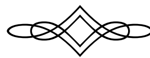
Introduction

Debating Internationalisms

Contexts, Concepts and Historiography

Antero Holmila and Pasi Ihalainen



The experiences of the late 2010s and early 2020s – most recently the overwhelmingly nationalistic responses to the Covid-19 crisis – have made us increasingly aware of the fact that internationalism and concepts closely related to it, like cosmopolitanism, universalism or Europe, have typically lived under the shadow of nationalism. Yet, while the emergence of modern nation states with their own 'imagined communities', pace Anderson, has dominated the historian's craft since the professionalization of history in the nineteenth century, ideas that transcend the national predate nation states and nationalism. As Charlotta Wolff (Chapter 1) and several other contributors to this volume point out, ideas on borderless and universal communities within Europe emerged before the modern notions of nation state and conceptualizations of such communities as 'international'.

Many of the histories of nationalism, international relations and internationalism have focused on events, leading actors and institutions despite the fact that past discourses and conceptualizations have also shaped those histories. This volume analyses how the semantic cluster surrounding 'the international' has emerged, evolved and changed over the course of modern history, including the development of a variety of its counter-concepts. Historical events – the fodder of much international relations scholarship – are important as context for discourses on the international but to unlock their wider meanings and the underlying structures that give them their shape, the keys are concepts as used by past political agents (see also Richter 1987: 259; Koselleck 2006: 11). In this volume, we do not apply today's analytical concepts, paradigms or schools of thought from international relations research to interpret the past. From our historical, empirical

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perspective, conceptual history and the focus on language underscore all historical understanding; as Hans-Jürgen Goertz has noted, language dominates 'the process of cognition from beginning to end' (Goertz 2001: 13).

In terms of conceptual history, our aim is to analyse long-term discursive and conceptual constructions of the cosmopolitan, international and European, partly also global and universal, in the course of European history since the eighteenth century. Our subject is the variety of meanings of the words referring to the international and the related contested – highly political – concepts created in a variety of contexts. Concepts, unlike mere words, escape simple definitions as they 'collect, aggregate, and integrate a variety of meanings that often stem from widely differing fields, within widely differing terminologies' and not only from the contemporary world but also a wide variety of past experiences and meanings (Jordheim and Sandmo 2019: 5, 7). As Marjanen and Ros point out (Chapter 3), our present-day public discourses on the favourable and unfavourable aspects of international activities continue to recycle historical – positively and negatively charged – connotations of the international. Our chapters hence discuss both the historical trajectories of concepts reaching beyond nation states, their use in particular politicized arguments and the resulting manifold meanings. While summarizing some related history of international relations and institutions, our analyses are based on prominent texts as well as everyday political debates in which past actors defined a variety of interrelated concepts that reached beyond nation states.

As we reconstruct diverse past understandings of political, cultural and economic phenomena that reached beyond nation states, this book is not so much about the history of the agents, institutions or events of international relations, or about theoretical scholarly debates, but about the more everyday discourses on things international in a wide-ranging arena. Instead of trying to simply define what was 'cosmopolitan', 'international', 'universal' or 'European' in history, we analyse how past actors – including politicians, editors, public intellectuals and professionals – talked about the international and related terms.

As previous research on international cooperation has rarely focused on language use and has seldom been based on any systematic analysis of a vast corpora of sources, conceptual history cannot necessarily build on earlier studies focusing on international practices and their generalizations on conceptualizations and the course of political discourse. Nevertheless, previous research is the point of departure for reconstructing the past contexts in which these concepts were debated.

As part of the series *European Conceptual History*, we focus on 'the transformation of social and political concepts' and 'notable values and

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terminology that have developed throughout European history', though many of our chapters include elements of the international, universal and global well beyond Europe. In their *Conceptual History in the European Space* (2017), Willibald Steinmetz, Michael Freeden and Javier Fernández Sebastián emphasize the research attitude of conceptual history: it entails an awareness of the importance of language for what is sayable and doable and an emphasis on past conceptualizations by contemporaries; it does not reconstruct past 'reality' based on modern analytical concepts. Concepts constitute 'focal points of interpretation and understanding' that demonstrate 'regularities and difference in human discourse'. They are 'windows through which we can appreciate how comprehensions of the world are organized and brought to bear on action' but they are also 'constraints on the messiness of human thought and enablers of its transformation'. As Reinhart Koselleck has put it, 'concepts express what a discourse is talking about', while conceptual history 'identifies the many layered meanings contained in the actual usages of a concept'. Conceptual history does not necessarily start with words; it can also start with phenomena in search for relevant and corresponding terms (Steinmetz and Freeden 2017: 1–2, 22–23; the Koselleck quote is from Koselleck 1996, 64). This is very much the case with discourses on the international: in many empirical cases words other than internationalism itself have turned out to be the key to these debates.

