



KATHOLISCHE UNIVERSITÄT  
EICHSTÄTT-INGOLSTADT



VolkswagenStiftung

# The Everchanging Monroe Doctrine and its Entanglements



*Symposium*

June 07 – 09, 2023

Xplanatorium  
Herrenhausen Palace  
Hanover

Contact and  
Registration:  
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# The Everchanging **Monroe Doctrine** and its Entanglements

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The Monroe Doctrine has been interpreted in diverse ways in multiple academic disciplines—as a legal principle, as a claim to a geopolitical sphere of influence, or as an expression of a distinct hemispheric identity, among others. At the Doctrine’s bicentennial, an interdisciplinary dialogue on its multiple forms and their legal, political and social entanglements is particularly necessary—due to the renewed discursive topicality of the doctrine, for example, in the context of the activities of extra-hemispheric powers in Latin America, or of Russian demands for a sphere of influence in Eastern Europe. The symposium will bring leading scholars from all relevant disciplines from the Americas, Europe and Oceania together to debate these and other connected issues. These discussions will impact not only on future academic debates on the Monroe Doctrine, but on macro-spatializations in world politics in general (North-South, East-West, and others), which is crucial at a time when these are undergoing drastic and multi-contextual transformations.

## CONVENORS

Prof. Dr. Thomas Fischer, KU Eichstätt-Ingolstadt

Dr. Jochen Kleinschmidt, KU Eichstätt-Ingolstadt

**CONFERENCE PROGRAM****Wednesday, June 7**

From 10:00 AM	<b>Registration of participants</b>
11:00 AM – 11:30 AM	<b>Welcoming event</b>
11:45 AM – 01:15 PM	<b>Lunch</b>
01:30 PM – 03:30 PM	<b>Panel 1: Hierarchies and resistance</b> Presentations: <i>Tomoko Akami</i> , Australian National University: “In Each Other’s Sphere of Influence: The Monroe Doctrine in China and Mexico in the 1910s” <i>Alex Bryne</i> , University of Nottingham: “The Empire of the Monroe Doctrine in the Early Twentieth Century” <i>Eckart Conze</i> , University of Marburg: “The Monroe Doctrine in Germany: Trajectories of a Geopolitical Concept” <i>Juan Pablo Scarfi</i> , Universidad de San Andrés/CONICET: “The Meaning and Scope of the Monroe Doctrine in the Americas: Towards a Hemispheric Intellectual History” Discussant/Moderator: <i>Thomas Fischer</i> , KU Eichstätt-Ingolstadt <i>Christine Hatzky</i> , Leibniz-Universität Hannover
03:30 PM – 04:00 PM	<b>Coffee break</b>
04:00 PM – 06:00 PM	<b>Panel 2: Spatializations</b> Presentations: <i>Dawn Berry</i> , Henry M. Jackson Foundation: “The Arctic and The Monroe Doctrine: Barometers of Global Geopolitical Change” <i>Diego Sebastián Crescentino</i> , Universidad Autónoma de Madrid: “The Quest for Autonomy in Brazilian Foreign Policy: Navigating the Dispute Between Autonomists and Americanists in the Shadow of the Monroe Doctrine” <i>Stefanie Ortmann</i> , University of Sussex: “Return of spheres of influence? Russian spatial imaginaries and the war in Ukraine” <i>Carlos Gustavo Poggio Teixeira</i> , Berea College: “A ‘hemispheric’ policy? Reinterpreting the Monroe Doctrine” Discussant/Moderator: <i>Matthew Specter</i> , UC Berkeley <i>Jochen Kleinschmidt</i> , KU Eichstätt-Ingolstadt
07:00 PM	<b>Dinner</b>

**Thursday, June 8**

09:00 AM – 11:00 AM

**Panel 3: Adaptation and Evolution**

Presentations:

*Tanja Bühner*, LMU Munich: "The Monroe Doctrine and the legal regulation of global expansion at the Berlin Conference 1884-1885"*Thomas Fischer*, KU Eichstätt-Ingolstadt: "The Monroe Doctrine at the Paris Peace Negotiations of 1919: A Global History Approach"*María del Rosario Rodríguez Díaz*, Universidad Michoacana de San Nicolás de Hidalgo: "Reflections on the bicentennial of the Monroe Doctrine. The Corollaries Roosevelt and Lodge, 1904-1912"*David M. K. Sheinin*, Trent University: "Argentina's Shocking Entry into the US Sphere of Influence, the Secret Domingo Cavallo Recordings, and the End of Whatever was Left of the Monroe Doctrine"

