juliette Dumont and Manuel Suzarte

Introduction

Privileging Chile as a central observation point of the Cold War, especially in its inter-American dimensions, is not new (Harmer 2011; Harmer and Segovia, 2014). From a wider perspective, the historiography has, within the last 15 years or so, repositioned Latin America as a subject of the Cold War instead of as a passive object of the East/West confrontation (Brands 2010; Marchesi 2017; Field, Pettinà, and Krepp 2020), including its cultural aspects (Calandra and Franco, 2012). Furthermore, there has been a turn away from viewing Latin America solely through the prism of US foreign policy, although this chapter will tell the story – through the prism of a United States (US) organization, the Institute of International Education (IIE) – of academic exchanges between the US and Chile in order to interrogate the reconfigurations of educational internationalism during the Cold War.

The IIE was created in 1919 as a private organization under the auspices of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, to "provide [US] citizens with a better understanding of foreign nations and foreign nations with a more accurate knowledge of the US, its people, institutions, and culture" through student fellowship programs and funding for visiting scholars.[1] The IIE is paradigmatic in that it reflects the triangular configuration – universities/foundations/diplomatic circles – of US actors involved in educational internationalism in general and in educational exchanges with Latin America in particular. Despite its long history (the organization continues to exist) and its position at the nexus of major transformations within the trajectory of educational internationalism, particularly between the two World Wars and the Cold War, the IIE has not been the object of academic research, apart from a single doctoral dissertation (Halpern 1969).

Our analysis engages with Akira Irye's now classic definition of internationalism: "An idea, a movement, or an institution that seeks to reformulate the nature of relations among nations through cross-national cooperation and interchange". Defining "cultural internationalism" as "the fostering of international cooperation through cultural activities across national boundaries", Iriye notes that "cultural internationalism entails a variety of activities

undertaken to link countries and peoples through the exchange of ideas and persons, through scholarly cooperation, or through efforts at facilitating cross-national understanding" (1997, p. 3). Building on these definitions, this chapter specifically considers the category of educational internationalism, as education and training represent a crucial aspect in this dynamic, "at the heart of the globalization process of the 20th century" (Droux, Hoffstetter, and Robert 2020, p. 6).

In this chapter, we focus on scholarship programs, namely, "official initiatives by individuals and/or institutions for organizing and structuring regular transnational circulations over a period of time, with some form of learning as the principal goal" (Tournès and Scott-Smith 2017, p. 2). The aim of this focus is to observe the evolution in rhetoric and in the actors involved in academic exchanges between the US and Chile, from the creation of the IIE to the 1961 launch of the Alliance for Progress by President John F. Kennedy, an investment plan that aimed to promote economic growth and political reform in the region, to ensure a steady annual growth rate of Latin American economies and to prevent a second Communist victory in the region after the 1959 Cuban Revolution. (For further details, see Rabe 1999 and Taffet 2007.)

This story provides a different narrative – or, at least, an uncommon one – of the history of the Cold War, especially in terms of US/Latin American relations, by weaving together historical moments that have previously been considered in isolation by the traditional historiography of inter-American relations, which presents the end of World War II and the beginning of the Cold War as a neat tear in the canvas of the Western Hemisphere. This chapter is also the result of a long-standing dialogue between the authors: one working on academic exchanges within the framework of Pan-Americanism from the 1910s to the 1940s with Chile as a cornerstone of this dynamic; the other on the US cultural diplomacy directed toward Chilean universities from 1956 to 1973. We identified common actors, institutions, practices, and goals in our sources and analyses, which led us to write this chapter as a bridge between two shores or, to spin the previous metaphor, to mend the fabric of inter-American relations and the history of the Cold War. The threads may seem quite thin, when compared to the "sound and fury" of the Cold War in Latin America; it is nevertheless quite useful to unwind the spool that intertwines internationalism and global struggle.

Studying these exchanges during this period reveals the complexity involved in the study of academic exchanges, in particular when they interconnect the US on the one hand and a Latin American country on the other hand. Indeed, the interwar period was characterized by the intersection of "mainstream" internationalism, represented by organizations such as the International Commission of International Cooperation (League of Nations), the Bureau of International Education, and – as we will see – the IIE, and Pan-Americanism, which promoted the solidarity and commonality of the "Western Hemisphere". These different dynamics within internationalism not only intersected and, sometimes, competed with each other but also fueled one another until the

beginning of World War II (Dumont 2020, 2022). Through a case study, we identify how the context of the Cold War led to a reconfiguration of this dynamic, and what elements – in terms of institutions, actors, and motivations – maintained their importance during this period, and any paradigm shifts.

In addition to documents from the US Embassy in Santiago de Chile, the Fulbright Bi-National Commission in Chile, and the Chilean Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, this chapter is based on documents produced by the IIE, which document, by country and by year, the number of foreign students and professors coming to the US and the number of US students and professors going abroad. Despite the known limitations of these sources in terms of representativeness, the figures contained therein allow us to quantify the phenomenon under study and to situate it in a regional and global perspective. They also allow us to grasp, beyond the rhetoric, the concrete translation of the evolution of educational internationalism as carried out by the IIE.

The 1920s: Institutionalization of Educational Internationalism

The 1910s and 1920s were a pivotal period, as "scholarship programs started to be used not only as instruments of national politics, but were also considered as a means for developing international cooperation and understanding" (Tournès and Scott-Smith 2017, p. 12). Tournès and Scott-Smith also point out how, from the 1920s onwards, "the notion of exchange as reciprocity", as embodied by the IIE, was vitally important. Our hypothesis is that the paradigmatic character of the IIE's educational internationalism was closely linked to three dynamics that unfolded in the first ten years of the IIE's existence.

The first dynamic was Pan-American internationalism, whose educational component was affirmed in 1917 with the creation of the Education Section of the Pan-American Union in the wake of a resolution to encourage American universities to organize student and professor exchanges at the Fourth Inter-American Conference (Buenos Aires, 1910) and the Second Pan-American Scientific Congress (Washington, 1915). One of the purposes of the Education Section was to promote academic exchanges between the countries of the continent. The involvement in the creation of the IIE of the American diplomat Elihu Root, who had acted as a promoter of Pan-Americanism since the beginning of the century, is one of the many pieces of evidence for the intertwining of regional and international dynamics during this period.

The second dynamic was twofold: on the one hand, there was the advent of the League of Nations system and the institutionalization of cultural internationalism within it through the International Commission for Intellectual Cooperation (ICIC, 1922) and the International Institute for Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC, 1924). On the other hand, there was the American internationalist movement, which began in the 1910s with the creation of the first major philanthropic foundations and was reinforced in response to World War I. A constellation of actors began to navigate these academic, diplomatic, and philanthropic spheres in order to combat the isolationism of their country.

This was reflected in the involvement of American actors – despite the fact that the US was not a member of the League of Nations – in the League's systems of intellectual cooperation. Thus, throughout its history, the ICIC had a US representative. Similarly, a national commission for intellectual cooperation was established in the US in 1926, which included the director of the IIE, Stephen Duggan, who would be tasked by Nicholas Murray Butler (at that time director of the Division of Education and Intercourse of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace) "to draw up a plan for the establishment of an Institute which would have for its aim to help educate our people in international relations and to develop understanding and goodwill between them and the peoples of other countries".[2]

The third dynamic, finally, was the expansion and internationalization of American universities, which Stephen Duggan described in his autobiography, published in 1943:

> Until the First World War there were far more Americans who went to European universities to study […] than there were Europeans who came to American universities. The accomplishment of the USA in the war amazed the peoples, the statesmen, and the scholars of the European countries. They wanted to court this new Great Power. They wanted to know more of American civilization and culture, which up to the war they had practically ignored. […] The USA rapidly became the Mecca of foreign students. By 1930, there were almost 10,000 studying in our colleges and universities, twice as many as the number of American students studying abroad. But I was anxious that the best of our students should have the opportunity to study in foreign universities and that the best foreign students study in our institutions of higher education. […] Moreover, I judged that if an exchange of such students could be established we should probably have the best possible agency for developing international understanding.
>
> (Duggan 1943, pp. 48–49)

The promotion of international understanding was combined with the promotion of the US as a global academic powerhouse, but also as a center of "civilization and culture". Until the end of the 1920s, the IIE's efforts focused on Europe, in a movement that was as much about solidarity with countries hit hard by the war as it was about revenge on the Old Continent, which was no longer able to attract as many foreign students as before the war – especially from the Western Hemisphere – to its universities. In this context, Latin America was not a priority: from 1921–1922 to 1928–1929, the number of Latin Americans dropped from 17.35 percent of the total number of students in 1921–1922[3] to 11.85 percent in 1924–1925 and then stagnated at around 12 percent until 1928–1929.[4] Chile's share in these exchanges remained relatively stable: 3.73 percent in 1921–1922 (42); 2.80 percent (25) in 1924–1925; 3.95 percent (48) in 1928–1929.

During this period, Latin America was witness to an enormous academic expansion, often correlated with an anti-imperialism that was confused with an increasingly strong anti-Americanism. 1910–1920 were indeed marked by the "Big Stick" policy and by the "Dollar Diplomacy", which translated into a recurring interventionism of the US in Central America and the Caribbean. In this context, intellectual cooperation as it emerged within the framework of the League of Nations in Europe was attractive to many Latin American countries, who saw it as a counterweight to the growing power of the US (for further details, see Dumont 2018). Thus, as early as 1925, Emilio Belo Codecido, President of the Chilean Delegation to the Sixth Assembly, argued that "Chile attaches great importance to the work of the Commission on Intellectual Cooperation" and pointed to the aspects of intellectual cooperation that were of particular interest to Chile: inter-university relations, student and professorial exchanges, and educational reforms.[5]

The end of the 1920s also saw the beginnings of Chilean cultural diplomacy with the creation, in 1927, of the Chilean Ministry of Foreign Relations' Information Service, tasked with promoting a positive image of the country on the international stage. In addition to revolutionary Mexico, Chile was a pioneer in Latin America in setting up the tools for cultural diplomacy (Argentina and Brazil would follow in the mid-1930s (Dumont, 2018)). Ultimately, the world economic crisis and the political upheavals that shook the Chilean political scene in 1931 and 1932 undermined the country's international ambitions. Only in 1935, with the refunding of the Chilean Commission of Intellectual Cooperation under the auspices of the University of Chile, and in 1936–1937 with the transformation of the Information Service into an "Information and Propaganda Service" did Chilean cultural diplomacy take on its final form.

Retracing the early history of the IIE and its relations with Latin America in general – and with Chile in particular – requires taking into account not only different levels of analysis – international/transatlantic, continental, regional – but also two other "–isms": indeed, internationalisms need to be analyzed in terms of "their connections with forms of imperialism and also of nationalism" (Bandeira Jerónimo and Monteiro 2018, p. 12), insofar as Pan-Americanism was, until the late 1940s, "an unstable synthesis of utopian ideals and the rise of the United States as a world power" (Cándida Smith 2017, p. 3), and both Chilean and US actors had a functional agenda interested in the promotion of a certain image of their respective countries.

1928/1946: Fifty Shades of Educational Internationalism

During the 1920s and 1930s, the Institute acted as a catalyst for "internationalizing" higher education in America. It functioned as a service organization providing administrative aid to colleges and non-academic institutions, sponsoring student and professorial travel. It served as an information organization, publishing and distributing literature on study abroad; and it acted, in the person of its director, as a propagandist in the

cause of international education. Duggan corresponded with foundations, governments, and university leaders, and encouraged them to establish study programs abroad.

(Halpern 1969, p. 2)

This description of the IIE's activities during the 1920s and 1930s offers a general framework for thinking about its role in academic exchanges – not only at the international level, but also regionally – but leaves out what was at stake for Latin America, and Chile specifically, in the evolution that occurred from the beginning of the 1930s to the end of World War II.

In January 1928, at the Sixth Inter-American Conference in Havana, the deterioration of relations between the US and Latin America was so flagrant that many US actors, governmental and otherwise, became aware of the need for a paradigm shift, sparking US President Herbert Hoover's goodwill tour through 11 Latin American countries in November 1928, among other activities. Beginning in 1933, Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration, considered the "golden age of Pan-Americanism", ushered in the era of Good Neighbor Diplomacy, which revived the Pan-American ideal of a community of experiences and aspirations in the Western Hemisphere in response to a global situation that had accentuated the need for real hemispheric solidarity, both politically and economically – as well as culturally.

The immediate result of this reorientation was the simultaneous creation, in 1929, of the Latin American Division of the IIE and the Division of Intellectual Cooperation of the Pan-American Union. The two organizations jointly developed a directory of US institutions of higher education offering scholarships to Latin American students, reflecting a desire to promote "mutual understanding" in the Western Hemisphere. In response, other private actors, such as the Council on Inter-American Relations (composed of representatives with corporate interests in Latin America), provided funding for scholarship programs for Latin American students, with, beginning in 1930, the IIE as the "administrative agency in realizing its program of cultural relations with the Latin American countries".[6]

It was also the beginning of partnerships with Latin American actors:

The principle to be followed is to bring mature students from Latin America to the USA to pursue studies here in which American institutions are particularly well qualified to give instruction and to send American students to Latin America for a similar reason. […] The relationship is by no means one-sided.

In addition to the establishment of the Instituto Cultural Argentino-Americano, for example, the University of Chile entrusted the IIE with the management of "two splendid fellowships covering all expenses save travel […] to be awarded to two advanced scholars for study in the normal schools of Chile during the present scholastic year in their chosen fields of scholarship".[7]

One of the important characteristics of relations between Chile and the IIE was the continual maintenance of this two-sided relationship.

Despite this early impetus, it was not until the second half of the 1930s that inter-American academic exchanges truly took off, as fears sparked by intense Nazi German and Fascist Italian propaganda in Latin America "galvanized the US government into developing a program of cultural relations with Latin America" (Halpern 1969, p. 146). That response resulted in two critical steps that saw Stephen Duggan and IIE become key interlocutors with the State Department. In 1936, the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace was held in Buenos Aires on the initiative of Franklin D. Roosevelt. In terms of cultural relations, the main achievement was the Convention for the Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations, which was in essence a treaty for the exchange of students and professors. The text presented at the Conference by the US delegation was for the most part an iteration of a program drafted by Stephen Duggan and Leo S. Rowe, director of the Pan-American Union, at the request of Sumner Welles, Assistant Secretary of State, who, having realized that "the US government could not initiate a program of this nature, wanted the Institute and the Pan-American Union to take the lead in developing such a program" (Halpern 1969, p. 147).

In 1938, the Division of Cultural Relations (DCR) was established within the State Department and made responsible for all official activities of a cultural nature on the international stage, as well as the implementation of the commitments made in Buenos Aires. Initially, the division's work was limited to coordinating private sector initiatives. In addition, the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs (OCIAA) was created in 1940 under the auspices of the Council of National Defense. In the division of tasks between the DCR and the OCIAA, the latter was to carry out activities related to the war, while the former was responsible for creating long-term policy, although both founded organizations dedicated to educational issues: the DCR created the Advisory Committee on the Adjustment of Foreign Students in the US (1940), chaired by the director of the IIE, while the OCIAA established the Inter-American Educational Foundation (1943).[8] The Advisory Committee – both in its purpose and in the collaboration it symbolized between the State Department and IIE – promoted a partnership that included philanthropic foundations (including the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace) and the Pan-American Union's Division of Intellectual Cooperation.

From 1936–1937 onwards, there was a substantial increase in the number of Latin American students at US universities: from 1,021 students in 1936–1937 (14 percent of total foreign students) to 4,266 in 1945–1946 (41 percent of total foreign students); in 1941–1942, they formed the largest group of foreign students (1,766 of 2,576 students, or 68.5 percent). As far as the programs under the auspices of the IIE were concerned, the numbers are even more impressive, growing from 58 Latin American foreign students in 1939–1940 (27 percent) to 437 in 1945–1946 (79 percent), with a peak in 1944–1945 of 89 percent of the total foreign student body (424 of 477). According to the IIE's 1941 annual

report, the shift was not only quantitative but also qualitative: while Latin American students used to come to the US to study science and technology, more and more were coming to study the social sciences and humanities in order to "better understand [US] institutions".[9]

As previously indicated, 1936–1937 was also a turning point for Chilean cultural diplomacy, as the University of Chile, responsible for the rebirth of the Chilean Commission of Intellectual Cooperation (CCIC), became interested in contributing "to the construction of a common consciousness among the 21 brother peoples" (Hernández and Walker Linares 1940, p. 11). The Commission devoted a large part of its activities to academic exchanges: half of its budget went to scholarships for Latin American students who wished to go to Chile.[10] It also organized trips for Chilean students to universities on the continent. Gradually, the commission became the central body for managing both university exchanges and the distribution of scholarships in Chile. The goal was to make Chile an educational reference point in terms of pedagogical rigor and a hub for academic exchanges in South America (Dumont 2022). Beyond the University of Chile's academic diplomacy, the Chilean capital was also attractive for other reasons: from the late 1930s onwards, the city was no longer just a university center, but became the "restless and cosmopolitan Santiago of the Popular Front". Within an international context marked by Italian fascism, Nazism, and the Spanish Civil War, Santiago took its place in the network of anti-fascist movements (Subercaseaux 2008, p. 224).

As far as the academic exchanges between Chile and the US were concerned, certain actors were pivotal. Juvenal Hernandez and Amanda Labarca (educator, professor at the University of Chile, initiator of the university's summer schools from 1936 onwards, and member of the CCIC), visited several US universities, in a mission organized in 1935 by the IIE and financed by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Similarly, the diplomat Francisco Walker Linares played a crucial role in the foundation of the CCIC and in the participation of Chile at the League of Nations and the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation. He was a privileged interlocutor of the IIE on academic exchanges between his country and the US. While it is impossible to speak of a true reciprocity of exchanges, given the differences in means between Chile and the US, one can see how the former took advantage of the opportunities offered by the mechanisms put in place by the latter to appear as a major academic hub in South America.

While this overview highlights the "firepower" of the US in terms of academic exchanges, there was nonetheless a certain confusion regarding the scope of action of the Pan-American Union, the government's agencies, and private actors involved (such as the American Council of Learned Societies, the American Library Association, and the American Council on Education, which were also mobilized for academic exchanges[11]), as well as a reluctance of actors such as the IIE to become a part of the US government's diplomatic and administrative machinery. For the IIE, the stakes were twofold: on the one hand, at a time when Latin America was becoming the terrain on which

American cultural diplomacy was being forged, it was a matter of preserving and reinforcing the work accomplished since 1919, in order to defend its legitimacy as a promoter and central actor of educational internationalism in the US. On the other hand, there was the question of the IIE's autonomy from US foreign policy: the IIE was soon "administering hundreds of government-sponsored fellowships, and with each new infusion of government funds it grew in size and influence" (Halpern 1969, p. 170). How then to preserve, in this new institutional context, the IIE's internationalist and non-political DNA? As early as 1944, Stephen Duggan drew up both an assessment and a roadmap:

> The policy followed by the Department of State permits greater elasticity in functioning. An official government agency must of necessity act cautiously and be the object of repeated checking up. This takes time and sometimes speed is essential. But the government must be assured of the competency, efficiency, and honesty of a private agency. Those qualities are usually associated with time and experience. The four agencies mentioned in this report as the chief ones employed by the Department in carrying out its international cultural activities have all functioned actively since the war of 1914–1918. Were any of them to disappear there is no other organization that has specialized in its specific activities to assume its place. The government would out of necessity have to take over with the accompanying bureaucratic administration and possible loss of faith by foreign peoples in the honesty of purpose which they believed had been maintained by the private organization. It is to be hoped that private agencies will continue to maintain them as a matter of patriotism and in the interest of international understanding.[12]

In the IIE's annual reports for 1945 and 1946, three elements must be highlighted. First, in response to the ongoing fighting during World War II, almost all efforts in terms of academic exchanges by US actors were directed toward Latin America. Second, the creation of cultural attaché positions in the embassies in the main cities of Latin America was crucial to support the collaboration between the DCR and the IIE, as well as the close collaboration between the IIE and the US embassies (especially in the establishment of committees to select the Latin American students going to the US). Third, the 1946 annual report suggested that this organizational structure, implemented during World War II for Latin America, should eventually be extended to Europe.

1948–1961: A Transitional Period, Between Rupture and Reconfigurations

By late 1945, as Europe remained cut off as a major destination for educational exchanges, the US appeared ready to take its place as a major actor, building on the existing structures established during the 1920s and 1930s and the elements developed during the war years. As a consequence, different

conceptions of international relations, diplomacy, the role of culture, propaganda, and psychological warfare coexisted during this period, before shifts engendered by the Cold War would force these concepts to collide, resulting in tension between a traditional conception of cultural diplomacy and a new informational approach.

While the more traditional concept of cultural diplomacy defended the use of culture as a tool of international relations in order to emphasize reciprocity and circumvent the unilateral imposition of a US model abroad, the new informational or "psychological warfare" approach built on ideas developed during the war years that aimed to unidirectionally communicate the US' message abroad through targeted "information campaigns" directed at "specific social groups to ensure strategic impact". The goal was to tell one story, thus ignoring the opportunity for mutual understanding – a tension embodied in the Fulbright Act (1946) and the Smith-Mundt Act (1948).

A major difference between the Fulbright and Smith-Mundt Acts was their relationship to contemporary political imperatives. The former focused on promoting international understanding through an exchange program administered binationally and with a stable source of financing (something that other programs would continuously struggle with) by allocating foreign currencies accruing from the sale of US war surplus goods left in several countries after the ending of the war (Espinosa 1976, pp. 233–34). Meanwhile, the latter would also include educational exchange activities together with a vast range of information activities, "to disseminate abroad information about the United States, its people, and policies", like the creation of the Voice of America radio program (Gordon 1965, p. 37. For more on a similar US government effort, see the chapter by Barbara Hof in this volume).

One major difficulty that would repeat itself over the years was the lack of funding for the application of the acts in Latin America. Until the mid-1950s, funding was only available for the Smith-Mundt Act; Chile became the first Latin American country to sign the Fulbright agreement, thus opening the region to this program, in 1955. Within the tensions that arose between mutual understanding and the informational approach, the IIE sided with the former. In 1946, the Institute fought to become the agency in charge of all government-sponsored student exchanges. The Institute's only condition was that the government did not use the student exchange program as a propaganda tool, respecting the core values of international understanding (Halpern 1969, pp. 190–91). In the following years, the Institute underlined these values above all other considerations in its annual reports, although other preoccupations gradually snuck in.

The IIE reports provide a valuable vantage point to analyze its rhetoric, as the Institute put forward the same core principle every year: achieving mutual understanding between countries through international exchanges.[13] Despite this, the Institute was not kept at a distance from political positions, especially as the Cold War gained greater relevance. In 1950, it presented its activities as a means to "avoid succumbing to communist totalitarianism",

with the IIE as part of the struggle for the "free world" and thus distancing itself from the traditional idea "that the democratic way is quiet, undefinable, slow-working".[14]

The place of Latin America within the Institute's priorities is less apparent, mainly due to the lack of expansion of the Latin American programs by the end of the 1940s. Continued operations in the region remained possible largely thanks to the same private organizations that had been involved in educational efforts in the region since the early days of Pan-Americanism,[15] thus situating the educational exchanges in continuity with earlier dynamics. From 1950 to 1961, the total number of Latin Americans studying in the US decreased in relation to its percentage share, compared to other regions, like the Far East (mainly Japan, India, Philippines, Taiwan, and Indonesia). Despite a decrease in numbers between 1950–1951,[16] from 1951 to 1954 Latin America nonetheless represented one third of total exchanges,[17] a share that would decrease in 1954–1955 to 25 percent of total exchanges.[18] From 1956 to 1961, total representation decreased further, from 20.9 percent in 1958[19] to 18 percent in 1961.[20]

During the 1950s, the presence of the IIE in Chile showed signs of both continuity and major reconfiguration, characterized by the constant growth of its portfolio, including the management of several grants, among them the State Department's exchange program and the UNESCO program for foreign students and for US students (on UNESCO's childhood education during the Cold War, see the chapter by Michel Christian in this book). Although the US government program was the mainstay of its responsibilities during this decade, the situation diversified in 1961 with the inclusion of new grants established by private actors, including a ten-year grant from the Ford Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation (Halpern 1969, p. 216). In 1958, the Council on Higher Education in the American Republics (CHEAR) was created to organize different inter-American activities between universities,[21] financed by the Carnegie Corporation, the IIE, and the Ford Foundation, and including as members the president of the IIE, Kenneth Holland, the president of the Case Institute of Technology (Ohio), the rector of the University of Buenos Aires, the chancellor of the University of California, and the rector of the University of São Paulo.[22] Chile joined in 1961 through the membership of the rector of the University of Chile, Juan Gómez Millas.

In addition, the Institute became involved in different exchange programs between the University of Chile and the University of California, funded by the Ford Foundation, in 1961 – initially a fellowship program "to strengthen the teaching staff of the University of Chile",[23] then an exchange program to help the University of Chile develop its Institute of Economics; and finally an exchange program for graduate students from the University of Chile to travel to the US for study, and for administrators in Chilean higher education to go to the US to engage in travel and observation.[24] The relationship between both universities was consolidated in 1965 through a ten-year general cooperation agreement under the umbrella of the Alliance for Progress and a grant by the Ford Foundation.