Methodologically Steinmetz and Freeden have seen some common features between conceptual history and Skinnerian history of political thought. There are differences, however: conceptual history is typically not as focused on intentionality and rhetoric as a means of conceptual change as Cambridge-style intellectual history. Nor does conceptual history share the normative features and focus on linguistic structures of critical discourse analysis. In contrast to political philosophy, it is interested in meaning created in particular historical contexts rather than in the truth-value of past arguments (Steinmetz and Freeden 2017: 28–30). While many of the authors in this volume have adopted Skinnerian strategies of contextualization by focusing on linguistic conventions and considering original authorial intentions (Skinner 2002), they do not focus on the political thinking of individuals but rather on the variety of views expressed within communities – often political or intellectual elites of each national community to be precise. Debates on the international can be analysed as nexuses of multi-sited political discourses so that the previous and simultaneous activities of political agents in other historical spaces, national and transnational forums are taken into consideration. Their mobility between these forums, connected physical experiences and (transnational) discursive transfers may also be relevant for understanding any particular speech act concerning the

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international (Ihalainen and Saarinen 2019). Our focus is on the evolving meanings of concepts in use in political arguments: we integrate methods from discourse studies, corpus linguistics and digital humanities into the study of the history of internationalisms, to extend the repertoire of conceptual history beyond the historical semantics of *Begriffsgeschichte* or the analysis of individual speech acts by canonical thinkers in the history of political thought.

The expansion of digitized texts has led to a major turning point in conceptual history in the past few decades. Steinmetz and Freeden have seen digital humanities in conceptual history as a promise rather than a reality, due to difficulties in interpreting semantic data (Steinmetz and Freeden 2017: 32). Thanks to the rapid growth of digitized texts during the late 2010s, we take on this challenge here by tentatively integrating digital history into the study of conceptual history. In preparing this introduction and some of the chapters (Chapters 3, 7, 8, 10 and 14), we have drawn on digitized data to home in on the historical periods that saw major changes in the vocabulary of the international. Case studies that build on contextualizing and critical close reading have thus been chosen in the said chapters based on computer-assisted generation of word patterns over time. A relatively new dataset used by many of the authors consist of digitized parliamentary records from a number of European countries. However, we are aware that the historical record largely remains either undigitized or unprepared for computer-based Natural Language Processing, and as a consequence the focus of analysis cannot be determined by computer-assisted research alone.

When examining larger textual resources in conceptual history, relative word frequencies are very useful. However, we can by no means gauge the semantic value inherent in words and word patterns based on frequencies alone. We can measure the occurrence of the word *Internationalismus* at the German Reichstag in the 1930s, for instance, but without textual contexts, we cannot determine what that meant in practice. Nor can innovations in the meaning of concepts simply be measured quantitatively. Single innovative conceptualizations of the international may have been politically, economically or culturally significant, especially if they impacted the course of debate and action, while much of the everyday vocabulary of the international has been merely technical in nature, lacking ideological dimensions, such as talk about international aviation or global standards. One challenge brought about by digitized sources is the need to select representative examples of more general conceptual trends. Highlighting comparable word distributions in larger datasets, word embeddings, for instance, as opposed to mere unigram frequencies, can reveal variety in the language of the international (see Chapter 8).

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Previous Conceptual Histories of Internationalism

Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe, the magnum opus of German *Begriffsgeschichte*, contained a chapter on 'International, Internationale, Internationalismus' (volume 3, 1982) without discussing cosmopolitanism or universalism more extensively as we do in our volume (e.g. Chapters 1, 2 and 9). According to Peter Friedemann and Lucian Hölscher (1982: 367–69, 397), the founding of The First International by socialists in 1864 marked the beginning of the history of internationalism as a key concept in German political debate. The attribute 'international' had appeared in late eighteenth-century British and French debates on the law of nations, introduced by Jeremy Bentham in 1789 (discussed in Chapters 1, 2 and 3), but in the course of the late nineteenth century 'international' became increasingly used as a synonym for the slightly more pejorative 'cosmopolitan', reflecting the increasing international interaction of the time. In our volume, we analyse the French and British debates (Chapter 2) and explore the nineteenth-century conceptual expansion based on big data (Chapter 3) as well as in the theoretical debates of socialism (Chapter 4). For Friedemann and Hölscher, the ideological content of 'internationalism' still implied associations with expectations of a socialist world revolution in the interwar era (also Chapter 6) and, after the Second World War, socialist unity under Russian/Soviet dominance within the Eastern bloc. In the Western world, the pejorative connotations of internationalism decreased during the Cold War, even though the concept was rarely used to describe international cooperation, which reflects awareness of the continuous existence of ideological, political and cultural borders between and within the blocs (see Chapter 10). Our findings suggest that after the Second World War – especially from the 1960s to the 1980s – internationalism as a concept was highly adaptable and polyvocal. In other words, it rendered more prestige to both ideas and events across a wide spectrum of action.

