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Internationalism in the 1930s: An Introduction

The League of Nations' *Handbook of International Organisations*, published in several editions until 1938, documents the overarching presence of international institutions and gatherings in almost every field of human endeavour. Despite political tensions, withdrawals from the League and economic crises in the late 1930s, membership and institutions both grew steadily and continuously.¹ At the same time, fascist states launched propaganda initiatives that built on existing transnational and international practices and associations in various ways: by augmenting and co-opting academic exchange services,² by reinterpreting existing cultural institutions such as the Goethe and Dante societies, by opening expatriate societies and even by maintaining membership in League of Nations institutions.³ Despite Benito Mussolini's contention that fascism was not for export, the clear entanglement of internationalism and propaganda highlights the usefulness of scholarly investigations into internationalism and fascism as a base for exploring newly shaped research questions.

This chapter will discuss the growing fascist interest in apparently incompatible political internationalist networks through the 1930s and during the Second World War. It analyses the blending of liberal internationalism with propaganda and advertising, elaborates the increasing presence of fascist state-driven contributions in international civil society,

¹ The numbers of international organisations documented in the *Handbook of International Organisations* increased from 1929 to 1938. League of Nations, *Handbook of International Organisations* (Geneva: League of Nations, 1938). For the 1930s, Toynbee described a 'thoroughgoing internationalism' as 'the tendency of all human affairs to become international'. A. J. Toynbee, 'World Sovereignty and World Culture', *Pacific Affairs* 4, 9 (1931), 753.

² H. Impekovén, *Die Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung und das Ausländerstudium in Deutschland 1915–1945* (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2013).

³ The International Labour Organization membership gives a good example of this development. In addition, Japan remained in its capacity as League of Nations' mandate power after its withdrawal in 1933.

clarifies the fascist interest in taking over the League of Nations as a model for a fascist-driven global governance, and outlines the crucial impact of both the Manchurian incident on Japanese internationalism and the interest in fascist forms of internationalism in Berlin and Rome. The chapter highlights the (mis)use of internationalism during the Second World War and elaborates on internationalism in a time period that, at first glance, seems ill-suited to an investigation of border-crossing networks. Contrary to the understanding of internationalism as a post-war concept reaching back to nineteenth-century liberal pacifism and sadly sharing the League of Nations' failure in the 1930s, I see the expanding environment of international organisations as an expression of global governance adaptable even in a political landscape denuded of democratic values. I ask to what extent these still existing international networks attracted and absorbed fascist contributions. My contention is that, for fascist states, the use of internationalist strategies bridged ideological gulfs and furthered the construction of fascist world orders spanning the world from Berlin to Tokyo.

The nineteenth-century internationalism born of pacifism and liberalism evolved into a political tool for those who perceived international organisations, congresses, movements and international epistemic communities as valuable spheres of influence. Fascists rejected internationalism ideologically but attempted to assume and copy its structural pattern. Consequently, in this chapter, I conceptualise fascist internationalism as a version of fascist global governance based on the infiltration of liberal internationalist networks and aimed at creating spheres of influence beyond territorial control. The coincidence of a still-increasing number of international organisations with the rise of fascist states and their participation in the bureaucracies and institutions comprising international networks illuminates patterns characteristic of the specific situation after the First World War. In contrast to the present-day separation of international networks in nongovernmental movements and international governmental organisations, internationalism blurred the difference between state-driven activities and the formation of an international civil society until 1945.⁴

Fascist states profited from the permeability of governmental and nongovernmental activities. Since free associations beyond governmental control did not exist in those states, fascist governments could easily take

⁴ The *Handbook* included all kinds of organisations that self-identified with the League. The Covenant of the League of Nations provided a special status for governmental organisations created by multilateral treaties in Article 24; however, few organisations opted to be placed under the direction of the League, and the universe of international organisations remained complex and formally unspecific.

over national participation in international movements. Manifold forms of infiltration show that, from a fascist point of view, participation in transnational social movements seemed more valuable than withdrawal or destruction. As a consequence, in the semi-official twilight zone of internationalism, concepts of state-driven international relations and civil transnational movements became interchangeable.

In this chapter, I posit no difference between governmental and non-governmental influence: the aim of this approach is to glean insights into the mechanics of fascist internationalism that reveal an increasing, if hidden, governmental control over transnational movements even in nonfascist environments. In addition, this approach sheds light on intra-fascist forms of cooperation such as the Anti-Comintern Pact treaties and the Axis agreements. These agreements constituted fields of trilateral cooperation, creating transnational spaces to be used against communist and socialist international organisations from one side and League of Nations-related internationalism from another.

Fascism Meets Internationalism: A Historiography

From the beginnings of historiographical research into internationalism – roughly the 1970s – discussions and analyses focused on the development of Western-centred international institutions, from their origins in the nineteenth century to the outbreak of the Second World War.⁵ In the years since, a considerable amount of literature on internationalism has focussed interest in a more interdisciplinary, globalised direction. This includes sociological, anthropological⁶ and historical perspectives on international relations and international organisations. Several studies have revealed close interdependencies between modernisation, the global

⁵ A. Iriye, *Global and Transnational History: The Past, Present, and Future* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); A. Iriye, *Global Community: The Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); M. H. Geyer and J. Paulmann (eds.), *The Mechanics of Internationalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); M. Herren, *Hintertüren zur Macht: Internationalismus und modernisierungsorientierte Aussenpolitik in Belgien, der Schweiz und den USA 1865–1914* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2000); D. Laqua, *The Age of Internationalism and Belgium: Peace, Progress and Prestige* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013); W. van Acker and G. Somsen, 'A Tale of Two World Capitals: The Internationalisms of Pieter Eijkman and Paul Otlet', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 90, 4 (2012), 1389–1409; and W. Boyd Rayward (ed.), *Information Beyond Borders: International Cultural and Intellectual Exchange in the Belle Époque* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2014).