Moreover, there was a general growth in responsibilities during this period, as three private grants, eventually folded into the State Department Exchange of Persons' program, enlarged the opportunities for Chilean students and faculties to pursue educational activities in the US: the "Elias Ahuja Fellowship", awarded by the Good Samaritan Foundation; the "Airways Travel Grant Program", a Latin American program financed by Braniff International Airways, Pan-American World Airways, and Pan-American-Grace Airways, which provided airfare to the US; and the "Anaconda Fellowship", awarded by the Anaconda Mining Company to Chilean students training in mining engineering.[25]

From 1948 to 1961, the number of Chileans traveling to the US surpassed the number of US grantees traveling to Chile by a wide margin, in large part due to the number of grants available for each country. As we have seen, IIE-managed grants for Chileans were greater in number than the ones available to US citizens. This situation changed in 1956–1957, when the Fulbright agreement began to provide US students traveling to Chile with a stable source of funding. Between 1948 and 1956, only ten US grantees went to Chile (no numbers were reported for the 1953–1956 period), whereas in the first two years after the Fulbright Act was signed (1956–1957), 15 US grantees traveled to Chile. As for Chilean students going to the US, the numbers from 1950 to 1954 remained steady at 13–16 students. Here too, the beginning of the Fulbright program increased the number of those traveling north, with 51 students in its first year (versus 29 the previous year) and up to 70 students in 1961–1962. As for the number of Chilean students abroad in comparison to the rest of the continent, Chile represented between six percent and seven percent of continental student flow from 1950 to 1954, a percentage that would begin to grow in 1955. From 1956 until 1961, Chile represented, on average, 15 percent of all Latin American students going to the US.

These examples demonstrate the IIE's different levels of involvement with Chile. The IIE engaged not only with the global framework established by the State Department's exchange of persons program, but also regionally, through the CHEAR programs or the Buenos Aires convention, and locally, through its collaboration with the Ford Foundation and other private actors. Finally, it is important to note that the CCIC, which up until that point had been a major actor in the educational exchanges between the two countries, saw its role diminished. From the 1950s onwards, it limited its interactions with US cultural diplomacy, mainly dedicating itself to being a reference center for the exchange opportunities available.

Three Versions of Internationalism: The Fulbright Program, the IIE, and the US Embassy

Although both the IIE and the Fulbright program shared core values – a desire to resist short-term policy pressures and domestic political interference, and to protect their educational activities against propaganda (Arndt 2005, p. 227)

– the reality on the ground proved to be more complex. Despite these core values, both the Institute and the Fulbright program became cogs in the US Cold War agenda in Chile.

In its 1956 annual report,[26] the US Embassy in Santiago expressed its concern about the advancement of their objectives in the country in the face of growing anti-Americanism. Among their preoccupations was the influence of Marxism in certain sectors of society, including students and intellectuals. As part of the efforts to counteract this, various resources were mobilized, among them the recently initiated Fulbright program[27]. In its first years of operation, the Bi-national Commission reflected similar objectives to the US Embassy, but through different rhetoric. If the latter wanted to fight Marxism in academic circles, the former focused on the need to expose Chilean grantees to US academia, teaching methods, and democracy.[28] Despite its core value of reciprocity, the Bi-national Commission's reports placed a greater emphasis on the benefits to be obtained by Chileans visiting the US. For example, it was expected that upon their return Chileans would be ready

> to adapt and disseminate the knowledge they have gained of American conditions and customs, and whom upon their return will give a perceptive accounting of the cultural accomplishments of American democratic traditions. It is hoped they will be able to correct such misconceptions as exist in Chile regarding social, economic, and cultural standards, and to encourage a warm and grown friendship between the two countries.[29]

In 1959, the Bi-national Commission developed an "Education" project that aimed to increase Chilean understanding of US intellectual and artistic life and progress, not only by sending, as usual, US grantees to Chile but also by sending teachers and professors for study and observation to the US, since, according to the Commission and the Embassy, Chilean elementary school teachers had a deficiency in training, low salaries, and almost no prestige within Chilean society. The idea was "to offer some Chilean teachers knowledge of American education, philosophy, methodology, and planning" through their participation in a Puerto Rican workshop.[30] The Embassy's justification for the project was similar, with the goal of presenting "a true picture of American life and achievements to Chilean educators on the primary and secondary level", although it included an expressly ideological component: "to lessen the extensive communist influence among the teachers".[31]

Despite professing and defending its core values, none of these instances stands alone: the same Fulbright program was mobilized for seemingly divergent objectives – mutual understanding on the one hand (the logic defended in large part by the IIE) and as a complement to the imperatives of the Cold War. Despite their rhetoric, both the IIE and the Fulbright program contributed to the same US foreign policy objectives expressed by the US Embassy; all the while, both took advantage of their ostensibly non-partisan nature.

Conclusion

The trajectory of the IIE is a reflection of the configuration and reconfiguration of educational internationalism, navigating between different echelons as they were managing global, regional, and local programs. In the case of the IIE, the Cold War did not engender a radical transformation from an independent organization into a satellite of US cultural diplomacy, but instead sparked a more subtle mutation marked by certain reconfigurations. Despite an initial phase wherein the IIE avoided becoming a cog of the US government's diplomatic and administrative machinery and championing a certain type of internationalism, the Institute ended up becoming the most important agency for US cultural diplomacy. Although its academic respectability was never questioned, the Cold War forced a realignment of the Institute with the objectives of US foreign policy.

In terms of the actors, several important continuities and reconfigurations are worthy of mention. From the 1920s, both the IIE and various American philanthropic organizations played a decisive role, making up for the lack of resources within the American government. In addition, as far as Chilean actors were concerned, the University of Chile would undergo an important reconfiguration after World War II, from a central component of Chilean cultural diplomacy and representative of Chilean institutions to a much more minor role, as simply a university in competition with other Chilean institutions.

Chile is relevant as a case study as it was the first country in the region to develop its own cultural diplomacy. It thus occupied an undisputed leadership position in the region, beginning in the 1920s, making the country a privileged interlocutor of the US – a position, as we have argued here, it would maintain even after the advent of the Cold War. Although in terms of numbers Chile was not the country with the greatest presence, these exchange programs do reveal important continuities, as Chile served without interruption as a destination for US students during our period of analysis and was the first country in the region to sign a Fulbright agreement. By analyzing Chile from a long-term perspective, it becomes possible to demonstrate the country's importance beyond the traditional analyses that argue that Chile only became relevant to the Cold War after Salvador Allende's triumph in 1970. Through the study of educational internationalism and cultural diplomacy, our chapter stands in dialogue with the efforts of other authors attempting to make the "intricate links between the recent trajectory of this country and the Cold War" explicit (Harmer and Riquelme Segovia 2014, p. 10). In this sense, the study of educational exchanges between the US and Chile not only participates in a reconsideration of the Cold War on a larger scale but also allows for a closer look at changes and continuities during this period.

Notes

1 Institute of International Education. 1920. First Annual Report of the Director. New York, 1–2.

2 Institute of International Education. 1933. 14th Annual Report of the Director. New York, 3.
3 There were 1,126 Latin American students in a total of 6,488 international students.
4 For that year, there were 1,215 Latin American students and 9,685 foreign students.
5 Paris, UNESCO Archives (UNESCOA hereafter). Archives of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, Box A III (Relations avec les commissions nationales), File 46 (Chile), Report by Francisco Walker Linares presented to the Ministry of Public Education and the University of Chile to promote the creation of a Chilean commission, June 1930.
6 Institute of International Education. 1930. 11th Annual Report of the Director. New York, 17.
7 Institute of International Education. 1930. 11th Annual Report of the Director. New York, 18.
8 Fayetteville, University of Arkansas Libraries Special Collections Department, Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs Historical Collection (CU) Records, ca., Group IX, Country Files, Series 1 (General Files) Box 233, The Cultural Cooperation program, Dept. of State, 1944, 12.
9 Institute of International Education. 1941. 22nd Annual Report of the Director. New York, 4.
10 UNESCOA, Archives of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, Box A III (Relations avec les commissions nationales), File 46 (Chile), La comisión chilena de cooperación intelectual, Informe colectivo del Comité ejecutivo de la comisión de cooperación intelectual, no date.
11 Institute of International Education. 1944. 25th Annual Report of the Director. New York, 7–8.
12 Institute of International Education. 1944. 25th Annual Report of the Director. New York, 10–11.
13 Institute of International Education. 1948. Institute of International Education 29th Annual Report. New York, 6.
14 Institute of International Education. 1950. Institute of International Education 31st Annual Report. New York, 7–8.
15 Institute of International Education. 1948. Institute of International Education 29th Annual Report. New York, 18–19.
16 Institute of International Education. 1951. Open Doors: 1950–1951. New York, 10.
17 Institute of International Education. 1952. Open Doors: 1951–1952. New York, 11; Institute of International Education. 1954. Open Doors: 1953–1954. New York, 5.
18 Institute of International Education. 1955. Open Doors: 1954–1955. New York, 2.
19 Institute of International Education. 1959. Open Doors: 1958. New York, 6.
20 Institute of International Education. 1962b. Open Doors: 1961. New York, 7.
21 Institute of International Education. 1962a. Institute of International Education 41st Annual Report: 1961. New York, 4.
22 Institute of International Education. 1962a. Institute of International Education 41st Annual Report: 1961. New York, 8.
23 Institute of International Education. 1962a. Institute of International Education 41st Annual Report: 1961. New York, 3.
24 Institute of International Education. 1962a. Institute of International Education 41st Annual Report: 1961. New York, 5.
25 Institute of International Education. 1962a. Institute of International Education 41st Annual Report: 1961. New York, 2.
26 College Park, National Archives and Records Administration, RG306, ID P406, Container 1, Folder Chile Assessment Report, Eugene S. Staples, Annual Assessment Report, 1956, 2.

27 College Park, National Archives and Records Administration, RG306, ID P406, Container 1, Folder Chile Assessment Report, Eugene S. Staples, Annual Assessment Report, 1956, 5–6.
28 Fayetteville, University of Arkansas Libraries Special Collections Department, Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs Historical Collection (CU) Records, ca. 1938-1984, MC 468, Box 116, Folder 3, Commission for Educational Interchange between the United States of America and Chile, Annual Program Proposal: Program Year 1958, 1955, 3.
29 Fayetteville, University of Arkansas Libraries Special Collections Department, Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs Historical Collection (CU) Records, ca. 1938-1984, MC 468, Box 116, Folder 3, Commission for Educational Interchange between the United States of America and Chile, Annual Program Proposal: Program Year 1958, 1955, 3.
30 Fayetteville, University of Arkansas Libraries Special Collections Department, Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs Historical Collection (CU) Records, ca. 1938–1984, MC 468, Box 116, Folder 3, Commission for Educational Interchange between the United States of America and Chile, Annual Program Proposal: Program Year 1959, 1959, 22.
31 College Park, National Archives and Records Administration, RG306, ID P406, Container 3, Folder Chile Educational Exchange 1957–1959, Butler George, Educational Exchange: Fiscal Year 1959, Country Proposal, 1959, 2.

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12 Fond Hopes and Vital Needs

Abiva Publishing, the UN, and the Philippines' Internationalist Moment

Hana Qugana

Introduction

> The book is an answer to the vital need of children to know something about the UN, mankind's best hope for peace. It is believed that children on the elementary level should be prepared with this understanding and appreciation of its role in good citizenship in the Philippines and in the world community. It is vital that children learn what the UN is doing for the different peoples of the world.[1]

The epigraph above prefaces *A World United*, an English-language textbook produced by the Abiva Publishing House in 1954, in Manila, the capital city of what was then the newly independent nation of the Philippines. Aimed at the country's primary school children, the book projects the image of a fully formed republic, prospering as an equal participant in a United Nations organization as benevolent as it was just. "The United Nations", asserted its authors, "is the means by which mankind hopes to get peace and the blessings of peace", and the Philippines was playing an integral part in it.[2]

Today it is difficult to imagine a time and a place where such unbridled optimism for world community has been vindicated. Indeed, the zeitgeist of the colonial age in its infancy was one of insularity and containment; the restrictive and conditional sharing of resources; and the closing of borders to the world's poor and marginalized. In the Philippines, residents in the capital endured one of the longest COVID-19 lockdowns in the world, while the nation's borders remained permeable to Chinese business interests (Beltran 2020; Witness 2021). As with other parts of the impoverished South, this former Spanish and later American colony became a major site of clinical trials for vaccines, produced by pharmaceutical companies in China in exchange for vaccine donations (Yamy, Gordon, and Gray 2021). Such inequities in the global world order have long been recognized by policymakers and members of civil society since the founding of liberal internationalism's living organ, the United Nations, at the end of the World Wars. "The UN cannot do everything", stressed former UN Assistant Secretary-General, Gillian Sorensen, in 2007. It is a "universal forum" (not an autonomous body), which "offers the opportunity to share the burden" of collective responses to global crises.[3] The

danger of this arrangement is that while all member states are expected to be (in Sorensen's words) "fully committed", for those in the Global South especially, attempting to fulfill any obligations, political, military, or economic, can disproportionately undermine their own "development" (Roy 2016).

Against this backdrop, one might be tempted to dismiss the trust placed in the UN by textbooks like *A World United* as a misplaced, naïve, and even coerced acknowledgment of the Philippine archipelago's former American keepers, who also happen to be principal patrons of the UN itself. But this would be an anachronistic assessment of a more complicated engagement with internationalism. Historically, things have looked very different from the Global South, and it is this vantage point that this chapter seeks to reassert in the stories we tell about educational internationalism in the Cold War (Barreto 2013). Within the littoral communities of what Meg Samuelson and Charne Lavery have more recently termed the "oceanic South" – "the dispersed landmasses of the settler South, the decolonized and still colonized South, the 'sea of islands' comprising Indigenous Oceania", and even "the frozen continent of Antarctica" (Samuelson and Charne Lavery 2019, p. 38) – there once was, and still is, much appreciation for the possibilities afforded those who educate themselves in the UN's procedural intricacies and political intrigues. Like the many anti-colonial activists that inundated the intergovernmental organization's predecessor, the League of Nations (1920–1946), with petitions for self-determination in the wake of the "Wilsonian moment" (Manela 2007), political and civic leaders of newly independent, particularly non-European states invoked the UN after the Second World War, sometimes appealing directly to its various initiatives, as they sought to rebuild their communities and to seek social, political, economic, and environmental justice. More than empty gestures, many of them conducted these activities out of a belief that things could be different this time, for them and the rest of the decolonizing world. And if the Philippine school primer above attests to anything, it is that the unevenness of their success in hindsight obscures what was, even if only for a moment, a vibrant culture of subaltern internationalism.

Throughout the twentieth century, enthusiasm for internationalism in the Global South expressed itself in waves. This chapter follows one such wave, which crested in an era of decolonization and nation building in the 1950s, before subsiding in the 1960s amidst interfering visions for the Third World (Parts I and II of Ho and Mullen 2008; Eslava, Fakhri and Nesiah 2017; Stolte and Lewis 2022; see also the chapter by Qing Liu in this book). It follows the diffraction of a liberal internationalist wave, encountered, experienced, and interrogated over this roughly 20-year period through educational print culture, distilled and disseminated by the Abiva Publishing House. The chapter queries what it meant to be a good citizen of the world during, but not of, the Cold War, and not of the global North, but of a nascent Philippine nation whose internationalist moment, hitherto submerged, was now rising to the surface.

Lisandro Claudio has asserted (in critique of Augusto Espiritu) that the anti-communism of the Philippine diplomat and former President of the UN General Assembly, Carlos P. Romulo, was more than merely part of a "transcript that American empire" had "written for him". The favorable UN stance emanating from the pages of *A World United* was likewise "an integral element of a coherent, liberal worldview that opposed various forms of domination", not least those forms which American agents exerted on the fledging Philippine state (Claudio 2015, p. 128). That the UN was headquartered in New York City, a metropolis situated, physically, in the American metropole from which neocolonial influences emitted, did not matter – at least not in the way it might intuitively matter from a global North perspective. In fact, this piece of information features in a central plot point of the text, when the young protagonist visits the UN's recently completed Secretariat building there with her mother.[4] Rather than taking it at face value, reading around this fictionalized moment reveals a different, very real story, one less acquiescent than vulgar pantomime, in which fledging, former colonial states were brazenly appealing to the West to make good on its promises to the rest, the guarantees on their new-found sovereignty chief among them.

What this school primer offers, more so than stark realities, are glimpses of a world existing somewhere between fact and fiction, or in Benedict Anderson's words: the "curious amalgam of legitimate fictions and concrete illegitimacies" that is the lifeblood of the nation-state (Anderson 1983b, p. 477). As with many postcolonial states, the Philippines was not born fully formed, but had to be forged and fashioned in such a way as to knit an ethnically, economically, and politically dissimilar archipelago into one nation. In the initial absence of such an entity being already conceived domestically, the new state's persona on the world stage served as a placeholder. Contemplating how the textbook's producers constructed a postcolonial vision for their new country, in part by promoting active participation in UN decision-making and programs, presents an opportunity, moreover, to think about the function internationalism has served in nation building across the Global South, and its emotive power, as what Arjun Appadurai (1993) has described as the "hyphen that links nation to state" (796).

Textbooks like *A World United* can be found in other parts of the Global South and further attest to support across this vast and watery conceptual space for a range of Cold War educational initiatives promoting the UN and other forms of internationalism. Read side-by-side with other contributions to this edited collection, this chapter is intended to be more exploratory than definitive. Concentrating on representations of the UN in Abiva textbooks provides merely one entry point into larger conversations about what a decentered global history of educational internationalisms might look like (see also the chapters by Ismay Milford, Andrea Brazzoduro, and Dayana Murguia Mendez in this volume). In *A World United*, the message was clear: throughout the oceanic South, the UN personified peace, provided for people, and in so doing played an integral role in shaping the citizenry of emerging nation-states,

just as the latter sought to shape it. "Offered" by its family-owned publisher in "the fond hope that boys and girls will find it interesting", but also "useful",[5] such primers were intended to be both performative and actionable, ambitious, and modern in ways that top-down, largely secular historiographies of the UN and Cold War do not always achieve. They sketched the contours of an upwards educational hermeneutic "from the middle" that endeavored to mold Philippine notions of self and the world at large at a critical juncture in the archipelago's history, while opening up a transnational space of cosmopolitan belonging, operating outside of colonial spheres of influence, past and present.

Hidden Transcripts: Abiva's Origins and Educational Publishing as Resistance

"Since some day or other he will become enlightened whether the government wishes it or not, let his enlightenment be as a gift received and not as conquered plunder": these lines are from the American translator Charles Derbyshire's interpretation of José Rizal's 1890 essay titled *Sobre la indolencia de los filipinos* (On the Indolence of the Filipinos).[6] Such creative translations into English of Rizal, whose writings inspired the Philippine revolutionary movement and prompted his execution by Spanish colonial authorities in 1896, were common in the first couple of decades of American colonial rule (1898–1946). A principal aim of these texts was to undermine lingering animosity throughout the archipelago to the new regime by reconfiguring Rizal into the "first Filipino" in line with United States interests (Guerrero 1963 [1961]) – to imbue him with all the qualities of, in the words of Resil Mojares (2006), a neutered, "canonical, civic nationalism under American auspices", whereas one did not hitherto exist. The contemporary meaning of "Filipino" itself (as distinct from its foreign-born European, Spanish-era connotations) is, in large part, a consequence of the twinned processes of American imperialism and Filipinization.[7] It was very much "in the American 'gaze'", writes Mojares, "that much of what subjectively constitutes nation for Filipinos was formed" (12) – and that Rizal's advocacy of education as a means to mitigate the negative impacts of the stereotypes of lazy and imprudent *indios* in the Spanish period was usurped, and recast through carefully crafted English translations as a "gift", bestowed upon the colonized by a benevolent American empire, and informed by "enlightened" secular American democratic values.

On the face of it, the founders of the Abiva Publishing House, Inc., Luis Abiva and Asuncion Quiray Abiva, were model subjects, Filipino products of an educational scheme designed along these lines. The husband-and-wife team met in the late 1920s while studying at the Philippine Normal School in Manila, which had been established three years after the US assumed control of the long-time Spanish colony at the conclusion of the Spanish-American War of 1898. As PNS alumni,[8] they joined the ranks of what Patricio Abinales and Donna Amoroso have identified as a "nascent urban 'middle class'" of "white-collar" workers in education, nursing, and pharmacology (Abinales

and Amoroso 2017, p. 158), all professions that made their practitioners intuitive conduits for the American colonial project in the Philippine islands, as elsewhere in the US' formal and informal orbit.

One of the first things American administrators did upon arrival in the archipelago was to set up a public school system modeled surreptitiously on residential schools (for Native Americans), the Kamehameha schools (for indigenous Hawaiians), and industrial institutes (for African Americans) (Reyhner and Eder 1989; Kape'ahiokalani, Benham, and Heck 1998; Watkins 2001). As Sarah Steinbock-Pratt (2019) has asserted,

> these precedents were useful to pedagogical initiatives in the Philippines precisely because they shared a common mission: to turn a perceived foreign and potentially subversive population into Americanized citizen-subjects, and productive workers. Education was the key ingredient for this process: the silver bullet that would transform the foreign into the familiar, the savage into the (second-class) citizen.
>
> (p. 17)

After graduation, Luis and Asuncion worked as teachers in the new schools established by and for the purposes of the American colonial regime, serving the provincial area around Manila. But rather than proselytizing, they found themselves pushing back. It was through this service, in the heart of civic life throughout the archipelago known as *barangay*, that the Abivas recognized a need for textbooks that resonated with life in these communities, far removed as they were from the American metropole where these texts had often been produced. Apples, for example, do not naturally grow in the Philippines, and only in the American colonial period did they begin to be imported. Using apples to teach students who had never seen, let alone touched or tasted one, made little sense and, as Augusto de Viana (2001) asserts, reinforced the unequal relationship between colonizer and colonized. Thus, Luis and Asuncion's experiences both at PNS and in these *barangay* proved formative, as they cultivated authorial relationships with other teachers, substituted mangoes for apples, and set up the press in 1936.

While the predominantly white, American-born administrators and instructors in the early days of US colonial rule in the Philippines reinforced an image of pragmatic paternalism, their ability to operate and thrive – survive, even – in what could be (for them) a challenging environment nonetheless relied on local Filipino collaborators like the Abivas. Family lore has it that Luis, the patriarch, traveled near and far in the province surrounding the capital, working, reworking, and peddling Abiva textbooks, *barangay* to *barangay*, himself. Taking its cues from British imperial intelligence, the new American regime also established the *Hukbóng Pamayapà ng Pilipinas* (Philippine Constabulary) as a means of colonial governance that relied on the archipelago's inhabitants to police themselves. Notably, Abiva's earliest publications were primers for would-be applicants to the *Hukbo* (as they became known locally), followed by

study guides for US Civil Service examinations. But within them, there exists a latent tension, or what James C. Scott has described as a "'hidden transcript' that represents a critique of power spoken behind the back of the dominant", the "practices and claims" of the American regime "that cannot be openly avowed" by the subordinate group (Scott 1990, p. xii).

And so, although it may initially be tempting to dismiss the Abiva Publishing House's work over the first ten years as (at best) imitative complicity, or (at worst) unscrupulously collaborationist, we too must resist and refrain from acquiescing to a historiography that has traditionally marginalized Filipinos in the first half of the twentieth century. American institutions, interest groups, and individuals have been and continue to be the focus of various histories of education in the Philippines (Steinbock-Pratt 2019; Go 2003), while romanticized stories of civilians from all walks of life, who came from all parts of the US metropole, initially aboard the USS Thomas (in 1901), laden with American textbooks to teach "the natives", remain so pervasive in the public narrative that one could be forgiven for thinking that there were any local educators during the American colonial period – let alone local educational publishers – at all. On the contrary, there were, the Abivas not least among them (Buhain 1998; Chiu and Lokin 2015), such as Serafin Macaraig (who founded the first Filipino educational press in 1926), followed by Delfin Manlapaz (in 1932) and Abiva (in 1936) – Abiva being the only major Filipino educational publisher founded before 1945 still active today. At the time, these ventures collectively signaled the coming of a significant shift away from the US-textbook colonialism of the Thomasites and toward greater pedagogical autonomy. As the issue of Philippine self-determination in a broader sense became increasingly impossible to avoid for the US administration on both sides of the Pacific, so too did the growing agency of the American-educated, but not necessarily indoctrinated educational cadre of Filipino *letrados*.[9]

Two years before Abiva's inception, the Tydings-McDuffie Act made provisions for independence from the US within ten years, setting into motion a number of developments that promised to irrevocably alter the archipelago's political landscape and culture. The bureaucratic change from US "colony" to "commonwealth" gave rise to a new democratically elected and ostensibly secular government, and a more urgent need for a homegrown civil society to support it. Filipino educators rose to meet the challenge, providing, in an Andersonian sense, the materials necessary to inculcate notions of nationhood and identity in would-be citizens of the proposed Philippine state. Subtly undermining efforts to fully Americanize the archipelago's inhabitants, Abiva would develop a seminal series of Filipino-language texts on all aspects of Philippine life titled *Wikang Sarili* (Our Own Language). By 1946, nominal self-governance had become full sovereignty, and Abiva and their counterparts would wrest control of the domestic textbook market from the stateside behemoths and local but American-owned outfits like the Philippine Educational Company Incorporated (run by Thomasite, Verne E. Miller). Imported elementary-school textbooks and supplementary

materials were banned in 1951 (Buhain 1998, p. 77). Philippine education, it seemed, would finally become Filipino.

Legitimate Fictions: Transitioning to the World Stage

What has become known as the Commonwealth era in Philippine history (1935–1946) witnessed the rise of a nationalist movement in language, culture, and (to an extent) politics. Comprised of more than seven thousand islands, one hundred languages and dialects, and a number of religions and religious sects, the Filipino nation that Abiva imagined did not simply exist – it had to be made, distilled from a diverse archipelago held tenuously together by its shared colonial experience. Gestating alongside this nascent nationalism was a dynamic internationalism that would also inform notions of Philippine self, sovereignty, and citizenship.