Though not a representative of conceptual history, Akira Iriye's work on *Cultural Internationalism and World Order* (1997) constitutes an important starting point for analyses of the spirit of internationalism that began to emerge in the interwar period. Iriye has called this cultural internationalism, emphasizing the role of cooperation between intellectuals and artists in search of international peace and pointing at projects such as student exchange and the creation of an international language, Esperanto. '[T]he [analytical] term *internationalism* is used to refer to an idea, a movement, or an institution that seeks to reformulate the nature of relations among nations through cross-national cooperation and interchange' (Iriye 1997: 3). Following the same theme, Iriye devoted his *Global Community: The Role of*

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International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World (2002) to charting out how twentieth-century internationalism evolved through the wide range of emerging international organizations. As he wrote, internationalism was a mindset, a 'global consciousness … the idea that nations and peoples should cooperate instead of preoccupying themselves with their respective national interests' (Iriye 2002: 9–10). Our case studies show that despite the birth of new international institutions, especially the League of Nations and the United Nations (and their web of agencies and non-governmental organizations that worked in close association with the international system), the nation state remained the key unit through which internationalism was facilitated. Thus we add a fresh dimension to the current scholarly view that the international and national work in tandem as an interconnected phenomenon (e.g. Sluga 2013; Sluga and Clavin 2017; Holmila and Ihalainen 2018). As Cornelia Navari commented in her *Internationalism and the State in the Twentieth Century* (2000), internationalism was not only a matter of ideology, but also chosen as policy. Particularly useful is her observation that 'the processes which produced internationalism were informed by conceptual categories as well as by material "facts"' (Navari 2000: 3). What these conceptual categories were remained largely unexplored.

Martin H. Geyer and Johannes Paulmann's *The Mechanics of Internationalism: Culture, Society, and Politics from the 1840s to the First World War* (2001) also represents the renewed scholarly interest in internationalism at the turn of the millennium. Their work focused on the structures and practices of internationalism between the 1840s and the First World War. Their general argument illustrates approaches to the history of internationalism around 2000:

> There are good reasons for using the term 'internationalism' as a meaningful concept for analysing developments in nineteenth- and twentieth-century international relations. It is a historical term used by those advocating new international structures and organizations, economists no less than socialists, reformers as well as those rejecting the phenomenon for nationalistic reasons. (Geyer and Paulmann 2001: 3)

While recognizing the importance of the concept as such, Geyer and Paulmann focused less explicitly on concepts and language than on institutions and their transnational links. They covered matters such as standardization, passports, and governmental and monarchical internationalism, touching on themes that are discussed in this volume: the world economy (Chapter 7), socialist (Chapter 4) and feminist internationalism (Chapter

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5), and the rise of internationalism in sport (Chapter 9). While Geyer and Paulmann explored the nineteenth century, we also look at the preceding revolutionary period and at twentieth-century developments in discourses when the first wave of international organizations culminated with the founding of the League of Nations.

In the 2010s, volumes on internationalism rarely had an explicit focus on conceptual history. *Internationalism Reconfigured: Transnational Ideas and Movements Between the World Wars* (2011), edited by Daniel Laqua, focuses on Europe and North America in the 1920s, addressing transnational projects connected to the League of Nations. The authors study the diversity of international thought and action beyond diplomacy, in cases combining the activities of individuals, groups and associations with intergovernmental and non-state institutions. They explore networks and transmission processes, arguing that internationalism was dependent on transnational structures and movements. While the authors were interested in national associations involved in international cooperation, 'international' organizations of the League and non-state actors, the conceptual history of 'transnational' and 'internationalism' by Patricia Clavin remains rather brief and emphasizes practices, not discourses or concepts. This leaves space for histories that show how the function of language through concepts and discourses are essential in prefiguring practices.

David Armitage's *Foundations of Modern International Thought* (2013) takes a classical intellectual history approach to how leading European political thinkers broadened their perspectives beyond nation states between the early seventeenth and mid-nineteenth centuries – ending with visions of a world of competing sovereign states. Armitage has used Google Ngrams to visualize the relative frequencies of 'global', 'international' and 'transnational' in twentieth-century English-language literature and in long-term and multiple processes of globalization and deglobalization. His discussion of how modern conceptions of international law were formed approaches conceptual history (Armitage 2013: 38, 41, 43, 45). While Armitage points at changing ways of international thinking in the British parliament, digitization has enabled us to explore those changes empirically and bring up aspects of debate that reach well beyond international law (Chapters 2, 6, 8 and 10).