Discussant/Moderator:

*Tomoko Akami*, Australian National University*Jochen Kleinschmidt*, KU Eichstätt-Ingolstadt

11:00 AM – 12:30 PM

**Recording of participant statements**

12:30 PM – 02:00 PM

**Lunch**

02:00 PM – 03:30 PM

**Recording of participant statements**

03:30 PM – 04:00 PM

**Coffee break**

04:00 PM – 06:00 PM

**Roundtable I: The Everchanging Monroe Doctrine and its Historical Entanglements**

07:00 PM

**Dinner**



**Friday, June 9**

09:00 AM – 11:00 AM

**Panel 4: Aesthetics, Identities, Imaginaries**

Presentations:

*Juliette Dumont*, Université Sorbonne Nouvelle – Paris 3: „Building ‘Nuestra (Pan)America’: The Pan American Union’s Division of Intellectual Cooperation and the making of an Hemispheric ‘Imagined Community’”

*Laura Febres*, Alexander von Humboldt Foundation: “The Monroe doctrine and the invasion of Venezuela (1902-1903) through *El hombre de la levita gris* by Enrique Bernardo Nuñez”

*Jochen Kleinschmidt*, KU Eichstätt-Ingolstadt: “The Monroe Doctrine as a Semantic of Low-Intensity Securitization”

*Christopher Robert Rossi*, Arctic University of Norway: “Line of Amity, Line of Enmity: Hemispheric Fraternity, the Monroe Doctrine, and US Large Policy Men”

Discussant/Moderator:

*Juan Pablo Scarfi*, Universidad de San Andrés/CONICET

*Thomas Fischer*, KU Eichstätt-Ingolstadt

11:00 AM – 01:00 PM

**Roundtable II: The Everchanging Monroe Doctrine and its Entanglements in Geopolitics & International Law**

01:00 PM – 02:00 PM

**Lunch**

02:00 PM – 04:00 PM

**Conference plenary**

From 04:00 PM

**End of conference**

From 07:00 PM

**Conference dinner at outside venue – TBA**

## FULL INFORMATION ON PANELS AND PARTICIPANTS

Wednesday, June 7

01:30 PM – 03:30 PM

**Panel 1: Hierarchies and resistance**

Presentations:

**Tomoko Akami, Australian National University****“In Each Other’s Sphere of Influence: The Monroe Doctrine in China and Mexico in the 1910s”**

While there seems to be no agreement on how to interpret the Monroe Doctrine both by contemporary politicians, diplomats, and intellectuals, and by later scholars, one thing all seem to agree is: it was an assertion of one country’s sphere of influence.

This paper examines two diplomats, one from the US, and another from Japan, in each other’s sphere of influence in the 1910s to understand their views of a sphere of influence, and that of an international and regional order, especially focusing on their understanding of multilateralism, their vision (or lack of it) for a post-revolutionary regime, and their relationship with their own governments and the governments of their postings.

These two diplomats are American Paul Reinsch, and Japanese Adachi Mineichirō. Both were not only diplomats, but also intellectuals and had visions for the regional and international order. Both worked hard to push one’s country’s interest in the other’s sphere of influence. Reinsch was US Minister to China in the post-revolutionary China during the Wilson Administration (1913-19), trying to push US’s Open Door policy against Japanese aggressive move for more exclusive rights. He was also regarded by one of the early pioneers of what would become International Relations, and his works on colonies policies in the 1900s also had a significant impact on Japanese scholars in the field. Adachi was Minister to Mexico in 1913-15, and he would later play an important role at the League of Nations and then become the first Asian President of the Permanent Court of International Justice in 1931. Adachi also tried see Mexico as a gateway for the Japanese empire’s access to the market and resource of Latin America during the post-revolution civil war Mexico. While there is a detailed study on Adachi on this period in Japanese, the diplomatic documents are available, and the paper hopes to compare how these two diplomats dealt with the key issues of the Monroe Doctrine, the sphere of influence, multilateralism, and their vision (or lack of) for post-revolution regime, while their own domestic politics were going through major changes.