The Second World War in Asia (1941–1945) interrupted the Filipinization taking place in the early Commonwealth period in certain respects, while spurring it on in others. Akin to Nazi Germany's overtures to the Islamic world, particularly in the Middle East and North Africa (Motadel 2014), Imperial Japan initially promised a greater degree of autonomy to its newly acquired Asian colonies than they had previously enjoyed under their European and American masters.[10] Japanese agents promoted a degree of self-determination – namely, through the promotion of local languages (like Filipino), while outlawing English and European ones – so as to win over their new colonial subjects. On the flipside, this activity was always situated within a wider Japanese imperial framework called the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, propped up behind the scenes by puppet regimes and colonial violence throughout East and Southeast Asia. The Philippines was no exception. Under Japanese occupation, the denizens of the archipelago suffered atrocities and abuses on an unprecedented scale, not to mention the rife food insecurity caused by resource-poor Japan's exploitation of the islands' natural resources. According to Teodoro Agoncillo, this was a time when "along vast stretches of dust-covered streets, the dead could hardly be counted". "Some were covered with newspapers", he continues, and "others less fortunate were with the rubbish, almost naked, eyes staring at the skies, limbs broken and faces showing traces of agony".[11] Evidently, their "thin faces as weird as masks" (caused by starvation) left an impression on Agoncillo, who would become a pioneer in Filipino nationalist history in the postwar period. By the end of this armed conflict, Manila's hitherto "successful system of provisioning" had utterly "collapsed", writes Daniel Doeppers (2016), revealing "just how intricate and fragile the structure was; it took over a century to build and less than three years to effectively destroy" (333). When US and Filipino forces retook the city in 1945, it was a shadow of its former self. With only 20 percent of its pre-war structures still standing, Manila had sustained a level of obliteration matched only by Warsaw in Poland (Abinales and Amoroso 2017, p. 163).

That Japan's GEACPS did not prove to be as successful as the Allied alternative – the United Nations – is therefore not surprising and would partly set the stage for internationalist interventions after the war in the Asia-Pacific. In the two decades following the World Wars, the Philippines experienced a period of enthusiasm for an array of internationalisms, from the agrarian socialism of the *Hukbong Bayan Laban sa Hapon* (People's Army Against the Japanese) to the institutionalized liberal internationalism of the Philippine government (which had spent the war in exile in the US). This internationalist "craze" assumed many forms: from diplomatic congresses and cultural-intellectual exchanges to development schemes and medical missions – and even postage stamps. Owing to the pressing crises on the ground in the aftermath of the war, more practical manifestations of internationalism like food security and global health schemes arguably had the greater landfall in the archipelago, more so than the lofty aspirations and high-political intrigues of statesmen and diplomats. Founded in 1946, the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund proved particularly integral to the Philippines' postwar rehabilitation and features heavily in Abiva textbooks published at this internationalist zenith like the 1954 *A World United*. It was initiatives like UNICEF that its authors believed students would find most "useful".[12]

Even before the formal withdrawal of American sovereignty from the archipelago in 1946, Filipino representatives from the Commonwealth government had been present in San Francisco at the signing of the Charter of the United Nations, which created the organization the year before, and their early pre-independence ratification of the Charter's predecessors was a point of pride. Even though none of them had been present at the issuing of the Atlantic Charter in 1941, the then Vice President of the Commonwealth (and later President of the Philippine Republic), Sergio Osmeña, would describe it two years later very positively as "a promise of a happy world to all peoples" and "our political creed of today". Feeling emboldened enough in his "nation" (though not yet an independent nation-state) to claim responsibility for its tenets and ideals, he asserted that although "framed on the stormy seas of the Atlantic", "it is a *world* charter", upon which all of "mankind's hopes for a better world" are "pinned".[13]

Like the Abiva textbook that opened this chapter, Osmeña's convictions were not mere platitudes, but a product of a nuanced understanding of the relationship between participation in geopolitics and state sovereignty. Reflecting on the Commonwealth President Manuel L. Quezon's signing of the Declaration by the United Nations in June 1942, he argued that "by this single act the Philippines gained an international personality. […] For the first time in her history, a highly political international instrument, in her own name and as an equal".[14] Elsewhere in this address in Philadelphia at the Academy of Political and Social Science's annual meeting, which had tasked him and his co-participants with "giving direction to the swelling tide of current thought on the organization of the postwar world",[15] he emphasized Filipino contributions to the war effort and expressed his views that:

> Any nation that believes itself capable and deserving of freedom must defend itself against aggression, no matter how much weaker or less prepared it may be than the aggressor. Its duty, in any case, is to meet the attack and show its readiness to assume the responsibilities which independence entails. Having displayed a high sense of responsibility in war as well as peace, we have advanced also a strong argument in favor of the right of dependent peoples to choose the form of government under which they live—as acknowledged by the Atlantic Charter. […] Indeed, any dependent people, if given the same opportunity for training and development that was afforded the Filipino people, will be able to develop the habits of discipline and self-control which are essential to the maintenance of an orderly and stable government.[16]

In some ways then, the Philippines' internationalist moment transcended the vital immediate needs associated with postwar reconstruction. Above all internationalist visions circulating in the postwar period, it was the UN that the new Philippine republic's leadership saw as best encapsulating the fond hopes of the nation. And increasingly it was left to the members of a now resurgent civil society to balance these different considerations and reconcile these nationalist and internationalist discourses to suit the purposes of a state, educational publishers especially.

Imagining Communities: Abiva and the New (Inter)nationalism

It is often assumed that architects of nationalism in postwar Southeast Asia, the Pacific, and other parts of the Global South looked chiefly to statist Euro-American conceptions of it, as if they had no choice but to accept some form of the latter, or reject them in favor of entirely new, indigenous ways of being "modern". The performance of internationalism, moreover, remains underappreciated as an aspect of nation building itself in a similar regard. In this penultimate section, I address both these issues, taking note of where they coalesce and gesturing to where they might take us in the future. Produced complexly by state-adjacent, yet avowedly apolitical social actors, Abiva texts in the 1950s on the whole stressed Christian, but not necessarily democratic values, as well as self-sufficiency, as key requisites for global and Philippine citizenship concomitantly. Family has always been at the heart of everything Abiva has done and published, and the company continues to be run by direct descendants of the founders. Since the 1930s, it has sought to address the immediate needs of communities with which the Abivas identified. It has always been informed by global developments, while never losing sight of the local.

Something unique to Abiva's educational print culture is how the storylines, illustrations, and (later) photographs frequently feature members of the Abiva clan. Luis Abiva Sr. did not survive the Second World War, so, on the one hand, this practice functioned as a means by which his wife, Asuncion (who became head of operations and head of the family), and their

children could memorialize him. But its consistency and continuance across numerous titles up until the present day reinforces the centrality of family to Abiva's vision for what their nation should look like, and not just in a literal sense, but an abstract one. *Pagmamano*, for example, is a ubiquitous custom in Philippine Folk-Catholic life, whereby members of younger generations of an extended family receive a blessing from their literal and spiritual elders by taking the back of the latter's hand to their foreheads. By featuring Abivas, living and deceased, in the gesture's depiction, description, and narratives across textbooks for a variety of subjects, the publishing house enshrined family and Christianity as twin pillars of Philippine society.

Abiva's educational offerings in the 1950s and 1960s further conveyed a dynamic, wide-ranging project of modernity, appropriating but not imitating Euro-American conceptions of it. To source its science texts, Abiva's authors turned, in the first instance, to studies by Philippine authors and other texts concerning the flora, fauna, geography, geology, astronomy, and other objects of scientific study specific to the archipelago itself.[17] Similarly, math and arithmetic textbooks invited students to do calculations, not with foreign-imported apples but, as befitting a bountiful, tropical country in its own right, indigenous produce like *mangga* (mangoes) and *saging* (bananas).[18] Home economics manuals provided recipes using local ingredients for dishes common to local communities.[19] They even instructed students on how to grow and harvest their own fruits and vegetables, and rear and butcher their own poultry and pigs.[20] As the title of one of Abiva's social studies options confers, these texts also accentuated a sense of shared national ownership of, and responsibility for, natural resources – it was imperative to "us [e] the riches of our country wisely", *our* being the operative word.[21]

Abiva's nation-building efforts coincided with the autochthonous aspirations of another dynastic powerhouse, the Marcoses. Under the leadership of Ferdinand and his wife Imelda Marcos, the family held Philippine politics in thrall from the seat of the presidency for over 20 years (1965–1986) and have since been returned to power in the May 2022 elections. During their initial period of ascendancy, they experimented with numerous infrastructural development and cultural initiatives – food security through cooperative rice paddies and the promotion of Filipiniana (Philippine art, fashion, literature, and other forms of material culture) not least among them. Abiva educational materials signaled support for these and other "New Society" programs in subtle, yet effective ways, whether through the "Rice is Life!" slogan blazoned across the front of a recipe book, or providing instructions for making one's own traditional Filipino dress, a *torno*, in the style of the First Lady, Imelda, herself. Symbolically marrying their visions of Philippine modernity, the Marcoses and Abivas were joined in holy matrimony: Felicito "Toots" Abiva, the eldest son of Luis Sr. and Asuncion, married Teresita "Tita" Romualdez after the Second World War, Tita being Imelda (née Romualdez) Marcos' first cousin.

The Marcos administration's internationalism during the Cold War is perhaps best encapsulated by its expressions of anti-colonial solidarity and the

establishment of diplomatic relations with the Pan-Africanist, Arab nationalist government of Muammar al-Gaddafi in the 1970s. This is not to say the relationship between the Philippine and Libyan states was not complex and fraught; the purpose of Imelda Marcos' much publicized visit to Libya in 1976 was to incentivize the withdrawal of support across North Africa and the Middle East for the Muslim "Moro" insurgency in the southern Philippines, a feat accomplished (albeit temporarily) by the signing of the Tripoli Agreement following her stay (Abinales 2000; McKenna 1998; Yegar 2002). Nevertheless, that such a relationship existed at all, irrespective of strained relations between Libya and "the West", was no small feat. While the Philippines did not join the Non-Aligned Movement until 1993, there were other ways to resist American influence and transcend conventional Cold War binaries of capitalism and communism, democracy, and dictatorship. Partaking in foreign affairs independently of the US would become a critical way in which the Philippines asserted its identity as a sovereign nation.

For Abiva, cooperation with other nation-states was not merely an empty *pagmamano*, taking place at the highest levels of international politics, but essential for healthy citizenship at home, from the bottom up. Over the course of the elementary school curriculum, the publisher used a scaffolded approach, starting with lessons in Grade Three on filial piety, mutual aid among neighbors, Godly devotion, and (within certain parameters) participation in civic life.[22] By Grade Six (the last year in the Philippines' American-style elementary school system), Abiva texts extended and applied these qualities to the international community, encouraging pupils to see themselves as stakeholders of consequence in the UN family of nations. As one title asserted:

> "Understanding Our Neighbors" introduces the child to his world. It tells how men work and live not only in the Philippines but also in other countries. The child learns to appreciate what he does and what is being done about him if he knows that people in distant lands also do the same thing as his people. He realizes his dependence upon his neighbors for many of the things that he uses.[23]

Taking the form of stories – stories, which (again) employed Abiva family members, but also friends and acquaintances as its chief protagonists – these textbooks imparted detailed information about "what the UN is", "how [it] was formed", "how [it] works", what it had achieved thus far, and its various agencies.[24] Like "the exercises at the end of each story", all of this, asserted Abiva's authors, was unequivocally "modern".[25]

The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) became a fixture in Abiva textbooks of the 1950s and 1960s – in particular to demonstrate not only the Philippines' equal status with other nation-states, but also its citizens' belonging to one universal community: that of the human race. Many of the intuitive dangers of subscribing wholesale to the latter notion at its lowest common denominator have since come to

fruition. To promote the view that "we are all the same" conceals that not everyone is treated as such. But when UNESCO was founded, champions of the new agency nonetheless saw in this view humanity's best chance for world peace and prosperity for as many people as possible (Amrith and Sluga 2008). Poul Duedahl (2011) credits it with precipitating the modern field of global history, with its contemporary decentering and decolonizing impulses.

A similar sanguinity in the naturally good intentions of man and UNESCO was expressed in Abiva print culture in a variety of ways. A unique aspect of Abiva's UN literature lies in its calls for direct participation in real-life UNESCO initiatives. For example, some textbooks outline specific instructions for how to construct and send dolls clad in "native" Philippine costumes to UN headquarters to be exchanged and tour with those made by children from other parts of the world (for more on UNESCO's early childhood education policies and initiatives, see the chapter by Michel Christian in this book). And while technically fictional, the second part of *A World United* is written in the genre of letter writing between pen-pals in the Philippines and other parts of the world, a ubiquitous activity practiced pervasively well into the twenty-first century. Speaking through Manuel Flores, a young everyman in a sixth-grade class in the Philippines, the authors of this title asserted that "UNESCO believes that peace can be taught" and "has done much for our country":

> It has given many Filipinos a chance to study in the United States and other countries. It also keeps a branch office of the South East Asia Science Co-operation Office working in Manila. It has organized exhibitions in art. It has made possible meetings on education. It has set up an educational center in Pangasinan. It has given the Philippines many books, magazines, and pamphlets.

Oh "how the class", they wrote, "clapped their hands".[26]

Internationalism in the Time of Postcolony

A World United begins with a dialogue between a young Filipino girl named Ligaya and her mother, Mrs. Santos, as they stare up at the UN Headquarters during a fictitious trip to New York City. The sixth grader asks Mrs. Santos what mankind is, and she replies, "It means all the peoples of the world". Even as the US is acknowledged as the physical "home" of the UN, attention is drawn to the Philippines' role in its foundation: "The President of the United Nations General Assembly when the cornerstone [of the building] was laid was General Carlos P. Romulo of the Philippines". Mrs. Santos recalls Romulo's address to the General Assembly: "This ground, a part of America, now belongs to the world. It is dedicated ground. Upon it will rest the home of the United Nations". "As long as this tall building stands", she continues, "it will remind all liberty-loving peoples that they should work together for peace".[27]

Today the UN Secretariat building still stands, but the organization's ability to coordinate collective conflict resolution is constantly being tested. The same Act that promised Philippine independence in the 1930s limited Filipino travel to the US to the extent that the aforementioned vignette would not have been possible (Sobredo 2002). When placed alongside Abiva's other offerings in the immediate post-independence period, it becomes apparent that *A World United* depicts a Philippine nation, but also a United Nations that did not, and could perhaps never, exist. One might even say the publishing house's authors conjured up a particular vision for the UN, "imagining" it, as Anderson (1983a) said about the nation, into existence – only for that version of the UN to collapse under a pedagogy of aspiration that could not sustain the tensions between institutionalized liberal internationalism and the Marcoses' autocratic Third Worldism.

The decades that followed would see the rise of a less altruistic, more self-interested internationalism among the more impoverished member states, the tide of which could not be stemmed. By 1966, Ferdinand Marcos was calling for "the review and revision of the Charter of the United Nations" – and for post-1945 states like the Philippines to "redouble our efforts at self-help" and "exercise our right to do our utmost for the well-being of our own people", *our* (again) being the operative word. But in this case, the "our" meant the formerly colonized of the Global South. At his first and only address to the UN, Marcos (1966) proposed that the intergovernmental organization "remove the developing regions, once and for all, from the arena of the Cold War where there is no place for small nations, and give them the time to establish stable conditions, and" (only when all else fails) "grant them the assistance that small nations need for peaceful growth".[28] Shortly after, titles featuring the UN and UNESCO disappeared from Abiva's offerings, in favor of those more in line with the government's new hyper-nationalist program.

Carefully cloaked in the outward language of peace and liberty-loving internationalism, time will tell if the latest iteration of Philippine public policy under a new Marcos generation holds water. Often immense poverty begets immense positivity, but that does not make such concealments any less real, or powerful, not least in places where liberal democracy, the rule of law, and the institution understood to embody these values, the UN, function differently than in the global North. In the North, postwar reconstruction was completed, hell figuratively froze over and thawed, and the UN's primary vocation – "development" – is thought of rather cynically as an outsourced mode of charity for societies broken beyond repair. Internationalism is now something that happens *elsewhere*, often violently through what Achille Mbembe (1992) has described as the "postcolony", a phenomenon endemic to "societies recently emerging from the experience of colonization", extending the life of Euro-American colonialism itself (3).

Over 75 years since the founding of the UN, and nearly 70 years on from the Afro-Asian Conference in Bandung, however, it is no longer possible to speak of one undivided internationalism. In light of emerging scholarship centering

on these two watershed moments alone, we are evidently experiencing a period of renewed academic interest in a much more diverse array of internationalist projects, from the purely academic to the messily actionable. Democratic, communist, anti-colonial, and autocratic, the history of internationalisms in the Global South especially is like an ocean, as deep as it is expansive.

Situating Abiva's project within what the Afro-Asian Networks Research Collective (2018) have recently described as a sea of "competing internationalisms" presents a chance to think beyond the Eurocentric genealogies of civil society and statist paradigms of decolonization that have galvanized studies of nation building since the end of the Cold War (Arsan, Lewis, and Richard 2012). If the early days of the recent pandemic engendered a lack of altruistic international cooperation and solidarity, the same cannot be said of the global crises that spurred the postcolony's planetary consciousness. As the Abiva of today returns to representing the interests of Philippine educational publishing on the global book fair stage, and sponsoring schools serving emergent and historic diasporic communities, it is worth appreciating how this resilient press once mediated the nation through an ambitious form of educational internationalism, dynamic as it was integral to a decolonizing world.

Notes

1 Consuelo C. Banag and Herminia Ancheta, Preface to *A World United* (Manila: Abiva, 1954), n.p.
2 Consuelo C. Banag and Herminia Ancheta, Preface to *A World United*, Manila: Abiva, 1954, 7.
3 Emphasis added. Gillian Sorensen in S. R. Brophy, "IA-Forum Interview: Gillian Sorensen", *International Affairs Forum*, 27 July 2007.
4 Banag and Ancheta, *A World United*, 1–7.
5 Banag and Ancheta 1954, Preface, n.p.
6 José Rizal, "The Indolence of the Filipino", Charles Derbyshire, trans. (Manila: Philippine Education Company, 1913).
7 Until the early twentieth century, *Filipino* referred to a person of Spanish descent born in the Philippine archipelago, and distinguished them from *Peninsulares*, individuals of Spanish descent born in Spain. In practice, "Spanish" was often synonymous with "European" more widely. Those understood to be Filipinos today would have historically been called *Indios*. Some scholars suggest that the roots of Filipino nationalism in today's sense can be found much earlier; see Rafael 2005. But this does not negate the profound role that the American colonial regime played in shaping and reshaping its trajectory.
8 This fact is proudly displayed on a commemorative plaque in one of the halls in what is now named the Philippine Normal University, for which Abiva donated the funds to refurbish. Coincidentally, the university's main campus is still located on Taft Avenue, named after William Howard Taft, the 27th President of the United States (1909–1913) and the first civilian Governor-General of the Philippines after initial military occupation.
9 This term *letrado* (man of letters) originates in the Spanish American context; see Malagón-Barceló 1961.
10 The courting of Europe and the US' colonial subjects by Imperial Japan was particularly acute for ethnic minority groups in these territories; see Hammond 2020.

11 Teodoro A. Agoncillo, *The Fateful Years: Japan's Adventure in the Philippines, 1941-45* (Quezon City: R. P. Garcia Publishing Company, 1965), 549.
12 Banag and Ancheta, *A World United*, Preface, n.p.
13 Emphasis added. Sergio Osmeña, "The United Nations and the Philippines", *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 228, no. 1 (1943): 25–29.
14 Osmeña, "The United Nations and the Philippines", 25.
15 Thorsten Sellin, "Foreword", *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 228, no. 1 (1943): vii.
16 Osmeña, "The United Nations and the Philippines", 26.
17 T. A. D'Reana and Felisa M. de la Paz, *Elementary Science, For Grade Six* (Manila: Abiva, 1965).
18 Pilar B. Aquino and Feliza F. Mesina, *Arithmetic for Community Living* (Manila: Abiva, 1959).
19 Felipa Festin Negado, *Favorite Recipes in the Philippines* (Manila: Abiva, 1954).
20 Jack Smith and Alfonso Calonge, *Poultry Raising in the Philippines* (Manila: Abiva, 1956). There is a note attached to the copy held in Abiva's own archives and written by Asuncion Abiva to the warehouse manager, Alex Cuampued: "Don't lose this, we might need it in the future."
21 Miguela M. Solis, Florencio P. Fresnoza and Heriberta M. Caguoia, *Using the Riches of Our Country Wisely* (Manila: Abiva, 1954).
22 Miguela M. Solis, Florencio Fresnoza and Pilar Z. Cruz, *Living Happily with Others* (Manila: Abiva, 1957).
23 Miguela M. Solis, Florencio Fresnoza and Pilar Lascina, *Understanding Our Neighbors. A Reader for Sixth Grade Children* (Manila: Abiva, 1956), Preface, n.p.
24 Solis et al., Preface, 258–276.
25 Solis et al., Preface, n.p.
26 Banag and Ancheta, *A World United*, 57–65.
27 Banag and Ancheta, *A World United*, 1–7.
28 Ferdinand Marcos, Address of President Marcos before the UN General Assembly, New York, 21.09.1966, *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines*, 62, no. 46, 8600-8609.

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13 Journalism Training in 1960s East Africa, or the Transferability of a Stapler

Ismay Milford

Introduction

In a Mogadishu government office in April 1964, a journalist put a stapler to unconventional use and ended up in prison.[1] The journalist, Mohamoud Ali Dirah, was working for the Ministry of Information in newly independent Somalia. Imprisonment was not an unusual fate for a journalist in 1960s Eastern Africa, where these professionals were frequently targeted by colonial-era censorship laws repurposed for the challenges of post-independence state-building. But Dirah's spell in prison had nothing to do with press freedoms. It was about training. Dirah was denied permission to attend a journalism course in Kampala, Uganda, so he hit his superior with a stapler.[2]

Dirah and the stapler set the scene for situating journalism within the history of educational internationalism. East Africa has recently been recognized as an arena for the Cold War struggle over information (Brennan 2015; Jenks 2020; Lemberg 2019). The lens of educational internationalism contributes to this evolving picture by shifting the focus from Cold War debates over press freedoms toward the regional and internationalist underpinnings of training programs and technical knowledge. This allows a move away from a state-versus-journalists story of the postcolonial press (Ochieng 1992), blurring the boundary between state and non-state – that Dirah was a government employee is relevant. Illustrating the histories that thus emerge is the stapler: a quintessential item of office life in the pre-digital age; a tool whose purpose is supposedly transferable across territorial and cultural boundaries yet liable, as Dirah demonstrated, to be reinvented by its user.

In this chapter, like in the chapter by Barbara Hof in this volume, I locate educational internationalism in the technical realm (Matasci 2017; Speich 2009). The expressions of internationalism that interest me are not those of the Cold War battle for hearts and minds, between socialist and liberal internationalisms, but the tensions over the internationalization of technical knowledge – the possibility that definable, professional skills could be an asset held internationally. I explore these expressions of internationalism in two cases in which short, regional training courses arranged by international organizations in the early 1960s were transferred to East African institutions in the late 1960s.

The geographical scope of the chapter is initially broad, encompassing a region running from Somalia in the Horn of Africa to Malawi in the southeast of the continent, and sometimes beyond, but the cases discussed lead us to Nairobi, East Africa's "information crossroads" (Ochieng 1992, p. 5).

Focusing on the transfer of journalism courses to East African institutions reveals the stakes involved in this case of Cold War educational international-ism. Both of the international organizations that feature in this chapter – the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the International Press Institute (IPI) – broadly shared a Cold War liberal internationalist vision, allowing us to see aspects of tension and competition that were *not* primarily about Cold War ideological conflict (like in the chapter by Daniel Lövheim in this volume). This is not to imply that the Cold War was not relevant here. As we shall see, the Cold War comes into this story at both a structural level, especially in terms of funding, and a discursive level. Yet for the trainees and trainers involved in these courses, I argue, the most urgent debate was about what training should look like in newly independent African countries. Could technical know-how be transferred from one setting, across a geo-political border, to another setting? Should a qualification earned in one country remain relevant in another? What would an "Africanized" journalism course look like? In tackling these questions, trainees shaped the meaning of educational internationalism. Following a section on the background of the courses, this chapter identifies debates over three aspects of the transfer pro-cess: the role of East African states, curricula, and funding.

From Colonial Origins to Developmentalist Planning

In the late 1950s, a consensus emerged that training East African journalists in countries under British rule or influence was vital and urgent. This recognition covered a range of interests, from those of school graduates, government employees, and political leaders to those of colonial officials, international organizations, and sometimes commercial newspaper owners. No permanent courses that led to recognized journalism qualifications existed in the region. Colonial information departments occasionally organized short courses, such as the fortnight-long evening course at Makerere University College Kampala in 1957, attended by 18 students from across East Africa.[3] A handful of colo-nial scholarships were awarded for one-year diplomas abroad, typically at the Regent Street Polytechnic in London.[4] Meanwhile, the African-owned com-mercial press had been systematically stifled by postwar colonial censorship laws; the region's large, financially viable newspapers were overwhelmingly foreign-owned and little inclined to train African journalists "on the job", as was the typical framework for journalism training in Britain (Musandu 2018, p. 4). Even when training was available, opportunities for promotion in the press and civil service were limited by de facto color bars. This situation was intensified by the speed with which self-government was achieved in the region: it was only after 1960 that it became clear that citizens in colonies like Kenya,

as well as in protectorates like Uganda, Zanzibar, and Zambia, would be electing African governments within months or years – not generations. "Africanization" of public institutions and government departments was central – in rhetoric if not always in practice – to the policy and planning of the late colonial state and international organizations, as well as new African governments (Ritter 2021, p. 115; Huber 2017; Poleykett and Mangesho 2016).