This leads us to ask to what extent we should include concepts of the world and the global in our explorations of discourses of the international. While it is not in primary focus, several of our chapters touch on the concept of the world and discuss related concepts. Recently, Hagen Schulz-Forberg combined transnational and entangled history and conceptual history in his *Global Conceptual History of Asia, 1860–1940* (2014).

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Schulz-Forberg challenges methodological nationalism, emphasizing the role of historical agents in conceptual entanglements as well as the inclusion of 'anti-Western' perspectives. His work is a healthy reminder of the risks of Eurocentrism in conceptual history: while writing within the series *European Conceptual History*, we need to recognize its problems and relate European conceptualizations to developments beyond Europe (see Chapter 1 on cosmopolitanism as anti-colonialism; Chapter 2 on universality and colonialism; Chapter 4 on socialist colonial politics; Chapter 6 on the importation of the controversial Leninist and Wilsonian understandings of internationalism to Europe and the world after the First World War; Chapter 9 on the rise of 'global' as an alternative to 'international' within the Olympic movement; Chapter 12 on discourses in the global South; and Chapter 13 on climate change as a global challenge). We need to ask to what extent European debates on the international have turned truly global or remained focused on relations between nation states in Europe, recycling Eurocentric views of the 'world'. At the same time, internationalist visions have been presented by numerous non-Europeans, as demonstrated by Glenda Sluga in her Afterword.

As for the concepts of the world and globalization as 'a historical process and movement that consists of everything and everyone' (Jordheim and Sandmo 2019: 2), Helge Jordheim and Erling Sandmo are comprehensive in their *Conceptualizing the World: An Exploration across Disciplines* (2019). Jordheim and Sandmo point at how language has been globalized with the rise of a number of compound words. 'The world' and 'global' have been used to refer to an infinite number of phenomena and have become temporalized to forward-looking concepts of movement and communication. A major problem related to the rise of 'globalization' and its idea of the world becoming one is that this disregards the sense of the world as a limited space, masking the risks of the process leading to a global catastrophe (Jordheim and Sandmo 2019: 2, 14–15; approached in Chapter 13). Jordheim and Sandmo focus on interaction 'between nations' or 'beyond nations' touching on the paradox of a limited globe. We consider the concepts of the world and the global whenever they have been entangled with debates on internationalism, which occurred especially in relation to the world economy as argued by Schulz-Forberg (Chapter 7), the Olympic movement (Holmila, Chapter 9), the student movement (Saksholm, Chapter 12) and environmental discourses (Kaarkoski, Chapter 13).

The work that is closest to our goal thus far is Glenda Sluga's *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism* (2013). Sluga's book provides a general history of international ideas, associations and institutions and includes aspects of the history of the concept. Sluga explores key moments

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of internationalism that are highly relevant for us here, including the turn of the twentieth century, the end of the two world wars, the global seventies and what she calls the 'postinternational' 1990s. She highlights intersections of the social, political and intellectual in the history of internationalism, exploring 'imagined' and 'invented' internationalism, emphasizing entanglements with the history of nationalism and considering the interrelationship between talk on and practices of internationalism. Her comment that 'internationalism has long been regarded as a story of ideologues and radicals' (Sluga 2013: 2) is particularly noteworthy here. The chapters in this volume build on this internationalist turn, combining discourses and material circumstances to demonstrate that the discourses created by 'ideologues and radicals' have indeed framed the tone of speaking and writing about internationalism, but the story itself goes beyond their platitudes. In our opinion, Sluga is hence the best reviewer of our findings in the Afterword of this volume.

In their edited volume *Internationalisms: A Twentieth Century History* (2017) Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin took the study of the multiple manifestations of internationalism further – reflected in the title's plural. With their fellow authors they explored a political idea that has been central for 'war and peace, imperialism and nationalism, states and state-building'. In their view, internationalism has provided an alternative to understandings of subjectivity, identity and sovereignty that centre on the nation state, but nationalism, imperialism and internationalisms have strong ideological and intellectual connections. They welcome constructivist approaches and studies of the language of internationalism, though these perspectives are more visible in their introduction than in the actual case studies. Sluga and Clavin recognize the contextual specificity of internationalisms and refer to interaction between events and ideas, 'thought and practice', 'the entangled histories of international thinking' and 'conflicting and contested narratives' (Sluga and Clavin 2017: 5–6, 8, 12). Our volume is a response to Sluga and Clavin's call for the systematic study of the 'language' of internationalism and includes perspectives they have not covered.

A vast body of other specialist literature on internationalism is burgeoning and cannot be reviewed here in detail. Suffice it to say that the topics range from Talbot Imlay's *The Practice of Socialist Internationalism* (2017), to the fast-growing area of internationalism as seen through race and gender perspectives. One of these is Keisha N. Blain's and Tiffany M. Gill's edited volume *To Turn the Whole World Over: Black Women and Internationalism* (2019). The editors explain that this volume is less about charting concepts and more of 'an attempt to expand the contours of black internationalism theoretically, spatially and temporally' (2).