⁶ J. Boli and G. M. Thomas (eds.), *Constructing World Culture: International Non-Governmental Organizations since 1875* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999); A. Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996).

expansion of epistemic communities and the need to establish standards, compatible norms, formats, goods and measurements for an increasingly globalised economy and culture.⁷

To date, research has tended to understand internationalism as an umbrella term for a variety of agencies and actors in international relations ranging from multilateral cooperation of states to agreement on a defined concert pitch, from women's organisations to the Socialist International.⁸ In particular, a flourishing interest in technical agreements, transnational movements and global flows has brought the League of Nations back into the focus of research.⁹ Once seen as a paradigm for the institutional failure of liberal internationalism, the League has left the 'enchanted palace'¹⁰ and been presented as an important forerunner of the United Nations system. The League's technical committees, the Secretariat's power of mobilising expertise in various fields¹¹ and the understanding of the League as the locus of a network of international organisations¹² can be seen as an opportunity to hone a historiography aimed at a more global profile without being trapped in Eurocentric imperialism.¹³

Among global historians, the range of the League's system and the persistence of Eurocentrism have called for closer analysis of the actors involved. Scholars of area studies,¹⁴ postcolonial approaches and transculturality have investigated the diversity of border-crossing entanglements

⁷ C. Murphy, *International Organization and Industrial Change: Global Governance since 1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); D. Laqua (ed.), *Internationalism Reconfigured: Transnational Ideas and Movements between the World Wars* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2011); G. Sluga, *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013); P. Clavin, *Securing the World Economy: The Reinvention of the League of Nations, 1920–1946* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

⁸ A. Iriye and P.-Y. Saunier (eds.), *The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 586–590.

⁹ E. Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment. Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); S. Pedersen, 'Back to the League of Nations: Review Essay', *American Historical Review* 112, 4 (2007), 1091–1117; M. Herren, *Internationale Organisationen seit 1865. Eine Globalgeschichte der internationalen Ordnung* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2009).

¹⁰ M. Mazower, *No Enchanted Palace: The End of Empire and the Ideological Origins of the United Nations* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2009).

¹¹ P. Clavin and S. Amrith, 'Feeding the World: Connecting Europe and Asia, 1930–1945', *Transnationalism and Contemporary Global History, Past and Present Supplement*, R. Mitter and M. Hilton (eds.), 218, 8 (2013), 29–50.

¹² The League of Nations Search Engine, www.lonsea.de (accessed 6 November 2014).

¹³ E. S. Rosenberg (ed.), *A History of the World. A World Connecting, 1870–1945* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2012).

¹⁴ T. Fischer, *Souveränität der Schwachen. Lateinamerika und der Völkerbund, 1920–1936* (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 2012).

beyond the Western nation states.¹⁵ A central issue is the extent to which global entanglements have influenced and compromised the nation state in its democratic and liberal form. In recent studies, internationalism is seen both as a phenomenon of nationalism and a movement beyond it. The idea of ‘claiming the international beyond international relations’ opens up new ways of describing and documenting the ‘international’¹⁶ as part of a debate that critically investigates fascist contributions to internationalism in its 1930s version.

At the same time, the overwhelmingly broad research literature on fascism has started to go beyond fine differentiation between the national socialist and the Italian version of fascism, and beyond discussions about totalitarianism. With Roger Griffin’s suggestion of the ‘fascist minimum’,¹⁷ a range of political movements including those outside Europe can now be described as fascist, including the Japanese case. In addition, his definition of fascism as a ‘genus of political ideology whose mythic core in its various permutations is a palingenetic form of populist ultranationalism’¹⁸ helps us to understand how anti-internationalist strategies used and transformed existing trans-boundary networks to promote the transnational spread of fascism¹⁹ and how palingenetic forms of internationalism strengthened connections between the Axis Powers, beyond a German–Italian Eurocentrism.

‘Fascist internationalism’ remains at once a highly contested notion and an emerging field of research. For Bauerkämper, fascist internationalism as a contradiction in terms had ‘broad support from historians and has practically achieved a consensus’ – with the result that ‘cross-border interactions have been largely dismissed in historical scholarship’.²⁰ By contrast, *Fascism: Journal of Comparative Fascist Studies*, launched in 2012, reflects growing scholarly interest in a variety of fascist transnational institutions such as the Fasci Italiani all’Estero and the National

¹⁵ D. Sachsenmeier, *Global Perspectives on Global History, Theories and Approaches in a Connected World* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

¹⁶ A. B. Tickner and D. L. Blaney (eds.), *Claiming the International* (London/New York: Routledge, 2013).

¹⁷ R. Griffin (ed.), *International Fascism: Theories, Causes and the ‘New Consensus’* (London: Hodder, 1998); W. Wippermann, *Faschismus. Eine Weltgeschichte vom 19. Jahrhundert bis heute* (Darmstadt: Primus Verlag, 2009); C. P. Blamires (ed.), *World Fascism: A Historical Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO, 2006); G. Sørensen and R. Mallet (eds.), *International Fascism, 1919–1945* (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2002).

¹⁸ R. Griffin, *The Nature of Fascism* (London, New York: Routledge Digital Printing, 2006), 26.

¹⁹ E.g., F. Finchelstein, *Transatlantic Fascism: Ideology, Violence, and the Sacred in Argentina and Italy, 1919–1945* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2010).

²⁰ A. Bauerkämper, ‘Interwar Fascism in Europe and Beyond: Toward a Transnational Radical Right’, in M. Durham and M. Power (eds.), *New Perspectives on the Transnational Right* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 40.

Socialist Auslandsorganisationen, in the development of fascist groups in Britain around Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists, in Spain and in Latin American countries, in India, Palestine, Russia and the Arabic-speaking countries.²¹

Only recently have attempts begun to investigate the structural character of fascist transnational strategies as internationalism and fascist internationalism as a state-driven strategy of global governance. This has led to new historical interpretations of agreements among Axis Powers in the fields of military and cultural cooperation.²² As Menzel Meskill suggested in 1966, the Axis can be interpreted as a platform of interdependence: the Tripartite Pact explicitly mentioned various forms of cooperation and technology exchange and was not limited to military operations.²³ In addition, research on international gatherings in sports events and fascist-dominated institutions²⁴ disclosed the ambivalent character of fascist internationalism. When Japan joined the Axis Powers, liberal, Western-centred internationalism stood under the influence of fascism, whereas the League of Nations as an institutionalised form of what Arnold Toynbee once called 'thoroughgoing internationalism' also shaped fascist conceptions of global governance. Historians are still investigating prominent examples of fascist international organisations (the Internationale Rechtskammer);²⁵ however, source material documenting fascist contributions to this 'thoroughgoing internationalism' are widely available and not limited to the West, especially if our research protocol includes international activities during the Second World War.

Sources documenting fascist internationalism can be found in the usual areas of internationalist activities, in the documentation of World's Fairs and in the publications of international organisations and congresses. Although the World's Fairs of Tokyo (1940) and Rome (1942) did not

²¹ As an example see Finchelstein, *Transatlantic Fascism*.

²² L. Schouenborg, *The Scandinavian International Society* (London/New York: Routledge, 2013), 57ff.; D. Hedinger, 'Universal Fascism and its Global Legacy: Italy's and Japan's Entangled History in the Early 1930s', *Fascism. Journal of Comparative Fascist Studies* 2 (2013), 141–160.