UNESCO and the IPI conceived of their role in journalism training in this context. The origins of UNESCO's initiatives lay in a conference, "Development of Information Media in Africa", which had been planned, since 1959, to take place in Addis Ababa, but eventually happened in Paris in 1962.[5] IPI, meanwhile, based their plans on a report written by director Jim Rose, following a 1961 tour of East and West Africa.[6] The outcomes were UNESCO short courses, including a one-month broadcasting course in 1962 and a three-month journalism course in 1964, both in Kampala, and a series of six-month IPI "crash courses" in Nairobi, which trained over 300 journalists in the period 1963–1968. Underwritten by assumptions that sustainable liberal democracy demanded more newspapers (and radio stations) to be read (or listened to) by more people, UNESCO and IPI reports identified training as the fundamental priority for African journalism. They also identified East Africa as a regional priority, given the paucity of "home grown" professional journalists and the region's declared Cold War non-alignment. Both organizations favored courses "on the ground" over those overseas (although UNESCO also funded French-speaking trainees to attend the *Centre International d'Enseignement Supérieur du Journalisme* in Strasbourg) and advocated regional courses covering several neighboring countries, using either French or English as the language of instruction.[7]

The long-term vision of both organizations (in spheres other than journalism too, in UNESCO's case) was consistent with the developmentalist internationalism of the 1960s, which coupled faith in socio-economic development with the integration of new states into the UN-based international system (Unger 2018, pp. 61–73). Thus, UNESCO and IPI intended that short courses would establish a framework that could be transferred to African institutions after several years. These institutions, in the event, were the School of Journalism at the University of Nairobi (at the time part of the University of East Africa) and the purpose-built Kenya Institute for Mass Communication (KIMC). There was continuity of individuals and funders across the handover: the two American UNESCO consultants who organized the 1964 short course in Kampala, Wilbur Schramm and E. Lloyd Sommerlad, were the primary consultants when the KIMC opened in 1968; the British IPI instructor on the 1963–1968 courses in Nairobi, Frank Barton, was a consultant to the University of Nairobi School of Journalism when it began operating in 1969, working alongside a Danish UNESCO consultant. The Ford Foundation, an American private foundation whose CIA links were clear by the end of the 1960s, was also involved throughout (Jenks 2020).

UNESCO and IPI assumed that, by the mid-1970s, foreign consultants and external finance would become redundant, and journalism training would be

self-sufficient – Africanized in personnel and structure. In this scenario, East African institutions would affiliate to the UNESCO-sponsored International Association for Media and Communication Research; newly trained journalists would join IPI through their membership of national professional bodies; relevant trade unions would be free to affiliate to the Prague-based International Organization of Journalists (IOJ) if they chose (Nordenstreng et al. 2016). East African journalists would sit alongside their fellow professionals from across the world, united by a shared corpus of technical knowledge that – like a stapler – was immune to national borders and local specificities. The reality, however, turned out to be more complex.

At the Edges of the State

When IPI discussed the transfer of its course to an East African institution in the late 1960s, its primary criteria were that the host should be "independent of government and willing to take on students from other countries".[8] The regional basis of the original IPI and UNESCO courses (whether Pan-African or East African) was both a practical measure to economize on resources and an internationalist ideal whereby courses existed outside of the national framework of whatever country they happened in.[9] Trainees often shared this ideal and expressed it in explicitly Pan-African internationalist terms: following the 1962 broadcasting course, F. Z. Gana reported that he and other participants "expressed very strongly the necessity of the creation of a Central Bureau for Information for African Countries through which exchange of broadcasting materials could be made".[10] That being both African and a journalist could outweigh nationality was reiterated at the 1964 journalism course: participants wrote to their Francophone African counterparts in Strasbourg about the "true feeling of African brotherhood" that would be "fostered by the profession to which we belong", while Strasbourg students referred to "common destinies irrespective of frontiers".[11]

However, there was no linear trajectory from internationalist foundations in the early 1960s to state interference by the 1970s: early IPI and UNESCO plans acknowledged the central role to be played by African states from the outset. The extent to which this was compatible with the internationalist, regional, and Pan-African basis of courses was ambiguous. At the UNESCO 1962 Paris conference on "Development of Information Media in Africa", there was disquiet among Western press representatives about the fact that most African delegates were government employees: there was not "one individual present representing the privately owned (or even party-owned) newspapers".[12] Given that the colonial press in East Africa was largely government-subsidized or foreign-owned, there were limited foundations for an independent and financially viable African press in the 1960s.[13] The Tanganyika delegate, Keara Samson Mwambenja, was a government information officer; he insisted that if the African press were to expand, then the newly independent state would need to take responsibility for training journalists.[14]

UNESCO reassured delegates of their commitment to an independent press, but in practice they attributed to new governments an important role, just as Mwambenja did. When UNESCO made arrangements for its 1964 journalism course, organizers were "anxious not to simply duplicate" the existing IPI course, so they "plan[ned] to cater for a different section of information personnel", namely, employees of "the various information ministries" rather than those of newspapers.[15] In fact, this would do nothing to distinguish it from the IPI course, which also struggled to recruit trainees from commercial newspapers – the majority of journalists who attended worked either directly or indirectly for newly elected governments.[16] This did not concern instructor Frank Barton, who welcomed the "healthy two-way traffic of government information officers and radio journalists into the press and vice versa" (Barton 1969, p. 34).

However, the idea of training government personnel caused alarm higher up in UNESCO. Tor Gjesdal, director of the Mass Communication Department, hurriedly wrote to the organizers:

> I've never accepted that any one of our projects for journalism training should be devoted entirely to the training of Govt. Info Officers […] We have to be extremely careful in our descriptive terms here, or we should end up being accused of turning out Governmental propagandists instead of free journalists.[17]

As Gjesdal hinted, it was the language used (and publicized) that mattered more than who actually participated. The invitation was revised, asking government ministries to send "journalists or information officers […] in newspapers, news agencies, broadcasting organizations, or Information Ministries" who would "attend the course in a private capacity, and not as representatives of their Governments".[18] In the event, the nominated applicants were overwhelmingly government employees, although some had worked for commercial newspapers too, echoing Barton's ideal of "two-way traffic".[19] Henry Semweya-Musoke, for example, trained as a journalist in the settler-owned *East African Standard* and *Uganda Argus* before joining the Ugandan Ministry of Information after independence.[20]

When UNESCO sought to transfer its courses to an East African institution in the late 1960s, its reluctance to train government personnel was less apparent. KIMC was explicitly a government institution, regardless of its willingness to admit students from other East African countries. The college grew out of the small training wing for technicians of the state broadcaster, *Voice of Kenya* (which trained just six technicians in 1966). UNESCO became involved in order to expand this remit to meet training needs of the entire Ministry of Information and Broadcasting; a purpose-built college opened in November 1968.[21] KIMC's independence from the ministry and the broadcaster (which itself fell under the ministry's authority) quickly became problematic. Crucially, KIMC's financial position was unclear: the Minister for Information pointed

out the need "to avoid […] the possibility of finding that the KIMC cannot run properly because of its having to depend on the Voice of Kenya to pay its bills".[22] By the early 1970s, even before the effects of the global economic crisis were felt, KIMC was struggling: the ministry lamented the "inadequacy of training staff and lack of enough students with the right aptitudes when courses are due to start".[23]

Conflicts over the role of the state did not simply concern the principle of an independent press: they were about day-to-day pedagogical matters. When KIMC Principal, L. D. Nguru, took up his post around 1970, he said it would be difficult to fulfill his role due to the lack of basic policy in place: "Who decides how many people should be trained in any given year – the Ministry's training officer or Principal KIMC […] Who ensures that there will be posts […] Who gathers the relevant background information on Ministry's training requirements".[24] When the Ministry pushed the KIMC to reduce its entry requirements in order to boost trainee numbers, the commission responsible for admissions refused to do so "in the name of justice and fair-play".[25] Just like when journalism training was under UNESCO and IPI direction in the early 1960s, the location of courses at the edges of the state was bound up with questions about who should be trained and what they should learn.

Africanizing the Curriculum

The curriculum was at the center of discussions about the handover of courses from international organizations to East African institutions in the 1960s. From the earliest courses, trainees challenged the assumption that a generic curriculum could support skills relevant to the demands of each participant's work. At UNESCO's 1962 educational broadcasting course in Kampala, for example, the vision of instructor Evelyn Gibbs was to blur the boundary between "educator" and "broadcaster" so that radio would serve as a development tool in rural contexts. However, this took little account of how government departments were organized in the countries invited to send participants. Most participants – from across the African continent – worked in education departments concerned with formal teaching in schools, so had little involvement in rural broadcasting, which was typically the responsibility of information ministries.[26] After the course, Tanzanian Ferdinand Ruhinda told UNESCO plainly that they

> ought to be absolutely certain whether all the Participants on the Course are in a position to put in practice the ideas and methods that emanate from the Course when they return to their respective countries; otherwise, it is useless to train people who are not going to be of any use in the pursuit of your objectives.[27]

Neba Fabs, a Cameroonian participant from a broadcasting company, admitted that the course's methods for soliciting listener feedback on his radio

program had yielded so few results that he had resorted to inventing letters from listeners.[28]

The participants' comments reflected a broader tension between the universalist principles typical of postwar liberal internationalism and the specificities of place. Students at the IPI course read George Orwell's *Animal Farm* and those at the UNESCO 1964 course watched *Television Comes to the Land*, a production about the introduction of television in a French village.[29] The standard IPI manual *The Active Newsroom* was used for both courses. The course instructors assumed that techniques and principles could be readily transferred from one context to another, most often from a European context to an African one.

Some participants explicitly identified the profile of the instructors as the source of the problem. As Somali trainee Hassan Hussein Bogow noted of the 1962 course: "Although the instructors were well experienced in the field of the educational broadcasting [...] some of them were not much familiar with the problems facing Africa (especially regarding the languages)".[30] Bogow was right on both fronts. While the IPI instructors had a background in South Africa's liberal press, UNESCO instructors were drawn from the organization's network of consultants. An Indian rural broadcasting specialist was unsuccessfully sought for the 1962 course, for example, and mass communication lectures at the 1964 journalism course were provided by a Stanford academic who had no experience or expertise in East Africa.[31] With regard to language, UNESCO and IPI publications frequently alluded to the challenges of journalism in multilingual nations, but this was rarely reflected in central course organization, given the limited expertise of instructors. UNESCO's draft invitation addressed "English-speaking countries", then was edited to address "countries in which English is a working language", in a gesture toward the sensitivity of the issue and the multilingual history of East African newspapers (Hunter 2018).[32]

Language continued to pose problems when UNESCO and IPI courses were transferred to East African institutions in the late 1960s. Protests began among students at the University of Nairobi journalism school in 1972 over compulsory English language courses, four years after the famous abolition of the English department in the same university.[33] One reader of *African Journalist*, an IPI periodical intended to sustain its alumni network after the handover, wrote from Dar es Salaam, asking why trainee journalists should learn a "foreign language", to which the editor replied that the practical necessity of English overrode points of principle.[34]

Rather than language, the priority for East African institutions looking to Africanize journalism courses following the transfer from UNESCO and IPI was staff – or the shortage of East African staff. When the KIMC formally opened in 1968, after consultation with UNESCO, a Kenyan Ministry of Information official insisted that "apart from the officers recruited overseas to lecture [...] all other officers recruited for KIMC MUST be Kenya citizens".[35] His ministry colleague replied that there were no qualified Kenyans to take

certain posts, despite the KIMC's commitment to Africanization and extensive advertising in newspapers.[36] As a compromise, he suggested that KIMC recruited not from Britain but from "countries like France, Germany, Holland, Japan, and West Africa".[37] The first KIMC principal, R. J. Davey (non-Kenyan), was optimistic about the appointment of Newton James, lecturer in engineering, due to "the fact that he was Jamaican".[38] However, Davey was soon complaining to the Ministry of Information that James was "uncooperative".[39] The Ministry defended James; Davey resigned and was replaced by a Kenyan principal, L. D. Nguru.

From James' perspective, however, the disagreement related to the curriculum. James wanted to implement "modern and relevant" techniques taught in other institutions, which he contrasted with the "inadequate and outmoded" syllabus used in the brand-new KIMC. He was "not prepared to identify [himself] with the present theory that one should be satisfied with a lower standard in Africa", he stated.[40] The Kenyan Ministry of Information agreed with James that the syllabus should be "equitable" with those of "similar institutions such as the BBC or the Voice of America" so that qualified trainees could "work anywhere in the world" and assured James that his contribution was "invaluable".[41]

Yet there was tension over where the potential for universality – for working anywhere in the world – lay: in technical skills or in theoretical foundations. Soon after the controversy with James, Kenyan lecturer P. L. Wangalwa recommended a revised syllabus for the course for information assistants, to make it more like a university degree course in order to encourage trainees to "read more books and gossip less".[42] It was, he stated:

> no good to train someone as a reporter or a cinema operator […] when you cannot touch on the essential of human communication in a developing country such as Kenya. To widen the officer's scope it is not only necessary to parochialise his outlook but also to give him a glimpse of the life beyond his immediate horizon.[43]

This would mean, he said, studying Kenyan history and politics *in context*: first the Kenyan constitution, then "socialist approaches in the development of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania", followed by politics in the rest of Africa, and only *then* in the rest of the world. Broadly, Wangalwa proposed a more academic and less technical course, which placed Kenyan specificities at its center – akin to the "know-why" that Phillip Ochieng later claimed must accompany the "know-how" among African journalists (Ochieng 1992, pp. 80–110).

While KIMC instructors debated how to arrive at the "essential" foundations of Kenyan journalism, the IPI publication *African Journalist* maintained its emphasis on the practical, applauding the practical qualities of the course at the University of Nairobi that it helped design. Mass communication courses in the United States, the editor (and former course instructor) alleged, were "up in the air" without connection to daily events.[44] A newspaper editor in

Nairobi wrote to the magazine describing how he had employed a journalist with a degree from overseas who "doesn't know the difference between an intro and a banana!", which the editor attributed to a neglect of the "nuts and bolts" of journalism in favor of theory.[45] As would be expected, then, discussions of the curriculum were fraught with broader political stakes, but these turned out to be less about Cold War freedoms than about the relevance of course content that trainees had raised in 1962.

Cold War Money and the Ford Foundation's Exit

It was precisely because such weight was attributed to decisions over staff that the question of funding was important. At stake were not Cold War principles of alignment so much as the implications for who had authority over the formation of future journalists. Histories of the cultural Cold War have understandably focused on the covert financial operations that underpinned internationalist endeavors during the period, in Africa as elsewhere (Saunders 1999). Journalism courses in Africa were part of this story of Cold War money. When IPI published the call for its first "crash course", it did not initially announce the funder – the Ford Foundation. On discovering this, Ford assured the IPI that its "reputation in Africa [was] not without some esteem" and advised that publicly declaring the source of funding "would probably be good for everybody".[46] The IPI did so, taking care to emphasize that Ford was not attempting "to interfere, even by suggestion, with IPI policy, selection of personnel, determination of locations or of syllabuses of seminars".[47]

Whether it liked it or not, IPI was embroiled in Cold War flows of funding, and it understood as much. While in Nairobi, Barton subscribed to *Democratic Journalist*, a periodical published by the Soviet-backed Prague-based IOJ, aware that the IOJ were looking to train African journalists too: "From African friends in Central Africa I hear that the same sort of people are beginning to get busy there. So we shall not be without competition!"[48] Yet these dynamics of competition did not only play out along Cold War lines but between UNESCO and IPI too. When UNESCO announced its Kampala journalism course in 1964, it caused "some raised eyebrows" at IPI because the proposal "clashed" with the existing IPI course in Nairobi.[49] This was despite a broadly shared liberal-democratic vision for press freedoms. Equally, hostility toward IOJ was not uniform: one UNESCO instructor in Kampala recommended a course offered by the IOJ in Budapest to students who inquired about further opportunities.[50]

In the end, the actual source of funding was less important to trainers and trainees than shared connotations about unspoken conditions – particularly relating to course content. This became clear when the IPI made arrangements to hand over the course to the University of Nairobi in the late 1960s. "There is great sensitivity to 'aid with strings' in Africa", an IPI memo reflected.[51] Among trainees, however, this was as much about the neocolonialism of

ex-colonial powers as that of Cold War superpowers. "I am told that the International Press Institute is largely a European organization. Is that so?" Elia Mtupka from Zomba, Malawi, asked the IPI *African Journalist* in 1971.[52] It was with loosely specified categories in mind that IPI thus suggested that the new School of Journalism should be headed by an "African", with a "European" working with or under them, and that this European should be "a Scandinavian", because "The Scandinavian countries are not seen by Africans as 'of the West' and thus, to some extent, trained by the Cold War".[53] The concern was less about the ideological position of a funder or instructor than about the likelihood of them being judged as somehow external to ideological conflict. The reason why this mattered, for IPI, was because their priority was to "ensure that the professional aspect of the course will not be interfered with".[54]

The concern over interference of funders in courses continued to be at the center of handover negotiations. In 1969, the University of Nairobi took over the IPI course, with a UNESCO-appointed Danish consultant heading the department and the bulk of expenses covered by the Danish, Norwegian, and Austrian governments, with support from the Ford Foundation shrinking.[55] Hilary Ng'weno, the Kenyan *Nation* journalist that IPI hoped would direct the department, turned down the offer because the terms of the contract took too long to establish, meaning that there was not a Kenyan among the senior staff, as had been intended.[56] Three years into the course, as external funding expired, shortages of resources and staff became acute: Ng'weno's *Nation* directed heavy criticism at the course that was intended to train its future employees.[57] The seven students enrolled in 1973 found themselves without funding when the Ministry of Education was unable to support them.[58] Further setbacks came with the financial crisis later that year: Barton canceled a trip to meet Ford Foundation representatives in New York due to the crash of the dollar affecting the IPI budget.[59] The Ford Foundation, whose US government (and CIA) backing was by then public knowledge, ceased support for the school and an existential crisis loomed.

Efforts to secure alternative funding saw some success through contact with the Swedish Journalists Association (SJF), which proposed to fund a new building for the School of Journalism, through money from the Swedish International Development Association. An agreement was drawn up and looked set to be implemented until the question arose of where authority would lie when Swedish funding ceased. The Swedish offer was conditional on the school being handed over to the Kenya Union of Journalists (KUJ), under general secretary and *Nation* reporter George Odiko, which was understood to be the logical counterpart to the Swedish SJF.[60] This raised immediate alarm at the university. On seeing the proposal, vice-principle Karanja replied: "If the SJF wanted to hand over the building to an outside body they should have said so, [and] I would have had nothing to do with this discussion".[61] Echoing the story of Davey at the KIMC, the director of the School of Journalism, D. J. Dallas (seemingly an expat), pointed out that this was a mere technicality not worth losing Swedish support over. He was swiftly removed from his post,

to be replaced by Peter Mwauru – a Black Kenyan citizen.[62] Within a week, Mwauru informed Dallas that he had "physically taken over the office" due to Dallas's "arrogant refusal to effect a handover".[63] The Swedish deal was off. The KUJ, for its part, noted its "profound dismay, at lack of interest by […] the University's central authorities […] to support, improve, and give both moral and physical encouragement to journalism training".[64]

A tug of war over the direction of the School – and its syllabus – ensued. With foreign aid out of the question, there were at least five distinct Kenyan groups looking to have their voices heard: the Ministry of Information, the Ministry of Labour, KUJ, representatives from the largest newspapers, as well as current staff and university management. The School's new director, Mwauru, was found to be organizing a sub-committee to discuss a "proposed National Council for Training of Journalists", including newspaper representatives and Ministry of Labour personnel.[65] When KUJ heard about this, they concluded it was a "manoeuvre made to sabotage the status of [the] journalism profession".[66] The maneuver was apparently being led by foreign-owned newspaper companies, which ran their own on-the-job training as well as sponsoring employees to train at the School. The "method of training" was at the center of KUJ's allegations: the curriculum at the private newspapers, KUJ claimed, was "inferior and a gimmick to slow down the process of Africanisation and Kenyanisation in the journalism profession". Responses from the Ministry of Information (equally displeased to have been left out of the new sub-committee) suggested the same. The support that newspaper companies lent to the School was, one minister told the university authorities, "more contrived than real", simply allowing expats to "justify their positions and presence in this country".[67]

The School of Journalism became a site for a much broader dispute, specific to Kenyan political factions of the 1970s, which cannot be fully explored here. But outlining the contours of the debate illustrates how the issue of funding extended far beyond the lines of Cold War money and its "strings". Who had authority over the curriculum remained critical, but by the second half of the 1970s, this was less about the internationalist assumptions of transferable skills than it was about the possibility of shaping the loyalties of future journalists – Kenyan journalists. With the collapse in 1970 of the regional-internationalist project of the University of East Africa, the idea that the School would be a regional center became difficult to maintain.

Conclusion

The case of journalism training in 1960s–1970s East Africa is a story of educational internationalism underpinned by a belief about the potential for technical and professional knowledge to be transferred across borders without losing relevance – a comparable universalism to that resisted by Japan (see Jamyung Choi's chapter in this book). According to this imaginary, if there were enough people, globally, who shared a corpus of knowledge, then the question of a free

press would be secondary, for the correlation between trained journalists and liberal democracy was posited as absolute, rather than contingent. The demands of trainee journalists, and those of East African stakeholders in the handover of courses to institutions in newly independent states, challenged this imaginary.

To explore this aspect of educational internationalism, this chapter has emphasized tensions and conflict that relate to the applicability of technical knowledge and the blurred boundary between state and non-state in 1960s–1970s East Africa, rather than the debate over press freedoms and censorship of journalists that often guide the Cold War narrative. All the same, the Cold War is an important framework for understanding educational internationalism in this case – I point here to two ways in particular. First, it mattered at a structural level. Cold War conflict made available funding from anticommunist sources like the Ford Foundation that these courses relied on, as detailed in the chapter by Juliette Dumont and Manuel Suzarte in this volume. This funding, and that from social-democratic states, was cut – with consequences – when it was no longer politically expedient, or when the economic crisis in the 1970s overtook this expediency. Second, the Cold War mattered at a discursive level. In the cases explored here, East African and foreign actors repeatedly assumed that people around them were interpreting the world through a Cold War lens – to mention an organization was to imply the variety of "strings" that attached it to the international conflict. Yet these same actors appeared not to think of *themselves* and their own actions in these terms. The Cold War came to look like an ideological web in which everybody but oneself was trapped.

The histories presented in this chapter suggest particular sorts of conflict that characterized educational internationalism in the Cold War. Internationalism, here, was not a lofty ideal and aspiration for cooperation whose counterpoint was isolationist nationalism. It was a practice to be built upon a foundation of shared technical knowledge. Whose knowledge, and from where, remained a source of tension. By some measures, journalism training in East Africa looked less internationalist by the mid-1970s than it had in the early 1960s. Courses with a regional or pan-African student body were less common and journalists were less likely to have direct links with organizations or professional bodies that represented multiple nations – anywhere on the Cold War spectrum. What was at stake in debates over journalism training in decolonizing East Africa was not Cold War press freedoms but the "nuts and bolts" (as Frank Barton put it, in another context) of internationalism.

Notes

2 Paris, UNESCO Archives (hereafter UNESCO) 307:07:37 (6)(=20) A 06 (676.1) "64", Pt II, G M Roppa to UNESCO director general, 03.04.1964.
3 Uganda Protectorate Department of Information, *Annual Report* 1957, 3.
4 E.g., "Jolly Joe" Kiwanuka, who edited the *Uganda Post* and *Uganda Express* on his return.
5 UNESCO, 307 (6) A 06 (44) "62", Pt I, Tor Gjesdal to J. Correa, 12.06.1961; copies of invitations to African governments and Colonial Office.
6 Jim Rose, "Training is the most urgent need for African journalists", *IPI Report*, 10:9 (1962), 1.
7 On CIEJ, see UNESCO, 307:07:37 (6)(=20) A 06 (676.1) "64", Pt I, Sommerlad to Per Monsen, 24.02.1964.
8 Vienna, IPI Archives (hereafter IPI), Box: Ford Foundation, Folder: Grant 63-104B, Per Monsen to Shepard Stone 28.09.1967.
9 Nairobi, University of Nairobi Archives (hereafter UON), UON/32/7, Gunnar R. Naesselund, "Report on a Mission to Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia, Uganda", 1971.
10 UNESCO, Box 1125, File 371.674.2 (6) A 06 (676.1) "62" TA, Pt II, F. Z. Gana, Report on UNESCO training course in educational broadcasting, Kampala, 19.11– 22.12.1962.
11 UNESCO, 307:07:37 (6)(=20) A 06 (676.1) "64", Pt II, note from Strasbourg participants to Kampala participants, 22.04.1964.
12 UNESCO, 307 (6) A 06 (44) "62", Pt III, Sexson Humphreys (*Indianapolis News*) to Gjesdal, 10.07.1962. Other "East African" delegates were colonial officials.
13 In Uganda and Tanzania, colonial-era commercial newspapers were effectively nationalized by the 1970s.
14 UNESCO Sound Recordings online, A05602 Statement by Mr. Keara Samson Mwambenja; A05604 Interview with Mr. Keara Samson Mwambenja.
15 UNESCO, 307:07:37 (6) (=20) A 06 (676.1) "64", Pt I, E Lloyd Sommerlad to Alexander Shaw, 24.07.1963.
16 [s.n.]. 1963. "Many nations meet at opening of IPI's first African training course", *IPI Report*, 11:10, 8.
17 UNESCO, 307:07:37 (6) (=20) A 06 (676.1) "64", Pt I, handwritten note by Tor Gjesdal, attached to letter dated 06.11.1963.
18 UNESCO, 307:07:37 (6) (=20) A 06 (676.1) "64", Pt I, template invitation, February 1964.
19 UNESCO, 307:07:37 (6) (=20) A 06 (676.1) "64", Pt I, C. M. O. Maté to Tanganyika Ministry of Education, 25.02.1964.
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21 Nairobi, Kenya National Archives (hereafter KNA), Ministry of Information (AHC) AHC/19/2, KIMC report "Recurring Finances", 19/11/69; LD Nguru, "Ministry of Information and Broadcasting training policy", 08.04.[1970?].
22 KNA, AHC/19/2, John Ithau to Chief Accountant, 13.01.1969.
23 KNA, AHC/19/2, A. H. Mwangi to Public Service Commission of Kenya, 22.12.1972.
24 KNA, AHC/19/2, Nguru, "Ministry for Information and Broadcasting training policy", 08.04.[1970?].
25 KNA, AHC/19/2, A. S. Amisi (Public Services Commission) to A H Mwangi (Ministry of Information and Broadcasting), 03.01.1973.
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27 UNESCO, Box 1125, File 371.674.2 (6) A 06 (676.1) "62" TA, Pt III, F. Ruhinda to UNESCO, 14.09.1963. See also, here, F. Z. Gana to Navaux, 14.08.1963.