**Tomoko Akami** is Associate Professor at the College of Asia and the Pacific and Deputy Director of the Japan Institute at the Australian National University. She specializes in history of international organizations in Asia and the Pacific in the inter-war period and in Japan’s diplomatic history. Her publications include *Internationalizing the Pacific* (2002), *Japan’s News Propaganda and Reuters’ News Empire in Northeast Asia, 1870-1934* (2012), and *Soft Powers of Japan’s Total War State, 1934-45* (2014). Her recent publications on the works of the League of Nations in Asia and the Pacific appeared in the *Journal of Global History*, the *International History Review*, and the *Journal of the History of International Law*, while her collaborative works on the League, IR, and International Law have been published and are forthcoming in various edited books. She is currently working on the Australian Research Council-funded project on ‘Towards a globalized history of international relations’.

**Alex Bryne, University of Nottingham****“The Empire of the Monroe Doctrine in the Early Twentieth Century”**

This paper will examine the ways in which the Monroe Doctrine was invoked and reconceptualised during the early twentieth century to frame the scope and nature of the United States’ empire. During the Spanish-American War of 1898 opponents of Philippine annexation invoked the doctrine to differentiate between a structure, practice, and policy of imperialism that they believed to be consistent with American traditions, and one that was akin to European colonialism and antithetical to foundational American ideals. In response, architects of the United States’ new overseas empire began to reconceptualise the doctrine and view it as a flexible policy that could accommodate historic shifts in United States foreign relations.

The Roosevelt Corollary of 1904 epitomised this shift, advocating broader policies of formal and informal imperial expansion as a legitimate defence of national core values. However, influenced by Latin American criticism of the doctrine, a growing number of Pan-Americanists in the United States proposed an inter-American interpretation of the doctrine, arguing that matters of security and diplomacy ought to be met by strengthening inter-American unity through cooperative and multilateral policy initiatives rather than imperialism. Reconceptualised as a malleable ideal, the Monroe Doctrine served as a powerful rhetorical among United States decision-makers as they debated the shape of the nation’s expanding empire.

**Alex Bryne** is a historian of United States foreign relations. He received his PhD in American History from the University of Nottingham in 2017 and currently serves as a Teaching Associate in the university’s History Department. He has previously taught history at the University of Lincoln and the University of Roehampton. His research interests

revolve around United States imperialism, Pan-Americanism, and the American experience of the First World War. In 2020 he published a history of the Monroe Doctrine during the early twentieth century.

**Eckart Conze, University of Marburg**

**“The Monroe Doctrine in Germany: Trajectories of a Geopolitical Concept”**

Ever since 1823 the Monroe Doctrine has been the object of political debate and academic discussion in Germany and Europe. Its perceptions and evaluations have been an important part of the evolution of German geopolitical thinking in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The paper will examine these developments against the background of German-American relations. It will thus try to bring together approaches of intellectual history/history of ideas on the one hand and history of international relations on the other. It will focus, in particular, on German foreign policy and concepts of international order between 1914 and 1945 and on attempts to create and legitimize an international order not based on the “Westphalian” idea of national or territorial states.

**Eckart Conze** is Professor of Modern and Contemporary History and Co-Director of the International Research and Documentation Centre for War Crimes Trials (ICWC) at the University of Marburg (Germany). He held Visiting Professorships at the Universities of Toronto, Cambridge, Bologna, Utrecht and Jerusalem. His main areas of research are the history of international relations (19<sup>th</sup> to 21<sup>st</sup> centuries), the history of elites and the aristocracy, the Federal Republic of Germany, and the history of security. Recent book publications include: *Das Amt und die Vergangenheit. Deutsche Diplomaten im Dritten Reich und in der Bundesrepublik*, Munich 2010 (with N. Frei, P. Hayes and M. Zimmermann); *Die große Illusion. Versailles 1919 und die Neuordnung der Welt* (2018); *Geschichte der Sicherheit. Entwicklung – Themen – Perspektiven* (2018). His latest book is: *Schatten des Kaiserreichs. Die Reichsgründung 1871 und ihr schwieriges Erbe* (2020).