²³ J. Menzel Meskill, *Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan: The Hollow Diplomatic Alliance* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Aldine Transaction, 2012).

²⁴ A. Teja, 'Italian Sport and International Relations under Fascism', in P. Arnaud and J. Riordan (eds.), *Sport and International Politics: The Impact of Fascism and Communism on Sport* (London: E & F. N. Spon, 1998), 147ff. The League of Nations' International Educational Cinematographic Institute had its headquarters in Rome. The International Film Chamber, founded in Germany in 1935, consolidated the film policy of the axis. R. Ben-Ghiat, *Italian Fascism's Empire Cinema* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015).

²⁵ M. Reimann and R. Zimmermann (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); M. Stolleis, *A History of Public Law in Germany, 1914–1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 151.

eventuate, both led to extensive groundwork that coincided with Japanese lobbying for the right to host the Olympic Games the same year the universal exhibition was planned.²⁶ Esposizione Universale di Roma (EUR; World's Fair of Rome), is still the name of a sizeable section of the city of Rome to this day, presenting the long-lasting consequences of a never-opened but planned and built fascist global meeting point. In both cases, the exhibitions were planned to connect a modernist self-representation with paligenetic myths, celebrating the 2600th anniversary of Japan and uniting the idea of the Roman Empire with the 20th anniversary of Mussolini's march to Rome, respectively. In addition, the fascist state of Manchukuo enhanced its profile in the West through English-language publications distributed by the South Manchurian Railway Company showcasing economic success and modernist cultural values in films and glossy journals and in exhibitions starting with the Chicago World's Fair in 1933.²⁷ Because these regimes preferred ultra-nationalist profiles, the question remains whether the fascist states shared a common understanding of internationalism, particularly since they developed at differing paces.

In the 1920s, Italy was the only fascist state integrated in the League of Nations and participating in the cultural enhancement of the League as a whole. Ten years later, in the 1930s, fascist internationalism at the League developed from three nodes: Italy, Germany and Japan. Whereas Italian–German political tensions hampered a unified global fascism until the Italian attack on Abyssinia in 1935, the newly founded state of Manchukuo and its Japanese supporters outstripped both Italian fascism and German national socialism in their international character and presence. The shift in Japanese politics was grafted onto long-standing international experience. As Liang Pan notes in Chapter 8 of this volume, Japanese internationalism had been an integral part of its membership of the League of Nations since its foundations. With Nitobe Inazo as Under-Secretary-General of the League of Nations, Japanese transnational educational and cultural relations influenced the League's own approach to intellectual cooperation.

²⁶ In Berlin in 1936, Japan announced its intention to host the next Olympic Games and withdrew from the organisation in 1940. The Japanese government used various channels and opportunities for lobbying, including the Interparliamentary Union and the 1937 coronation of George VI.

²⁷ For the promotion of Manchukuo, see the presentation of the old summer residence and temples of the Manchu emperors in T. Sekino et al., *Jehol: The Most Glorious & Monumental Relicts in Manchoukuo* (Tokyo: The Zauho Press, 1934). As an example of propaganda films, see Beaux Art Production, Manchukuo, *The Newborn Empire*, accessed 8 July 2015, www.youtube.com/watch?v=EHYWnoVr-RE&feature=youtu.be

Italian, German and Japanese versions of fascist internationalism had unique issues and orientations which nonetheless merged into a common understanding of a fascist League of Nations to be established after victory. Each of the Axis Powers transformed and employed those structures left by the League of Nations in their respective countries even after the withdrawal of these states from the League. In Italy, agrarian international organisations remained at the centre of governmental interest and bolstered the importance of the International Institute of Agriculture (headquartered in Rome) as well as ongoing connections to the League of Nations. In Germany, the *Liga für den Völkerbund* became the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerrecht und Weltpolitik*, a platform for debate about a fascist form of international law. In Japan, the former League of Nations Association turned into a ‘society for international cultural relations’, just one of many government-controlled cultural organisations²⁸ aimed at the ‘enhancement of Japanese and Oriental culture abroad’.²⁹ In both the Italian and the Japanese cases, cultural internationalism went back to other League organisations, both the Committee on and the Institute of Intellectual Cooperation. This forerunner of today’s United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) gave rise to national organs of intellectual cooperation that were transformed into instruments of fascist propaganda in the 1930s.³⁰

Paving the Way: Japan and the Case of Manchukuo

Fascist internationalism as a specific form of global governance based on a palingenetic and ultranationalist reformulation of the League of Nations’ aims started in Asia and was linked closely to the Japanese conquest of Manchuria and the creation of the state of Manchukuo. In 1931, ‘the Manchurian incident’ gained enormous attention in Western media and popular culture, ranging from Hergé’s well-known Tintin series (first a serialised strip) *The Blue Lotus*,³¹ to scholarly debates in the Institute of Pacific Relations and, in academia, in the new discipline

²⁸ T. Saikawa, ‘From Intellectual Co-operation to International Cultural Exchange: Japan and China in the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations, 1922–1939’, Ph.D. thesis, University of Heidelberg (2014).

²⁹ See the League of Nations Search Engine, accessed 6 November 2014, www.lonsea.de/pub/org/1256

³⁰ In Italy, the relevant national organisation was integrated into the *Istituzione nazionale per le relazioni culturali con l'estero*. Article 13 of the constitution regulated the dissolution of the national committee of international cooperation. *Archiv für das Recht der Internationalen Organisationen*, 1 (1940), 125.

³¹ Hergé, ‘*Les aventures de Tintin: Le Lotus bleu*’, published 1934/1935 in the children’s supplement *Le Petit Vingtième* of the Belgian newspaper *Le Vingtième Siècle*.

of international relations.³² From the very beginning, the ‘incident’ had a reach beyond the question of whether the League’s ‘conciliation machinery’ had prevented war. The Chinese government had asked for mediation after the Japanese attack on Chinese territory. In accordance with the League’s reconciliation mechanism, an investigative committee headed by Lord Lytton was sent to Asia. The findings substantially increased Western awareness of Asia and fostered a debate on Asian forms of global governance that gave rise to the marriage of Japanese imperialism with Western concepts. In a 1933 article, George Blakeslee, an expert attached to the Lytton Commission, discussed the notion of a Japanese Monroe Doctrine, linking Japan with practices of dominance accepted in the West.³³ At this time, the public discourse in many countries interpreted Japanese withdrawal from the League of Nations as the starting point for the creation of an Asian League. In growing parallels between the United States and Japan, Manchukuo shifted from a ‘puppet state’ to the more familiar model of a state within a major power’s sphere of influence – analogous to the relationship between the United States and Mexico or the Caribbean states.

