

International conference

**THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS:  
The First Global Peacekeeping Organization  
in the Changing World –  
Interdependences and Reflexions**

under the auspices  
of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic,  
the President of Czech Academy of Sciences  
and the Rector of the Charles University

Held on:  
3–4 November 2022  
The Czech Academy of Sciences

Venue:  
Apollon's Hall and Adalbert Lounge of Vila Lanna,  
V Sadech 1, Prague 6

**Annotation:**

When the last shots of the just-finished war fell silent in November 1918, it became clear that the emerging post-war period was an opportunity to transform Europe, or even the entire world order. Subsequent talks in Paris set the framework for international relations at a time when Europe and the world were amid war and peace and faced various crises, or smaller and larger conflicts.

The principle of balance of power was changed with the principle of collective security and founding of a new world organization. Thus, the League of Nations, founded in 1920, along with other world organizations (Nansen International Office of Refugees, International Criminal Police Commission, etc.), aimed to minimize the possibility of repeating major wars in the future and to create an ideal global community with full cooperation in the political, economic, social and cultural spheres.

The conference intends to provide answers to questions how the League of Nations functioned in post-war Europe as well as globally, and challenges and obstacles the first world peace organization. Welcomed are papers that approach the legacy of the League of Nations and other world peace-keeping organizations in broader methodological and conceptual perspectives, with regard to specific implications in the context of the Interbellum.

# CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

**3rd November 2022**

## *Apollon's Hall*

**08:30–09:00** Registration

**09:00–09:30** Opening Speech: The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic; the Czech Academy of Sciences; Charles University; University of Vienna; National Archives

**09:30–10:00** Keynote Speaker: GOLDSTEIN, Erik (Boston University, United States of America): Britain's Dual Diplomacy: advantages and disadvantages of the League of Nations

**10:00–10:30** Keynote Speaker: LICIU, Doru Gheorghe (Head of Diplomatic Archives, Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs): Nicolae Titulescu and his activity at the League of Nations: the perennial importance of international relations based on the rule of law

**10:30–11:00** Keynote Speaker: DEJMEK, Jindřich (The Institute of History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Czech Republic): Edvard Beneš and the League of Nations

**11:00–11:30** *Discussant:* CASTRYCK-NAUMANN, Katja (Leibniz Institute for the History and Culture of Eastern Europe, Leipzig)  
*Discussion*

**11:30–12:00** *Coffee Break*

## *Apollon's Hall*

**12:00–13:15** **Section I: HEADQUARTERS, FUNCTIONING AND REFORM EFFORTS**

Moderator: HORČIČKA, Václav (Charles University, Czech Republic)

EGGER, Clara-Anna (University of Vienna, Austria): Between hopefulness and criticism: Negotiations on the League of Nations in the inter-war women's peace movement

ČAPO, Hrvoje (Croatian Institute of History, Croatia): The Tenth Session of the Assembly of the League of Nations and the "United States of Europe" Idea: American insight report on Aristide Briand's project of European economic solidarity from 1929

QUIROGA-VILLAMARIN, Daniel R. (Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Switzerland): 'Through the International Labyrinth': Building International Geneva (1929–1938)

JEZIORNY, Dariusz (University of Łódź, Poland): Reform of the League of Nations in 1936 in Polish foreign policy

*Discussion*

**13:15–14:15** *Lunch*

## *Adalbert Lounge*

**12:00–13:15** **Section II: INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND GLOBAL PROBLEMS**

Moderator: HIERY, Hermann Joseph (University of Bayreuth, Germany)

BENE, Krisztián (University of Pécs, Hungary): The League of Nations and the Armenians in the French Mandated States, Syria and Lebanon

GUAZZINI, Federica (Università per Stranieri di Perugia, Italy): African States as host countries in the early humanitarian effort: a thorny issue (online)

VALKOUN, Jaroslav (Charles University, Czech Republic): The British-Dominion Attitudes to Japanese Policy within the League of Nations in the Early 1930s

IPEK, Göktuğ (Istanbul University, Turkey): The League of Nations and Turkey: Conflicts and Solutions

*Discussion*

**13:15–14:15** *Lunch*

## *Apollon's Hall*

**14:15–15:30** **Section III: EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AND MINORITY PROBLEMS**

Moderator: KRAUS, Hans-Christof (University of Passau, Germany)

CUSSÓ, Roser (Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, France): The Minorities Section's members and practices: the paths not taken

DÖMÖK, Csilla (University of Pécs, Hungary): Der Völkerbund und die Frage des Minderheitenschutzes  
NOVOTNÝ, Lukáš (University of West Bohemia, Czech Republic): Die Petitionen der deutschen Minderheit in der Tschechoslowakei an den Völkerbund in den 1920er Jahren und die Situation der deutschen Minderheit in der Tschechoslowakei  
HORČIČKA, Václav (Charles University, Czech Republic): The Czechoslovak Land Reform and the German-Czechoslovak Mixed Arbitral Tribunal in the Interwar Period

*Discussion*

**15:30–16:00** *Coffee Break*

### **Adalbert Lounge**

#### **14:15–15:30 Section IV: THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND CIVIL SOCIETY**

Moderator: HOLUBEC, Stanislav (The Institute of History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Czech Republic)  
OLTEANU, Andrei-Dumitru (Babeş-Bolyai University, Romania): The Romanian Diplomacy within the League of Nations and its activities in support of peacekeeping (1932–1935)  
DŁUGOŁĘCKI, Piotr (Polish Institute of International Affairs, Poland): Pros and cons of Polish participation in the works of the League of Nations  
JAKUBEC, Ivan (Charles University, Czech Republic): Transit-, Verkehrs- und Kommunikationsproblematik als wichtiger Bestandteil der Völkerbund-Aktivitäten  
GAUL, Jerzy (Central Archives of Historical Record, Poland): Joseph Piłsudski on the League of Nations and the problem of collective security

*Discussion*

**15:30–16:00** *Coffee Break*

### **Apollon's Hall**

#### **16:00–17:15 Section V: INTERWAR SOCIETY AND ITS INTERDEPENDENCIES**

Moderator: QUADERER, Rupert (Liechtenstein-Institut, Liechtenstein)  
ALONI, Omer (Peres Academic Center, Israel): Building a New World Environmental Order: The League of Nations and the Environmental Regime, 1919–1939  
VORÁČEK, Emil (The Institute of History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Czech Republic): Fight against tuberculosis, the scourge of social diseases in the first decade of the Czechoslovak Republic and its cooperation with the Health Organisation of the League of Nations  
HIERY, Hermann Joseph (University of Bayreuth, Germany): Das Saargebiet unter der Kontrolle des Völkerbundes (1920–1935): Neue Ergebnisse und Forschungen.  
HUBENÝ, David (National Archives, Czech Republic): The Czechoslovak Unit of the International Police during the plebiscite in the Saarland in January 1935

*Discussion*

**17:15–19:30** *Banquet*

## **4th November 2022**

### **Apollon's Hall**

**08:30–09:00** Registration

#### **09:00–10:15 Section VI: EUROPEAN TERRITORIAL DISPUTES**

Moderator: JEZIORNY, Dariusz (University of Łódź, Poland)  
BRISKU, Inxhi (Institute of Ethnology and Folklore, Bulgaria & Charles University, Czech Republic): The League of Nations as a mediator in the conflicts between Greece and Albania, in the 1920s  
DOKMANOVIĆ, Mišo (Ss. Cyril and Methodius University, North Macedonia): League of Nation's First Testing Ground in the Balkans: 1921 Border Dispute between Albania and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and the Lessons Learned  
TÓTH, Andrej (University of Economics and Business, Czech Republic): Hungary's difficult path to the League of Nations (1921–1922)

