

GLOBAL AGENTS OF INTERNATIONALISM: TRANSNATIONAL
ACTIVISM THROUGH INSTITUTIONAL AND INFORMAL MEANS



Ph.D. Programme *Global History and Governance*

Autumn term, 2024/2025

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Office hour: by appointment

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

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

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

Readings:

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

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

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

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

Course assesment:

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

Final exam:

The final exam will consist in writing and discussing an final essay on a specific topic to be agreed with Dr Costa by the beginning of December, 5,000 to 8,000 words for PhD Students and 3,000 to 6,000 words for Magistrale students. The paper should be delivered by mid January and they will discussed at the end of January or in February — date to be decided with the students

The final two sessions will proceed as follow. Each student will receive beforehand a paper written by another students, which they will have to summarise and critique. The

author of the paper will have the opportunity to respond to criticism and explain how they would integrate the comments in a revised version. Finally, the teacher and other students will offer comments.

Sessions:

1. Monday 4 November 17-19 Aula 2
2. Monday 11 November 17-19 Aula 3
3. Monday 18 November 17-19 Aula 2
4. Monday 25 November 17-19 Aula 2
5. Monday 2 December 17-19 Aula 2
6. Monday 9 December 17-19 Aula 2
7. Monday 16 December 17-19 Aula 2
8. Wednesday 8 January 17-19 Aula 3

Classroom:

Aula 2 and 3, third floor, SSM, Largo San Marcellino 10, 80138 Napoli

Sessions

1. What is internationalism?

Monday 4 November 17-19 Aula 2

Topic:

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

Mandatory Reading:

- 'Introduction', Sluga, Glenda. *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013.
- Reinisch, Jessica. 'Introduction: Agents of Internationalism'. *Contemporary European History* 25, no. 2 (May 2016): 195–205. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960777316000035>.
- Sluga, Glenda, and Patricia Clavin. 'Rethinking the History of Internationalism'. In *Internationalisms: A Twentieth-Century History*, edited by Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2017.
- Dorfman, Ben, and Mats André. 'Introduction: Layers and Varieties of Internationalism in the 20th Century'. *Global Intellectual History* 7, no. 4 (4 July 2022): 738–44. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23801883.2020.1830498>.

2. Liberal internationalism and Wilsonianism

Monday 11 November 17-19 Aula 3

Topic:

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

Mandatory Reading:

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

Select one of the following reading options:

- Webster, Andrew. ‘The League of Nations, Disarmament and Internationalism’. In *Internationalisms: A Twentieth-Century History*, edited by Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin, 139–69. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2017.
- Chapter 3, ‘The Nineteenth Century Origins of Internationalism’, Ikenberry, G. John. *A World Safe for Democracy: Liberal Internationalism and the Crises of Global Order*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020, 66-99.
- Chapter 4, ‘Wilsonian Internationalism’, Ikenberry, G. John. *A World Safe for Democracy: Liberal Internationalism and the Crises of Global Order*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020, 100-140.
- ‘Introduction’, and Chapter 1, ‘British internationalism and Humanitarianism’. In Baughan, Emily. *Saving the Children: Humanitarianism, Internationalism, and Empire*. Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2022, 1-49

3. Socialist internationalism between splits, hopes and disappointment

Monday 18 November 17-19 Aula 2

Topic:

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

Mandatory Reading:

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

Select one of the following reading options:

- Costa, Ettore. 'The Comintern and the Labour and Socialist International: Struggling Over Democracy and Working-Class Unity'. *Dimensioni e Problemi Della Ricerca Storica* 2022, no. 1 (2022): 223–42.
- Laqua, Daniel. 'Democratic Politics and the League of Nations: The Labour and Socialist International as a Protagonist of Interwar Internationalism'. *Contemporary European History* 24, no. 2 (May 2015): 175–92. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960777315000041>.

- Graziosi, Andrea. 'Communism, Nations and Nationalism'. In *World Revolution and Socialism in One Country, 1917-1941*, edited by Silvio Pons and Stephen A. Smith, 1:449–74. Cambridge History of Communism. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.

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

Monday 25 November 17-19 Aula 2

Topic:

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

Mandatory Reading:

- Chapter 2, 'The new internationalism', 37-59, Iriye, Akira. *Global Community: The Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.
- Chapter 3, 'The Apogee of internationalism', Sluga, Glenda. *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013.

Select one of the following reading options:

- Imlay, Talbot C. 'Socialist Internationalism after 1914'. In *Internationalisms: A Twentieth-Century History*, edited by Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin, 213–41. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2017.
- Costa, Ettore. 'From East-West Balancing to Militant Anti-Communism: The Socialist International and the Beginning of the Cold War, 1947–1949'. *Journal of Cold War Studies* 24, no. 2 (Spring 2022): 95–131. https://doi.org/10.1162/jcws_a_01044.