As a special version of regional internationalism, Japanese aggression against China called in contemporary debates for a different reading even to that covered by Article 21 of the League’s Covenant, which protected ‘international engagements’ with explicit reference to the Monroe Doctrine.³⁴ Moreover, Japanese internationalism increased with the Manchurian incident and the creation of the state of Manchukuo even before the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere became the wartime expression of Japanese imperialism. With Japanese support, Manchukuo compensated for its lack of recognition by the League of Nations with global propaganda campaigns.³⁵ In both World’s Fairs – Chicago 1933 and New York 1939/40 – the Japanese found a global stage for presenting Manchukuo as the union of modernity and tradition. When it came to research and academic networks, the new state had the support of the South Manchurian Railway Company, ‘one of the largest research organisations in the world

³² T. Akami, *Internationalizing the Pacific: The United States, Japan, and the Institute of Pacific Relations in War and Peace, 1919–1945* (London/New York: Routledge, 2003).

³³ G. H. Blakeslee, ‘The Japanese Monroe Doctrine’, *Foreign Affairs* 1, 4 (1933), 671–681.

³⁴ Article 21: ‘Nothing in this Covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace’. ‘The Versailles Treaty, June 28, 1919’, *The Avalon Project*, accessed 6 November 2014, <http://avalon.law.yale.edu/imt/parti.asp>

³⁵ P. Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity: Manchukuo and the East Asia Modern* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003).

until 1945'.³⁶ Since the Company often acted on behalf of the state, the transnational spread of films, photos, texts and sound recordings reached all those who had followed the League of Nations' lead and denied Manchukuo diplomatic recognition.³⁷ The powerful semi-official South Manchuria Railway Company financed research and film coverage and distributed bilingual propaganda through its international liaison offices, sending the world a picture of a young and dynamic state. As a result, a fascist state-building process claimed to realise the utopian dream of a modern society created in a hinterland liberated from warlords. The newly built and renamed capital Hsinking (Xinjing) with its urban modernity made a deep impression worldwide and attracted intellectuals beyond the mainstream of fascist movements.³⁸

As an apparently sovereign state dependent on Japan, the foundation of Manchukuo can be viewed as a dividing point in the history of Japanese internationalism. First, propaganda and claims for international recognition of sovereignty blurred the lines between the activities of an international civil society and the international relations between states. Second, the Manchurian incident, as an attack against China, started the Second World War in Asia, alienated Japan from the League of Nations and established a totalitarian regime in Tokyo. In this context, internationalism remained an active but transformed idea used in widespread propaganda activities recently described by Tomoko Akami as the Japanese version of soft power.³⁹ In the 1930s, the League and Western internationalism remained reference points for building genuine forms of Japanese-dominated global governance. The former national League of Nations Organisation in Japan was reorganised and reappeared as Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai,⁴⁰ with the aim of enhancing Eastern culture abroad. Internationalism as an expression and political concept remained a topic in public debates in Asia. The Japanese strategy influenced parts of the anti-colonial movement in Asia (here, the example of the Indian nationalist Subhas Chandra Bose, who also approached the German Nazi regime, is instructive) and spread different, often controversial ideas of Japanese-shaped global governance. In the 1940s, Japanese

³⁶ Duara, *Sovereignty*, 48.

³⁷ As an example, see South Manchuria Railway Company (ed.), *Economic Construction Program of Manchukuo, Issued on the First Anniversary by the Manchukuo Government, March 1, 1933* (New York: Office of the South Manchuria Railway Company, 1933).

³⁸ D. D. Buck, 'Railway City and National Capital. Two Faces of the Modern in Changchun', in J. Esherick (ed.), *Remaking the Chinese City: Modernity and National Identity, 1900 to 1950* (York, Penn.: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 65–89.

³⁹ T. Akami, *Soft Power of Japan's Total War State: The Board of Information and Domei News Agency in Foreign Policy, 1934–45* (Dordrecht: Republic of Letters, 2014).

⁴⁰ See www.lonsea.de/pub/org/1256, accessed 30 December 2014.

imperialist plans of domination merged military control with internationalism through the idea of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. This idea found a platform in the international Greater East Asia Conferences, which were not dissimilar to Western forms of internationalist conferencing, although the organisers wanted these gatherings understood as a better, Eastern form of internationalism.⁴¹

Japanese internationalist activities not only blurred the lines between civil society and state in a way typical of fascism, they also had a religious impact that went beyond national borders. Ishiwara Kanji, general of the Kwantung army and one of those responsible for the Manchurian incident, merged Buddhism and German military traditions in his vision of the Pure Land attainable only through war. For our purposes, the important lessons to be learnt from the Japanese version of internationalism include the close entanglement of militarism and nationalism with internationalist traditions, the successful blurring of institutional and cultural borders, the paligenetic use of Buddhist traditions and modernist strategies and the effective cultural translation of fascist internationalism into daily life. Propaganda kimonos showed the inscription of internationalism on the body of the idealised fascist new men and women in a very literal sense.⁴²

The European Version of Fascist Internationalism: From Internationalising Fascist Parties to the Global Networking Model

By 1934, two competing conceptions of fascist internationalism had emerged in Europe. One traced its roots to National Socialist propaganda, the other to an international conference of fascist parties in Montreux organised by the Italian *Comitati d’Azione per l’Universalità di Roma* (CAUR), under the direction of Eugenio Coselschi. Both concepts followed a transnational path with more or less hidden governmental support: the German version focused on infiltration of international networks of all kinds, whereas CAUR aimed at uniting fascist parties in a way similar to the Socialist International. New research contradicts a long-held impression of the complete failure of CAUR, pointing out

⁴¹ See J. Reich Abel, ‘Warring Internationalisms: Multilateral Thinking in Japan’, 1933–1964, Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University (2004). Abel describes the Greater East Asian Joint Declaration (1943) as closely related to Western internationalism and resembling to the Atlantic Charter (Reich 2004, 157).