ROZSYPAL PAJEROVÁ, Anna (Charles University, Czech Republic): The Åland Islands Dispute of Finland and Sweden as One of the First Arbitration of the League of Nation

*Discussion*

**10:15–10:45** *Coffee Break*

**Apollon's Hall**

**10:45–12:00 Section VII: POLITICIANS, REFORMERS, VISIONARIES**

Moderator: HADLER, Frank (Leibniz Institute for the History and Culture of Eastern Europe, Leipzig, Germany)

ENGELKING, Wojciech (University of Warsaw, Poland): Against the New Just War: Carl Schmitt's Critique of the League of Nations

BEHAM, Markus P. (University of Passau, Germany): Heinrich Lammasch and the League of Nations: Conceptualisation, Rejection, and Legacy

PAPADAKI, Marilena (Open University of Greece, Greece): Theory and practice of international law in the service of a new international order within the framework of the League of Nations: Nicolas Politis (1872–1942)

*Discussion*

**12:00–13:00** *Lunch*

**Apollon's Hall**

**13:00–14:15 Section VIII: CRITICISM, DISSATISFACTIONS AND CONTROVERSIES?**

Moderator: WAKOUNIG, Marija (University of Vienna, Austria)

KRAUS, Hans-Christof (University of Passau, Germany): Die deutsche Kritik am Mandatssystem des Völkerbunds

ŠEPTÁK, Miroslav (University of South Bohemia, Czech Republic): Ein ambivalentes Verhältnis: Österreich und der Völkerbund 1931–1936

QUADERER, Rupert (Liechtenstein-Institut, Liechtenstein): Liechtenstein und der Völkerbund

PAVLYSHYN, Liubov – KUTSOV, Kostiantyn (Uzhhorod National University, Ukraine): Darstellung der Tätigkeit der Liga der Nationen in der subkarpatischen Presse in den 1920er und 1930er Jahren: provinzielle Sichtweise auf die internationale Politik

*Discussion*

**14:15–14:45** *Coffee Break*

**Apollon's Hall**

**14:45–16:00 Section IX: REFLECTIONS AND CONTRADICTIONS**

Moderator: GOLDSTEIN, Erik (Boston University, United States of America)

SMETANA, Vít (Institute for Contemporary History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Czech Republic): Czechoslovakia and the League of Nations: Lessons Learned

KUKLÍK, Jan – NĚMEČEK, Jan (The Institute of History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Czech Republic; Charles University, Czech Republic): The League of Nations, Czechoslovakia 1939–1945

ZVÍNCÁ, Gabriel (Babeş-Bolyai University, Romania): The use of League of Nations peacekeeping experiences by the United Nations

**16:00–16:30** *Closing Discussion*

Conference languages: English, German

Conference papers: approximately 15 minutes

We kindly ask for registration by 15<sup>th</sup> October at:

[conference2022eng@ff.cuni.cz](mailto:conference2022eng@ff.cuni.cz) (for communication in English)

[conference2022ger@nacr.cz](mailto:conference2022ger@nacr.cz) (for communication in German)

Capacity of conference participants and guests limited to 60 persons due to expected hygiene restrictions. The conditions for organizing the conference will be continuously consulted with the hygiene service. In the event of hygiene restrictions, the conference will take place in a hybrid manner. Change of programme reserved

**Erik GOLDSTEIN**

### **Britain's Dual Diplomacy: advantages and disadvantages of the League of Nations**

Britain was one of the chief architects of the League of Nations, and even providing the first Secretary-General. Throughout the two decades of the League's active existence Britain followed a dual track diplomacy. On the one hand it actively engaged with the League and its many sub-organs, while on the other hand it frequently made use of Great Power conferences (e.g. Washington 1921–1922 to Munich 1938). As the one truly global power during these years, this presentation will consider the nature of Britain's use or non-use of the League of Nations and the impact this had on international relations.”

**Doru Gheorghe LICIU**

### **Nicolae Titulescu and his activity at the League of Nations: the perennial importance of international relations based on the rule of law**

Emblematic figure of Romanian diplomacy, Nicolae Titulescu (1882–1941) had been permanent representative of the Kingdom of Romania accredited to the League of Nations from 1921 to 1936, concomitantly with his postings as head of Legation in London and Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Nicolae Titulescu's efforts within the League of Nations, where he was elected twice as President of the General Assembly, in 1930 and 1931, were directed towards consolidating peace, maintaining stability of the post-war relations and building friendly relations. As a tragic turn of history, in the context of now days Russia's aggression against Ukraine, Titulescu had actively promoting the further development of the provisions of the Kellogg-Briand Pact, through the Conventions of Aggression definition, concluded in London on 3 and 4 July 1933, known also as Titulescu-Litvinov Conventions in Romanian historiography.

However, similar to Kellogg-Briand Pact, the two Conventions for the Definition of Aggression did not stop the war, but established the basis of what went on to be a widely accepted definition of aggression and a fundamental landmark for the practice of States in shaping international law.

The idealistic vision of Titulescu's of international rule of law was symbolically synthetized in a speech he delivered in 1937 in Bratislava, words inscribed now next to its effigy within the courtyard of the Peace Palace in The Hague, the headquarters of the International Court of Justice: “... only when law will shine like a rising sun in the soul of all people, like a guideline, like a categorical imperative, like an obedience perceived as organized freedom, only then will mankind be saved, because it is in the peace created by the legal order that the human being can fulfill his/her destiny ...”.

**Jindřich DEJMEK**

### **Edvard Beneš and the League of Nations**

Long-serving Minister of Foreign Affairs in interwar Czechoslovakia, and its second president, Edvard Beneš, was long considered by his contemporaries and also by many later historians as somewhat of a personification of the new form of international relations, most prominently symbolised by the League of Nations. Beneš also played an important role in the League of Nations from the outset, being elected one of its deputy chairmen at its second assembly (1921). Outwardly, he emphasised that the organisation contributed towards the democratisation of international relations and that it could boost security and equality for small states. His speeches and internal efforts clearly demonstrate, however, that he was aware of the new organisation's limits and that he made efforts to improve some of its mechanisms. We can see some threads of continuity in Beneš's activities in Geneva, the most important of which was his efforts at strengthening collective security mechanisms. This was reflected in his involvement in preparing the Geneva Protocol (1924) and in his later engagement in the issue of disarmament, in which he linked the issue to an emphasis on collective security instruments. This was most clearly shown in the first years of the Disarmament Conference (1932–1933), where he supported French efforts at strengthening this aspect of the agenda. Another thread was his effort at ensuring a certain universality of the institution, most clearly reflected in his support for broadening membership to include those states which had lost the war. In 1926, not only did Beneš support Germany's admission, but he also gave it a seat in the Council, to which it was elected a number of times. Similarly, in 1934 he supported the USSR's admission. The most significant expression of Beneš's earnest approach to the Geneva institution, however, was his personal contribution in the League's response to Italian aggression against Ethiopia in autumn 1935. It was under his presidency (and following prior consultations with the British government) that the League first adopted sanctions against an aggressor, although for a number of reasons this did not lead to an end to the aggression. At that time, Beneš was already well aware of the League's fundamental limits, and he focused further efforts on securing the state using instruments of “realpolitik”, led by an alliance with France and the USSR. In 1938's so-called Czechoslovak Crisis, the League of Nations played only a minimal role, and this influenced Beneš's views on a potential new international institution during the years of the Second World War.