**Juan Pablo Scarfi, Universidad de San Andrés/CONICET**

**“The Meaning and Scope of the Monroe Doctrine in the Americas: Towards a Hemispheric Intellectual History”**

By the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in the context of the rise of the United States as an informal empire in Latin America and the emergence of Pan-Americanism, the Monroe Doctrine originally formulated in 1823 was redefined as a unilateral principle to legitimize US interventions in the region, and as a multilateral doctrine of continental Pan- American cooperation. In fact, by the early twentieth century, Latin American and US diplomats, jurists, politicians, and public intellectuals advocated opposing visions, since they sought to Pan-Americanize the doctrine as a multilateral principle, as well as to deploy and denounce it as a unilateral and flexible principle to legitimize US interventions.

Therefore, the Monroe Doctrine remained unsettled to the extent that it could be even argued that since its inception in 1823, its meaning and scope have never been settled in the Americas. This article explores the debates over the meaning and scope of the Monroe Doctrine across the Americas in the early twentieth century and it argues that these debates generated the scope for the multilateralization of the doctrine and for unsettling its meaning and scope, generating a controversial continental discussion over its legitimacy.

**Juan Pablo Scarfi** is a Research Associate at the Argentine National Research and Technological Council (CONICET) and teaches International Relations and Global History at the University of San Andres, Argentina. He received his PhD in 2014 from the University of Cambridge. He was a Visiting Scholar at Columbia University, US (2011), the UCL Institute of the Americas, UK (2015), the Institut des Hautes Études de l'Amérique Latine (IHEAL), Université Paris 3, Sorbonne Nouvelle, France (2019), and a Fulbright Fellow at the Elliott School of International Affairs, George Washington University, US (2020).

He is the author of *The Hidden History of International Law in the Americas: Empire and Legal Networks* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017) and *El imperio de la ley: James Brown Scott y la construcción de un orden jurídico interamericano* (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2014). He is also co-editor of: *Cooperation and Hegemony in US-Latin American Relations: Revisiting the Western Hemisphere Idea* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016) (with Andrew Tillman), and *The New Pan-Americanism and the Structuring of Inter-American Relations* (New York: Routledge, 2022) (with David Sheinin).

Discussant/Moderator:

**Thomas Fischer, KU Eichstätt-Ingolstadt**

**Christine Hatzky, Leibniz-Universität Hannover**

04:00 PM – 06:00 PM

## Panel 2: Spatializations

Presentations:

**Dawn Alexandra Berry, Henry M. Jackson Foundation**

### **“The Arctic and the Monroe Doctrine: Barometers of Global Geopolitical Change”**

Although the Monroe Doctrine is most often thought of with respect to the Caribbean and Latin America, it has a long and complex history in relation to the polar regions. This presentation examines when, why, and how the Monroe Doctrine was extended to the North American Arctic, and discusses the ways in which the explicit application of the Doctrine to the Arctic impacted 20th century American security policy. It will trace the impact of previous historical crises on the doctrine and the region, arguing that both the Monroe Doctrine and the Arctic come into focus in moments of geopolitical flux, and will discuss how this history can inform contemporary discussions of global security.

**Dawn Alexandra Berry** is a Research Team Lead with the Henry M. Jackson Foundation for the Advancement of Military Medicine (HJF). Dr. Berry's academic research centers on diplomatic history's intersection with foreign policy, security studies, and business and environmental history. Her work explores the ways in which technological advances and the drive for strategic resources affect global geopolitics in moments of crisis and war, and how these crises are communicated to and remembered by local populations. Her current book project *Star Spangled Ice: FDR, Global Security, and the Polar Regions* is a comprehensive study on the origins of American foreign policy relating to the Arctic and Antarctic.

A historian by training, Dr. Berry is interested in promoting the relevance of history to policy and industry, and often acts as a Subject Matter Expert (SME) on Arctic security issues. For the past eight years she has supported the efforts of the Defense POW/MIA Accounting Agency (DPAA) to recover and identify missing service members from past conflicts.

Dr. Berry has taught at universities in the United States, Canada, China, and the United Kingdom. She was previously a Postdoctoral Fellow at the Einaudi Center for International Studies at Cornell University, and an Academic Visitor at St. Antony's College, University of Oxford. She completed her doctoral work at University College, University of Oxford.