⁴² Norman Brosterman, ‘Propaganda Kimono collection’, accessed 8 July 2015, www.brosterman.com/kimonos.html; Jacqueline M. Atkins (ed.), *Wearing Propaganda: Textiles on the Home Front in Japan, Britain, and the United States, 1931–1945* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

the fact that this organisation expressed Mussolini's overarching strategy for internationalisation: replacing the spread of the well-known ideologies of socialism *and* liberalism with a universally applicable fascism.⁴³

Also in 1934, the prestigious Berlin Medical Society announced the foundation of a 'scientific congress centre' covertly underwritten by the new Reichspropagandaministerium (Ministry of Propaganda). The centre quickly gained a high profile by supporting national scientific institutions for the organisation of international scientific conferences such as the Deutsche Kongress-Zentrale (DKZ).⁴⁴ Under Dr Alfred Knapp, the new institution developed a program with roots in both the 1929 Welt-Reklame Kongress (World Advertising Conference) in Berlin and the German Reklame-Verband, an association committed to the national socialist movement at an early stage, active since 1933.⁴⁵

Knapp's handbook for government-driven propaganda mentioned German-Italian cooperation,⁴⁶ but fascism contributed to an already well-established field of interest. He cited examples and quoted people active in transnational advertising (described by Joseph Nye as 'soft power'). Knapp held up as models Pierre Comert, former section chief in the League of Nations secretariat and press officer of the French Foreign ministry, and the French lawyer and Communist pacifist Pierre Cot.⁴⁷ For the UK, Knapp cited the Royal Colonial Institute, the short-lived Empire Marketing Board, and colonial research institutions at SOAS, among others. His overview even included Soviet propaganda as a successful lobbying strategy in China and Persia; the long-lasting contacts between the Japanese government and the German internationalist Wilhelm Ostwald; various examples of American transnational activities

⁴³ A. Kallis, *The Third Rome 1922–1943: The Making of the Fascist Capital* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

⁴⁴ M. Herren, "'Outwardly ... an Innocuous Conference Authority'", *National Socialism and the Logistics of International Information Management*, *German History* 20, 1 (2002), 67–92. See also M. F. Plöger, *Soziologie in totalitären Zeiten: Zu Leben und Werk von Ernst Wilhelm Eschmann, 1904–1987* (Münster/Berlin: LIT-Verlag, 2007).

⁴⁵ A. Schug, "'Deutsche Kultur' und Werbung: Studien zur Geschichte der Wirtschaftswerbung von 1918 bis 1945", Ph.D. thesis, HU Berlin (2011). W. Senneborg, 'Propaganda als Populärkultur? Werbestrategien und Werbepraxis im faschistischen Italien und in NS-Deutschland', in A. Nolzen and S. Reichhardt (eds.), *Faschismus in Italien und Deutschland: Studien zu Transfer und Vergleich* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2005), 119–147.

⁴⁶ A. Knapp, 'Eine Reichswerbestelle tut not. Denkschrift über die Forderung einer Reichswerbestelle und die Umreißung ihrer Aufgabe' (Berlin: Elsnerdruck, n.d.), Germany, 'Deutsche Kongress-Zentrale Records', Box 373, Hoover Institution Archives.

⁴⁷ Cot was as a Communist pacifist and minister in the governments of Leon Blum and supported republican Spain. See R. C. S. Trahair and R. Miller, *Encyclopedia of Cold War Espionage, Spies, and Secret Operations* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2004), 67–69.

ranging from the YMCA to US higher education strategies; and the Pan-American Union to the Chinese Boxer indemnities (financial compensation paid by the Chinese to the eight nations that had sent military forces against the uprising in 1900).⁴⁸

Via Regina Elena 86: The Italian Contribution to the Merging of Liberal Internationalism and Fascism

After the First World War, fascist Italy took an active part in the development of internationalism as a member of the League of Nations until its withdrawal in 1937. I will now address the development of connections between those League-related international organisations and their Italian membership and the extent to which fascist-influenced institutions emulated existing organisations.⁴⁹ Although a diversity of newly founded organisations shaped Italian internationalism – including the International Institute for the Unification of Private Law in Rome, founded in 1928 – one was crucial to Italian-controlled international networks: the International Institute of Agriculture (IIA), founded in 1905 with its seat in Rome.

From the late 1920s onwards, the Italian government continuously reinvented the IIA as an instrument of fascist internationalism. First, it replaced the IIA secretariat with fascist party members.⁵⁰ Then, in 1930, Italian law transformed the IIA into an international body with diplomatic immunity.⁵¹ Shortly before, the Institute had broadened its scope to resemble the League of Nations. The most important of these developments were an international scientific council, the Conseil International Scientifique Agricole (CISA), and the Commission Internationale Permanente des Associations Agricoles (CIPA), both founded in 1927. Whereas the League's Secretariat published a *Handbook of International Organisations* listing all the international bodies related to the League, CIPA regularly published guides including all member agricultural associations. These guides paid special attention to non-European institutions,⁵² thus fulfilling a commitment made in 1927 during the

⁴⁸ Knapp, 'Reichswerbestelle'.

⁴⁹ The Unione delle Fiere Internazionali emulated the International Exhibition Bureau, founded in 1931, with its seat in Paris and one of the rare international organisations under the direction of the League. *Archiv für das Recht der Internationalen Organisationen*, 1 (1940), 111–115.

⁵⁰ Giacomo Acerbo acted as president of the permanent committee, Guido Cobolli as vice president; both were simultaneously delegates of the Argentine government.

⁵¹ 'Legge del 20 giugno 1930, no. 1075, sulla concessione delle immunità'. Quoted in Giovanni Carrara, 'L'Istituto Internazionale di Agricoltura Ordinamento e Natura Giuridica', *Archiv für das Recht der Internationalen Organisationen* 3 (1942), 22.

⁵² For Europe-Afrique, see International Institute of Agriculture, Permanent Commission of Agricultural Associations (ed.), *Guide internationale des associations agricoles adhérentes à*

first session of CISA and CIPA when tropical and subtropical agriculture became the topic of a newly created subcommission of CISA.⁵³ The politics of gathering different organisations under the umbrella of the IIA continued into the 1930s and did not stop after the withdrawal of Italy from the League of Nations in 1937.

Within the manifold universe of agrarian organisations – from rural broadcasting to the International Federation of Agricultural Brainworkers – Germany's version of fascist internationalism remained closely allied with the IIA under Italian control. In March 1938, the permanent committee of the IIA accepted the bylaws of the Internationale Forstzentrale / Centre International de Sylviculture / International Centre of Sylviculture, seated in Berlin. Closely connected to IIA, this centre gained access to the formidable networks of IIA member states and even obscured its German origin – the letterhead read 'Institut International d'Agriculture – Centre International de Sylviculture'.⁵⁴ Interestingly, in April 1940, the German government enshrined the diplomatic and extraterritorial character of this organisation in law.⁵⁵ There is a remarkable disjuncture in the political importance of the centre, its apparently expert-oriented focus and its missing historiographical presence.⁵⁶ However, the variety of agrarian organisations and their political interference are difficult to analyse, especially since new international organisations created domestic problems and tensions among various governmental institutions. In Germany, the International Congress of

la C.I.P.A., vol. III (Rome: Imprimerie Eredi G. Artero, 1938). For Amérique, Asie, Australie, see International Institute of Agriculture, Permanent Commission of Agricultural Associations, *Guide international des associations agricoles adhérentes à la C.I.P.A., avec un appendice au vol. I et des notes*, vol. II (Rome: La Chambre des Députés, 1936).