## Section I: HEADQUARTERS, FUNCTIONING AND REFORM EFFORTS

**Clara-Anna EGGER**

### **Between hopefulness and critique: Negotiations on the League of Nations in the inter-war women's peace movement**

When the League of Nations was established in 1920, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) had long anticipated the formation of an international organization that would secure peace and endorse international cooperation. Members of WILPF many of whom were experts in international law and relations placed high hopes in the League. The covenant of the League of Nations, however, earned strong criticism from women pacifists, and their belief in the organization was shattered by its ratification. WILPF was built on non-violence, absolute pacifist convictions and while some members deviated from the non-resistance path, it was Article 16 of the covenant that caused disputes in the high ranks of the pacifist movement. In her autobiography *I have been Young* (1935) Helena Swanwick, one of the most prominent women pacifists of the Interbellum, denounces the provisions for waging war stated in the covenant and asserts that the exclusion of Germany rather makes for a "League of Victors". Swanwick's critique resembles one of many feelings the women pacifists had about the League of Nations. The contrasting sentiments towards the peace-keeping organization caused hefty but necessary discussions within the women's peace movement. By analyzing autobiographical accounts of various leading WILPF members, I seek to discern how the League of Nations was understood concerning its usefulness and its pitfalls from the perspective of the oldest women's peace organization in the world. Also, I aim to demonstrate how a group of women often sidelined, ridiculed, and generally excluded from any negotiation tables foretold the League's downfall.

**Hrvoje ČAPO**

### **The Tenth Session of the Assembly of the League of Nations and the "United States of Europe" Idea: American insight report on Aristide Briand's project of European economic solidarity from 1929**

Aristide Briand, French Foreign Affairs minister, publicly revealed the idea of a united Europe during his speech given at the 10<sup>th</sup> Session of the Assembly of the League of Nations in 1929. The very proposal soon became known as the idea of the "United States of Europe", and was later formalized by Briand's "Memorandum on the organization of a regime of European federal union" in 1930. Although it was completely the matter of European nations, the proposition took place during the League of Nations Assembly and was regarded as a "world-wide application".

United States was not a member of the League of Nations, and its contemporary government held to the "isolationist" policy. However, U.S. was involved in the work of the League of Nations through various conferences, tribunals, commissions and committees under its auspices, and had their diplomat observers at the League headquarters in Geneva. Consequently, agitating idea of federation of European states caused interest of the Americans. Therefore, a political report on the subject of the proposed European economic solidarity, was prepared in the State Departments Division of Western European Affairs in the end of 1929.

The proposed presentation will be based on the analyses of this report, with an emphasis on the following subjects: Briand's proposals and main goals of the "Project", technical discussion and official presentation of the national viewpoints, private expressions of opinion of European states representatives given to the U.S. diplomatic observer at the margins of the 10<sup>th</sup> Session, and the American view on the proposition of creation of the "European Union".

**Daniel R. QUIROGA-VILLAMARIN**

### **'Through the International Labyrinth': Building International Geneva (1929–1938)**

Despite the growing renaissance of historical and legal studies on the role of League of Nations in early experiments of international order, the everyday geographies of International Organizations (and the interrogation of the role of material objects such as cabinets, "walls, envelopes, rooms, and other spatialities of law" within them) remains largely unexplored in the literature on international legal history. Conversely, in this paper, I trace a history of the erection of the Palais des Nations (1929–1938) to explore how debates surrounding this building reflect the paradoxes, tensions, and contradictions of the emergence of twentieth century imaginaries of international society. In it, I highlight how the negotiations that unfolded within the jury of the architectural competition or the League's building committee can be understood as examples of an increasingly "juridified diplomacy" that relied on legal notions to make sense of the role of the League in the world. For we must remember that "International Geneva" was not erected solely with ideas; it also took generous land donations, brick and mortar, and all sorts of legal maneuvers to create a new palace for all the nations of the world in Geneva's existing urban physiognomy.

**Dariusz JEZIORNY**

### **Reform of the League of Nations in 1936 in Polish foreign policy**

The British government took an initiative in March 1936 and declared willingness to reform the League of Nations and the entire system of collective security to strengthen it. That influenced the decision of the Assembly of the League of Nations of 4 July 1936 to start exchange of viewpoints on its future. The Secretariat circulated the letter among member-states, in which the encouragement to express their opinion was included. Every government was expected to send their postulates in a form of special questionnaire.

Polish diplomacy was also involved in that exchange of opinions. The aim of the article is to present the attitude of Warsaw in the next phase of negotiations. Was it interested in the reform of the League of Nations? What should be the direction of changes to be supported by the Polish government? Was Warsaw active or passive in promoting reforms? How it reacted when various proposals appeared in Geneva? And finally, was the Polish diplomacy happy with the outcome of negotiations in the second part of 1936? The whole analysis is based on Polish diplomatic documents.

## **Section II: INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND GLOBAL PROBLEMS**

**Krisztián BENE**

### **The League of Nations and the Armenians in the French Mandated States, Syria and Lebanon**

The mandate system established by the League of Nations in the aftermath of World War I was supposed to transfer the control of certain territories from one country to another. In this system the governing country intended to act as a trustee until the inhabitants were considered eligible for self-government when the mandate would terminate and an independent state would be born. Despite the decision of the League of Nations, the establishment of French sovereignty over the Levant Mandates met with strong opposition from the local population and was only finally implemented after several years and the suppression of numerous uprisings.

The question of the Armenian minority in the Mandate for Syria and the Lebanon after the World War I is especially interesting. The Armenian refugees arrive in waves in the territory under French sovereignty due to atrocities carried out by the Turkish authorities during the World War I and the interwar period. Their situation is very special, they have a Nansen passport at the beginning, but are later naturalized and become part of the local society gradually. At the same time, they made efforts with the League of Nations to have an autonomous Armenian national home. In my lecture, I attempt to illustrate the emergence of the issue of Armenian refugees in the League of Nations and the diplomatic attempts by the latter to resolve the problem of these exiles.

**Federica GUAZZINI**

### **African States as host countries in the early humanitarian effort: a thorny issue**

The historical study of refugees mainly focuses on African States in the post-independence period, and lesser attention has been paid as on African players as host countries during the Twenties and Thirties within the League of Nations, founded to promote international peace, cooperation, and security in the aftermath of World War I. The Nansen International Office for Refugees was an autonomous body under the authority of the League that took the responsibility for the protection of refugees, and their material assistance, later replaced by the Intergovernmental Advisory Committee for Refugees, although the member States were reluctant to embark upon the financial sacrifices that were needed. It is well known that few were the independent countries in the Global South that joined the League of Nations, and even fewer the African ones. What is less known is that even the African member States were involved in the task of international protection within the Nansen effort for the refugees' settlement. This paper attempts to shed light on this involvement, analysing the how the African countries got involved, with a special focus on Ethiopia. Recurring to unedited primary sources, related to multi-sited archival research, the paradoxes and antinomies of these early humanitarian attempts in Africa will be assessed.

**Jaroslav VALKOUN**

### **The British-Dominion Attitudes to Japanese Policy within the League of Nations in the Early 1930s**

This study focuses on an analysis of the attitudes of Great Britain and selected Dominions (Canada, Australia and New Zealand) towards Japanese policy within the League of Nations in the early 1930s. The Far Eastern crisis of 1931–1932 repeatedly forced the leaders of Britain and the Dominions, particularly Australia, to take a stand on Japanese foreign policy and Tokyo's aspirations. Naturally, the question of Japan's possession of Mandatory territories after Japan left the League of Nations also meant an important subject of concern. When efforts to resolve disputes in the League of Nations failed, Australia decided to send a special mission to the Far East and the Pacific, led by Sir John Greig Latham, to consolidate friendly relations with neighbouring countries and to try to resolve mutual problems and conflicts.