**Diego Sebastián Crescentino, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid**

### **“The Quest for Autonomy in Brazilian Foreign Policy: Navigating the Dispute Between Autonomists and Americanists in the Shadow of the Monroe Doctrine”**

In the shadow of the Monroe Doctrine, this presentation examines the quest for autonomy in Brazilian foreign policy and the ongoing struggle between autonomists and Americanists in shaping Brazil's approach to international relations. It traces the evolution of this dispute from the late nineteenth century to the present, analysing the impact of changing global power dynamics, regional rivalries and domestic factors on Brazil's foreign policy. It argues that the quest for autonomy has been a consistent theme in Brazilian foreign policy, particularly in response to the Monroe Doctrine and its implications for Brazilian sovereignty and regional leadership.

In this sense, while autonomists have sought the advancement of Brazilian interests through multilateralism, regional integration and the diversification of trading partners, Americanists have been in favour of closer alignment with the United States. It examines how these competing visions have influenced Brazil's approach to a range of international issues, including regional integration and cooperation. Finally, it reflects on the continuing importance of the Monroe Doctrine in shaping Brazilian foreign policy, arguing that it remains a major factor in the dispute between autonomists and Americanists.

**Diego Crescentino** is currently a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, and Visiting Researcher at the Center for Latin American Studies (ZILAS) of the Katholische Universität Eichstätt-Ingolstadt (2023). PhD in History of International Relations, MA in International Relations and African Studies, and BA in Political Science and Public Administration. He is also Editor-in-chief of the premier Spanish-language International Relations journal *Relaciones Internacionales* (1699-3950).

**Stefanie Ortmann, University of Sussex**

### **“Return of spheres of influence? Russian spatial imaginaries and the war in Ukraine”**

In light of a current purported ‘return of geopolitics’ and the ‘return of the West’, there is also a renewed interest in spheres of influence. The dynamics between Russia and ‘the West’ (US, NATO and EU) in Eurasia are often narrated in these terms, not least with regard to Ukraine. The invasion, interpreted by some as a Russian reaction to a possible NATO enlargement to Ukraine, seems to confirm this – after all, one of its likely outcomes will be a loss of Russian influence in Ukraine, and a decisive ‘westward turn’ of the country. The Kremlin's language is heavily geopolitical and centres competition with the US as well as claims to ‘privileged spheres of interest’ in the post-Soviet space.

Nevertheless, in this paper I want to complicate straightforward readings of Russian actions in Ukraine along these lines, and shed doubt on an overly simplistic narrative of ‘return of Sol’ and its connection to a Russian Great Power



identity. I pay attention to Russian spatial imaginaries as a spatialized 'geopolitics of identity' reproducing Soviet and imperial legacies, intertwining domestic and international identity narratives – and in the fallout from the invasion revealing themselves as part of a process that could be understood as a further step in a post-imperial spatial reconfiguration rather than a 'return of spheres of influence'.

**Stefanie Ortmann** is a senior lecturer in International Relations at the department of IR, University of Sussex. Her research interests include the return and global circulation of geopolitical imaginaries in the context of the current global resurgence of nationalism. She is particularly interested in folk geopolitical imaginaries and their (geo)political effects. She has written about the return of the concept of spheres of influence, concepts of 'state-ness', embodied sovereignty and Russian power in Central Asia, Russian myths of the state, Russia as a Great Power and network state, and conspiracy theories in the FSU. She is also interested in the epistemic politics of IR, especially in the continuing problematic relationship of the discipline and 'area studies', and has written about the effects of this on the positionality of researchers from 'the global East' in the neoliberal anglophone academy. She is currently working on a genealogy and ontological critique of the concept of 'state identity' in IR, and a new project on the 're-geopoliticization' of Europe.

### **Carlos Gustavo Poggio Teixeira, Berea College**

#### **"A 'hemispheric' policy? Reinterpreting the Monroe Doctrine"**

John Kerry, the US Secretary of State about a decade ago, declared that the "Monroe era is over". His successor, Rex Tillerson, however, argued that the Monroe Doctrine is "as relevant today as it was the day it was written". This Doctrine, regarded as one of the main principles of North American foreign policy in Latin America since the independence of Latin American states, has gained renewed relevance in the context of the increasing rivalry between the US and China. My presentation will focus on an aspect of the Monroe Doctrine that has often been overlooked, namely, its two distinct traits from both the rhetorical and political perspectives. Rather than being a unified "hemispheric" policy, the Monroe Doctrine had a distinct Caribbean - not Latin American - character. Both US and South American policymakers acknowledged that South America was considered as a separate subsystem from North America (which included Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean). Therefore, to the south of Panama, the Monroe Doctrine had a much more "multilateral" flavor, as demonstrated even by its famous Roosevelt Corollary.