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The Structure of this Book in Relation to the Conceptual History of Internationalisms

While the European international system has evolved at least since the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), building on the principle of sovereign nation states and international law (Armitage 2013), we explore transformations in conceptualizations of the international since the eighteenth century, when the dynamic of the debate started to increase and related vocabularies to widen. Cosmopolitan Enlightenment thought (Charlotta Wolff in Chapter 1), together with traditions of French universalism, constituted the background for the radical rethinking of international relations by the French revolutionaries, which inspired reinterpretations of the implications of the law of nations in Britain (Friedemann Pestel and Pasi Ihalainen in Chapter 2). Intensified international interaction and cooperation supported considerable diversification of the language of the international in the late nineteenth century, which can be seen in the emergence of the first wave of using the term 'international' and then 'internationalism' (Jani Marjanen and Ruben Ros in Chapter 3).

The nineteenth century witnessed the rise of at least three different strands of understanding the international. Firstly, the British Empire and the rising United States constituted contexts for the growth of what has often been generalized as 'liberal' internationalism, building on the idea of the Empire as a model for global order and conceptions of national exceptionalism. Secondly, much of continental Europe carried on the traditions of diplomacy between sovereign nation states derived from Westphalia, the Congress of Vienna and the Holy Alliance. Both of these conceptions of the international contributed to the emergence of a variety of international conferences and organizations towards the end of the nineteenth century. Pressure groups emanating from the growing civil society challenged these developments, demanding the right to participate in politics both nationally and internationally, in the labour and women's rights movements. Socialist internationalism was the first to include the very word in its constructions of identity, to question the established international order based on capitalism, class societies and nation states (Pauli Kettunen in Chapter 4). It also partly inspired the first wave of feminism, while some other women's rights movements tried to change the gender order within the liberal and conservative traditions (Tiina Kinnunen in Chapter 5).

While the late nineteenth century witnessed the flowering of myriad specialized international organizations that reinforced the role of nation states, the twentieth century was an age of both internationalism and nationalism, total wars and genocide. In the wake of the First World War and the

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dissolution of empires, nations came together in an entirely new forum, the League of Nations, and new nations entered the international stage. A certain international optimism among revisionist socialists and some non-socialist politicians in the 1920s faded with experiences of the rise of nationalism in the 1930s (Pasi Ihalainen and Jörn Leonhard in Chapter 6). Expectations of an emerging world economy that would ensure peace evaporated with the economic crash in 1929 and the global depression that followed (Hagen Schulz-Forberg in Chapter 7). The decades after the Second World War were marked by a new type of superpower rivalry, decolonialization and the further wave of new nations appearing in the international scene. Throughout these transformations, nationalism and internationalism interacted, but internationalism was typically subordinated to the interests of nation states.

The analysis of language, both on the macro-level of serial textual data ('distant reading') and on the micro-level ('close reading'), suggests that the developments between the two world wars stimulated a further wave of internationalism. This second wave was, however, considerably delayed by the rise of National Socialist Germany and the Second World War. What we call the second wave is visible in parliamentary debates from the 1920s onwards. Figures 0.2 to 0.4 show that the term 'international' was used increasingly frequently in the British, Dutch and Swedish parliaments until the 1980s, with a steep rise since the 1960s as what can be called the third wave. Google Books Ngram Viewer on 'international*' in English, French and German similarly corroborate with an increase around 1920, a decline in the 1930s and during the Second World War, and a rapid increase during the 1960s, peaking around 1990 (see Figure 0.1).

Figure 0.1 Juxtaposition of Google Ngrams for the word 'international' in English, German and French corpus between 1800 and 2019 (https://books.google.com/ngrams).

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Figures 0.3 and 0.4, Table 0.1 and Google Ngrams in Figure 0.1 all indicate that the 'postinternational' turn, mentioned by Sluga, began towards the end of the twentieth century, when the stem 'internation*' entered into a relative decline in English, French and German literature. This seems to suggest the emergence of a 'post-internationalist age' which was less concerned with the relations between nations than with the world as a coherent whole. The word 'international' was not replaced with 'global' as expected, but there are indications in Ngram Viewer that the use of both words declined. These developments gave rise to alternative terminologies used to conceptualize the world 'beyond' the nation state as a fluid continuum rather than a constellation of nations. Of these, the scholarly terms 'cosmopolitanism' and 'transnational' rapidly gained popularity in social scientific and humanities research respectively in the first decade of the twenty-first century but have hardly found their way to public discourse.