28 UNESCO, Box 1125, File 371.674.2 (6) A 06 (676.1) "62" TA, Pt III, Neba Fabs, Report on Educational Broadcast programmes, undated.
29 UNESCO, 307:07:37 (6)(=20) A 06 (676.1) "64", Pt II, Topuz to Sommerlad, 20.05.1964. On Television Comes to the Land, see Lemberg, ch. 4.
30 UNESCO, Box 1125, File 371.674.2 (6) A 06 (676.1) "62" TA, Pt III, Bogow to Navaux, 10.09.1963.
31 UNESCO, 307:07:37 (6)(=20) A 06 (676.1) "64", Pt I, P. L. Deshpande to Henry Cassirer, 06.04.1962; UNESCO, 307:07:37 (6)(=20) A 06 (676.1) "64", Pt II, programme for 6-11.04.1964, enclosed in Kampala participants to Strasbourg participants, 29.04.1964.
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33 Letter from Kathleen Maina (Dar es Salaam) in *African Journalist*, No 4 (June 1972), 12.
34 Letter from Kathleen Maina (Dar es Salaam) in *African Journalist*, No 4 (June 1972).
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37 KNA, AHC/19/2, Ithau, Memorandum, 22.06.1972.
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39 KNA, AHC/19/2, Davey to Ministry of Information, 06.02.1969.
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41 KNA, AHC/19/2, Ithau to James, 03.06.1970.
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61 UON/32/7, Karanja to Dallas, 21.05.1975.

62 UON/32/7, Dallas to Karanja, 26.01.1976; University registrar to Peter Mwauru, 27.03.1976.
63 UON/32/7, Mwaura to Dallas, 03.04.1976.
64 UON/32/7, George Odiko (KUJ Secretary General) to Minister of Labour, 14.07.1976.
65 UON/32/7, DM Mbela to JI Othieno 26.06.1976.
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14 "It Was the Time of Utopias, of Turbulence, the Time of Africa"

Algerian Students and French *Coopérants* in the Global 1960s

Andrea Brazzoduro

Introduction: A Different Perspective

> *To make use of the polylingualism of one's own language,*
> *to make a minor or intensive use of it,*
> *to oppose the oppressed quality of this language to its oppressive quality,*
> *to find points of nonculture or underdevelopment,*
> *linguistic Third World zones by which a language can escape*
> –(Deleuze and Guattari 1986, pp. 26–27)

Why, at a certain point during the Short Twentieth Century, did the slogan "10, 100, 1000 Vietnam!" begin to resonate in Milan as in Algiers or in Paris?[1] What was the process that led people, ideas, and revolutionary practices of the "Global South" to gradually integrate the international political agenda and political imagination? And then, more specifically, how, in various countries, did the so-called New Radical Left (Kalter 2016) – born in opposition to the "Old Left" also on the issue of the Third World – produce a "political culture" (Sirinelli 1992, 2010; Berstein 1997) also, by combining in a new way territorial and community dimensions, national belonging, and internationalism (Núñez Seixas 2019a)? How did the convergence of anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist key words occur in the context of the Cold War? And what is the place of Africa, and more generally the Third World, in this history (Brazzoduro 2020, 2021)?

I will try to answer these questions through the case study of the encounter between Algerian students and French educators who left for independent Algeria in the framework of *cooperation* (Ageron 1992; Laskaris 2018). However, unlike many valuable existing studies, I will not focus on *coopération* as the extreme attempt by France to establish a sort of neocolonial bond paradoxically, through a few tens of thousands of young idealists and *gauchistes* (Henry et al. 2012). Although important, I don't even address the issue of international organizations (Kott 2021). On the contrary, according to a bottom-up approach, here the privileged point of view is that of the actors on the ground, of individuals. Furthermore, I focus on a perspective often overlooked: that of *coopération* seen through the eyes of the Third World. More

specifically, I was interested in the experiences and memories of Algerian high school students based in a city of modest size and located in a relatively marginal position compared to Algiers and the other main cities like Oran, Blida, and Constantine. My case study looks at a Berber region of the newly independent Algeria, the Awres, therefore avoiding the overstudied and overrepresented elite from the University of Algiers (Rahal 2016; Abrous 2002; Mokhtefi 2018). Shifting the focus from the elites attending the University of Algiers to high school students in a peripheral city consequently changes our understanding of the meaning and impact of educational *coopération*. Unlike the university elites of Algiers, many of these high school students came from the villages surrounding Batna, the colonial city capital of the Awres, and therefore they constitute a much more representative segment of the population (although in a certain way they were themselves elite compared to the very poor peasants).

I contend that we need to reconsider the genealogy and the history of the New Radical Left, in time span and scope. If in fact the New Radical Left was certainly born contesting the Cold War *status quo*, on the other hand, its real trigger was decolonization, which reactivated for at least a couple of generations the feeling of being part of a new revolutionary international: *Debut, les damnés de la terre!*, to resume the opening verse of the *International* quoted by Frantz Fanon in his most famous book published in 1961. Or, to quote Jean-Marie Boeglin (1928–2020), the leader of an illegal network supporting the Algerian National Liberation Front in the region of Lyon, France, who later went to Algeria as a *coopérant*: "It was the time of utopias, of turbulence, the time of Africa. […] We believed we were living a new era and contributing to the birth of a 'new man'. Europe was a corpse and Africa was the future".[2] The birth of this "new man" took place – or rather: it had to happen – also through the commitment to educational programs organized in the framework of *coopération*, which was understood as one of the fronts of the internationalist struggle.

In this sense, two main lines of inquiry have oriented my research. On the one hand, I opted for the periodizing sequence of the "long 1960s" (Sherman et al. 2013). This "loose" scan does not exactly coincide with the classic chronology of the Cold War, because it goes roughly from the mid-1950s to the mid-1970s, and in some cases the 1980s (Marwick 1998; Dreyfus-Armand and de Baecque 2000; Horn 2007; Klimke and Scharloth 2008; Artières and Zancarini-Fournel 2008). First of all, this choice aims to adopt a procedural interpretation. This helps to highlight long-term dynamics that do not ignore the tight chronology of political history but tend to inscribe it in a multivocal score where local, national, and global are coproduced in the same temporal measure. On the other hand – but the operation is identical, so much space and time are inseparable – I tried to visualize history differently. Certainly not to flatten my approach on a linear, homogeneous, and progressive narrative (something like "globalization") that forgets imbalances, asymmetries, and conflicts, but to find a way to focus on history in its making, on the real processes that take place *also* below and above the nation-state (De Vito 2019;

De Vito et al. 2018). This perspective – within the framework of the Global 1960s – therefore aims to redesign Western political geography, to include the (post)colonial space as well (Stoler 2016). The attempt to visualize the diffusion of ideas and practices through a heterogeneity of distant places – not only in strictly geographical terms – allows us to question the relationship between the revolutionary struggle that aims at decolonization and at affirmation of a territorial and political dimension, and the struggle of those who intend to decolonize "everyday life", as declared by the New Radical Left (Lefebvre 1958, 1961). This framework also includes that specific form of *engagement* that has been "education internationalism": that is, the choice by young militant intellectuals who have worked in the educational system (mainly at university and high school levels) to abandon their national comfort zone and go not only and for longer to factories and in the slums, but also directly into countries in the process of decolonization or having just been decolonized, to participate in the construction of a new world by dedicating oneself to the formation of the youngest.

Based on a wide range of sources (from archives to the press), this chapter is mainly grounded in long-standing ethnographic fieldwork. Through in-depth and often repeated interviews with more than 50 people – mainly men but also women – this chapter crosses my research on "historical imagination" in the Awres with a new research project still in progress on the militants of the New Radical Left during the Global 1960s.

Syphax, "A Son of Independence"

In a previous research project (Brazzoduro 2012), my investigation focused initially on the experiences and memories of the Liberation War veterans in the Awres, this region in the southeast of Algeria characterized by a mountainous relief and inhabited by an Amazigh (or "Berber", as the French used to say) population, the Chawi [see Figure 14.1].

However, facing the specificities of the fieldwork in Algeria, I quickly became interested in the children or grandchildren of these mujahidin, who often played an irreplaceable role between myself and their war-veteran parents or grandparents, acting as "fixers", or interpreters. In so doing, I discovered that – born in the 1960s – these men had often participated in their own battle: the Amazigh cultural movement, which appeared in the Awres in the nineties. More recently, the continuation of my acquaintance with the region led me to also meet the generation of the mujahidin nephews. Born in the 1980s, these young peers (or just slightly younger) are themselves developing a specific way of their being Chawi *and* Algerians in the 21st century – in dialogue, but in an independent position with respect to previous generations.

The most important of these fixers is probably Syphax (see Figure 14.2). So he calls himself, referring to the ancient Numidian king (3rd century BC).

Figure 14.1 Children and grandchildren of the *moudjahiddines* (M'Sara, 2016). Photograph by Syphax.

Figure 14.2 The author (Andrea Brazzoduro), Hadda (b. 1933), and Syphax (b. 1960) (Biskra, July 2016).

"I am currently a journalist, photographer", he tells me. "I consider myself *aurasien*, as another could be from Kabylia or from Oran … it is always Algeria".[3]

Syphax was born in 1960 in El-Madher (Tahumamt in Chawi, he is keen to tell me), in a village inhabited by many storks, nineteen kilometers from Batna,

the administrative capital of the Awres. His father was "a former *maquisard* [a member of the *maquis*, the rural guerrilla groups] … he was active in the war of liberation", Syphax tells me, before specifying modestly: but

> not all the time, as some; he was someone who helped, because he was working in an AMG [*assistance médicale gratuite*], the proximity care [*soins de proximité*] nowadays. He worked with a French doctor. He's someone who contributed, who clandestinely gave drugs to the *maquisards…*

Syphax's relationship with the war of independence (1954–1962) follows the same register with which he tells me about his father: anti-heroic, anti-rhetorical, but practical, almost a disenchanted external support.

After the end of the war in 1962 – once the French had left and taken with them the doctor for whom Syphax's father worked – Syphax's family left the village in 1965 because his father was employed in a high school in Batna. This was a relatively happy moment for the family: "I am a son of independence", Syphax tells me, which does not mean that he has known neither war nor poverty. They were a family of "*civilisés*" [civilized], as was said at the time, and that indicated a "fairly respectable social rank": the children were schooled, the family even owned a car (a Renault 4), the parents could afford to go out together, and with their six children they went off in the car for holidays.

Ten years later, in 1975–1976, the wind of the "Long Sixties" also arrived in the high school in Batna that Syphax attended, and thus began the tussle with his father, although he was a Francophone and read the newspaper every day: "… I personally did not have very good relations with my father…" "Why?" – I ask him.

> Uh … some stuff … [he laughs]… I behaved differently, I dressed differently, I put a thread on something, on my hair, I had a scarf (neck *foulard*)… It was the '70s, I really liked what was happening elsewhere: peace and love, hippies, Europe, people lived differently, imagined the world differently … There were people who lived here, who came from abroad and for whom I had a lot of admiration … how they lived … they just came back in a 2CV, a Renault 4 … an Ami 8 Citroën … if you remember those kinds of cars…

Coopérants, Pieds-rouge and "the Choice for Africa"

For Syphax, at the time a high school student in Batna,

> They were teachers who came to teach as part of the *coopération*. Most of them were socialists, communists, or anarchists. […] We didn't have a big age gap between student and teachers, and that brought us closer

together and it was a little dangerous … [he laughs] They said that our parents were right to take up arms … They told us about Frantz Fanon, about Germaine Tillon, about communists … I kept their words in me and then I understood.

[see Figure 14.3]

The *coopérants* arrived in Algeria after independence, to make their contribution and help the new state as they could, ideally picking up the baton from the French people who had directly supported the Algerians in their struggle for independence, joining the more or less clandestine networks, among which the best known are certainly the *réseau* Jeanson and the *réseau* Curiel, the first directed by the Sartrian philosopher and co-editor of *Les Temps Modernes* Francis Jeanson (1922–2009), and the latter led by the Egyptian communist and anti-colonialist Henri Curiel (1914–1978) (Gobin 2017; Charby 2003; Hamon and Rotman 1982).

The *coopération* is without a doubt a complex and multifaceted phenomenon that cannot be reduced to a unidimensional reading: not all the *coopérants* who arrived in Algeria were political activists. As noted by the historian and former anticolonial activist René Gallisot (b. 1934), it is necessary to keep the *coopérants* distinct from the *pieds rouges* (Gallissot 2012, pp. 48–49). The latter
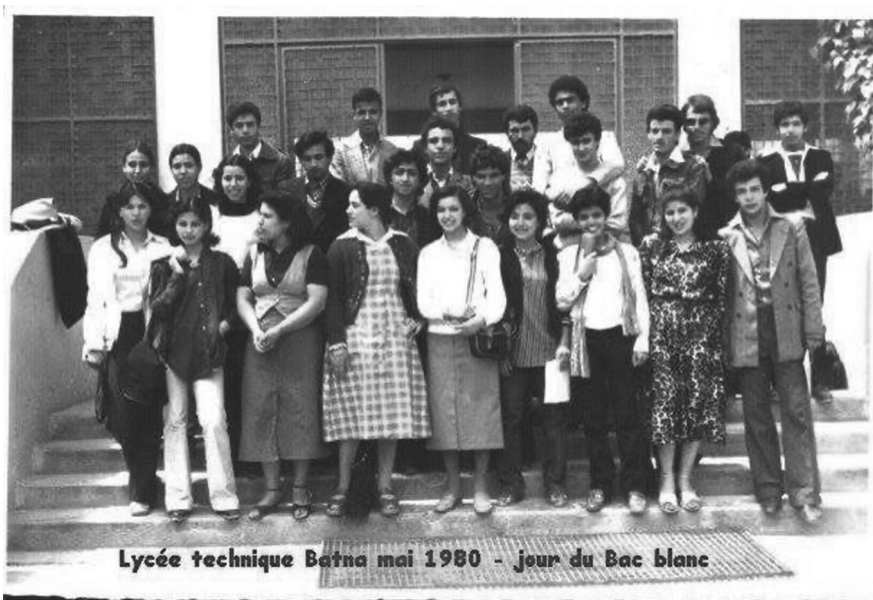

Figure 14.3 Out of the picture. "Alas no, I am not in the photo. The general supervisor had asked me to remove the scarf: otherwise, no photo. I chose not to remove it" (Syphax). Photograph by an unknown source.

– so called in opposition to the European settler *pieds noirs* – settled in Algeria following a conscious political choice, as internationalists and professional revolutionaries. However, it is also true that, especially in Algeria, the intersection and contamination between the two groups was very wide, in any case much more than elsewhere, where they remained clearly separate. In other parts of Africa, beyond the Algerian borders, and in particular in what at the time was called *Afrique équatoriale française* (French equatorial Africa, AEF), many took advantage of privileged situations determined by their status, and the wages of the *coopérants* (greatly increased compared to their colleagues in France) enticed more than one, certainly not just for idealistic reasons, as recently recalled by the historian of Africa Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch (b. 1935) in her memoir (Coquery-Vidrovitch 2021, Chap. 5).

Certainly, the newborn Algerian state needed resources and skills. 132 years of colonization and a terribly violent war of liberation devastated the country, systematically destroying the structure of Algerian society, culture, and economy. France responded to this urgent need for educators and technicians trying to make the most of it. As Philippe Rebeyrol, the *ministre délégué* based in Algiers since 1962, wrote: "We are accomplishing a task which not only serves Algeria but requires the maintenance and development of our presence in a region crucial for our country".[4] Although it remained a privileged interlocutor, France was not the only country to send resources to Algeria. In the context of the competition fueled by the Cold War, there was a rush to take advantage – politically and economically – of the new state's needs. If the French controlled infrastructure, the Soviets focused on mines, while the Cubans preferred the medical sector. There were also Romanians, Bulgarians, and some educators from the Middle East (mainly Egyptians) (Simon 2009, p. 201). After the coup of June 1965, in which Boumediene overthrew Ben Bella, Algeria gradually approached the Soviets. In fact, if Ben Bella had visited Havana in October 1962 immediately after being received at the White House, Boumediene would instead have made his first state visit to Moscow in December 1965. In the following years, hundreds of Algerians would go to train in the Soviet Union thanks to a substantial scholarship program, with the Soviets offering Algeria "circa 100 scholarships to its universities each academic year" (Katsakioris 2010, p. 92).

Nonetheless, it was from France that the largest number of *coopérants* came, and it is to France that the largest portion of Algerian students who could afford it would go. In 1966, according to an official record, there were 11,149 French *coopérants* in Algeria. Of these, 9,000 were civilians and 1,000 military personnel. Among civilians, there were 7,782 educators (Chaib 2016, p. 264; Kadri 2014). While keeping these differences in mind, it does not seem incorrect to speak of an "Algerian generation". This was a generation characterized by a powerful internationalist vocation and composed in a non-negligible way of intellectuals employed in one way or another in the educational system. In a recent interview, René Gallissot (who was a history teacher in Algiers, first as

a French conscript soldier during the Algerian War and then as a *coopérant*)
recalled:

> To be twenty years old in 1954 made me belong to the "Algerian intellec-
> tual and political generation", that is to say marked both by the eruption
> of a very close war of national liberation directly questioning the nation-
> alist ideology in France, and by the French and Soviet communist refusal
> to give militant priority to the liberation struggle and not to preserve the
> order of peaceful coexistence between the USSR and the United States.
> Adherence to Soviet "socialism" was replaced by the internationalism of
> proletarian emancipation. Since I was twenty, this internationalism of
> transformation of social relations in the world and the future of the
> human race has become and remains my constant intellectual and polit-
> ical criticism. Without regret or defection.
>
> (Gallissot 2016)

As sociologist Sidi Boumedine wrote, "The generation that arrives in Algeria
by choice, often out of sympathy for its struggle, past or future, is a *génération
en rupture* (a rebel generation, or in the process of becoming one)" (Sidi
Boumedine 2012, p. 287). They rebelled against the orthodoxies characterizing
Cold War France, and therefore in particular against the mainstream reading
of Marx and against traditional political parties. A clue of this shift was the
widespread fascination with Trotskyist tendencies, with radical Catholicism,
with new Maoist currents, and, in any case, with unorthodox reinterpretations
of Marx (Ruscio 2019; Arthur 2010; Pattieu 2002). However, the majority of
these *gauchistes* did not have a formalized political affiliation. Historian
Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, explaining her "choice for Africa", recalled:

> On my return to France [after a long period of fieldwork, mainly in
> Congo] I fell fairly quickly into the effervescence which exploded in May
> 1968. I experienced the events on the front line at the École des hautes
> études, where until then I had been locked into the apprenticeship of
> erudition. Decolonization and revolution then went hand in hand, the
> intellectual effervescence of the anticolonial milieu was at its peak.
> Everything had to be built or rebuilt: a demanding anti-Stalinist Marxism,
> a rethought African history.
>
> (Coquery-Vidrovitch 2021, p. 148)

Jean Peneff (b. 1939) was a high school teacher at the Lycée of Sidi bel-Abbès
(1964–1967), and then a professor of sociology at the University of Algiers
(1967–1971) in the framework of *coopération*. He remembers:

> The world was new. It was the end of the colonial world. And that was
> the end of two centuries, if you count slavery. Suddenly Europe and the
> US realized that their relationship with the rest of the world had to

change. So we are withdrawing from Egypt, we are supporting the revolts in Budapest in 1956 … The struggle is clear. The struggle is fair and our generation feels they will fight. A global, Third-Worldist struggle. Everything will work and … the past is over, we escaped it, we have nothing to pay for, we are not directly responsible, but we have a duty. With regard to all the civilizations that we have marginalized, that we have eliminated, that we have oppressed, and this enterprise of *coopération* participates in this spirit.[5]

Even more straight to the point were the words of François Chevaldonné (b. 1929), based at the University of Algiers between 1963 and 1980 as professor of sociology: "As we had not been able to overthrow capitalism at home, we were going to help the Third World countries to fight colonialism and therefore to contribute to the revolution in those countries".[6] And contributing to the revolution certainly also meant bringing one's own intellectual skills, possibly as educators, where they were needed – bringing knowledge and scholars out of the ivory tower and using them in the struggle, where it was most needed.

A Traveling Political Imagination: Being Chawi, Becoming Minority

The focus on the Awres region, however, allows us to visualize some specific aspects of the encounter between Algerian students and French *coopérants* in the Global 1960s. These are aspects that do not emerge if we focus only on Algiers and its elites. It was in fact in Batna, the political and administrative capital of the Awres region, where the alliance between Islam and the nationalist movement was realized, that Syphax became aware of being a Chawi:

I was in high school, I knew I was a Chawi, and if necessary the people from the city reminded me of it, but I did not speak Chawi, and even my parents did not speak it. Only those who came from rural areas speak it.

It is at this point that the question of belonging to a marginalized community became politically relevant, and language was the "homeland" denied. Syphax, as a teenager, remembers having started asking: "Why don't I speak? Why am I not a speaker?"

From this point began a process of political awareness, which in Boumediène Algeria could legitimately express itself only through the cultural claim. Following the 1980 "Berber Spring" in Kabylia (when, after the state prohibition of a conference on ancient Kabyle poetry by Mouloud Mammeri, there were massive demonstrations and strikes that were then severely repressed), the Amazigh Cultural Movement began to take hold in the Awres. When in the autumn of 1994 the Kabyles launched the *grève du cartable* [schoolbag strike], a school boycott to demand official recognition of the Tamazight language and its teaching in schools and universities, the second March of the Amazigh Cultural Movement [Mouvement Culturel Amazigh, MCA] was organized in

Batna (the first was in 1993, only the previous year). The claims of the MCA – of which Syphax was currently editor, spokesperson, and secretary – were: the official recognition of the Tamazight language in the Constitution, more freedom for the Chaine 2 that transmitted in Tamazight, the opening of a radio station – Radio Awres, and the access of the Tamazight to school programs. Commenting on a picture of this second march of 1994 (see Figures 14.4 and 14.5), Syphax said: "We have waved our identity cards, as you can see in the picture, and shouted that we also are Algerians … The MCA (he goes on) is a modern movement, not addressed to the past".

Figures 14.4 and 14.5

Figures 14.4 and 14.5 Batna, 1994: Second march of the Amazigh Cultural Movement (MCA). In Figure 14.4, in the middle: Syphax waving his ID. Photograph by an unknown source.

Today Syphax is still an activist, "Chawi, and proud of it" – as is often written on his t-shirt. At the end of the nineties, he was threatened and then physically attacked by the Islamists. In 1996 he miraculously escaped an Islamist murder attempt. The following week, he was on a plane to Paris, where he stayed for several years. But the turning point – he tells me in the interview – the beginning of the "Revolution" for this Chawi activist, was the "Long 1960s". It is then that, as a high school student, Syphax met a couple of French *coopérants*: Chris and Guilaine, just twenty years old, teaching in his school. "A couple …" it was quite a free union, he told me. They listened to Leo Ferré, Frank Zappa, Led Zeppelin …

> and I liked it. With them we traveled around the Awres as I'm doing with you. They were these *coopérants* who showed me my region… I didn't know anything about the region. I could not take a bus and spend a day going to Arris or Roufi,

some of the most beautiful sites in the region.

> It was these people who showed me, in an Ami8 Citroën, the place where we were together in Tighanimine. When I told people about it, they said,

> 'Well, what are you doing? Why don't they take you to France, it's better, what are they doing here?'… I re-did, I re-did everything I had done with them; I did it again with a personal vision, with a local vision. And I will never stop thanking them for doing that. So today I understand, I know better their inclination, what they wanted, what they were looking for … And when they went on vacation, because we had winter holidays and a spring break, they left me their home, with the records, and even with the car … So I had plenty of time to 'Europeanize' myself.