**Carlos Gustavo Poggio Teixeira** is an Associate Professor of Political Science at Berea College in Kentucky. Previously, he has held positions at Fundação Armando Alvares Penteado (FAAP) and Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo (PUC-SP) in Brazil, where he taught both at the undergraduate and graduate levels. He holds a Ph.D. in international studies from Old Dominion University in Virginia, where he was a Fulbright scholar. His research focuses on US foreign policy and politics and Latin American politics. He was a Visiting Research Scholar at Georgetown University in Washington, DC, and has been a frequent commentator on international affairs for various media outlets. He is the author of *Brazil, the United States, and the South American Subsystem: Regional Politics and the Absent Empire* (2012), which was chosen as one of the best books on international relations by Foreign Affairs magazine. He has also published several articles on these topics in journals such as *Foreign Policy Analysis*, *Orbis*, and *Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional*.

Discussant/Moderator:

*Jochen Kleinschmidt*, KU Eichstätt-Ingolstadt

*Matthew Specter*, UC Berkeley

**Thursday, June 8**

09:00 AM – 11:00 AM

### **Panel 3: Adaptation and Evolution**

Presentations:

**Tanja Bühner, LMU Munich**

#### **“The Monroe Doctrine and the legal regulation of global expansion at the Berlin Conference 1884-1885”**

This paper analyses the entanglements and conceptualizations of the Monroe Doctrine in the - probably rather unexpected - context of the Berlin Conference 1884/85. It asks whether imaginations of the Monroe doctrine had an influence on the legal regulations of economic and territorial expansion at the Berlin conference as well as visions of a new global order in a more general sense.

The German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck called on representatives of thirteen European nations as well as the United States to take part in the Berlin Conference in 1884 to work out a joint expansionist policy on the African continent. On receiving the invitation, the British understood that a continental league had been raised against the “Colossus”, which since the Napoleonic Wars had dominated the globe outside the European-North American geographical sphere. Continental Europe joined together in the doctrine of free trade that aimed particularly at keeping the Congo basin open in order to outlaw the British Monroe doctrine over the South African coasts and to provide a counterweight to the British global supremacy.

The Berlin Conference not only marked the first time that global economic and territorial expansion was codified in international law. It was also the first big international conference for the United States. Although the United States did not ratify the General Act, John Kasson and his associated delegate, Henry Sanford, had represented them. Sanford served with King Leopold II’s International Association that benefitted most of the decreed international free trade regime. It is, however, not enough to see the American delegates merely as a front for King Leopold’s African schemes. Yet, can their support for free trade in Africa be understood as a transfer of the Monroe Doctrine to Africa in the sense of a rejection of European colonization not only in the Western Hemisphere, but also in Africa and even globally? This view seems to be corroborated by the fact that Kasson argued for African self-determination, which opposed the other participant’s doctrines of annexation and terra nullius. Alternatively, did the American delegates rather break with the Monroe Doctrine within the meaning of a post-Civil War break with the American tradition of isolation? This reading rather would suggest that they promoted a global American expansionism. Hence, advocating free trade meant to carry the “Open Door” from China to Africa and the American delegates can even be perceived as precursors of the imperialistic expansionists of 1898.

**Tanja Bühner** currently is Substitute Professor for Modern and Contemporary History at LMU Munich. She also is the PI of the sub-project “Illegitimate violence in the French and Austrian militaries during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars (1789–1815)”, which is part of the DFG Research Group on Military Cultures of Violence. Tanja completed her PhD in 2008 at the University of Bern (Switzerland) on German colonial security policy and the German colonial armies. In 2019, she completed her *habilitation* on intercultural diplomacy between South Asian powers and the French and British companies in the age of global reforms and revolutions, c. 1770-1815. She was awarded several Mobility Fellowships from the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNF) to conduct her research in Germany, UK, France, Tanzania and India.

I am particularly interested in the connections and entanglements of European state building and Empire building and aim to write against the still dominant narrative of European modernity as an endogenous national or European invention or development. I specifically want to show how intercultural interactions outside Europe and imperial imaginations shaped conceptualizations of the national and international in Europe.