⁵³ For their members, see A. Chevalier, 'L'Agriculture Tropicale et Subtropicale au conseil international scientifique de l'Institut international d'agriculture de Rome (7–14 novembre 1927)', *Revue de botanique appliquée et d'agriculture coloniale* 77 (1928), 1–21.

⁵⁴ Article 14, 'Statuten der Internationalen Forstzentrale, angenommen durch das Comité Permanent des Internationalen Landwirtschaftsinstituts in seiner Sitzung vom März 1938', *Archiv für das Recht der Internationalen Organisationen* 1 (1940), 101.

⁵⁵ 'Gesetz über die Verleihung besonderer Rechte an die Internationale Forstzentrale', in *Deutsches Reichsgesetzblatt* I (1940), 613. *Archiv für das Recht der Internationalen Organisationen* 1 (1940), 66–67.

⁵⁶ Article 1: 'Die Zentrale ist eine dem Landwirtschaftsinstitut angegliederte Sonderinstitution, die unter der Obhut der verfassungsmäßigen Organe des Landwirtschaftsinstituts steht', in 'Statuten der Internationalen Forstzentrale, angenommen durch das Comité Permanent des Internationalen Landwirtschaftsinstituts in seiner Sitzung vom März 1938', *Archiv für das Recht der Internationalen Organisationen* 1 (1940), 97. The *Forstzentrale* included the representation of *Silva Mediterranea*; for its history, see B. Salem, 'Report: A Short History of *Silva Mediterranea*', FAO Corporate Document Repository, accessed 6 November 2014, www.fao.org/docrep/r9400e/r9400e08.htm

Tropical and Sub-Tropical Agriculture was perceived as a move by the IIA to take over colonial questions. 'Agriculture des Pays chauds' was already the ambit of an international scientific organisation located in Paris. When a conference on tropical and subtropical agriculture was planned for Tripoli in March 1939, Rome took over.

The IIA was just one hub of activity, closely related to another focal point of fascist agrarian activism. Although some agrarian organisations had their seat in Rome at Villa Umberto I along with the IIA, another hub was at Via Regina Elena 86. Many fascist organisations, including the Istituto fascista di tecnica e propaganda agraria, shared the same address. There was much overlap: the IIA was also mentioned as a member of many of the organisations at Via Regina Elena. However, those organisations addressed different areas, were comparatively young (from the 1930s) and created considerable political turbulence. Until 1930, Swiss representatives at the IIA conferences reported with concern a decrease in IIA membership and an increase in international organisations of uncertain, semi-official and fascist status. It is remarkable that the global economic crisis did not lead to a reduction in the number of international organisations. Yet, at least in the case of agrarian fascist internationalism, it seems that the overall increase of organisations was a result of the many new organisations whose foundation was supported by the fascist state. Since their subjects introduced an agrarian aspect into almost all areas of internationalism, these organisations competed against already existing networks and developed considerable political power in mobilising agrarian concerns. The organisations at Via Regina Elena included the Fédération internationale de la presse agricole, the Office international pour l'enseignement agricole, the International Center of Rural Broadcast, the International Federation of Technical Agriculturists (FITA), and the International Agricultural Credit Conference, among others. Not all were of equal importance. Contemporary German and Swiss observers referred to FITA as the leading tool of Italian fascist internationalism, one that had played a crucial role in the organisation of the Tripoli conference.

Although the paper trail from international gatherings gets patchy in the lead-up to 1939, agrarian internationalism survived comfortably into the war. The IIA did not close its doors or leave Rome. Up until 1939, the IIA investigated wartime agriculture (potatoes, not flowers). With the war, the German wing of IIA, the Internationale Forstzentrale, finally amassed the requisite number of members to found an international organisation. The last membership fee paid for the Forstzentrale arrived in Berlin in May 1945, after Germany's capitulation.

The German Case: Fascist Information Management

In 1936, an order of the Führer (*Führererlass*) substantively enhanced the position of the DKZ. From then on, this institution dictated the structure of and admission to international conferences and congresses in Germany. Since all participants in international congresses abroad needed foreign currency, the DKZ as authorising agency wielded considerable influence over German contributions to international gatherings abroad. Currency control resulted in an immense database of persons applying to participate in international congresses. In the domestic context, the DKZ developed a specialised agency which provided organisers with precise schedules, politically approved translators and standardised propaganda materials from fliers to stickers, from ladies' programs to seating arrangements. By the eve of the Second World War, the DKZ had become a shadowy actor in the background of international relations, with considerable power and an increasingly racist and anti-Semitic profile. Under the guidance of Karl Schweig, the DKZ staked a political claim of its own, legitimising the nation's contribution to international congresses and organisations. Annual reports outlined the development of international activities in Europe and underscored the significance of 3,000 associations comprising 25 million members.

Second World War Fascist Internationalism: The Imagined Universe of 581 International Organisations in 1943

In the wartime 1940s, in Rome, Berlin, Tokyo, Sofia, Budapest, Madrid and Hsinking, in the capitals of other allies of the Axis states and in occupied territories, a fascist internationalism resulted in international gatherings and even the foundation of several international organisations. From 1939 to 1944, the German foreign ministry published an expensive glossy journal called *Berlin – Rom – Tokio* aimed at documenting a cultural space described as a world policy 'triangle' with the mission of creating a new world order⁵⁷ and envisioning the continuous expansion of the Anti-Comintern Pact and cultural agreements among fascist states. The journal published the usual news of military success. It also blurred distinctions between formal diplomatic entities through visual imagery of transcultural entanglements: from photos of demonstrations showing the German swastika in Hsinking to crowds in Germany visiting Japanese art exhibitions. Series of expensive art prints with German, Italian and

⁵⁷ For the journal, see P. Longerich, *Propagandisten im Krieg: Die Presseabteilung des Auswärtigen Amtes unter Ribbentrop* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1987).

Japanese contributions were launched featuring thematic landscapes and images of heroes, conflating the Samurai with German and Italian images of the ideal soldier.