**Göktuğ IPEK**

### **The League of Nations and Turkey: Conflicts and Solutions**

One of the most important issues discussed at the Paris Peace Conference was the establishment of the League of Nations. The dream of Woodrow Wilson that the world would never face such huge destruction like First World War again, was concretized at this conference. However, the League of Nations' mission to maintain peace and order remained only in the form of a dream throughout the whole 1920s and 1930s, because another war had already been coming.

Wilson, who was the “founding father” of the League of Nations, was not successful to persuade people to join the league even in his own country. Furthermore, the victorious states of the war, neutrals, and the new states which is established after the war became a member of the league. Afterwards, the states which lost the war also became involved in it. Turkey had not become the member of the League early 1930s, it took a long time. Nevertheless, Turkey closely followed the meetings and decisions before becoming a member of the League of Nations. After becoming a member, it became an active member of the League and tried to resolve all its international disputes such as the Mosul issue, the Straits question, and the Alexandretta issue in the League. As a matter of fact, the League of Nations had to deal with many internationally controversial issues during the interwar period.

In this study, the process of Turkey’s admission to the League in 1932 will be discussed besides the aforementioned conflicts and how been solved these. These points also will be analyzed based on the sources of Czechoslovakia like the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Czechoslovakia newspapers. In addition, the United Nations Archive will be searched for determination of Czechoslovak representatives’ behaviors while the negotiations and decisions in the League.

### **Section III: EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AND MINORITY PROBLEMS**

#### **Roser CUSSÓ**

##### **The Minorities Section’s members and practices: the paths not taken**

The activity of the League of Nations in the field of minorities played an important role in determining the fate of minorities through the interwar period. The League’s Minorities Section was responsible for supervising a system for their protection through its liaisons with intergovernmental bodies, in particular the Council of the League of Nations. This mission can also be considered in relation to factors surrounding the outbreak of the Second World War. Indeed, the ways minorities were internationally perceived and treated might have accentuated various conflicts that preceded the war.

I propose an analysis of the Minorities Section focused on actors and their practices, their internal discussions and micro-decisions, their interactions with transnational associations interested in minorities, and with experts and their proposals. How did the Section’s members build up the field of “minority politics”? What were “the paths not taken”? How did it limit protection? What does this tell us about the challenges and obstacles faced by League of Nations? I have already completed work on profiles of several members of the Section and some of their debates. I will focus on two topics: the internal discussions on the definition of minorities and those relating to collective rights.

Finally, I also try to contribute to the methodological and historiographical debate on how to study international organizations through their actors and concrete activities. The analysis of “practices” allows for interdisciplinary approaches, based on historiography and sociological methods, and it can even stimulate further connections between them.

#### **Csilla DÖMÖK**

##### **Der Völkerbund und die Frage des Minderheitenschutzes**

Betrachtet man nur einzelne Jahrhunderte im endlos scheinenden Laufe der Geschichte, ergibt sich daraus, dass die Staaten die blinden Produkte der Geschichte sind, die Geschichte jedoch eine Kombination der Macht und des Zufalls darstellt. Demnach waren die Staaten nur selten mit den Volksgruppen identisch. Die Liste der Volksgruppen und ihre Grenzlinien entsprechen nicht ganz genau den Listen der Volksgruppen beziehungsweise den tatsächlichen Grenzen zwischen ihnen. In Europa gibt es keinen Staat der Basken, Waliser, Sorben, Furlaner, Friesen oder Sarden. Dagegen existieren mehrere deutschsprachige Staaten und mehrere Staaten, in denen teilweise Französisch oder italienisch gesprochen wird. Sowohl die Entstehung eines Staates als auch die Tatsache, dass die Minderheiten mit ihren unterschiedlichen Sprachen die dominante Sprache des jeweiligen Staates anerkennen sollen und sich selbst als Teil der gemeinsamen Nation betrachten, werden von der Geschichte bestimmt. In dem Zeitraum nach dem ersten Weltkrieg war der Minderheitenschutz eine der bedeutendsten Fragen in Europa. Nach dem Ende des Großen Krieges entstanden neue Staaten in diesem Raum. Dabei kam es oft zu schweren Konflikten und Streitigkeiten. Angesichts dieser Ereignisse war es für die Großmächte offensichtlich, internationale Garantien für den schon früher vorgenommenen Entwurf über den Minderheitenschutz zu gewähren. Die Frage des Minderheitenschutzes tauchte auf der Pariser Friedenskonferenz im Zusammenhang mit der Gründung des Völkerbundes auf. Seine Ziele waren, den Frieden zu sichern und den Ausbruch eines neuen Krieges zu verhindern.

#### **Lukáš NOVOTNÝ**

##### **Die Petitionen der deutschen Minderheit in der Tschechoslowakei an den Völkerbund in den 1920er Jahren und die Situation der deutschen Minderheit in der Tschechoslowakei**

Nie zuvor war das ethnische Problem auf internationaler Ebene so drängend wie in den ersten Nachkriegsjahren, insbesondere in den Gebieten Mittel- und Südosteuropas. Auf der Grundlage der Nachkriegsverhandlungen entstand die Idee des internationalen Schutzes nationaler Minderheiten, die eng mit dem System der mit besieigten Staaten abgeschlossenen Friedensverträge verbunden war.

Das Ziel des Beitrags ist, ausgewählte Petitionen der stärksten nationalen Minderheit in der Tschechoslowakei an den Völkerbund in den 1920er Jahren vorzustellen. In der Einleitung werden die Möglichkeiten des Petitionswesens für nationale Minderheiten und die vom Völkerbund aufgestellten Regeln für dieses Phänomen erwähnt. Dann wird die Haltung der tschechoslowakischen Regierung zu den völkerrechtlichen Verpflichtungen des Minderheitenschutzes dargelegt. Den Kern des Beitrags bilden ausgewählte Beispiele von Petitionen der deutschen Minderheit gegen die Politik der tschechoslowakischen Regierung und deren anschließende Analyse.

**Václav HORČIČKA**

#### **The Czechoslovak Land Reform and the German-Czechoslovak Mixed Arbitral Tribunal in the Interwar Period**

The paper will deal with the role the Czechoslovak-German arbitration tribunal played in the implementation of the Czechoslovak land reform on the estates of Reich German nationals. It will shed light on the significance of the claims of some Reich German owners for the subsequent development of Czechoslovak-German relations. It will demonstrate that the possible intervention of the court in a bilateral dispute was at odds with the interests of both states involved and thus contributed to an amicable settlement not only of the cases brought before the tribunal, but also to the resolution of the implementation of the land reform on the estates of Reich German citizens in general.

### **Section IV: THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND CIVIL SOCIETY**

**Andrei Dumitru OLTEANU**

#### **The Romanian Diplomacy within the League of Nations and its activities in support of peacekeeping (1932–1935)**

This paper aims to analyze the activities undertaken by Romanian diplomacy in consolidating peace on European territory, highlighting both the activities undertaken within the League of Nations and the creation of alliances aimed at consolidating peace in Central and Eastern Europe. The chronological framework chosen is to delimit Romania's actions from the Geneva Disarmament Conference until Romania becomes a permanent member of the League of Nations.

This paper focuses on the answer to the question: "Can Romania be considered a pillar of peacekeeping in the chosen chronological interval?". In order to answer this question, I will use three primary sources: the memoirs of the diplomats of that period and the main policy makers, the documents from the Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and of course the national and international press of the time. My paper will exemplify the way in which Romania participated in various diplomatic activities and how the Romanian diplomatic corps explained its position and undertook activities in search of a *modus vivendi* with Moscow and other revisionist countries.