Recent publications are “A Thwarted ‘Westphalian Moment’ in South Asia? The Triple Alliance against Tipu Sultan”, in *South Asia Unbound. New International Histories of the Subcontinent*, ed. by Bérénice Guyot-Réchart and Elisabeth Leake; and “Bismarck und der *Scramble for Africa*: Von einer ‘hybriden Art der Verantwortung’”, in: Ulrich Lappenküper und Karina Urbach (eds.), *Realpolitik für Europa: Bismarcks Weg*.

**Thomas Fischer, KU Eichstätt-Ingolstadt**

#### **“The Monroe Doctrine at the Paris Peace Negotiations of 1919: A Global History Approach”**

For a long time, historiography was content to regard the Monroe Doctrine as a unilateral foreign policy guideline, both in its practical and imaginary dimension. The Doctrine, according to a common opinion, was eternal in a sense; like the Constitution, it was part of the essential political-administrative toolkit of the United States. But it's not that simple: With a global history perspective, it can be shown that, firstly, it has changed repeatedly over the course of two centuries, that is to say, it has shown itself to be very adaptable to changing context conditions and, secondly, that other actors than the United States played an important role in these processes.

My contribution on the Paris Peace Conference singles out one such historic moment of global historical significance, at which the Monroe Doctrine was discussed from different perspectives inside and outside the League of Nations

Commission. The United States wanted to confirm their privileged access to Latin America (including the Caribbean) under international law, but at the same time, also wanted to avoid debating the Monroe Doctrine – some Latin American delegates expressed reservations, Germany's opinion was not asked for, Great Britain had agreed with the United States on a world order of spheres of influence, some delegates from France, itself an empire, grumbled (because it softened internationalism), and Japan seized the moment to claim its own sphere of influence. My contribution thus addresses the question of how the Paris Peace Conference was a turning point in the interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine.

**Thomas Fischer** is Professor of Latin American History at the Catholic University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt. Fischer studied history, German literature, media studies and education at the University of Bern in the 1980s. He received his doctorate in 1994 from the University of Bern with a thesis on foreign companies and economic development in Colombia in the 19th century, funded by a grant from the Swiss National Science Foundation. In his habilitation thesis submitted to the University of Bern in 2002, he dealt with Latin American states as actors in the League of Nations. After research stays in Colombia, the U.S., France and Britain, he worked as a Research Associate and Researcher at the University of Erlangen-Nuremberg from 1992 to 2007. In 2008, he was appointed Professor of Latin American History at the Catholic University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt. Since 2009, he has been the director of the Center for Latin American Studies (ZILAS). From 2011 to 2013, he was Dean of the Faculty of History and Social Sciences. From 2016 to 2020, he was chairman of the Working Group on German Latin American Studies. He is co-editor of the journal *IBEROAMERICANA* and the book series *Americana Eystettensia*. He also held research professorships and served as visiting lecturer at various Latin American universities. His recent research focuses on the connection between politics, violence and memory in history (especially Latin America), international history, coca/cocaine discourses since the 19th century, knowledge and science production in the first half of the 19th century in a global history context, border areas in South America in the first half of the 20th century, and the history of football. He publishes on these topics in German, English, Spanish and Portuguese.

**María del Rosario Rodríguez Díaz, Universidad Michoacana de San Nicolás de Hidalgo**  
**“Reflections on the bicentennial of the Monroe Doctrine. The Corollaries Roosevelt and Lodge, 1904-1912”**

This paper aims to identify the changes and continuities of the Monroe Doctrine in the corollaries issued by President Theodore Roosevelt and Senator Henry Cabot Lodge in 1904 and 1912, respectively. Through documentary and bibliohemerographic sources, this study analyzes the postulation junctures of both corollaries and evidence that the Monroe Doctrine was alluded to not only to intervene in the internal affairs of Latin American countries but to defend U.S. geopolitical interests on the eve of the opening of the Panama Canal.