With these words, Syphax does not intend to refuse his own culture and history in exchange for the passport of another country. Instead, what is at stake is the possibility to reconquest one's own history, one's past – but looking forward to the future: in other terms, it is an issue of political imagination, and of its peculiar ability to circulate among the political networks – even unexpected ones – created by the Global 1960s, i.e., by the young internationalists who animated them, like Chris and Guilaine, the *coopérants* teaching at Syphax's school. These networks were capable of redesigning the political geography of the world, joining edges of the geographical map that were also distant, but which found themselves for a moment meeting in a mobile scenario, which was also trying to shake off the cages – practical and mental – of the "Old Left", moving beyond the Cold War *status quo*. In this translation process, Syphax converged with these young protesters who arrived in Batna, these French *coopérants* with whom he hung out. They shared a political culture rather than a political affiliation to a party: they shared – or pretended to, or dreamt to share – a way of life, musical tastes, readings, and clothing that broke with traditional codes – codes that in Syphax's case were also those of a country in the process of forced Arabization, particularly harsh against what collided with another, opposing political imagination and imagined community, and which responded to the creed of "one people, one nation, one religion". In this sense, to "Europeanize" oneself meant keeping a distance (*du recul*), it meant openly criticizing the idea of "*un seul hero, le peuple*", the anonymous actor behind which hid a crypto-fascist idea of people, only Arab and Muslim, which did not take into consideration the differences of class, gender, or race. Above all, it did not take into consideration the millennial history of Algeria before the arrival of the Arabs (Sayad 2002; McDougall 2006). In this sense, the *coopérants* indeed represented the occasion for a mutual discovery and cross-fertilization of new ideas, which mutually supported each other. There had certainly been misunderstandings and misleading projections of mutual fantasies, but "the base of the air was red" – to quote Chris Marker's masterpiece (*Le fond de l'air est rouge*, 1977) – and new perspectives and desires really seemed possible.

In this sense, the story of the scarf still tied today to Syphax's neck is revealing, taken as an identifying trait of a posture that is both nomadic (although almost more as a cowboy than a Chawi) and referring to the protesters of the Global 1960s (the handkerchief on the face to protect oneself from police tear

gas). In fact, Syphax told me that the *coopérants* left every summer in France for the holidays:

> And each time they asked me what I wanted … because it was good to bring you something from there that is impossible to find here: a camera, they brought me a camera, a zoom, then they brought me records, books, scarves … The story of the scarves began in the first year of high school.

"How did it start?" I ask him. "Well, there was a teacher who wore this with a Che Guevara sweater under his jacket". "A *coopérant* that, in high school? – I can't believe it…"; "A *coopérant*. A funny *coopérant* … eheh…"

Oral historians are well aware that informants often tell us less about events than about their meaning. Of course, interviews often shed light on unknown events, or unknown aspects of known events. But present accounts of past events (i.e., memories) can also be invaluable sources for a study of selfhood's narratives: the way in which people selectively remember – sometimes even *imagine* – the past to better cope with the present and the future.

To make this study of selfhood's narratives, I propose to make a radical shift in the field of memory studies on Algeria and France, also bearing in mind the stimulating critical reading that Marie-Claire Lavabre made of Henry Rousso's *Vichy Syndrome* at the time of its publication in 1991 (Lavabre 1991; Rousso 1991). Pushing to the extreme the polarity between past and present – a characteristic of memory – in favor of the present, Lavabre re-introduced the *choice* in the analytical scheme of Rousso. If memory is indeed a present account of a past event, the main focus in Rousso's argument was the *weight* of the past on the present: "the past that does not want to pass away" of the *Historikerstreit*, as it will become commonplace to say. For Lavabre, instead, together with the inert action of the past on the present, we have to consider the *agency* of individuals who in the present – but looking to the future – *choose* to remember (or not) a certain past. In this way, to put it in the words of Natalya Vince in a powerfully argued page of her book, the question instead of "who are we?" becomes "who do we *want* to be?" (Vince 2015). It is thus that the dimension of the political is re-introduced into the field of memory studies, which is too often reduced to a mere passive and infinite rehashing of the past.

Conclusion

Is this one of those case studies that micro-historians have called "exceptional normal" (Grendi 1977)? Historian Xosé M. Núñez Seixas has recently studied precisely these connections and cross-fertilizations between the New Radical Left, anticolonial movements, and oppressed ethnic and cultural minorities fighting for their own self-determination (Nunez Seixas 2019b). What I think we can draw from the story of Syphax, Chris, and Guilaine, who met in the Awres of the late 1970s and discovered/rediscovered (or even invented) together the country of the Chawi, is the stimulus to reassess the complexity of a period

when desires for liberation and self-determination were woven into a traveling political imagination.

In this sense, it does not seem out of place to recall Deleuze and Guattari's work in their book about Kafka and minor literature published in 1975 (Deleuze and Guattari 1975, chap. III; Deleuze and Guattari 1980, chap. X). For these authors, the concept of *minor literature* meant the "minor" use of a "major" language that subverts it from within: "the possibility of making of his own language – assuming that it is unique, that it is a major language or has been – a minor utilization" (Deleuze and Guattari 1986, p. 26). Writing as a Jew in Prague, Kafka made German "take flight on a line of escape" and joyfully became a stranger within it ("To be a sort of stranger *within* his own language").

> In this sense, Kafka marks the impasse that bars access to writing for the Jews of Prague and turns their literature into something impossible – the impossibility of not writing, the impossibility of writing in German, the impossibility of writing otherwise.
>
> (Deleuze and Guattari 1986, p. 16)

Kafka therefore serves as a model for understanding all critical language that must operate within the confines of the dominant language and culture. And it is perhaps not entirely a coincidence that one of the first research groups on the Amazigh language and culture (Groupe d'études berbères) was established in 1973 at the University of Paris-Vincennes, where Gilles Deleuze was also based (Redjala 1994; Guenoun 1999).

To conclude, were these French *coopérants* and their Algerian students Cold War Warriors or New Left Internationalists? In my case study, I will certainly say they were New Left Internationalists. And this is precisely because these militants wanted to end the maintenance of the status quo imposed by the balances of the Cold War. But this, understandably, certainly cannot be adopted as a precise historiographical definition but, rather, as an operational category that undoubtedly has more to do with self-representation. In fact, *nolens volens*, these militants were also actors of the Cold War. Yet, as the history of mentalities has taught us at least from the *Annales* onwards, cultural frameworks, discursive regimes, and repertoires of action are not idealistic prejudices but extremely effective devices in defining the conditions of the possibility of experience – what Koselleck (1979) has called the relationship between the horizon of expectation and the space of experience. Among the New Radical Left militants of the Long 1960s, one of the central ideas was that of building spaces of autonomy: just as traditional institutions were attacked, with their paternalism, the categories of nationalism and sovereignty were also challenged. The global genealogy of the revolutionary 1960s imaginary must be sought, among other factors, in the international dissemination of images, myths, and slogans – dissemination in which the role of educators, as in this case of the *coopérants*, was very important. The hypothesis from which I started is that this shift would not have been possible without a cross-fertilization process within the (post)colonial space. Taking up

the idea that we must "provincialize Europe" (Chakrabarty 2007) and deconstruct its claims of political superiority, I have tried to develop two lines of investigation.

On the one hand, I have tried to show how discourses and practices from geographical and political contexts traditionally considered "on the margins of history" – to quote Gramsci (1975) – have found a receptive ground within the trajectory of the New Radical Left. On the other hand, a close analysis of a case study – the encounter between Algerian students and French *coopérants* – has tried to show how those "margins" were the workshops that international movements looked at with the utmost attention. Certainly, I do not completely escape the risk of using "other" countries instrumentally, as a mirror, to ultimately once again tell the history from a European perspective. This awareness makes it even more necessary to reflect on translation as an antidote in order not to adopt a naïve and implicitly Orientalizing gaze: the goal is to adopt this perspective, looking "from the other side of the line" (De Sousa Santos 2010, 2018), to show how much of non-Europeanness is in European practices and historical sedimentations – and the other way round – without reading those contexts as merely functional to a political tradition and without failing to underline their differences and discontinuities.

Notes

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2 Jean-Marie Boeglin, interviewed in Atles, France, in 1995 (quoted in Simon 2009, p. 13). All translations are mine unless otherwise stated.

3 Syphax (b. 1960), interviewed in Batna, 26.04.2016. All Syphax's quotations are from this interview, although we've been in dialogue (in person, by email, or by Facebook) over the last 13 years.

4 *Letter from the Minister Delegate, Philippe Rebeyrol, to the Secretary of State for Algerian Affairs*, 20.12.1965, quoted in Chaib 2016, p. 247.

5 Interview from the documentary by Sebastien Denis, *Coopérations*, 86′, France, 2012.

6 Interview from the documentary by Sebastien Denis, *Coopérations*, 86′, France, 2012.

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15 South-South Development Aid and Collaboration

The "Internationalist Schools" of the Isla de la Juventud in Cuba

Dayana Murguia Mendez

Introduction

Between 1977 and the end of the 1990s, Cuba organized on the Isla de la Juventud a large educational aid program for development in the form of international scholarships, which, if it was in the style of its military assistance in Africa, did not seem something that could be afforded by a "Third World" country that was faced with more than a few development challenges and a small population (Gleijeses 2013). The question is thus to understand how a country like Cuba, with few resources and in such conditions, was capable of promoting a substantial educational aid program different from the neoliberal architecture of dominant official development aid (Prashad 2007, pp. 9, 248, 278–281).

The program, also known as "Internationalist Schools", was initially conceived for Mozambique and Angola, but based on formal agreements, it quickly began hosting thousands of students from around 40 states, organizations, and liberation movements from Africa, Asia, and Latin America (Turner et al. 1983; Calzadilla et al. 1986; Núñez Más and Calvo 1997; Pantoja Arteaga 2008). Students attended secondary schools or continued their university studies on the largest island of the archipelago.[1] Africa was the area with the highest concentration of scholarships. In the 1970s, a number of significant African independences took place, for example, the end of the Portuguese Salazar dictatorship, while other African countries were struggling to achieve independence, such as Namibia – fighting against South African apartheid – or Western Sahara, contesting Moroccan occupation. In the 1980s, the educational aid program was extended to countries such as Ghana, Sudan, Burkina Faso, and Zimbabwe. Sometimes Cuba offered the scholarships, while at other times the countries requested them directly from Cuba. The Isla de la Juventud program was conceived to support the development aspirations of "Third World" national projects, but it also extended to individuals. Many students lived in areas without schools, or where schools were extremely far away, making it difficult for them to pursue their studies. They came to Cuba with only a few requirements fulfilled: grantees had to have completed the 4th, 5th, or 6th grade, up to the ages of 13, 14, and 16 years, respectively, and had to have a

voluntary desire to live in Cuba. Additionally, a written authorization from their parents was required, in which they were also asked to consider the conditions of Cuban schools' organization.[2]

   This chapter explores the motivations that led Cuba's government and its counterparts to organize the Isla de la Juventud program. It highlights that support for "Third World" students was considered a form of international solidarity responding to the needs and interests of the Global South. Thus, it is argued that Cuba's motivation was coherent with the logic of the South-South Cooperation movement (SSC) that emerged in the 1950s (Prashad 2007; Fiddian-Qasmiyeh and Daley 2019; Morvaridi and Hughes 2018). This is a kind of cooperation whose "history and particularities" the United Nations recognized as different from the traditional model of North-South relations because it was a "manifestation of solidarity among peoples and countries of the South that contributes to their national well-being, their national and collective self-reliance, and the attainment of development goals". Moreover, it has been "in line with national development strategies and plans", as well as with the efforts geared "to strengthening institutional and technical capacities" guided by principles of "equality" and "non-conditionality", among others.[3] By taking into account the prioritized levels (secondary education), the free, massive, and long-term nature of the Isla de la Juventud scholarships, as well as the co-management of the counterparts on the ground, this chapter follows up on other studies that argue a Southern focus on Cuba's motivations. This focus underscores that the lens of East-West rivalry during the Cold War era (nemesis worlds competing for ideological leadership through "soft power") and supposed ego as a bulwark against the inequalities that characterized "North-South" relations are erroneous elements in attempts to understand Cuba's motivations (Hickling-Hudson 2004; Blunden 2008; Corona González, Hickling-Hudson, and Lehr 2012; Artaraz 2012; Gleijeses 2013, 2016; Muhr and Neves de Azevedo 2019). Put differently, the chapter argues that the Caribbean island promoted a form of educational internationalism explicitly designed for development aid in the world's "periphery", that of the Global South. Its aid was not based on exporting an image of educational success, "money", and "a good deal", nor on a willingness to promote the migration of trained skills, as is the mainstream of official international scholarship programs (Tournès and Scott-Smith 2018, p. 9; Beech 2018). On the contrary, it rested on the promotion of a specific idea and practice of internationalism. The demonstration of these statements relies on a combination of archival research in Cuba, interviews with Cuban and foreign protagonists, as well as on the results of a survey conducted with 109 graduates from 14 countries that are strongly represented in the program.[4]

Cuban Educational Internationalism, the "Third World", and the Isla de la Juventud

Between 1975 and 1988 Cuba sent over 300,000 soldiers and volunteer reservists abroad: most of them to Angola, almost 50,000 to Ethiopia to combat Somali aggression, and some to support the independence movements in

Rhodesia and Namibia. Cuba even continued this assistance when it stopped receiving donations in US dollars and soft loans from Western countries, due to its sending anti-apartheid support to Angola (Álvarez Gónzalez, 2000, p. 3). In particular, the participation of Cuban soldiers in the battle of Cuito Cuanavale (1987–1988), which defeated the South African army, would have repercussions for the liberation of the southern African cone, far beyond Angola and Namibia. In this respect, Nelson Mandela would refer to the victory at Cuito Cuanavale as the one that "marks the turning point to free the continent – [and his country] – from the scourge of apartheid" (Gleijeses 2013, p. 519). According to historian Piero Gleijeses, where there was military support by Cuba, there were also educational and health "missions":

> [Fidel] Castro's battalions in the Third World also included aid workers, and their ranks swelled after 1975 to a total of 70,000 – 43,257 of whom went to Angola. Cuban primary school teachers went to the Nicaraguan countryside, where they taught in improvised classrooms. Cuban doctors went to Tindouf, in southwestern Algeria, to care for tens of thousands of refugees from Western Sahara, occupied by Moroccan troops. Other Cuban doctors created and staffed medical faculties in Aden, Bissau, and Jimma (Ethiopia). Doctors, teachers, and construction workers were the standard-bearers of Cuba's humanitarian assistance, offered for free or at very low cost.
>
> (Gleijeses 2013, p. 518)

Engagement in the field of education was massive: in 1984, for example, while almost 12,000 primary and secondary scholarships were awarded to the international education program on the Isla de la Juventud, 4,000 Cuban teachers and education technicians were also working – in addition to those in Africa – in various countries in Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean (Bianchi Ross 1984). Against this background, how should we look at this example of South-South cooperation? Would the presupposition historian Arika Iriye proposes for cultural internationalism help to understand the nature and scope of Cuban internationalism, i.e., internationalism "as the fostering of international cooperation through cultural activities across national boundaries", and/or as "global consciousness" (Iriye 2017, p. xiv)? Beyond the abstract connections that can be established between Iriye's cultural internationalism and Cuba's foreign policy aid and collaboration, it is important to look at what lies behind these practices themselves (Hopf 1999). More specifically, it is crucial to examine the nature of the relationships that were established with partner countries and organizations in order to clarify the motivations of international aid and cooperation programs.

There are various studies on Cuba's internationalism, but civil collaboration is less well-known than military collaboration, despite being more continuous, diversified, and extended to a larger number of countries (González López 2002, p. 615). Academics often describe it as an internationalism consistent

"with the creation of socialist consciousness and ethos" on the island (Saney 2009, pp. 112–114), as well as "a moral imperative" and "not as a voluntary act of charity, nor as a simple matter of convenience" (Monje 2012, p. 3). It also has been defined as the "capacity to share", because cooperation agreements tried to take account of the countries' different socio-economic realities following a logic of mutual aid and no cost-sharing, including assistance for little or no payment for the poorest countries. Moreover, in many cases, technologies and knowledge were transferred without payment for "intellectual property". This, in turn, has been presented as "a challenge for international technical assistance based on loans", by not asking for conditionalities and identifying diverse approaches for bilateral funding, respecting national sovereignty and the self-determination of states (Corona González et al., 2012, pp. 42–43; Blunden 2008). Historian Margaret Blunden has analyzed the international scene in which this logic operated. Her study on health programs in Africa shows that during the Cold War the Cuban model was based on a "specific vision of solidarity between developing and non-aligned countries, many of them in the southern hemisphere". Indeed, Cuba "developed a distinctive discourse evoking the essential commonality of poor, developing countries, sharing similar oppressive colonial legacies, with their development blocked by what [Fidel] Castro called 'the unjust and obsolete international economic order prevailing in the world'" (Blunden 2008, p. 32).

According to other scholars, like Vijay Prashad (2007) and Ayllón Pino (2015), the principles of this Southern consciousness – such as independence, solidarity, and cooperation – contributed to shaping the "Third World's" political project. The term "Third World" was originally used to describe the most "ignored, exploited, and despised" part of the world (Sauvy 1952), but also to define the political project embodied by the SSC historical movement that emerged between the Bandung conference in 1955 and the emergence of non-aligned countries in 1961, representing the "two-thirds of the world's people who had only recently won or were on the threshold of winning their independence from colonial rulers" (Prashad 2007, p. xv). It was a short-lived, ideologically diverse project that brought together various paradigms of "collaboration" and "solidarity", such as Pan-Arabism and Pan-Africanism, and Cuban socialist internationalism. Inside, it "longed for dignity above all else, but also the basic necessities of life (land, peace, and freedom)". Outside, it "refused the bipolar division of the Cold War world and sought to produce a world governed by peace and justice … against imperialism's legacy and its continuance" (Prashad 2007, p. 13). Thus, during decolonization, many newly independent states and organizations recognized "cooperation" and "solidarity" relations as "a necessary means of overcoming the exploitative nature of North–South relations" (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh and Daley, 2019, p. 1). Importantly, the existence of such approaches and principles in the "Third World" contributed to diversifying the political identity of development aid and exchange in international cooperation. In particular, Cuban internationalism operated "as a philosophy of solidarity that can range from an equal partnership between

countries able and willing to help each other to a relationship whereby Cuba provides assistance expecting no return" (Corona González, Hickling-Hudson, and Lehr 2012, p. 46). For this reason, it also provided an important contribution to the debates among academics about South-South cooperation:

> Well before this concept began to influence the professional field of development studies in the 1990s, when it was identified as an alternative form of globalization and seen as a key driver of development effectiveness in meeting the Millennium Development Goals.
>
> (Blunden 2008, p. 32)

The Isla de la Juventud scholarships are a representative experience of the historical SSC movement, but what specific features could be associated with this logic? First, this program was completely free for participants, except for airfare to and from the island. The scholarships and other costs were not exchanged for exportable products or any other forms of reciprocity; instead, they were loaded on the backs of the planned economy of socialism in Cuba, which was favored by trade and credit agreements with socialist countries and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA). Cuba covered all the expenses for school buildings (50 buildings in 1985[5]), tuition, materials, teachers, life, leisure, health, and other fees (Lehr 2008; Hatzky 2015; Turner et al. 1983; Calzadilla et al. 1986).[6] Cuba also fully covered local salaries and insurances for foreign staff. This aid package aimed to provide a comprehensive solution to the structural and administrative problems that have led to fragmented "interventions" in international aid for "'first-order' educational requirements such as classrooms, teachers, and teaching materials" (Riddell and Niño Zarazúa 2016, p. 23). The Isla de la Juventud program was also organized to address "Third World" educational complexities. The program was developed specially for regions with high illiteracy rates, such as Africa, and a myriad of other educational problems. The challenges included a widening gap between school infrastructure and the increase in the school-age population at a faster rate than the world norm (UNESCO 1976a, p. 287). Africa also had a very high percentage of students who dropped out of school due to socio-economic reasons (Lehr 2008, p. 15) and, like other "Third World" regions, it experienced significant human deficits as a result of colonization. Also, some initiatives to address the huge deficit of domestic cadres have proved conflicting. For example, in the late 1970s, UNESCO's experts revealed that the "expatriate teachers" from the West (probably 85 percent of all bilateral aid personnel to education, including volunteers) drove up the costs of the budgets of the less developed African countries; in such cases, they argued that this "accounts for the fact that aid to education can amount to as much as 60 percent and more of public expenditure on education" (UNESCO 1977, p. 41). Among the most dramatic problems was school infrastructure. It was either non-existent or only partially existing: schools were indeed closed or in an extremely poor state due to colonialism, economic ruin, prolonged political instability, and civil wars

(Obanya 1999, pp. 36–37). In the mid-1970s the difficulties and challenges to improve the quantity and quality of education in Africa constituted, according to Senegalese educator Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, UNESCO's Director-General between 1974 and 1987, the main obstacle to achieving development goals in the region, namely, "the full development of the human being, the tireless pursuit of dignity and the improvement of well-being, and the advent of a more just society" (UNESCO 1976a, p. 292).

Second, the Isla de la Juventud scholarships were primarily intended for students in situations of vulnerability. In this regard, Graça Machel, Mozambique's Minister of Education and Culture from 1975 to 1989, recalled that to establish this training program, "Samora [Machel, former Mozambique's President] explained the great challenges that Mozambique faced in expanding basic secondary education and Fidel [Castro] very quickly offered Cuba to host a few thousand Mozambican children". The aim was "to expand education by offering opportunities to children from very disadvantaged areas; Fidel proposed 'Children who have few school opportunities', as well as those from peasant and working families […]".[7] In Nicaragua, the shortage of specialists was not as severe as in Africa. However, continuing studies posed a problem due to the backgrounds of the majority of students: as some former grantees declared during oral interviews, "most came from humble families living in marginalized neighborhoods. Their parents were market vendors with limited income, barely enough to subsist or eat, and were half-clothed. Additionally, some students came from remote communities with limited access to the road".[8] An interview with a Ghanaian graduate also confirms that "the program was created to help people in rural areas, that was the idea. A lot of people came from the north", the more impoverished region of Ghana.[9]

Third, Cuban investment guaranteed complete and massive basic secondary studies on Isla de la Juventud, as well as the transition to middle and tertiary level careers. This corresponded with recommendations for Southern low-income countries that were more in need of the planned extension of secondary studies/polytechnic training "in accordance with foreseeable needs", instead of promoting an "unregulated expansion of higher-level education" (Lehr 2008, pp. 15, 94, 121, 126). Schooling needs could be very critical in the "Third World", so there were countries that organized the reintegration of students at the end of the ninth grade.

Fourth, international scholarship holders were integrated into the basic educational system for Cuban students (called *Escuelas Secundarias Básicas en el Campo*). The system relied on a combination of "study and work" principles (intellectual and manual training), which came in support of local agricultural development projects. The counterparts were primarily agricultural countries: however, this model of school organization was consistent with the type of basic secondary education aimed at developing the potential of individuals as "active" members in the progress of their community, as emphasized at the Lagos Conference (UNESCO 1976a, p. 289). So, rather than "rewarding" exceptional student bodies, as was the case in the West (Tournès and

Scott-Smith 2018), students' selections were based on strategic considerations related to the socio-economic and development impacts for the participating country.

Fifth, secondary schools on the Isla de la Juventud were ruled through a collegial management involving Cuban and foreign cadres. Likewise, while Cuba was responsible for the academic curriculum in mathematics, chemistry, physics, and biology, teachers from the different countries who traveled with their students were in charge of cultural and political education, geography, history, and the teaching of the official language, as regulated by their countries' educational systems.

Sixth, training was primarily provided in the mid-level career fields and in the areas of greatest need for participating countries, such as agronomy, health, physical planning, zootechnics, engineering, economics, and accounting sciences, as well as civil construction.[10] From this point of view, as stated by Joaquim Chissano, Mozambique's former Foreign Minister and President between 1975 and 2005, "Cuba was an exporter of knowledge". The country, he argued, played a key role in preparing "professional cadres for the future […] and allocated money to develop this program, without expecting any return".[11] Similarly, a Yemeni graduate stated that "the objectives of [Isla de la Juventud] scholarships were a great advancement for the country [because] students were trained in different fields". This was particularly important "as there were previously very few Yemeni specialists in fields such as medicine, nursing, and pharmacy, and no specialists at all in fields such as geology, metallurgical engineering, or art history". Finally, he added: "All of this was due to the help that Cuba provided to our country and other African and Third World countries".[12] However, the skills transferred have not always been aligned with the objective of this program. The inequality gaps between the South and the North have neutralized some of the expected effects for beneficiaries of Cuban scholarships in their home locations, such as Western Sahara, which has not yet been decolonized and is occupied by Morocco. In 2012, 90 percent of Saharawi doctors who were trained in Cuba and were working in the Tindouf refugee camps emigrated to Spain. They were encouraged by the easy incorporation into the Spanish health system, which also offered higher salaries (Monje 2012, p. 9; Fiddian-Qasmiyeh 2015; Gómez Martín 2016). In other cases, as Lehr (2008) shows, the absorption in the countries of specialists trained in the Isla de la Juventud program was affected by the disappearance of the "Third World" political project and neoliberal globalization. Survey reports carried out on this topic reveal that some graduates believed that the skills they acquired in Cuba were unrealistic or not viable "at the time of integration" (13 of 92 reports), while others faced "frequent" challenges with labor integration (16 of 92 reports). Despite these dilemmas, the Isla de la Juventud program represents a particular form of development aid and of educational internationalism. Cuban offered aid and long-term training in a foreign cultural environment, providing adaptable skills in the participating countries (Murguia Mendez and Caruso 2023; Lehr 2008; Sailosse Belo 2011; Lehr 2008; Owusu-Achaw 2014).