Another element that my paper considers is the positioning on the Eastern Pact and how bilateral dialogues with various states have helped Romania to stabilize the Balkans and Eastern Europe in general. Another aspect that I want to discuss is the system of alliances that the leaders of Bucharest have outlined here, referring to Little Entente and the Balkan Pact, creating for a relative period, a European stability. All these aspects will define Romania's position as a state that wanted to get involved in maintaining and preserving peace on the European continent and beyond.

**Piotr DŁUGOŁĘCKI**

#### **Pros and cons of Polish participation in the works of the League of Nations**

The planned paper will present the issue of Poland's participation in the works of the League of Nations in the whole interwar period. It will show hopes and fears related to the new organisation and its participation in process of the establishing of Polish eastern borders.

Issues related to minority matters connected with the signing by Poland the so-called Little Treaty of Versailles, which imposed a number of regulations on Poland (and some other countries) will be also presented. The signing of this treaty created the specific situation in which the minority issues (concerning mainly the German, Jewish and Ukrainian ethnic groups), became an inseparable element of Polish relations with the League of Nations.

Poland's activities in the field of security will be also illustrated, including Polish participation in the International Disarmament Conference, the works of which began in February 1932. An extremely important element of Poland's relations with the League of Nations – the issue of the Free City of Danzig – will be also discussed as well as the Polish cooperation with subsequent high commissioners in the Free City.

The final part of the paper will be focused on the position of Poland towards the gradual dismantling of the security system of the League of Nations. In this part the efforts of the Polish diplomats aiming on exclusion of the Soviet Union from the League of Nations, under the sanctions for earlier attack on Finland will be presented.

Ivan JAKUBEC

### **Transit-, Verkehrs- und Kommunikationsproblematik als wichtiger Bestandteil der Völkerbund-Aktivitäten**

Die rasche Entwicklung der Kommunikation und des Transits auf dem Land-, See- und Luftweg führte zu einer raschen Ausweitung der technischen Aktivitäten des Völkerbundes in diesen Bereichen. 1921 gründete der Völkerbund seine Kommunikations- und Transitorganisation. An ihrer Generalkonferenz nahmen alle Mitgliedstaaten teil. Die Konferenzen von Barcelona 1921 und Genf 1923 führten zu Übereinkommen über die internationale Regelung von Seehäfen, Wasserstraßen und Eisenbahnen. Eine Reihe neuer allgemeiner oder besonderer Übereinkommen und Vereinbarungen wurden direkt unter der Schirmherrschaft des Völkerbundes selbst oder seiner Kommunikations- und Transitorganisation geschlossen. Dieser Beitrag konzentriert sich auf die wichtigsten davon, einschließlich der Frage, ob die geschlossenen Verträge und Abkommen in Kraft getreten sind oder nicht. Die geschlossenen Konventionen und Abkommen sind im Allgemeinen auch nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg in Kraft geblieben. Dabei wird auf unveröffentlichte und veröffentlichte Archivdokumente sowie auf zeitgenössische und Fachliteratur und -presse zurückgegriffen.

Jerzy GAUL

### **Joseph Piłsudski on the League of Nations and the problem of collective security**

After Poland regained its independence the challenge for the Head of State Joseph Piłsudski was to ensure the security of the state, located between Germany and Russia. The egoistic national interest was the minimum of the Head of State's program, the maximum program determined the *raison d'état* in the dimension of civilizational values. The *raison d'état* required good relations with their neighbors and cooperation of states in the League of Nations, used to solve Polish-Lithuanian and Polish-Ukrainian problems.

Piłsudski treated the League of Nations as an institution created by the great powers to implement their own policy, and therefore in the years 1919–1920 he made an attempt to create a federal union of independent states in Central and Eastern Europe, which ended in failure under the influence of national egoisms. The result of this defeat was the subsequent distance of Piłsudski to collective security, the focus on bilateral treaties and the gradual Machiavellianization of foreign policy, consisting in the primacy of the policy of satisfying interests over the policy of pursuing values.

After the Peace of Riga, the rescue in the face of Stalinist Russia and Nazi Germany threatening Poland could have been initiatives to strengthen ties with collective security institutions and to take integration projects seriously not only on the basis of interests but also values. But Piłsudski disregarded Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi's proposal to build Pan-Europe, based on European solidarity (without Russia), and Aristid Briand's European Union project, seeing them as no new security guarantees. He focused on bilateral relations, concluding non-aggression pacts with Russia (1932) and Germany (1934) and alliances with France, Romania and Great Britain. Poland was not a superpower, it did not have regulated relations with Lithuania and Czechoslovakia, it had the worsening relations with France, so it should seek security not only through bilateral pacts, which in the case of Germany and Russia failed in September 1939, but also collective agreements. This was required by the Polish *raison d'état*.

## **Section V: INTERWAR SOCIETY AND ITS INTERDEPENDENCIES**

Omer ALONI

### **Building a New World Environmental Order: The League of Nations and the Environmental Regime, 1919–1939**

For almost half of a century, the archives of the League of Nations in Geneva were largely overlooked by historians. Geneva's reputation as the failure capital of early internationalism led scholars to focus on other institutions of the interwar period. However, the fall of the Soviet Empire and global challenges at the dawn of the new millennium revived the study of the League, which now stands at the heart of a fascinating renaissance. The historical primary sources, hiding thousands of legal documents, are now starting to be studied by scholars, providing the very basic elements for new discoveries which contribute to our understanding of the course of modern history.

In the middle of these flourishing emerging studies with their reviving sources lie questions which explore the importance of the League to world history in the first half of the 20th century, as scholars re-evaluate the League's influence on the international arena even beyond 1945 and the establishment of the League's successor, the United Nations.

My study focuses on different aspects in the deep involvement of the League in trying to solve various global environmental problems, or dilemmas involving environmental aspects, in the 1920s and 1930s. Archival research in the Palais des Nations reveals some surprising – and relevant – correspondences and ideas of the unique role of transnational organizations, NGOs, civil society groups, and non-State actors in vigorous campaigns and intensive international efforts for the protection of nature or the environment, and for the preservation of a variety of natural resources in the period under examination. My legal historical study explores these environmental concerns which were discussed under the auspices of Geneva, and finds an interesting scope of early environmental diplomacy.

Here lie, for instance, questions which dealt with endangered wild animals – such as the whale, needed for the prospering margarine industry, hungry for its oil; or the problem of timber (needed for the completion of the Industrial Revolution); and sincere efforts for precedential transnational collective action against the pollution of the sea by oil (as an outcome of naval traffic during WWI and industrialism). Furthermore, fundamental early environmental dilemmas between development, exploitation of desired natural resources and raw materials on different Mandates soil, or in contemporary terms “questions of sustainability” – were understood by the different agents, players and interested parties, in the unique moment of the birth of institutionalized international law during the interwar period.

### **Emil VORÁČEK**

#### **Fight against tuberculosis, the scourge of social diseases in the first decade of the Czechoslovak Republic and its cooperation with the Health Organisation of the League of Nations**

A strong social feeling was undoubtedly a part of political life in the newly established democratic Czechoslovak Republic in 1918. It resulted in practical social and health policy. Before the young state, the task was to build the infrastructure of the modern state. The environment of post-war chaos, food shortages, malfunctioning supplies, security risks and international political tensions called for an incredible boost. One of the difficult tasks was to deal with the scourge of infectious diseases, also called social, especially tuberculosis.