While the Axis Powers celebrated the triangle as a cultural space, German troops boosted the numbers of international organisations under fascist influence with the German campaign in Western Europe. Two-thirds of existing international organisations came under the control of the occupying power, which systematically looted their archives. When the DKZ organised the transfer of this booty to its main seat in Berlin, a considerable number of international organisations lost their memories, as it were, with far-reaching consequences to the United Nations system. The DKZ archives reveal a German collection of newly organised looted source material from international organisations previously located in Belgium, the Netherlands and in Paris. The collection offers an insight into Nazi views of reusable forms of internationalism. Moreover, the documents constitute strong empirical evidence of fascist interest in internationalism.

At the end of the war, Allied troops confiscated the incomplete but still vital DKZ archives in Berlin, which were sold to the Hoover Institution Archives in Stanford, California, as 'scientific material'.⁵⁸ The sources now available are a poorly organised and chaotic mix of DKZ-related papers and looted documents. However, the holdings answer the question of why the DKZ had used the army and Gestapo to locate the archives of international organisations in the occupied territories rather than simply shut them down: an international information hub was in the works. Moreover, with the German decision to permit the existence of international organisations even outside the triangle, fascist internationalism needed new controlling mechanisms. To this end, a reinterpretation of the legal standing of international organisations came up for discussion in wartime Germany.

In 1941–1942, DKZ director Schweig travelled frequently from Berlin to Paris, Brussels, Lisbon, Madrid, Stockholm and Vienna. He organised the transport of looted archival material from occupied territories to the main seat of the DKZ in Berlin. He announced the publication of an archive of international associations in Europe, which, in structure and layout, copied the League of Nations' handbook of international organisations.⁵⁹ While the DKZ staff sorted material and decided which

⁵⁸ Herren, *Outwardly*. DKZ sources registered in 'The Hoover Institution Archives, Register of the Germany, Deutsche Kongress-Zentrale Records, 1870–1943', accessed 5 May 2016, <http://www.oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/tf0d5n9790/>.

⁵⁹ Parallels to the League continued in the establishment of liaison offices in neutral states (e.g., in Zurich, Switzerland).

organisation to close (socialist and Jewish organisations), undercut (the Union of International Associations in Brussels) or transform and/or create (the European Postal Union), a newly established body initiated a legal discourse on international organisations in fascist states. Founded in 1941, the Internationale Rechtskammer (International Chamber of Law) was the most striking product of fascist internationalism in its German incarnation. It reflects the increasing importance of international organisations to the fascist system with the support of high-ranking officials.⁶⁰ The founders and crucial figures attached to the International Chamber of Law point us to the difference between the liberal expert community (e.g., Institute of International Law, founded in 1873) and the fascist version, using international law as a political strategy and not as an international platform of academic expertise. The address of the organisation mirrors its intersections: the Chamber shared a building at Unter den Linden 27 in Berlin with the Reichspropagandaministerium. In addition, the Chamber shaped and visualised the fascist universe with Bulgaria, Denmark, Germany, Finland, Japan, Italy, Rumania, Spain, Portugal, Hungary, the Netherlands, Belgium and Croatia as member states. The Chamber even produced its own journal, the *Archiv für das Recht der Internationalen Organisationen*, published from 1940 to 1943. The importance of this journal is underscored by its existence despite the paper shortage of the period. The journal documented the legal status of international organisations among the Axis Powers, thereby initiating a new, legally specific understanding of internationalism. The *Archiv* collected legal decisions by fascist regimes on internationalism, presenting everything from the immediate interdiction of international organisations in Bulgaria in 1940 to the astonishingly far-reaching rights granted by the German state to certain organisations following those established in Italy in the 1930s. Several articles addressed the legal status of international organisations vis-à-vis their host states and whether or not military occupation of the respective territory influenced their status. Interestingly, the League of Nations here again served as a reference point, although in a rather unexpected way: journal contributors proposed the League of Nations' mandates system as a model for exercising legally approved control over international organisations. In reference to the question of whether or not fascist occupation was an imperialist

⁶⁰ Minister Hans Frank, General Governor of Poland, was the president; Hellmuth Pfeiffer, a high-ranking lawyer in the Reichspropagandaministerium, was the Secretary General. The Director of DKZ acted as vice-president, and Helmuth Aschenbrenner was on the editorial board of the Chamber's journal.

project,⁶¹ the mandate as a concept in international relations transformed international organisations into agencies subordinate to the nation state. The fascist reading assigned supervising responsibilities to states with international offices.

These ideas belong to a forgotten aspect of the Second World War. Although never published, the 1943 German version of a handbook of international organisations envisions a fascist internationalism reliant on existing organisations stripped of their liberal background and looted but apparently still indispensable. In addition, newly created organisations and treaties served, on the one hand, to support the triangle of the Axis; on the other hand, ‘European’ organisations claimed a leading role in those fields where the Public International Unions still existed and worked in territories beyond the reach of the German army.⁶²

The years 1942–1943 marked a turning point in the German version of fascist internationalism. In November 1942, a *Führererlass* decreed that all forms of transborder contact was the remit of the foreign ministry. This decision enhanced the foreign ministry’s scope of action beyond the limits of formal international contacts between governments – and weakened the DKZ. The DKZ still prosecuted its activities as an information pool for internationalist activities based on the looted material in Berlin. Its staff concentrated on the completion of a handbook of those approved international organisations as part of a new fascist world. When Allied airstrikes on Berlin began in January 1943 and documents needed to be stored in safe bunkers, DKZ personnel worked frantically on an intermediate if incomplete version; the draft still listed an impressive 581 international organisations, whereas the League of Nations registered 667 in 1938. Bearing in mind that all Jewish organisations, international trade unions, left-wing political organisations, pacifist and feminist associations had been expunged from the DKZ version, it is surprising how many organisations were still represented in 1943.

What kinds of organisations, issues and people shaped fascist internationalism in the second half of the Second World War? Although enshrined and implemented in a new legal structure, the fascist state

⁶¹ H. Aschenbrenner, ‘Ueber die Rechtsfähigkeit der Internationalen Organisation’. *Archiv für das Recht der Internationalen Organisationen* 1 (1940), 5–26. For the ongoing value of the mandates system, the question of Germany as mandatory power and the German position, see M. D. Callahan, *A Sacred Trust: The League of Nations and Africa, 1929–1946* (Brighton/Portland, Ore.: Sussex Academic Press, 2004). S. Pedersen, *The Guardians. The League of Nations and the Crisis of Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

⁶² E.g., a European Postal Union, in contrast to the Universal Postal Union with its seat in neutral Switzerland. ‘Outline of a Handbook of International Organisations provided for Publication’, Germany ‘Deutsche Kongress-Zentrale Records’, Box 380, Hoover Institution Archives.

was obviously interested in well-known, established international organisations. An International Olympic Institute claimed as its own the legacy of Pierre de Coubertin, who had died in 1937; the institute had lofty political aims and was located at the prestigious House of German Sport in Berlin. As part of German–Japanese treaties, medical cooperation and hygiene presented another field of importance, its value confirmed by complex networks within Europe. In the fight against tuberculosis, fascist internationalism reinvented an organisation originally seated in Berlin but which had disappeared after the First World War. Resurrected in 1941, the International Association against Tuberculosis had a German–Italian executive committee with a clear political orientation: one of the secretaries, Federico Bochetti, also had a leading role in the *Federazione Nazionale Italiana Fascista per la Lotta contro la Tuberculosis*.