In sum, the political positions of the "Third World's" project were significant for the initial organization of these scholarships. In Manuel Agramonte's words, who was responsible for coordinating annual international Cuban scholarship plans between 1987 and 1994, "it was very difficult for a country to decide to send children at those ages [of adolescence and youth], if they did not share with you some beliefs about social policies", not always and not necessarily ideological. To support his claim, he stressed that

> [students] have their parents and [counterparts] had to talk to their parents beforehand, and they have to agree. [Therefore] in the midst of all the anti-communist propaganda against Cuba, it was not possible to send students to the Isla de la Juventud if there was not that security and if there were no previous political ties.[13]

On this basis, for example, in addition to the training provided, Ghana wanted to expose students to a society projecting socialism as an experience for "a revolution" that never came to happen in their country, while Western Sahara aspired to liberation and the development of a self-sufficient but multi-party country.[14]

Are Costs Important? The Isla de la Juventud Program and the Collapse of the Soviet Bloc

From 1963 to 1989, as historian Edith Felipe estimated, "education" and the number of scholarships together accounted for more than 40 percent of Cuba's development aid, i.e., USD 651.1 million (Table 15.1). In 1991, for instance, 24,349 foreign students were studying in Cuba, 15,182 of them on the Isla de la

Table 15.1 Cuban assistance to southern countries, 1963–1989

	Participants	*Value in millions USD*
Technical assistance		
Health	32,516	294.5
Education	26,495	241.3
Construction	39,335	322.2
Fishing	1,386	11.5
Agriculture	9,420	84.4
Sugar industry	2,323	20.6
Total	**111,475**	**974.5**
Total number of scholarships	228,103	409.8
Further education	5,593	24.5
Donations	–	128.4 (4)
Total		**1537.2**

Source: Edith Felipe (1992). "La ayuda económica de Cuba al Tercer Mundo: evaluación preliminar (1963–1989)". In Álvarez González 2000, unpaged.

Juventud.[15] No less curious is the fact that over the period from 1975 to 1989, Cuba provided more of its GDP in development aid to the Global South (0.58 percent) than the average invested by the most industrialized countries in the world (0.35 percent) (Álvarez González 2000: unpaged).

This financial engagement, however, would be affected by the *35* percent drop in national GDP after the dismemberment of the Soviet Union and the dissolution of the CMEA trade bloc, on which Cuba depended for finance, food, and fuel. This marked the entry into an abrupt crisis in which the country "faced exceptionally severe conditions [and] suffered the worst external shock of any of the Soviet bloc members" (Morris *2014*, p. *5*). Imports from the URSS "included *50* percent of the island's food supply, [and] *90* percent of its oil and essential inputs for agriculture and manufacturing" (Morris *2014*, p. *15*). Cuba was also faced with the challenge of inserting itself into a more unequal international financial system while being under unilateral US economic coercion. The collapse of the Soviet bloc meant for the students from *22* countries studying on Isla de la Juventud at the time – of which participants from Angola, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Zimbabwe, and Guinea Bissau, and the refugee students from Namibia, Western Sahara, were the most numerous – dramatic changes in diet, new problems of adaptation, and learning to live together in a "Special Period in Time of Peace", like Cubans themselves. In fact, pragmatic measures had been taken earlier to prepare conditions for critical situations and rationalize resources. Two former administrators from Mozambique recalled the fo*llowing:*

> In the school there were beautiful gardens and they [the Cuban management] said that they had to transform them into vegetable gardens. At that time, we [Mozambicans] did not understand. Why do something of that nature if we had everything. There was no shortage of vegetables, they always came to the school. But it was an advance plan. [And the same] was the preparation of wood-burning ovens, they were introducing that for the time when there would be no gas. [And when the "Special Period" started,] there were many restrictions on resources. What I noticed was that Cuba was adapting in every situation without forgetting about the foreign students and teachers who were there.[16]

The "Special Period" resulted in changes to scholarships. The program for new admissions was discontinued and the duration of studies in polytechnic institutes was modified from three or four years to two. Consequently, the number of participants decreased with each graduation. In parallel, several political changes occurred in Africa, with many countries switching from a post-independence to a "post-socialism" era. Cuban officials noted that a few countries were reducing the number of their students on Isla de la Juventud, "mostly due to economic reasons".[17] This was related to the responsibilities of the counterparts in their respective home countries. They organized the logistical requirements for the selection processes, including interprovincial travel, meetings in the capitals, migratory formalities, and the cost of airfare to and from

Cuba at the beginning and the end of studies, as well as during home vacation. Some of these countries also sent dollarized stipends to their students, ranging from 8 to 30 USD per month.[18] The main problem was that with the processes of structural adjustment, economic liberalization, and political changes that occurred in Africa in the 1980s, the mass training of new technicians and specialists in Cuba lost priority. However, there are nuances to this phenomenon, which cannot be generalized. For example, despite changing the ideological basis of their state, Mozambique continued to send a large number of students to Isla de la Juventud until the recession in Cuba worsened. Finally, after the massive end of these international scholarships, Western Sahara was the only country that renewed its enrollment on the Isla de la Juventud. Since 2012, thanks to Venezuelan funding, Cuban aid has continued in the Saharawi refugee camps in the Algerian desert of Tindouf. There, Saharawi staff trained on the Isla de la Juventud program work together with Cuban teachers at the secondary school "Simon Bolivar", which has been created as a trampoline to free higher education in Cuba.[19]

International Official Scholarships and Southern Visions of Educational Aid to Development

As stated above, the study of the entanglements between the history of international official scholarships and the history of the SSC movement helps us to better understand how the Global South logic operated on the Isla de la Juventud. This last section examines two key features of this intersection: the philosophy of aid and the educational level for which these scholarships were intended.

Cuba followed a philosophy of aid that diverged from the dominant programs provided by the Global North, focusing on self-sufficiency. This approach was not widely seen in Western aid, which was criticized by African nations. The Conference of African Education Ministers, held in Lagos in 1976, is a case in point. It was stated that, in general, dominant Western trends "have not been very successful in assisting the African world" to minimize the "negative effects" of their educational development aid. Rather, by "discounting the political and economic motives of donors", the Northern programs led to "increased economic inequalities and a dislocation of [national] sociocultural patterns", also supporting "the more effective achievement of foreign school models" (UNESCO 1977, p. 41). Such critical assessments gained particular relevance on the international scene and helped in understanding why Cuba was seen as a "part of", "an equal", and a "brother" country in the Third World. In this respect, Filipe Furuma, an official of the International Relations Department at the Mozambican Ministry of Education and Culture between 1983 and 1999, affirmed that in the relations with Cuba "there was never that question of hierarchy". According to him, "Cuba always treated us at the same level, as a brother … there were never any conditionalities".[20] For António Sousa, a Mozambican teacher and main coordinator of the secondary school

geography curriculum on the Isla de la Juventud, the promotion of socio-economic "well-being" was the underlying reason Mozambique founded the program: "We were from the Third World, members of the Non-Aligned movement, with a common political position, but what was essential was not an affinity of ideological-political culture but a common desire to help the people".[21] The related identities in the "Southern community" tended to reinforce empathy among some of the members. Later, as already mentioned in the first section of this article, the United Nations would define the practices and ideals of the SSC movement that characterized the "Third World" in the 1970s as "a common endeavor of peoples and countries of the South emerging from shared experiences and sympathies, based on common objectives and solidarity and guided, *inter alia*, by the principles of respect for national sovereignty and involvement, free of any conditionalities". In other words, the Isla de la Juventud embodied an alternative paradigm of educational internationalism that "should not be considered as official development assistance", like the North-South dependency relations, but as "a partnership of equals based on solidarity".[22]

Another key feature of the Isla de la Juventud program was the strong focus put on secondary-level education. This contrasted with the orientation of international development policies in the 1960s and 1970s, for which emphasis was intended to be placed on primary and higher education. For example, the Conference of African Education Ministers in Lagos emphasized the importance of "basic education and mass education for development". This constituted the "focal point of all the discussions" (UNESCO 1977, p. 27). Between 1960 and 1975, in the field of primary education, which developed fastest through the South's own efforts, "most external funds [from the West] were allocated to primary teacher training" (UNESCO 1977, pp. 39–40). However, as noted by Pai Obanya, former Nigerian Director of UNESCO/BREDA, although Western bilateral donors had spent millions of dollars in Africa, "it appears that the countries which have received the greatest quantity of external assistance have remained the most educationally underdeveloped". In essence, this has happened because of the "mis-direction, non-coordination, and lack of considerations of sustainability" of donors, but also of "recipient countries" (Obanya 1999, p. 40). In this context, Cuba's concern for complete cycles of secondary education, including polytechnic training, testifies to the Isla de la Juventud program's alignment with the goal of expanding secondary education in several Southern countries. Furthermore, in contrast to other forms of international education provision (see the chapters by Larissa Wagner and Ismay Milford in this volume), the impact of the assistance has been evidenced through the successful integration of many skills across multiple homelands.

These patterns distinguished the Isla de la Juventud program from other forms of transnational knowledge circulation and educational internationalism, which were branded as "reinforcing the imbalance between center and periphery in the global systems of power" (Tournès and Scott-Smith 2018, p. 323). In particular, the terms "aid" and "assistance" have been challenged

for euphemistically or misleadingly promoting the attraction of "intelligence" and future knowledge producers (UNESCO 1977, p. 37). More recent studies continue to show the long duration of the "brain drain", also called the "migration industry" in higher education, which is pointed out as a structural strategy of governments and institutions driving the displacement of skills from the Global South to the Global North (Lehr 2008; Corona González, Hickling-Hudson, and Lehr 2012; Beech 2018).

Conclusion

Cuba expressed solidarity with the emerging "Third World" after decolonization through a mixture of military and civil forms of internationalism. Educational aid played a key role in this effort by addressing the needs of Southern regions, such as those in sub-Saharan Africa, which continue to lag behind the rest of the world (Tikly 2020). According to Marco Giugni, the "altruistic" and solidarity motives are more evident in the "social relations and interactive dynamics" (2001, p. 240) that arise during the implementation of aid and cooperation policies than in their original nature. Regarding the Isla de la Juventud program, the evidence presented in this chapter suggests that it exemplified Cuba's commitment to international solidarity, which was the driving force behind Cuba's initial motivations to establish the program, the relationships formed during the provision of aid, and the effectiveness outcomes.

   This chapter reveals that the organizational structure of the Isla de la Juventud program was uncommon and peculiar compared to what is known so far about educational aid (Riddell and Niño Zarazúa 2016), international official scholarships (Tournès and Scott-Smith 2018), international student mobility (Beech 2018; Burton 2020), and even socialist cooperation (Katsakioris 2017; Miethe and Weiss 2020). Also, the educational aid provided by Cuba seems to have impacted students' outcomes and thus the actual likelihood of contributing to future development in their country. The transfer of skills to the countries of origin is remarkable in comparison with Northern experiences. In the case of Africa, Western "cooperation" and "aid" have on the contrary stimulated three dramas that have compromised development: the "brain drain" toward the North, "the emigration of a labor force of workers, skilled and otherwise, representing a real contribution to progress in the host countries", and, finally, the arrival of "new cadres trained abroad in technical disciplines, divorced from African realities, underemployed, underpaid" (UNESCO 1977, pp. 37, 42). The Isla de la Juventud program fitted international aid analysts' expectations by trying to reduce knowledge gaps related to development and thus contribute to the autonomy of the "aided" (UNESCO 1976b). In addition to benefiting individuals in disadvantaged socio-economic conditions, the Cuban model also tried to adjust to the development needs of countries of the Global South. For critics such as James Petras and Robin Eastman-Abaya, however, Cuba's solidarity and its development aid policy in these decades fit into what they call "misplaced

priorities", given that "much of the aid is donated and has no practical benefit for Cuba"; additionally, it was not necessarily "reciprocated by favorable diplomatic or political responses by the regimes in the recipient countries" (Petras and Eastman-Abaya 2007, p. 7).

Similar questions have also arisen from the perspective of beneficiary countries. Several graduates not only expressed a sense of gratitude to Cuba for preparation to face difficult professional contexts; they also felt that the island's engagement in educational development aid should be compensated for with strategic investments or commercial relations that would impact Cuba's depressed economy. For instance, Mozambican ex-journalist Alves Gomez, referring to "the thousands of dollars that would be enough to 'pay' the open educational aid given by Cuba without demanding reciprocity", wondered how much more his country could do for Cuba and does not do, "such as importing high quality Cuban medicines". He also considered it to be necessary "that Mozambicans become aware of this 'debt' with Cuba and take the initiative with the help of the Mozambican state to create economic relations that would cement the historical political relations between the two nations".[23] Oral interviews also revealed that future trade relations could benefit the Cuban economy and strengthen the visibility of their educational aid. Benedito Macua, who graduated in economics in 1995, stated: "What I learned at that time, I am now applying here [in my home country]". However, he mentioned that "when one says that this happened in Cuba, others don't believe it, they want proof [because] it is something that seems like fiction, something incredible, but in Cuba it was a reality". As someone who grew up in Itoculo, "a remote village in Mozambique, where there was no electricity, no telephone and no schooling [beyond the second grade]", he highlighted the significance of Cuban secondary scholarships in his life: "There is a country [Cuba] that was able to do something different from what was believed to be possible, for those who had no possibilities – us, the poor Africans".[24]

Notes

1 The Isla de la Juventud (Isle of Youth), formerly Isla de Pinos, is the second most important island of the Cuban archipelago. In 1978, the name was changed in honor of young Cubans – thousands of students and workers – who transformed the territory socio-economically (Pantoja Arteaga 2008).

2 Mined. *Reglamento para becarios extranjeros en Cuba*, Ciudad de La Habana: Editorial de libros para la Educación, 1978.

3 United Nations Archives, RES/64/222. *Nairobi outcome document of the high-level UN Conference on SSC*, 23.02.2010, 2–3.

4 Nicaragua, Ghana, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Angola, Ethiopia, Guinea Bissau, Congo, Yemen, Western Sahara, Namibia, Bolivia, Zimbabwe, and Burkina Faso.

5 Instituto Cubano de Geodesia y Cartografía. "Mapa conmemorativo por el XXX aniversario de la salida de la generación del centenario del Presidio Modelo", Isla de la Juventud, 1985.

6 Havana, Archivo de la Secretaría del Comité Ejecutivo del Consejo de Ministros (ASCECM), Departamento de Asuntos Generales. Comité Central. Partido

Comunista de Cuba. "Carta al Gobierno sobre la organización de la concesión de becas a extranjeros", 3 December 1977; Isla de la Juventud, Archivo Histórico Municipal, "Donativos y Remisiones", Box 16, File 384 A/418, Year 1, Dirección Municipal de Educación. "Informe sobre los principales aspectos relativos al aseguramiento del curso escolar 1990-1991 en las Escuelas Internacionalistas. Afectaciones fundamentales", Isla de la Juventud, Nueva Gerona, 24.05.1990.

7 Graça Machel, interview with the author. Online, 09.11.2021.

8 Jairo Nicaragua (1987–1990), Lourdes Edith (1985–1991), and Silvio Bayardo (1982–1988), group interview with the author. Online, 26.02.2022.

9 William Tasiame (1987–2000), interview with the author. Berlin, 02.03.2021.

10 Hence, in 1990, of the 22,725 foreign students who graduated in Cuba, 16,884 had graduated from polytechnic institutes and only 5,841 from higher education. Havana, Archivo Central del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores (ACMinrex), Scholarship Section, Box 1. Isidoro Malmierca, Minrex, note, 15.01.1991. The governments of Nicaragua, Angola, Namibia, and Mozambique also requested military studies (from one to three years), although the students involved were very few. Manuel Agramonte, Head of the Scholarship Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs between 1987 and 1994. Interview with the author. Havana, 19.06.2017.

11 Interview with the author. Maputo, 20.09.2021.

12 Ahmed Abdulla Al-suidi (1983–1994). Survey by author, 18.03.2021.

13 Manuel Agramonte, interview with the author. Havana, 31.05.2017.

14 Paul Wentum-Kitcher, Ghanaian general manager and Educational Attaché at the Embassy of Ghana in Cuba (1983–2001). Telephone interview with the author, 06.06.2021; *El Maestro Saharaui*, by Nicolás Muñoz, Toma 24, documentary, 2011.

15 Havana, Archivo Central del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores (ACMinrex), Scholarship Section, Box 1. Isidoro Malmierca, Minrex, note, 15.01.1991.

16 Luis Alfredo Chambal (1987–1999) and Henriques Marcos (1985–1999), interview with the author. Xai–Xai, 30.09.2021.

17 ACMinrex, Scholarship Section, Box 1. "Resumen de la Información de los becarios extranjeros en Cuba", 01.1991.

18 ACMinrex, Scholarship Section, Box 1. "Resumen de la Información de los becarios extranjeros en Cuba", 01.1991.

19 Interview of the author with Antonio Tamayo, Head of the Cuban Educational Mission in Tindouf, 31.03.2021.

20 Interview with the author. Online, 13.11.2021.

21 Interview with the author. Maputo, 11.10.2021.

22 United Nations Archives, RES/64/222. *Nairobi outcome document of the high-level UN Conference on SSC*, 23.02.2010, 2–3.

23 TVM, E.P.-2020, *Quinta Noite*; 90320: "45 Anos da Cooperação Moçambique-Cuba".

24 Interview with the author. Nampula, 20.10.2021.

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Conclusion

Sites of Exchange: Locating Mobility in Cold War Internationalisms

Giles Scott-Smith

Introduction

In her analysis of trends in internationalism after the Second World War, Sandrine Kott explores "to what extent the Cold War gave rise to one or more specific ways of expressing or structuring internationalism" and, in turn, makes use of internationalism "to re-examine the Cold War itself" (Kott 2017, p. 340).[1] For Kott, internationalism was foremost an ideological exercise – East and West both claimed a universal right for their respective systems of organization, looking to apply them across the South in particular:

> During the Cold War, rival universalisms structured national societies as well as international relations along ideological lines. Each internationalism was developed and performed discursively, defining its distinctiveness in the central debate that hinged on the tension between liberty and equality.
>
> (Kott 2017, p. 361)

Despite – or perhaps because of – this rivalry, a second characteristic of Cold War internationalism was that it could still achieve cooperation through novel forms of international organization, from the United Nations (UN) system to security agreements. A third aspect was that it necessarily involved the circulation of people, objects, and knowledge, facilitated and guided by these regional and global organizations. Education, in terms of both formal training programs and the shaping of life-experiences through consumption, media, and travel, was central to these processes. Versions of Cold War internationalism therefore generated new identities, agencies, and missions, and it did so in an era where travel – particularly long-distance, inter-continental travel – became relatively commonplace (Bechmann Pedersen and Noack 2019; Svik 2020).

This chapter will dig deeper into the third aspect mentioned by Kott: circulation. It will do so by means of an exploration of the meaning and significance of mobility, a social science concept that historians can apply to reconceptualize the lived experiences of their protagonists (Scott-Smith 2021). Mobility was crucial for all forms of educational internationalism. There was the mobility of

knowledge and values through processes of dissemination and transfer, facilitated through individuals and material culture (such as publications) as "knowledge and value bearers". Educational exchange programs created for the purpose of ideological or faith-based proselytizing, modernization, or nation building were prime vectors through which this could be achieved. Sites of mobility – specific educational establishments, training centers, summer camps, think tanks, and festivals – were equally important as the immediate context within which such transfers took place. This chapter will approach mobility through the idea of "Cold War cosmopolitanism" (Klein 2020). This puts forward the argument that mobility came to represent a certain idea of freedom, modernity, and progress with heavy ideological and modernizing overtones, contrasting those with mobility to those without and dividing the world along East-West, North-South, and intra-South lines. As Appadurai reminded us, "the capacity to imagine the future is unevenly distributed" (Appadurai 2004). Examples of educational internationalism from the Asia-Pacific region will be used to illustrate how mobility was central to modern, US-framed, Cold War-driven conceptions of the region as a region, and how individuals entered this cosmopolitan space and appropriated it for their own purposes.

The Relevance of Mobility

Mobility as a distinct field of study emerged out of sociology in the 2000s and was subsequently enhanced by geographers in the 2010s. While it refers to different dimensions – material, ideational – the emphasis here will be on the human aspect. In 2006 Sheller and Urry spoke of a new paradigm within the social sciences concerning "new mobilities". This encompassed the many traits that had been associated with globalization since the 1990s, ranging from cheap travel, increasing voluntary and forced migration, the spread of information via the internet, and the expansion of international trade and finance. Despite the inflation of personal, material, and ideational flows, Sheller and Urry argued that social science had failed to address "how the spatialities of social life presuppose both the actual and the imagined movement of people from place to place, person to person, event to event". In response, they posited "a broader theoretical project aimed at going beyond the imagery of 'terrains' as spatially fixed geographical containers for social processes". Crucially, they were not arguing that there was a transition to a post-state "flat" global environment. Modernity may have become "liquid", but this was still occurring between "zones of connectivity, centrality, and empowerment in some cases, and of disconnection, social exclusion, and inaudibility in other cases" (Sheller and Urry 2006, pp. 208–210).

Mobility, therefore, is much more than simply movement. Mobility represents practice, possibility, agency, emotion, and imagination. It is about not simply the number of interactions that may occur, but their meaning and significance, how that is framed by particular narratives or specific places, how people carry this with them, and how it shapes and frames their understanding and expectations

of the world. Hence "mobility exists in the same relation to movement as place does to location" (Cresswell 2010, p. 160). Location indicates a set of coordinates, a spot on the map, whereas a place is given a deeper meaning, holding emotional, cultural, or ideological significance. Also, and crucially: "Mobility is apparently symptomatic of the 'modern age'" (Burrell and Hörschelmann 2014, p. 4) in terms of in-built assumptions concerning flexibility, speed, and access, and the technological means to satisfy them. Cresswell refers to "constellations of mobility", whereby patterns, representations, and ways of practicing movement take on a collective meaning as a particular way of life, in this case the modern, or the "free" (Cresswell 2010, p. 160).

Sheller and Urry also referred to the importance of "embedded infrastructures" to ensure certain mobility flows, and that requires in turn economic resources, political interests, and – in some cases – ideological motivation (Sheller and Urry 2006, p. 210). This observation is important for understanding the particular flows and power relations at work in the mobility of knowledge. Here the work of Bruno Latour and Heike Jöns is useful for laying out an understanding of how knowledge accumulates in particular locations. Latour introduced the idea of "centers of calculation", whereby institutions of scientific merit are created through the focusing of resources at specific sites and the constant circulation of experts and materials through these places (Latour 1987; Jöns 2011). These centers therefore represent a close relationship between knowledge and power, and the capability to set out narratives of truth that are constantly reinforced by the further circulation of people and information, with these centers as central nodes.

Applied originally for the purpose of reconstructing the accumulation of scientific knowledge through imperial networks, the concept of centers of calculation has also been applied to studies of the changing academic landscape through the impact of so-called "centers of excellence" attracting additional resources and consequently influencing the direction of research in national (and international) settings (Nair 2005; Hartog 2018). By focusing on the granting of resources, the establishment of a designated site, the importance of mobility to justify that site, and the narrative that justifies this exercise and is reproduced to maintain it, centers of calculation can be useful tools for understanding the influence of particular locations in the context of Cold War internationalism. Others have delved into the transnational mobilities of experts as agents of urbanisation and industrialisation under modernity (Rodogno et.al. 2014). The original people-centered mobilities paradigm has thus been expanded by adding attention for the circulation of knowledge, concepts, and practices in particular (geographical) settings (Jöns, Heffernan, and Meusberger 2017, p. 4).

The Paradigm of Cold War Mobility

The suggestion here is that there were identifiable forms of Cold War mobility that made that period distinct, in terms of the political implications of what

was being projected. These forms were infused with ideological understandings of mobility as an opportunity or as a threat, as an existing reality for some (the "kinetic elite", in Cresswell's well-chosen words) and a future aspiration for many. During the Cold War, mobile people were information carriers and status bearers, but they could also be either normative agents or forces of disruption, depending on the context. Framed by the ideological contest as presented by Kott, mobility became a paradigm for interpreting social life and shaping narratives that encompassed emotion, imagination, and memory.

This broad understanding of mobility has gradually filtered into approaches to Cold War history. The chapters of Byrne, Dumont and Suzarte, as well as Liu, all explore forms of educational exchange as channels of formal mobility aimed at knowledge transfer in the short term and social transformation in the longer term. Hof addresses the materiality of mobility, showing how knowledge for development purposes was made accessible in the form of mobile laboratories. This level of attention on the mobility theme also indicates a broadening of its applicability. The mobility of children is a strong theme here, with the chapters by Lövheim and Christian bringing into focus ways in which internationalist discourse and organization were brought to bear on younger generations (see also Honeck and Rosenberg 2014).

The orthodox anti-communist perspective regarding the Cold War period was always that the West represented movement and the East stasis, with the "Iron Curtain" epitomizing the restrictions on citizens. In this simple model, mobility represented freedom in and for the West and subversion in the communist world, it being associated with the circulation of ideas and images contrary to building socialism. There was much inventive agency by citizens to overcome the restrictive demands of the socialist state, for whom mobility was a threat to its very existence. From the 1950s and the Geneva summits through to the 1970s and the Helsinki Accords, and the 1980s and Reagan's "Mr Gorbachev, tear down this wall", mobility was at the heart of a narrative of freedom versus oppression.

This orthodox dualism has been challenged. While anti-communism provided the basis for some transnational organizations (see the chapter by Blatter), others such as UNESCO sought to transcend the Cold War divide by pursuing the cause of learning as a universal right for humanitarian progress. Others have directed attention to the important ways in which mobility was central for both regime legitimacy and social resilience in the communist world (Burrell and Hörschelmann 2014). Images of mobility, especially in the form of techno-utopianism, were key elements in socialist self-perception, as demonstrated by the importance of space exploration for depictions of Soviet futurism and the superiority of the socialist system (Maurer, Richers, Rüthers, and Scheide 2011). Hence, whereas mobility from a Western democratic-capitalist perspective was all about freedom and the realization of the self as a political and economic subject, mobility from a socialist perspective was all about solidarity and the realization of the self as a member of a community shaping history (see the chapter by Hong). Studies of socialist educational

internationalism have emphasized how students from Africa and Asia sought not only training but also the performative camaraderie and solidarity to be found at the large-scale youth festivals of the Soviet-led World Federation of Democratic Youth (see the chapter by Wagner; also Kotek 1996; Pence and Betts 2008; Koivunen 2016; Burrell 2011; Rutter 2013; Katsakioris 2019; Wilcox 2020). Whereas socialist mobility was geared, at least in theory, to access for all, capitalist mobility has always been fundamentally hierarchical, with forms of patronage being used to facilitate the overcoming of inequalities for the fortunate few.