Gradually, a number of institutions and instruments of social and health policy were established and built, which became part of the concept of the welfare state to which interwar Czechoslovakia was heading. The Czechoslovak state based its health policy closely on international experience and engaged in cooperation with international institutions, starting with the League of Nations' Health Organization and the Office of the International Public Health. Their activities closely followed the previously formed world health institutions. Their activities closely followed the previously formed world health institutions. After the establishment of the League of Nations in 1920, the aforementioned Health Organization of the League of Nations was established. In the study, the author makes an attempt to map the efforts of the state administration, international cooperation, the work of health professionals in the first decade of the republic, successes and failures, especially in the field of combating social diseases and especially tuberculosis.

### **Hermann Joseph HIERY**

#### **Das Saargebiet unter der Kontrolle des Völkerbundes (1920–1935): Neue Ergebnisse und Forschungen**

Um die französische Reannexion von Elsaß-Lothringen ökonomisch, politisch und militärisch abzusichern, wurde 1919 das „Saargebiet“ geschaffen und im Versailler Vertrag formal dem Völkerbund, faktisch aber französischer Kontrolle unterstellt. Das „Saargebiet“ war ein künstliches Gebilde, das historisch, kulturell und religiös völlig unterschiedliche Wurzeln aufwies, dessen Bevölkerung aber in der Erfahrung der politischen Sonderbehandlung eine neue Identität entwickelte.

Der Vortrag skizziert die Hintergründe der Schaffung des Saargebietes auf der Grundlage neu zugänglicher Quellen unter Einschluß disparater amerikanischer, britischer und französischer Perspektiven und Zielsetzungen. Er fokussiert den administrativen, finanziellen, personellen und politischen Spielraum, den der Völkerbund und seine Verwaltung realpolitisch im Saargebiet besaßen und diskutiert schließlich die Gründe für dessen Scheitern. Dabei wird versucht, die rechtlich, wenn auch nicht reell politisch-faktisch existente internationale Staatsverwaltung historisch vergleichend einzuordnen. Bei der Bewertung werden völlig unterschiedliche Ansätze und Urteile auch der neueren Historiographie deutlich.

### **David HUBENÝ**

#### **The Czechoslovak Unit of the International Police during the plebiscite in the Saarland in January 1935**

After the World War I, the territory of the Saarland was entrusted to the administration of France as a mandated territory of the League of Nations. The referendum was to be proceed on the further state affiliation of this territory after 15 years. To ensure the peace and independence of the referendum, security forces from various states were sent to the Saarland to set up a temporary international police force. The Czechoslovakia also appeared among the contributors, which sent a combined unit composed of police officers and gendarmes. The Czechoslovak unit had to adapt not only to external circumstances in the form of service on foreign territory and in cooperation with foreign partners, but also to a certain internal suspense. Despite these difficulties, the mission of the Czechoslovak security authorities was considered successful.

### Section VI: EUROPEAN TERRITORIAL DISPUTES

#### **Inxhi BRISKU**

##### **The League of Nations as a mediator in the conflicts between Greece and Albania, in the 1920s**

In December 1920, Albania became a member of the League of Nations, thus for the first time, the country became a member of an international organization, also for the first time having a voice in the international arena. Although Albania was recognized as an independent state in 1913 by the Great Powers, the new Albanian state, due to the internal and international situation have had it impossible to exercise its power both within the country and in the international arena.

Albania and Greece in this period had several conflicts with each other. The main problems had to do with the demarcation of the Albanian-Greek border, the determination of the ethnic identity of the population of southern Albania which was mainly Orthodox Christians, the Greek minority in Albanian, and the Albanian minority in Greece. The main problem about the Albanians in Greece came after "The Lausanne Convention," concerning the exchange of Greek and Turkish populations. Since Albanians in Greece were predominantly Muslim, and the old documents of the Ottoman Empire did not record their ethnic identity, but only the religious one, thus being considered Muslim-Turkish, they could be deported.

The mistrust and hostility between the two countries at this time were very large, so it was almost impossible for these issues to be negotiated and agreements to be achieved only between the two counties. A major role in mediating and reaching agreements played by the League of Nations. Some of these agreements, those regarding the Albanian-Greek border and the rights of the Greek minority in Albania are valid even today.

This paper will mainly analyze the role played by the League of Nations, as a mediator in resolving the issues between Albania and Greece. Also, will be analyzed how the League sessions were initially transformed into an arena where the representatives of both countries raised these issues and debated with each other.

#### **Mišo DOKMANOVIĆ**

##### **League of Nation's First Testing Ground in the Balkans: 1921 Border Dispute between Albania and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and the Lessons Learned**

The establishment of the League of Nations represented a turning point in the post-World War I European history. While generally perceived as an unsuccessful instrument for conflict prevention, the League has had several success stories including in the Balkans. The 1921 border dispute between Albania and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (later known as Yugoslavia) will be analysed in the paper as one of the key successes of the League of Nations. In that direction, the border between Albania and Yugoslavia remained disputed after the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 and Yugoslav forces occupied part of Albanian territory. After clashes with Albanian tribal leaders, Yugoslav forces penetrated even deeper. The League of Nations has sent a commission of representatives of several powers to the region. The commission decided in favour of Albania, and Yugoslav forces withdrew during 1921, under pressure and prevented a possible conflict.

The paper will explore three main segments: (i) the dynamics of the hostilities between the two new neighbouring nations in the aftermath of World War I, (ii) the establishment of the Commission and its role in the process as well as (iii) the consequences of the conflict prevention and the main lessons learned. A special emphasis in the paper will be put on the impact of the dispute on the status of St. Naum Monastery, one of the main orthodox religious sights in the Balkans which is located on the territory of North Macedonia. Finally, the paper will offer main conclusions on the lessons learned from the involvement of the League of Nations in the conflict prevention of the specific case at hand.

#### **Andrej TÓTH**

##### **Hungary's difficult path to the League of Nations (1921–1922)**

The aim of paper is to summarise the somewhat more complicated path of the Kingdom of Hungary to the League of Nations with regard to the foreign policy of Czechoslovakia or the states of the Little Entente. Budapest first expressed its desire to join the League of nations on 12 February 1920. At the time, however, it was only a symbolic declaratory statement intended to express Hungary's pragmatic foreign policy towards the Entente Powers. Hungary did not have a signed peace treaty at that time. Nevertheless, Hungary immediately set up an unofficial secretariat at the headquarters of the League of Nations in Geneva, which maintained contacts with the General Secretariat of the League of Nations as well as with the delegates of the individual member states during the sessions of the Assembly of the League of Nations. At the same time, the Hungarian Foreign Affairs Society was established in Hungary to help spread the idea of the League of Nations in Hungarian society. Hungary's official application to join the League of Nations was made by the government of István Bethlen on 23 May 1921. However, given the policies of the Little Entente states, of which Czechoslovakia was the most active, Hungary's prospects for admission to the League of Nations were slim. The states of the Little Entente pointed in particular to the unresolved royal question in Hungary, which still threatened

the restoration of the Habsburg monarchical power, as well as to the undemocratic tendencies in Hungarian internal politics. Budapest therefore finally asked in September 1921 for a postponement of the consideration of its application to join the League of Nations. Hungary's foreign policy situation was greatly improved by the dethronement of the Habsburgs by the Hungarian National Assembly in November 1921. Although the dethronement law did not prohibit the candidacy of a Habsburg to the Hungarian throne in the eventual election of a monarch by parliament, Czechoslovakia could no longer prevent Hungary's entry and use it to further Hungary's international legal obligation to the royal question. The other states of the Little Entente were already reluctant to jointly oppose Hungary's entry into the League of Nations. By 1922, Hungary was already successful in its efforts. The Assembly of the League of Nations agreed to Hungary's admission on 18 September 1922.