International organisations in occupied territories usually changed staff under pressure from the army and Gestapo. The International Union for the Publication of Customs Tariffs in Brussels had a ‘temporary executive board’ – shorthand for a German takeover. The German Institute for Psychological Research and Psychotherapy, directed by Matthias H. Göring, received considerable financial support during the war and improved the quality of psychotherapy in Germany through close rapport with the International General Medical Society for Psychotherapy headquartered in Zurich.⁶³

In almost all the organisations listed in the national socialist handbook, German executive functions were held by individuals in high-ranking political positions. This is true for the many medical organisations which boasted Leonardo Conti, the Reich Health Leader, as an executive membership; yet even organisations of minor importance attracted players of considerable power and influence. Both the mayor of Munich and Efrem Ferraris, one of Mussolini’s top-ranking officials, served as president and vice-president, respectively, for the *Europaschachbund*, the international organisation of chess players.⁶⁴ Although most areas overlapped, economics and labour decisively shaped the profile of fascist internationalism. Here, the thoroughgoing character of internationalism fit best in corporatist settings. In many international professional associations, German representatives held leading positions as guild masters in the newly organised corporatist structure of the German state – the butchers and master bakers associations, the consortium of hairdressers, all international organisations based in Germany followed this model.

⁶³ G. Cocks, *Psychotherapy in the Third Reich: The Göring Institute* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985).

⁶⁴ To give another example, a member of the general staff was president of the European yachtmen’s association.

By the 1940s, fascist internationalism was based on newly created institutions such as the International Chamber of Law and pursued the global spread of genuine, fascist corporatist structure. However, fascist internationalism consistently reverted to existing international networks, adapted or reformulated in the fascist tenor in a paligenetic way. Sometimes the political rationale was accommodated by the simple addition of a single organisation under a larger umbrella, such as the foundation of the German-Iranian Chamber of Commerce. Fascist internationalism was indeed built on Axis-related reference points: the member states of the international organisations mentioned in the German draft represented the fascist global triangle. These included Japan, China, India and the colonies of the occupied states, but omitted the Soviet Union almost completely. In the fascist universe, Vichy France was explicitly mentioned as a member of the International Union of Telecommunications in Geneva, as were the European powers that, as fascist regimes, had signed the tripartite pact after its founding members Italy, Germany and Japan.⁶⁵ They constituted the nucleus of a new Europe under the direction of Italy and Germany, with strong ties to the Japanese sphere of influence in Asia.

The most striking evidence of international fascist activities in the national socialist handbook consists in the numerous international organisations founded during the war.⁶⁶ These organisations never realised the activities their German founders had foreseen. However, the strong focus on tobacco and its processing may serve as an example of the extent to which the Italian model of agrarian internationalism had impressed internationalists in Berlin and Bremen. Although Japanese activities within wartime fascist internationalism need further investigation, the list in the DKZ files of organisations with Japanese participation underscores the impact of Asian transnationalism on Western networks

⁶⁵ Bulgaria, Romania, Slovakia, Hungary, Croatia, Yugoslavia.

⁶⁶ The following organisations are listed in 'Outline of a Handbook of International Organisations provided for Publication', Germany 'Deutsche Kongress-Zentrale Records', Box 380, Hoover Institution Archives: Institut für tabakfachlichen Unterricht (1940, Bremen), Europäische Schriftsteller-Vereinigung (1941) to promote 'geistige Gemeinschaft und Zusammenarbeit in den europäischen Nationen'; Union Nationaler Journalistenverbände (1941, Vienna); Internationale Filmkammer (Berlin, founded in 1935, reorganised in 1941); Internationale Paracelsusgesellschaft (1941, Salzburg); Internationale Kommission des Tabakhandels; Internationale Gruppe der Pfeifen- und Rauchgeräts-Industrie; Internationale Gruppe der fermentierenden Rohtabakkauffeute; Internationale Gruppe der Zigarettenpapier-Industrie (all newly created in 1941 in Bremen); Internationale Akademie für Staats- und Verwaltungswissenschaften (1942, Berlin); Internationales Komitee für Freiluftziehung (1942, Bielefeld); Europaschachbund (1942, Munich); Gesellschaft für Seehandel (1942, Bremen); and Forschungsstiftung Orienttabak (1942, Sofia (SM_2).

described by Prasenjit Duara.⁶⁷ The combination of a transnationally active Buddhist spiritualism with Western philanthropic organisations found its expression in the Red Swastika Society, an organisation that resembles the Red Cross. Among the Axis Powers, the collective preparation for a World's Fair and Olympic Games in Tokyo was powerfully important, despite the fact that neither event materialised.⁶⁸

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that internationalism in the 1930s not only facilitated and attracted the participation of fascist states but also effected the infiltration of existing internationalism by fascist projects. The 'thoroughgoing' character of internationalism explains why fascist activities were not limited to the attempted creation of a fascist international that found expression in a conference of fascist parties in Montreux in 1934. Although material on fascist internationalism is difficult to source, archival documents from the Deutsche Kongress Zentrale enable a discussion of the scope of fascist internationalism in theory and practice. In many cases more a vision than reality, the converted and newly created international gatherings and institutions give insight into an overarching internationalist structure and the significance of an international imaginary that even the Axis powers considered as indispensable for their implementation of the dark side of global governance.

⁶⁷ P. Duara, 'Transnationalism and the Predicament of Sovereignty: China, 1900–1945', *American Historical Review* 102, 4 (1997), 1030–1051.

⁶⁸ In the Japanese interpretation, the Olympic spirit became part of a universalistic endeavour aimed at the harmonious blending of the two cultures: see *The Organising Committee of the XIIth Olympiad, Report of the Organizing Committee on Its Work for the XIIth Olympic Games in Tokyo until Relinquishment* (Tokyo: Isshiki Printing, 1940), 22.