This West-East dichotomy was mirrored by a North-South division, whereby the accelerating modernity of the industrialized nations was contrasted with the traditional "stasis, slowness, and immobility … ascribed to social and cultural 'others' living 'elsewhere', whose conditions of life change only gradually or at the hands of intervening forces" (Burrell and Hörschelmann 2014, p. 4). As Cresswell noted, "some of the foundational narratives of modernity have been constructed around the brute fact of moving – mobility as liberty and mobility as progress" (Cresswell 2010, p. 162). Mobility in the South was materializing only as a disruptive threat, as in the form of the urban guerrilla under Latin American authoritarianism, or the forced and voluntary migration of the post-Cold War period. Missing in this negative representation is the aspiration for better futures through mobility, be that through outwitting a more powerful enemy or overcoming physical obstacles (Guevara 1969; Löwy 2007). The narrative of *The Motorcycle Diaries*, chronicling "Che" Guevara's personal observations of Latin American poverty during a road trip across the continent, is here indicative of this alternative take (Keeble 2003). Studies of "subaltern mobility" in Africa and Asia have opened up the experience of gaining access to better futures through education on both sides of the ideological divide (Burton 2020). Several chapters, in particular that by Hana Qugana, explore the meaning of mobility from southern, postcolonial perspectives, transgressing the orthodox North-South hierarchy by instead emphasizing the linkages between nation-building, political subjectivity and citizenship, and the appropriation of the means for self-sufficient futures.

In her coverage of a transnational history perspective on the Cold War, Penny von Eschen examined the influence of transnational connections and the agency of those involved, particularly those movements that arose to challenge the colonial and ideological superstructures of international relations. She thus directed attention to "the US-sponsored transnational networks of modernization and development, and related educational, cultural, and religious projects; taken together these were rich sites of political formation for the arena of transnational anti-communism". In referring to the political forces that challenged this US-led system, she pointed out how transnational movements such as peace and anti-nuclear protests represented "a powerful dream space" for re-imagining inter-social relations (von Eschen 2013, pp. 453–454). This "dream space" was not the sole domain of the superpowers (Getachew, 2019). Nevertheless, the respective cultural capital of East and

West for shaping belief in – and motivation for – building a better future has been explored as a deeply powerful dimension to twentieth century, and particularly Cold War, history (Buck-Morss 2000; Romijn, Scott-Smith, and Segal 2012). The US and the USSR (and China) projected paths for future development to the Global South and proffered the means, expertise, and leadership to follow them. The means, expertise, and leadership were necessarily mobile. This created new forms of subjectivity that many could then aspire to.

US strategy in the Asia-Pacific aimed at fostering an image of a prosperous, upwardly mobile, stable set of Western-orientated nations securely safe from communist subversion. In this context, Cold War cosmopolitanism (as defined by Christina Klein) expressed "an ethos of worldly engagement" brought about by the US requirement for a non-communist "free Asia" in its ideological contest with the USSR and China. The US created or made use of existing networks of cultural and educational exchange to generate and enable the mobility of cosmopolitan elites. These figures benefited from these overlapping layers of patronage as vanguard players in shaping the culture and politics of the Asia-Pacific region in a Western-orientated guise. As role models, they expressed the privileges and norms of Western-style modernity through the media and in public life. Cosmopolitanism took on a wider meaning as a cipher for national progress as a whole. Developing the theme in relation to her work on South Korea, Klein described it thus:

> It engaged the ideals of individualism, personal freedom, and capitalist exchange and expressed a commitment to social and technological modernization along Western lines…. Cold War cosmopolitanism thus embraced rather than transcended nationalism. It privileged the knitting of ties – symbolic as well as material – among "free" nations that valued their own heritage and wanted to share it with others. As a historically specific form of cosmopolitanism, it can be seen as a cultural manifestation of the political ideology of "free-world" integration: it resonated with the dual impulses of nation building and bloc building that structured postwar Asia's political landscape. Many Asian intellectuals and cultural producers – eager to strengthen their nation's cultural output and to gain the respect of the "free-world" community – embraced Cold War cosmopolitanism as a worldview, a style, and a practice.
>
> (Klein 2017, p. 283)

Cold War cosmopolitanism created the impression of a vibrant, egalitarian, modernizing, autonomous community of democratic nations around the Asia-Pacific. To bring this subjectivity to life, multiple, overlapping networks of mobility involving both state and non-state actors were utilized. Despite often being ad hoc and uncoordinated in their approach – itself a sign of the vibrance of "free societies" – they provided a dense latticework of patronage to ensure transnational mobility as a strategic goal. This provided ample opportunities for contrasting "free movement" with closed and "backward" societies or

repressive regimes. It highlighted personal initiative as opposed to rigid, traditional social orders. It generated high-profile visibility for those who entered into the cosmopolitan "stream". Ultimately, both formal and informal forms of connectivity and exchange were built up over time in a region that lacked such channels of cultural connection. It is important not to fetishize this focus on mobility as if to buy into its fundamental inequalities. As one critic put it: "idealization of movement, or transformation of movement into a fetish, depends on the exclusion of others who are already positioned as *not free in the same way*" (Ahmed 2004, p. 152). The establishment of mobility infrastructures also entails the exclusion of others. The US-facilitated "dream image" of Cold War cosmopolitanism rested on the inequalities of capitalist exchange and ideological exclusion that enhanced patterns of exclusion within Western-orientated societies. As Sheller and Urry argued in turn:

> It is not a question of privileging a "mobile subjectivity", but rather of tracking the power of discourses and practices of mobility in creating both movement and stasis. [It] delineates the context in which both sedentary and nomadic accounts of the social world operate, and it questions how the context is itself mobilized, or performed, through ongoing sociotechnical practices…
>
> (Sheller and Urry 2006, p. 211)

Trans-Pacific Mobilities and Embedded Infrastructures

A mix of state and non-state actors combined to function as "transmission belts" for the cultural and educational internationalism that the US sought to promote across the Asia-Pacific region. As Cresswell noted, political interests always ensure that "mobility is channeled into acceptable conduits" (Cresswell 2010, p. 165). The public diplomacy apparatus of the United States Information Agency (from 1953) coordinated the official US government approach, and educational exchange was facilitated by the Fulbright agreements with participating nations, of which Burma and the Philippines were two of the earliest in 1947. The non-state apparatus of networks and "nerve centers" was extensive. The PEN International (Poets, Essayists, and Novelists), begun in London in 1921, was already promoting the cause of freedom of expression through literature across the globe before the Second World War and became an arena for cultural Cold War battles after it (Potter 2013; Stonor Saunders 1999; Vanhove 2022). The Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF) sought to unite like-minded liberal intellectuals in a transnational community devoted to their opposition to restrictions on freedom of thought. Founded in 1950 with CIA guidance, it soon expanded across the Global South and intervened in the cultural battles that took place across the nation-building struggles of the decolonizing world (Coleman 1989; Grémion, 1995; Stonor Saunders 1999; Scott-Smith 2002). In 1951 it sponsored an Asian Conference on Cultural Freedom in Mumbai and

followed this up with "Cultural Freedom in Asia", held in Yangon in 1955. As with PEN, the mobility of ideas, materials, and personnel lay at the center of the CCF's *raison d'etre*, it being vital to provide a supportive transnational "home" for those who were often facing political pressures in their national contexts. Political circumstances often meant that "the very fact that autonomous, independent intellectuals could assemble to discuss the very nature of their polities without repression is telling" (Burke 2016, p. 85). Mobility could not be taken for granted. In the words of Raymond Aron, looking to sum up the CCF's ideals in 1962:

> One of the great merits of the Congress is to maintain, to restore, and to create intellectual communities that cut across barriers of profession and discipline. Intellectual life has a tendency to organize itself along narrow lines and specializations, and we, the Congress, represent a "trans-specialist community".[2]

Foremost of all such organizations was the Asia Foundation. Founded in 1951 as the CIA's Committee for a Free Asia, the Foundation has a public origin date of 1954, the year the name was changed to distance it from overt political intentions. Its current website states that it was created to "improve lives, expand opportunities, and help societies flourish across a dynamic and developing Asia", and the Asia Foundation from the very beginning was geared entirely to the promotion of Cold War mobility and how it was encapsulated in a vision of cosmopolitanism (Sangjoon 2017). As its website claims, the Foundation was all about "creating opportunities for education and exchanges to expose young Asian leaders to liberal political and market economy models".[3] The foundation was a perfect example of what Scott Lucas has referred to as a "state-private network" (Lucas 2002), with its website referring to its origins as a philanthropic apparatus led by "a group of forward-thinking citizens who shared a strong interest in Asia", but which worked hand in glove with both overt and covert arms of the US government (Price 2024; North-Best 2017).[4]

Big philanthropy – beginning with the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations and the Carnegie Corporation, later joined by others – also played a crucial role in financing networks of expertise in the furtherance of regional integration (Berman 1983). Aside from the multiple education and training programs, a perfect example of philanthropic support for Cold War cosmopolitanism is the Magsaysay Award. Created in 1957 to honor the Philippino leader Ramon Magsaysay, who had died in a plane crash, the Rockefeller Brothers Fund established the award for "honoring greatness of spirit in selfless service to the people of Asia".[5] Since then, annual awards have been given under six categories: government service, public service, community leadership, journalism, literature, arts and creative communication, to which was added (since 2001) emergent leadership. In his study of the award, Rommel Curaming emphasized not only how it "promoted or advertised cultural constructs sympathetic to one side against another in the Cold War divide", but also that it exemplified

"the liberal conception, perhaps at the same time an exhortation, of the individual as volitional, able to take a difference and free to decide for oneself". These individuals above all personified processes of "enlightened modernization" for their communities and nations as a whole, finding "ways to smoothen transition from the traditional to the modern" (Curaming 2009, p. 136).

In terms of Sheller and Urry's reference to "embedded infrastructures", the United States also attempted to make full use of Hawaii as a Pacific midpoint of cultural mediation with Asia. In her study of the "gateway state", Sarah Miller-Davenport has focused on Hawaii as central to "a broader reimagining of US global authority" stretching across the Pacific. Hawaii was "America's 'bridge to Asia' [that] helped formulate new strategies for securing US cultural and economic influence in the decolonizing world" (Miller-Davenport 2019, p. 79). As part of this process, the East-West Center (EWC) was created in 1960 as an independent institution from the University of Hawaii for the purpose of facilitating academic mobility to and from the United States across the Pacific. At first organized around the Institute for Advanced Projects, the Institute for Technical Interchange, and the Institute for Student Interchange, in the 1970s these expanded to become institutes for population, communication, culture learning, technology and development, and environment and policy.

Performing Mobility

The United States Information Agency (USIA), Fulbright, PEN, the CCF, the Asia Foundation, and the EWC produced a latticework of cultural, intellectual, and educational connections that aimed to both maintain the United States as the central node for cultural references, knowledge transfer, and "ideological leadership" and at the same time break down cultural barriers between the nations of the Asia-Pacific themselves. Development training programs, coordinated through the US Agency for International Development (USAID) and its predecessors, were key vectors through which mobility was integral to the processes of modernization. In this way, these institutions collectively contributed to the overall goals of US Cold War security policy – to generate a greater level of regional cohesion among the anti-communist allies, which would in turn support the formal security alliances in place. This occurred both bilaterally, as with US-Japan relations, or collectively, as with the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO, 1954–1977), which also ran its own training and cultural programs to overcome suspicions and promote mutual recognition among its members (Cheng Guan 2021). Exploring this further by focusing on mobility enables a clearer sense to emerge of how those involved, at all levels, both experienced and performed these novel forms of connectivity and the places and processes involved. As Sheller and Urry argue, "there is a complex relationality of places and persons connected through performances" (Sheller and Urry 2006, p. 214).

A field of activity of particular importance that illustrates these processes well is mass media. During the Cold War, the US used its state-private public

diplomacy apparatuses to promote the values and practices of "free media" as a cornerstone of the development and maintenance of democracy. Mobility was here a central element, it being important to showcase the US approach to the media as business, as a site of technical innovation, and as the "fourth estate", as well as to lay the grounds for intra-regional best practice and experience-sharing exchanges amongst media professionals from the Asia-Pacific region. Studies of Cold War media are uneven in scope. Radio is covered extensively (Nelson 1997; Cummings 2009; Cummings 2010; Johnson and Parta 2010; Alexander et al. 2013), but the focus has largely been on US-USSR relations, with Europe as the focal point. Broader studies of the media and journalists have also largely stayed within the context of US-Europe-USSR relations (Jenks 2006; Roth-Ey 2011; Bastiansen and Werenskjold 2015; Magnusdottir 2019; Bastiansen, Klimke, and Werenskjold 2019; Fainberg 2020). Mobility is necessarily built into the functioning of media as a profession, not to mention the training of a journalist, a process that, as the chapter by Milford shows, could reveal tensions between clashing internationalisms. The US State Department and USIA made journalists a priority group during the Cold War, making use of exchanges such as the Foreign Leader and Specialist programs, and coordinating with philanthropy and universities in order to transfer and inculcate the desired values. From 1950 to the 1970s, the Multi-National Foreign Journalists Program was run by Floyd Arpan, first at Northwestern and then when Arpan moved to the School of Journalism at Indiana University in 1960, he took the program with him. Starting out with all-German (1950–1953) and then (1955–1957) all-Korean groups, the program went global, eventually bringing journalists and publishers from 71 different nations (of which 24 were from Asia) between 1950 and 1976 for a "work-study-travel program" that mixed instructional sessions in Indiana with work placement with a US newspaper and time for a free travel agenda. The link between freedom, training, and mobility was thus inbuilt, although this was not always clear for the organizers themselves, as the report from the 1962–1963 program shows:

> It was not an easy task to weld this highly variable group into a cohesive, workable unit and channel its diverse and vibrant personalities toward a common goal – an understanding of Americans and the American image on the world scene – while at the same time allowing for full and unhampered freedom for each man to pursue special interests, independent travel, and personal investigation of American life.[6]

Experiencing mobility, and its intrinsic connection to freedom, should itself have been the "instruction", but the need to achieve a "common goal" focused on "Americans and the American image" undermined this. Such heavy-handedness was of course partly driven by the need to provide evidence of "success" in order to ensure continuing funding. Efforts were certainly made to publicize the alignment of foreign journalists with US policy goals, in particular the reasons for pursuing the war in Vietnam, and the threats that this

alignment could bring.[7] But this also reflects an unease about too much mobility, especially about not being able to control it in the context of United States society itself. Race and gender were the decisive factors in this unease. The annual reports, which included anonymized clippings from the participants' own evaluations, regularly made reference – generally only in passing – to unfortunate incidents where racial prejudice had undoubtedly affected the mobility of the Asian invitees. Considering the fact that the participants were chosen exactly for their ability to share and spread their impressions of the United States to their respective networks and readerships, the tension between allowing mobility and controlling the message is painfully obvious.

Gender also generated issues that clearly marked out perceptions of acceptable and unacceptable mobility. In 1965, under the auspices of the State Department and in collaboration with the East-West Center, Experiment in International Living, and Theta Sigma Phi (from 1972 the Association for Women in Communications), the Asian Women Journalists Project brought nine reporters, editors, and columnists together from Australia, India, Japan, New Zealand, Philippines, South Korea, Singapore, Taiwan, and Thailand. The May to July program began with a week of seminars hosted by the EWC in Honolulu, followed by a group tour through California, Wyoming, Minnesota, Tennessee, Virginia, and Washington DC, before culminating in two weeks of "free time" for individual appointments. From a US public diplomacy perspective, the project marked a new step in recognizing the potential of women journalists as a specific group that could benefit (and benefit from) US soft power. *Life* editor Dora (Dodie) Hamblin, who delivered a paper on "Imaginative Communications", commented after the event: "I'm sure conferences would be equally valuable for male journalists, but since many publishing ventures (I quickly exempt Time Inc. from this category) are notably reluctant to let their lady journalists travel much, the need seems greater for women". Journalist Dorothy Lewis drew attention to the Multi-National Journalists and World Press Institute programs for men that included work placements lasting several months, something still not provided for women. Lewis also emphasized that the purpose of the project was to highlight the "common ground" that existed not just between "the United States and other free people" but also between their nations themselves "so that each country CAN be itself".[8] Mobility provided by the US was seen as the key to fostering awareness of national identity and regional compatibility, as well as a novel experience. In the words of *Indian Express* editor Aruna Mukerji, it was "an enchanted journey".[9] Each participant was asked to submit a discussion paper for the sessions at the EWC, which was then commented on by the Center's Amefil Agbayani (herself a Filipino). Her text is replete with an emphasis on Asia as a region in flux, the undertone being that it was on the expected path from tradition to modernity, with different parts moving at different speeds:

From a survey of the papers presented by the Asian delegates, I found a forceful sense of movement, a sense of transition, as it were, of the woman journalist. While there is a general recognition, tacit or otherwise, that she has not fully arrived, her emergence is real and her importance is increasingly being felt.[10]

Agbayani went on to use the number of women journalists in their respective countries as a kind of cipher for indicating the overall level of social progressiveness, whereby "Hongkong and the Republic of China seem to have shown the most movement and optimism in this regard".[11] Since Taiwan was represented by leading sports writer and former national basketball player Gertrude Su Lee, Western in manner and a fervent anti-communist, this image was carried over into several of the media reports on the project.[12] Lee personified Cold War cosmopolitanism in journalism, a perfect role model in Western eyes. The participant who gathered the most attention from US officials, however, was Josefina Protacio of the *Manila Chronicle*. Self-confident and independent, Protacio had begun as the police reporter for her paper before moving to cover politics and was thus one of the few women to work on a "male" dossier. This set her apart from the rest of the group, and it drew contrasting reactions from the hosts. The State Department's Patricia Roberts, initially put off by this "attractive, energetic [and] somewhat erratic young woman", ultimately concluded that she "showed much initiative" in arranging her own schedule, with appointments in New York and Washington DC (such as with the FBI). Roberts' colleague Jeannette Litschgi was less complementary, regarding Protacio as "irresponsible and immature". In contrast to Roberts' praise for Protacio's ability to set herself up perfectly well in New York, Litschgi saw only that "on her own she did nothing remarkable professionally". The contrast between the two women observers is striking: one praising individual initiative and movement, the other regarding it as empty of meaning and irresponsible.[13] Protacio herself displayed further independence in her subsequent articles for the *Manila Chronicle*. She dissected the cultural undertones of Honolulu ("tourists are overwhelmed by Hawaiian informality, something the Americans took away from the natives and which, since then, has been used unwisely"), the ongoing civil rights struggle ("the fever of the Negro revolution is felt when you feel the pulse of America"), and – significantly – the war in Vietnam:

American war propagandists in Saigon came up with statistics that since January this year, 27,000 North Vietnamese refugees have sought protective footing in the South. Vietcong reports say their volunteers have more than doubled. In this twilight of words, nobody knows who's padding.[14]

Through her behavior and writing, Protacio was performing her own US-style emancipation in ways that tested the limits of American tolerance. She took the advantages of mobility further than was intended by the apparatus that provided it. The episode is interesting for uncovering how the mindset and apparatus of US public diplomacy operated according to an image of "the free individual", but with racial and gender limitations just under the surface. The aim was ostensibly to break down stereotypes, but in doing so, others were revealed. As Cresswell has pointed out, mobility inevitably has its "frictions" (Cresswell 2010, pp. 166–167).

A final example of mobility as performance is provided by another Filipino, Filemon Tutay of the *Philippines Free Press*. Filing a five-part "Report on America" following his participation in the Multi-National Foreign Journalists program of 1963, Tutay wrote gleefully of the luxuries encountered on his trans-Pacific flight:

> "Mr Tutae" was in no mood to have his dinner just then. He thought he might sample all the brands of liquor aboard the huge aircraft. He started off with the inevitable Scotch with water, switched to brandy and then wound up with a couple of shots of champagne before he asked an attendant if he could have his dinner. Needless to say, "Mr Tutae" had a very delightful dinner in a well-appointed luxury air liner 27,000 feet over the Pacific. After he had sampled all the drinks aboard and all "on the house," he was entirely oblivious to all prospects of any brewing typhoon or tropical depression.[15]

For Tutay, it was essential to display to his readers the status of his invitation to attend the program, while at the same time mocking his hosts for misspelling his name. In doing so he was both pointing out his new-found prestige as a Cold War cosmopolitan and indicating that he was not taken in by the *faux* trappings of "mutual understanding". Mobility, for Tutay, was thus double-edged: it set him apart as a US-style "cosmopolitan", but it also opened him up to criticism for being "taken in". His carefully judged satire was an ideal way out.

Conclusion

There are many sides to educational internationalism, as this book amply demonstrates. From an orthodox perspective, it seems to fit perfectly within the well-traveled narrative of Western freedom opposing Eastern repression, and Northern knowledge being used to guide Southern development. Such approaches often miss the challenges and contradictions to long-standing state-based Cold War frameworks represented by internationalist causes and desires. Educational internationalism can be used exactly to deconstruct given understandings of agency and subjectivity, revealing hidden topographies of cultural, social, and political experience. Mobility is an ideal additional concept through which to unlock and explore those experiences and the emotions,

prejudices, and hierarchies they contain. By charting its specific uses to display versions of Cold War cosmopolitanism, mobility offers pathways for examining the lived realities of those caught in its spotlight and aspiring to its benefits. Mobility is about the chance for change and the possibilities for progress. As Cresswell has laid out, this introduces a new set of questions to shape the investigation:

> There is clearly a politics to material movement. Who moves furthest? Who moves fastest? Who moves most often? But this is only the beginning. There is also a politics of representation. How is mobility discursively constituted? What narratives have been constructed about mobility? How are mobilities represented?
>
> (Cresswell 2010, p. 162)

This is rich terrain for marking out a distinct field of enquiry. A focus on mobility can help us to define the scope, the effects, and the meanings of educational internationalism in both theory and practice. It can provide a fresh angle for (re-)exploring the wide terrain covered by the chapters in this volume. It is a valuable tool for disrupting and then reconstituting our understanding of "Cold War history" and what it meant for those who lived through it.

Notes

1 See her full study of this phenomenon in Sandrine Kott, *A World More Equal: An Internationalist Perspective on the Cold War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2024).
2 Munich, Ludwig-Maximilian University, Lasky Center for Transatlantic Studies, Melvin Lasky Papers, Correspondence: Michael Josselson, Raymond Aron, Zurich, February 1962, insert in Michael Josselson to Melvin Lasky, 19.11.1964.
3 See www.asiafoundation.org (accessed 12 May 2022).
4 "The Foundation was established in 1954 entirely by and at the initiative of the US Government, with all support coming from the Government. The many prominent trustees … were recruited and agreed to serve only as a public service." CREST, FOIA Electronic Reading Room, U. Alexis Johnson, "Memorandum for Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, The White House", 07.06.1969, https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/document/loc-hak-1-5-33-8.
5 See https://www.rmaward.asia/ (accessed 12 May 2022).
6 Fayetteville AK, University of Arkansas, Archive of the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, special collections (hereafter ECA), box 157, folder 20, 1962–1963 Multi-National Foreign Journalist Project, Final Report, 31.01.1963.
7 ECA, box 158, folder 7, press release, Asian journalists find Americans united behind Vietnam effort, 29.04.1966. USIA chief Leonard Marks brought attention around the same time to the death of Vu Nhat Huy, editor of the *Chinh Luan* newspaper in Saigon, and outspoken participant in the Multinational Journalists program of 1965. Marks reported that Huy was killed for refusing to change the attitude of his publication toward the communists. Address by Leonard H. Marks, Director, U.S. Information Agency International Radio and Television Society Newsmaker Luncheon, New York, 11.02.1966, FRUS 1917–1972, Vol. VII, Public Diplomacy 1964-68.

  8 ECA, box 157, folder 23, Dodie Hamblin to Roy Larsen (USIA Director), 07.06.1965; ECA, box 157, folder 23, Dorothy Lewis, The Role of Women Journalists in Developing International Understanding.
  9 ECA, box 157, folder 25, Aruna Mukerji, America through Asian Eyes, n.d. [1965].
 10 ECA, box 157, folder 25, Amefil Agbayani, Asian Women Journalists, May 1965.
 11 ECA, box 157, folder 25, Amefil Agbayani, Asian Women Journalists, May 1965.
 12 ECA, box 157, folder 23, 2001, Chinese wept when she stepped from the helicopter, *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 26.05.1965; Asian Journalists to View Life of City, *Chattanooga Times*, 13.06.1965.
 13 ECA, box 157, folder 25, Patricia Roberts, evaluation of visit, 24.08.1965; Jeannette Litschgi, Asian Women Journalists Project, Escort Report.
 14 ECA, box 157, folder 25, Jeanette Litschgi to Myrtle Thorne (Dept. of State), newspaper articles of Miss Josefina Protacio, 12.06.1965.
 15 ECA, box 157, folder 15, Filemon Tutay, Report on America, Pt 1, *Philippines Free Press*, 14.12.1963. Part 5 describes in equally comic fashion the breathless tours and endless briefings at US military bases in Hawaii, NORAD, and Colorado.

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