**Anna ROZSYPAL PAJEROVÁ**

### **The Åland Islands Dispute of Finland and Sweden as One of the First Arbitration of the League of Nation**

The archipelago of Åland Islands has a very strategic location in the Baltic Sea that directly influence the stability of the Nordic region of Europe. There is no wonder why the countries have disputed these islands for centuries. In 1809 Sweden lost the war over Russia. By the cost of the Treaty of Frederikshamn, Sweden lost the whole of Finland, including the Åland Islands. The archipelago became soon the threat to Sweden, whose capital lies only 140 km of distance. The geopolitical reason of the Åland Islands had been widely understood even by the Western Allies during the Crimean War, which led to the demilitarization by the Treaty of Paris in 1856.

However, the situation changed in 1917, when Finland gained its independence over the Russian Empire and Russia was heading the October Revolution. The Åland Islands, which were mostly inhabited by the Swedish-speaking population, became the demand of the Swedish parliament, which faced strong domestic pressure over the protection of "its" Swedish-speaking minority in Finland, which was in Civil War since early 1918. The Swedish-Finnish Dispute over the Åland Islands became the first arbitration that the League of Nations had to solve. Right after the First World War, Sweden appealed to the Paris Peace Conference with the demand of self-determination of the Ålanders, who would have favoured its Swedish heritage.

This contribution concentrates on the interdisciplinary perspective of one of first League's conflict by analysing the Swedish-Finnish relation in the regarding geopolitics, economy or culture arguments, as well as in the international context of the Interbellum situation in early 1920's.

## **Section VII: POLITICIANS, REFORMERS, VISIONARIES**

**Wojciech ENGELKING**

### **Against the New Just War: Carl Schmitt's Critique of the League of Nations**

The end of World War I brought with it a series of hopes for Europe, the most important of which was the establishment of long-term peace on the continent. Of all the ways in which this goal could be achieved, the most significant in juristic sphere were the attempts to criminalize war, first made in the League of Nations Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance of 1923, then in Geneva Protocol of 1924 and in Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928. Such attempts were not unanimously applauded by lawyers and political thinkers. The strongest criticism of the League of Nations and its role as a guarantor of peace achieved by outlawing the war as such was made by Carl Schmitt in his works written in the 1920s and 1930s. Schmitt was not opposed to peace *per se*, but to making war a crime – what, he argued, serves the interests of one actor in international relations: United States. His critique was a critique of League's universalism, which he considered dangerous. He argued that the moment war becomes a crime same as theft or tax evasion, its essence disappears. He feared the occurrence of „wars against all wars”, which in legal terms would not be war. According to Schmitt, in juristic sphere this mechanism was a new incarnation of the medieval just war, but without the reference point (religion) that legitimized the latter. In the proposed paper I will present the course of Schmitt's critique, considered as his reaction to his contemporary political developments, as well as the responses to Schmitt's doubts developed by legal scholars enthusiastic about the League of Nations (above all, Hans Kelsen).

**Markus P. BEHAM**

### **Heinrich Lammasch and the League of Nations: Conceptualisation, Rejection, and Legacy**

On 27 October 1919, Heinrich Lammasch became the last Prime Minister of the Austrian Monarchy under Emperor Karl I, serving a mere 17 days. Pursuing efforts for a federation of neutral powers during the war, Lammasch joined the Austrian delegation on its way to Paris as an expert on 13 May 1919. When he submitted his suggestions for an amendment to the Covenant of the League of Nations, they were politely rejected two weeks later. This paper seeks to explore the legacy of Lammasch's ideas and the justification of his criticism of the League system as reflected in its further practice.

After all, the idea of a permanent league for the preservation of peace had always pervaded Lammasch's *oeuvre* and what was rejected in Paris was nothing other than the work of a true pioneer. In his 1917 publication *Das Völkerrecht nach dem Kriege*, Lammasch elaborated on the creation of a federation of neutral powers and a conciliation council. He reiterated these ideas a year

later in a pamphlet called *Der Friedensverband der Staaten*, suggesting a federation of States to be discussed at a Third Hague Conference following the war. In late 1918, Lammasch published a full concept for a League of Nations: *Der Völkerbund zur Bewahrung des Friedens*. This league should consist of the majority of States to ensure that no war or threat thereof could arise outside its formal framework. In his final, posthumous publication, *Völkermord oder Völkerbund*, he adds further nuances: the league should be temporary, international disputes should come before an international supreme court or an arbitral tribunal, and the Pope should be allowed to take on certain responsibilities. None of this

was implemented and the question remains whether it would have changed the legacy of the League had Lammasch's concepts not been rejected.

#### **Marilena PAPADAKI**

##### **Theory and practice of international law in the service of a new international order within the framework of the League of Nations: Nicolas Politis (1872–1942)**

“The World War made people profoundly skeptical as to the value, the efficacy, and even the existence of international law. [...] Little by little it was recognized that international law has no more disappeared as a result of the excesses of the late war than criminal law has ceased to remain in force in spite of the crimes that are committed’. These are the words of Nicolas Politis (1872–1942), French academic and representative par excellence of the Duguit school of sociology in international law in his book on the ‘New Tendencies of International Law’, published in 1927. In the years following the First World War, Politis, managed to place himself at the center of an international elite committed to a new organization of international relations. At the time of the League of Nations, he served as a representative of Greece, but also as an arbitrator and international lawyer. According to him, peace was a social fact closely linked to the level of organization of society. The international legal norms derived by social solidarity impose to governments the duty to collaborate in order to create international public services and, in the absence of an international public force, to put their particular forces at the service of the required sanction. In the context of the League of Nations, these ideas took the form of the efforts to create a collective security system and empower the idea of peaceful settlement of disputes between states through the extension of compulsory arbitration. The idea of social solidarity developed by the French sociological school of international law, also became in the interwar period a constructive element of the idea of European unification and found its expression in the efforts related to the protection of the rights of individuals and minorities (international criminal justice, protection of international private interests, immediate access of individuals to international jurisdictions).

## **Section VIII: CRITICISM, DISSATISFACTIONS AND CONTROVERSIES?**

#### **Hans-Christof KRAUS**

##### **Die deutsche Kritik am Mandatssystem des Völkerbunds**

Das „Mandatssystem“, das von den Siegermächten im Rahmen des von Ihnen 1919 errichteten Völkerbundes eingerichtet wurde, hat man in Deutschland allgemein als Diskriminierung der Verlierer des Ersten Weltkriegs, vor allem des Deutschen Reiches und des untergegangenen Osmanischen Reiches, angesehen. Der Vortrag untersucht nach einer kurzen Skizzierung der unterschiedlichen Völkerbundmandate und ihrer Geschichte die in Deutschland daran geübte Kritik. Gefragt wird also nach den Voraussetzungen, den Formen, Argumentationsstrategien und Wirkungen dieser Kritik in der deutschen politischen und fachwissenschaftlichen Literatur.