- Di Donato, Michele. 'Internazionalismo Socialdemocratico e Storia Internazionale Degli Anni Settanta'. *Ventunesimo Secolo*, no. 44 (October 2019): 11–37. <https://doi.org/10.3280/XXI2019-044002>.
- Kott, Sandrine. 'Cold War Internationalism'. In *Internationalisms: A Twentieth-Century History*, edited by Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin, 340–62. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2017.

5. Cold War: Religious and conservative internationalism

Monday 2 December 17-19 Aula 2

Topic:

- International Catholicism and the origins of European integration
- Fascist internationalism
- Islamist internationalism
- Conservative and Neo-liberal internationalism

Mandatory Reading:

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

Select one of the following reading options:

- Bauerkämper, Arnd. 'Transnational Fascism: Cross-Border Relations between Regimes and Movements in Europe, 1922-1939'. *East Central Europe* 37, no. 2–3 (25 March 2010): 214–46. <https://doi.org/10.1163/187633010X534469>.
- Nunan, Timothy. "'Neither East Nor West,' Neither Liberal Nor Illiberal? Iranian Islamist Internationalism in the 1980s'. *Journal of World History* 31, no. 1 (2020): 43–77. <https://doi.org/10.1353/jwh.2020.0002>

- Schmelzer, Matthias. 'What Comes After Bretton Woods? Neoliberals Debate and Fight for a Future Monetary Order'. In *Nine Lives of Neoliberalism*, edited by Dieter Plehwe, Quinn Slobodian, and Philip Mirowski, 197–218. London New York: Verso, 2020.

6. Anti-colonial internationalism

Monday 9 December 17-19 Aula 2

Topic:

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

Mandatory Reading:

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

Select one of the following reading options:

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

- Heyden, Ulrich van der, and Anja Schade. 'GDR Solidarity with the ANC of South Africa'. In *Southern African Liberation Movements and the Global Cold War 'East'*, edited by Lena Dallywater, Chris Saunders, and Helder Adegar Fonseca, 77–102. De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2019. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110642964-008>.

7. Scientific Internationalism

Monday 16 December 17-19 Aula 2

Topic:

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

Mandatory Reading:

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

Select one of the following reading options:

- Zaidi, Waqar. 'Liberal Internationalist Approaches to Science and Technology in Interwar Britain and the US'. In *Internationalism Reconfigured: Transnational Ideas and Movements between the World Wars*, edited by Daniel Laqua, 17–43. London ; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2011.
- Krige, John. 'Atoms for Peace, Scientific Internationalism, and Scientific Intelligence'. *Osiris* 21, no. 1 (January 2006): 161–81. <https://doi.org/10.1086/507140>.

- Kraft, Alison. 'Dissenting Scientists in Early Cold War Britain: The "Fallout" Controversy and the Origins of Pugwash, 1954–1957'. *Journal of Cold War Studies* 20, no. 1 (April 2018): 58–100. https://doi.org/10.1162/jcws_a_00801.
- Rubinson, Paul. 'The Global Effects of Nuclear Winter: Science and Antinuclear Protest in the United States and the Soviet Union during the 1980s'. *Cold War History* 14, no. 1 (2 January 2014): 47–69. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14682745.2012.759560>.

8. Internationalism and Human Rights in the Post-Cold War Global Order

Wednesday 8 January 17-19 Aula 3

Topic:

- Internationalism at the threshold of the Twenty-First century
- Human rights and the limitation of national sovereignty
- Amnesty International as a new kind of NGOs

Mandatory Reading:

- Donert, Celia, Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann, Paul Betts, Jessica Reinisch, Jan Eckel, Jeanne Morefield, Davide Rodogno, and Glenda Sluga. 'Introduction: Eclipse of Internationalism? The Late Twentieth-Century Liberal Moment'. *Past & Present* 264, no. 1 (31 July 2024): 283–356. <https://doi.org/10.1093/pastj/gtae006>.
- Ikenberry, G. John. 'Why the Liberal World Order Will Survive'. *Ethics & International Affairs* 32, no. 1 (2018): 17–29. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0892679418000072>.

Select one of the following reading options:

- Burke, Roland. 'The Internationalism of Human Rights'. In *Internationalisms: A Twentieth-Century History*, edited by Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin, 287–314. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2017.
 - Hoffmann, Stefan-Ludwig. 'Human Rights and History'. *Past & Present* 232, no. 1 (August 2016): 279–310. <https://doi.org/10.1093/pastj/gtw013>.
- Eckel, Jan. 'The International League for the Rights of Man, Amnesty International, and the Changing Fate of Human Rights Activism from the 1940s through the 1970s'. *Humanity: An International Journal of Human Rights, Humanitarianism, and Development* 4, no. 2 (June 2013): 183–214. <https://doi.org/10.1353/hum.2013.0014>.