In political theory, cosmopolitanism remains a modern normative concept which has little to do with the conceptual history of cosmopolitanism, as demonstrated by this volume (Chapters 1, 2 and 9). For us, transnational is a modern analytical concept, used (in Chapters 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 12 and 14) when the focus is on cross-border networks functioning independently of nation states and potentially on European or global, as opposed to particular

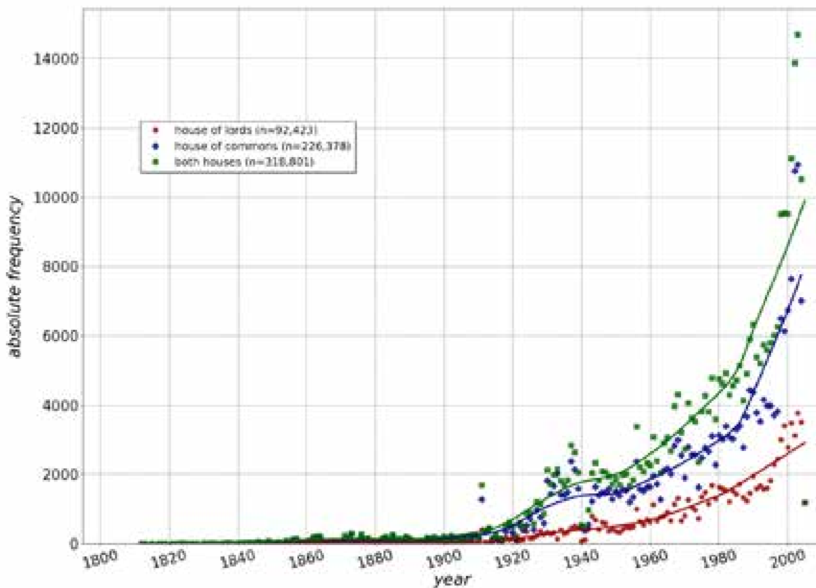

Figure 0.2 The absolute frequency of 'international' in the British parliament (1800–2005). © Joris van Eijnatten.

national, challenges. As Tiina Kinnunen (Chapter 5) points out, in the beginning of the twentieth century 'transnational' cross-border interaction was still covered with the term international. The attribute transnational was used in public discourse before scholars began to use it in the last two decades. In historical research, the transnational perspective typically focuses on phenomena that transcend the nation state; explores processes, networks, discourses, interconnections and institutions that have had impact beyond nation states; and examines different types of cross-national transfers related to knowledge, people, currencies, information and more (Beckert 2006; Ahonen 2014; Patel 2015).

Both macro- and micro-level analyses of debates on the international suggest that this re-evaluation of internationalism began in the 1960s. For example, nation states whose official identities were constructed on membership in an established church were replaced first by more generally adopted ecumenical ways of thinking and then by purely secular ways of conceptualizing international questions (Joris van Eijnatten and Pasi Ihalainen in Chapter 8). The 1960s was also the era of decolonization and increasing cross-border mobility, both of which influenced changing values in Europe. The Red Cross, for instance, struggled to negotiate between its emphasis on

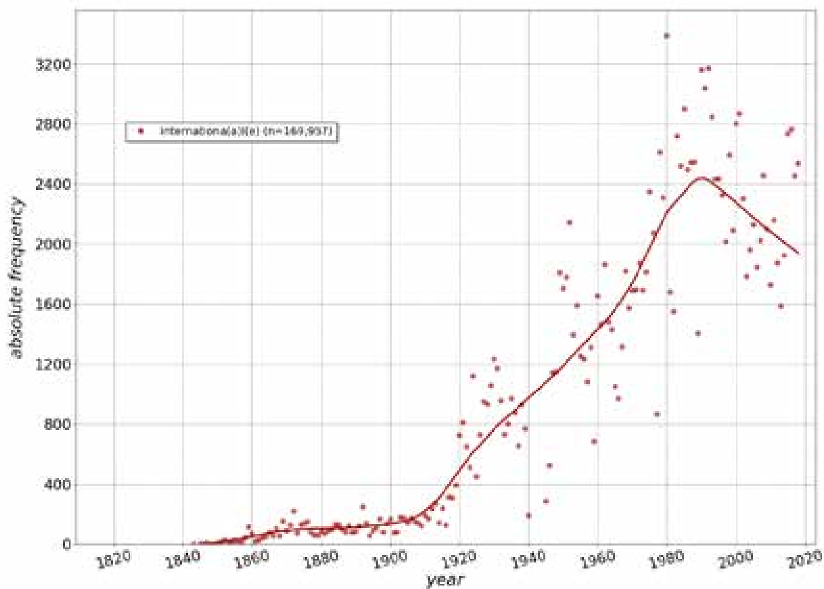

Figure 0.3 The absolute frequency of *internationa(a)l(e)* in the Dutch parliament (1814–2018), with a clearly visible post-internationalist turn since around 1990. © Joris van Eijnatten.

humanitarian universality and the realities (and particularities) of humanitarian aid in conflicts related to decolonialization (Norbert Götz and Irène Herrmann in Chapter 11). Similarly, the Olympic movement began to view internationalism in sport as a universal human right rather than a reflection of an activity centred on the nation state (Antero Holmila in Chapter 9).