#### **Miroslav ŠEPTÁK**

##### **Ein ambivalentes Verhältnis: Österreich und der Völkerbund 1931–1936**

In den 1930er Jahren des 20. Jahrhunderts intensivierten sich Österreichs Aktivitäten im Rahmen des Völkerbundes. Dies hängt mit den Bemühungen der Alpenrepublik zusammen, eine internationale Anleihe zur Sanierung ihrer Wirtschaft unter Schirmherrschaft der Genfer Organisation zu erhalten. Gleichzeitig bemühte sich die Bundesregierung ab 1933 verstärkt, eine Internationalisierung des Konflikts mit dem Deutschen Reich, um so Garantien für eine Unabhängigkeit der Republik zu erlangen. Der Beitrag wird sich auch mit dem Einfluss der italienischen Haltung gegenüber der österreichischen Außenpolitik im Rahmen der Völkerbundpolitik beschäftigen. Der Text basiert hauptsächlich auf unveröffentlichten Quellen österreichischer, deutscher und tschechoslowakischer Provenienz.

#### **Rupert QUADERER**

##### **Liechtenstein und der Völkerbund**

Liechtenstein erlebte es in den Jahren während und nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg turbulente Zeiten. Obwohl es am Weltkrieg nicht beteiligt war, hatte Liechtenstein innen- und aussenpolitisch tiefgreifende Veränderungen zu bewältigen und auch auf wirtschaftlicher Ebene mussten neue Wege gesucht und beschritten werden.

Liechtenstein reichte sein Aufnahmegesuch am 14. Juli 1920 ein; am 17. Dezember 1920 lehnte der Völkerbund das Gesuch ab. Die Ablehnung seines Gesuchs war für Liechtenstein ein aussenpolitischer Rückschlag und bedeutete das Scheitern der Bemühungen, die während und nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg vorgebrachten Zweifel an der Neutralität und Souveränität Liechtensteins durch die Aufnahme in eine internationale Staatengemeinschaft eindeutig zu beseitigen. Trotzdem hatte sich das Unternehmen gelohnt. Die Ablehnung war nicht mit fehlender Souveränität begründet worden, sondern mit der Kleinheit Liechtensteins und seiner daraus erwachsenden Unfähigkeit, die vom Völkerbund geforderten Verpflichtungen erfüllen zu können.

Als taktischer Fehler Liechtensteins muss wohl der Versuch gewertet werden, den Neutralitätsstatus zuerkannt zu erhalten. Dieses Bemühen ist zwar aus den Erfahrungen des Ersten Weltkrieges heraus verständlich. Doch der Völkerbund verstand sich gerade aus den Erkenntnissen des Ersten Weltkrieges nicht als neutrale Organisation, sondern verlangte die Solidarität seiner Mitglieder gegen eventuelle Friedensbrecher.

Liechtenstein hatte auch selbst Bedenken gehabt, ob die Mitgliedschaft im Völkerbund nicht eine „Nummer zu gross“ sei. Dies hatte sich nach aussen in einem eher zögerlichen, mit „Wenn und Aber“ und Einschränkungen verbundenen Entscheid zur Mitgliedschaft manifestiert. Man wollte von den gebotenen Vorteilen und Garantien des Völkerbundes profitieren, ohne bereit oder in der Lage zu sein, alle geforderten Verpflichtungen zu übernehmen.

Nach den zwei missglückten Versuchen, bei internationalen „Grossanlässen“ – nämlich bei der Friedenskonferenz in Paris und beim Völkerbund in Genf – im Konzert der Staaten mitzuspielen, musste sich Liechtenstein auf kleinere, bilaterale Abkommen konzentrieren. Dazu waren mit den beiden Nachbarn Österreich und Schweiz die Bedürfnisse wie auch die Möglichkeiten gegeben.

**Liubov PAVLYSHYN – Kostiantyn KUTSOV**

#### **Darstellung der Tätigkeit der Liga der Nationen in der subkarpatischen Presse in den 1920er und 1930er Jahren: provinzielle Sichtweise auf die internationale Politik**

Der Artikel analysiert Unterlagen zur Tätigkeit der Liga der Nationen, die in den Zeitungen und Zeitschriften in Subkarpatien in 1919–1939 veröffentlicht wurden. Im Mittelpunkt dieser Arbeit steht die Frage, inwiefern nationale Zugehörigkeit und politische Ausrichtung von Ausgaben die Erörterung der Information beeinflusste.

## **Section IX: REFLECTIONS AND CONTRADICTIONS**

**Vít SMETANA**

#### **Czechoslovakia and the League of Nations: Lessons Learned**

This paper will examine how the Czechoslovak politicians in exile in the years 1938–1945 assessed Czechoslovakia's experience with the League of Nations in the inter-war period and how the lessons that they had learned affected their attitude to the principles of collective security. Important were not only the Munich experience and the overall ineptitude of the League in dealing with the cases of international aggression throughout the 1930s, but also the way how that organization treated the protests by Edvard Beneš against the German seizure of the rest of the Czech Lands and the Hungarian occupation of southern Slovakia and of Ruthenia after 15 March 1939. That experience only strengthened the growing determination to find a new major ally and guarantor of Czechoslovakia's security for the future and reduced the readiness to rely on collective security. These attitudes were particularly tangible during the UN Founding Conference in San Francisco in April – June 1945 where the Czechoslovak delegation, headed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs Jan Masaryk, supported virtually every Soviet move and position including those aimed at strengthening the right of veto of the Great Powers by extending it also to procedural votes of the Security Council – thus potentially limiting the powers and options of the General Assembly. The Czechoslovak diplomacy thus effectively strove to reinforce the position of the Great Powers at the expense of smaller states in the postwar international arena.

**Jan KUKLÍK – Jan NĚMEČEK**

#### **The League of Nations, Czechoslovakia 1939–1945**

The League of Nations played an important role for Czechoslovakia already at the beginning of the Second World War: since no one questioned Czechoslovakia's membership in this international organization, it continued to legally exist as an independent and sovereign state. The head of the Office of the Permanent Delegate of the Czechoslovakia, Jaromír Kopecký, in coordination with the Czechoslovak Foreign Resistance Centre in France and then in Great Britain, ensured the legal continuity and existence of the Czechoslovak Republic on the international forum, within the League of Nations and in associated organizations. The position of Czechoslovakia was then consolidated in 1940 after the resignation of the Secretary General of the SN Joseph Avenol, who advocated that the states occupied by Germany or Italy be deprived of membership in this international organization. His successor, the Irishman Sean Lester, was favourably disposed to Czechoslovakia, and Czechoslovakia remained a member of the until its dissolution at the 22nd General Assembly in 1946.

**Gabriel ZVÎNCĂ**

**The use of League of Nations peacekeeping experiences by the United Nations**

The League of Nations was created amidst uncertain times when the Concert of the Great Powers in Europe led to the First World War and the international community acknowledged the need for an international organization to keep the peace in the future years. Thus, the principle of collective security was embedded in the Covenant of the League of Nations, but its application failed short in the 1930s with the invasion of Japan in Manchuria and of the Italian invasion in Ethiopia.

This scenario was applied to some degree to the Charter of the United Nations, which, as the Covenant, included the principle of collective security but failed to make use of its prerogatives from Chapter VI and VII because of the clash of the two superpowers, the USA, and the USSR. However, during the Cold War, the UN developed a special mechanism, peacekeeping, by which it intervened in conflicts, and it limited it to a local spectrum, as it wanted to prevent its expending at the global level.

Peacekeeping was not actually the own creation of the United Nations, as the League of Nations beforehand authorized operations, somehow close to the ones during the Cold War, by which it overlooked plebiscites and prevented a conflict between the Germans and the French during the reoccupying of the Ruhr region.

The research that I am proposing is to analyze how the operations of the League of Nations were used as an experience by the United Nations in mobilizing missions in the 1940–1950s. It will firstly define peacekeeping and how it got unofficially institutionalized by the UN and then will present the operations of the League of Nations and identify aspects that the UN implemented in the authorization of its operations in Palestine and Kashmir.