Within Western European student movements, internationalism was already a premise for all activities and, as transnational ways of thinking gained ground, national phenomena and events were interpreted as part of worldwide developments (Juho Saksholm in Chapter 12). The international environmental movement was also taking new forms and affecting the ways in which politicians saw global climate challenges, though these were not that much discussed in the language of internationalism but often with an emphasis on national interests (Miina Kaarkoski in Chapter 13). Finally, the effects of European integration, first via common markets, but increasingly also in other areas, were felt in the domestic and foreign policy debates of EU member states. European unity continued to be frequently debated in relation to nationhood, however (Mats Andrén and Joris van Eijnatten in Chapter 10 and Viktória Ferenc, Petteri Laihonen and Taina Saarinen in Chapter 14).

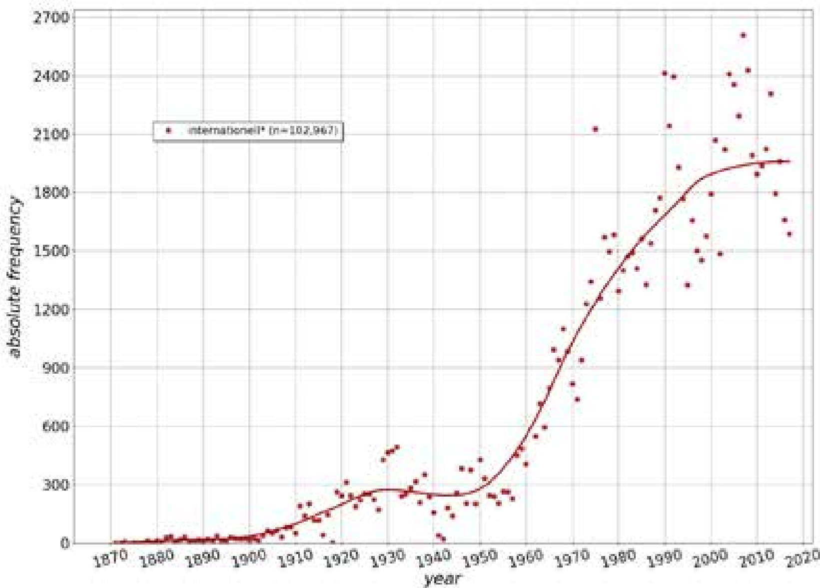

Figure 0.4 The absolute frequency of *internationell** in the Swedish parliament (1867–2017). © Joris van Eijnatten.

Table 0.1 The absolute frequencies or unigram counts of 'internationali[s/z]e', 'internationali[s/z]ing' and 'internationali[s/z]ation' and related terms, with their Dutch and Swedish equivalents, as used in the British, Dutch and Swedish parliaments. © Joris van Eijnatten.

Britain	**1861–1880**	**1881–1900**	**1901–1920**	**1921–1940**	**1941–1960**	**1961–1980**	**1981–2000**	**2001–2005**	**total**
globali[s/z]ation	0	0	0	0	0	3	730	1,113	1,846
globali[s/z]e	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	5	9
globali[s/z]ing	0	0	0	0	0	0	21	23	44
internationali[s/z]e	1	9	27	27	78	38	22	204	0
internationali[s/z]ing	1	1	28	19	52	13	14	132	0
internationali[sz]ation	11	12	126	221	113	94	31	621	0
Netherlands	**1861–1880**	**1881–1900**	**1901–1920**	**1921–1940**	**1941–1960**	**1961–1980**	**1981–2000**	**2001–2018**	**total**
globaliseren	0	0	0	0	0	4	26	4	34
globaliserend[e]	0	0	0	0	0	9	40	122	171
globalisering*	0	0	0	0	1	12	576	1,096	1,685
internationaliseren	0	0	0	0	9	25	35	53	122
internationaliserend(e)	0	0	0	0	0	1	11	9	21
internationalisering*	0	0	0	1	22	122	866	777	1,788
mondialiseren	0	0	0	0	0	5	7	2	14
mondialiserend[e]	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	9	12
mondialisering*	0	0	0	0	0	25	97	95	217
Sweden	**1867–1880**	**1881–1900**	**1901–1920**	**1921–1940**	**1941–1960**	**1961–1980**	**1981–2000**	**2001–2017**	**total**
internationalisera	8	0	0	2	0	11	11	4	36
internationaliserande	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
internationalisering*	73	0	1	28	7	186	1,170	425	1,890
globalisera	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
globaliserande	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
globalisering*	0	0	0	0	0	0	537	1,305	1,842

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The Mission of European Conceptual History of Internationalisms

We explore conceptualizations of the international as fluctuating, contextual and contingent political, cultural and economic discourses, often, but not always, related to interests of nation states and their nationalisms. Cosmopolitan ways of thinking and transnational networks have provided alternatives to ways of thinking purely centred on the nation state, but their role in mainstream discourse has remained limited. We emphasize the discursive and contested aspects of related debates and arguments, opening up a long-term and systematic vista, from eighteenth-century cosmopolitanism to our days of transnational interaction. Translations from several languages to English are our own if not otherwise stated.

Internationalism customarily refers to cooperation between states. Within the tradition known as liberal internationalism, patriotism and nationalism have been seen not only as antonyms of internationalism but as its prerequisites and hence reconcilable. A deeper understanding of the dynamics between nationalisms and internationalisms is hence one of our goals; this helps us to comprehend challenges in international cooperation of which contemporaries were often very conscious. In the confines of one volume it is not possible to cover everything that goes beyond nations states. In line with the series *European Conceptual History*, we focus on European political cultures in a comparative and transnational perspective.

Northwest European political cultures are the primary focus of contributors: we analyse British, Dutch, Finnish, French, German, Hungarian, Swedish and Swiss debates. We consider this a legitimate choice for one substantial and three practical reasons. Firstly, many of the concepts of international cooperation first evolved in Northwest European countries and were gradually extended to cover Southern and Eastern Europe and beyond the bounds of the continent. The consideration of more peripheral countries in Northwest Europe balances conventional great-power-centred narratives. Secondly, the digitization of documents on long-term political discourse has proceeded furthest in many Northwest European countries; this makes a digital history contribution to conceptual history practical and potentially innovative methodologically. Thirdly, conceptual history – also in its comparative and transnational forms – has established itself in these countries, making it somewhat easier to recruit authors ready to contribute with diachronic analyses that proceed beyond the boundaries of their 'own' nation states. Fourthly, the group of conceptual historians we have been able to assemble mostly read Northwest European languages, which enables comparative research between countries in this cultural area.

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We have done our best to break out of the nation state-centred paradigms of academic research, asking every author to justify their choice of national cases in the light of European conceptual history. Conceptualizations and discourses that extend beyond Europe – such as those of the universal and global – are considered through their relations and implications for concepts of internationalism in Europe. While empire and imperialism are not in focus here, we are aware that for centuries, Europeans have attempted to dominate global debates on international cooperation – as on almost any field of human activity. We hope that our volume contributes to the critical examination of such tendencies.

We fully recognize that not all voices can be heard through the extant sources, whether digital or analogical. The concepts whose history we analyse are abstract and not necessarily used in everyday discourses beyond political and cultural elites, even if the scope of debates was broad at times by the early and particularly the late twentieth century. We contribute to the inclusion of gender and class perspectives on the conceptual history of international cooperation. International politics has long remained a white, male and elite sphere of activity, and other perspectives are not explicitly present in many of the sources we use. Yet, the contributors have been asked to reflect on their potential significance and to include instances originating from everyday politicized debates in the media if not on the micro-level of individual citizens. Gender and class are the focus of two chapters, one on the internationalism of the first wave of feminism (Chapter 5), and the other on trade union and labour internationalism (Chapter 4).

In the beginning of the twenty-first century the future of political, economic, environmental or multilateral internationalism has been challenged by populistic, neonationalist and protectionist trends. The interconnected world manifested in the political, social, cultural and economic order of the twentieth century was depicted as being in a crisis in an age of Brexit, Trumpist policies, European populism and a number of other anti-establishment, anti-internationalist and anti-EU trends that dominated the debates of the late 2010s. The inability of international organizations to tackle effectively the climate or Covid-19 crises further calls their legitimacy into question. Is such questioning of the international exceptional or just another phase in a centuries-old negotiation between the interests of nation states and attempts to transcend or proceed beyond them? Internationalism could be seen as a phenomenon comparable to democracy and parliamentarism (Ihalainen, Ilie and Palonen 2016; Kurunmäki, Nevers and Te Velde 2018), that is, to ideals that have never been achieved in some particular phase of history but which continue to provide major goals in ongoing political debates. To understand the role of the international in the political, social, economic, cultural and

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ecological debates of today we need to grasp its multi-layered history as a contested concept. It may be that, like concepts of the world, our current concept of the international needs to move 'toward a broader, more comprehensive, and more complex reality' (Jordheim and Sandmo 2019: 17).

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