**Rosario Rodríguez** obtained her PhD in Latin American Studies at The National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) and her MA degree in History at The Victoria University of Manchester, England. She has been working at research and teaching positions at the Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas de la Universidad Michoacana de San Nicolás de Hidalgo (IIH-UMSNH) in Morelia, México. She has published several works related to the history of the United States and its expansionism in the Caribbean and Central America. She recently published the article: “The Monroe Doctrine at the Fourth Pan-American Conference in Buenos Aires, 1910”, in *Latinoamérica Review* (CIAC-UNAM, 2021). She is currently responsible for the research project: *Mexican-American relations during the internship of León de La Barra: Diplomacy and press. 1911.*

**David M. K. Sheinin, Trent University**  
**“Argentina’s Shocking Entry into the US Sphere of Influence, the Secret Domingo Cavallo Recordings, and the End of Whatever was Left of the Monroe Doctrine”**

In 1965, Alonso Aguilar Monteverde and other Latin American scholars on the political left wrote sharp denunciations of the links between the Monroe Doctrine, Pan Americanism, and US imperialism. That same year, in a speech to high-ranking military officers from throughout the Americas, Ricardo Colombo—the Argentine ambassador to the Organization of American States—saw something very different in the legacy of Bolívar, Monroe, Calvo, and Drago. I’ve argued elsewhere that by trying to invoke that legacy in a failed effort to generate a hemisphere-wide military response to left-wing insurgencies, Colombo played a key role in ending strategic Pan Americanism, and perhaps what was left of the Monroe Doctrine.

Thirty-five years later, Argentina—a long-time antagonist of US influence in the hemisphere—did an abrupt strategic shift in realigning its geopolitical interests with those of the United States leading to the once unthinkable—Argentine Naval support for the U.S. in the Gulf War. Drawing in part on Argentine archival documents, this paper argues that Argentina’s strategic shift and what it heralded for a rightward strategic shift in 1990s Latin America, ended the Cold War vestiges of a strategic Monroe Doctrine but may well have initiated a new basis for how the United States and other countries shaped the US sphere of influence.

**David Sheinin** is Professor of History and Director of the History Graduate Program at Trent University. He is, in addition, Académico Correspondiente of the Academia Nacional de la Historia de la República Argentina. David has published 18 books, the most recent of which is *Recasting the Nation in Twentieth Century Argentina* (co-edited with Benjamin Bryce, Routledge, 2023). His current projects include the Argentine nuclear sector in Cold War international

relations; Michigan State University's development projects in Cold War Colombia; and a political biography of former Toronto mayor John Sewell.

Discussant/Moderator:

*Tomoko Akami*, Australian National University

*Jochen Kleinschmidt*, KU Eichstätt-Ingolstadt



**Friday, June 9**

09:00 AM – 11:00 AM

## **Panel 4: Aesthetics, Identities, Imaginaries**

Presentations:

**Juliette Dumont, Université Sorbonne Nouvelle – Paris 3**

### **„Building ‘Nuestra (Pan)America’: The Pan American Union’s Division of Intellectual Cooperation and the making of an Hemispheric ‘Imagined Community’”**

Pan-Americanism was, until the late 1940s, “an unstable synthesis of utopian ideals and the rise of the United States as a world power” (Cándida Smith 2017, 3). This formulation by historian Richard Candida-Smith is central to our research on the cultural dimension of Pan-Americanism, as are the analyses developed in the book edited by Juan Pablo Scarfi and Andrew Tillman, *Cooperation and Hegemony in US-Latin American Relations: Revisiting the Western Hemisphere Idea* (2016). In this framework, the Monroe Doctrine represents, in addition to an instrument of US foreign policy, one of the keystones of a discourse and an imaginary emphasizing “the commonality of the hemispheric experience in contrast to other parts of the world” (Berger 2000, 5) on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the rhetorical tool from which US imperialism in Latin America was deployed (Murphy, 2005).

Our paper will not focus directly on the Monroe Doctrine, but on the discourses and practices promoted by the Division of Intellectual Cooperation (DIC) of the Pan American Union, from its creation in 1929 until the years. Designed to facilitate the “reinforcement of spiritual relations between the nations of the American continent”, the DIC was the source of a number of publications, particularly in the educational field. This paper will draw on an analysis of these publications to highlight the role of the UPA in general and the DIC in particular in constructing and promoting an hemispheric imagining in the age of Good Neighbor Policy. Celebrations (such as Pan American Day), illustrious men, landscapes, arts, literature and popular culture from the Americas...were all elements promoted in the pages of these publications and intended to build an “imagined community”, to use Benedict Anderson's expression, on a continental scale.

In doing so, our work is fully grounded in the cultural history of international relations and in the analysis of representations, as well as in the wake of Gretchen Murphy's *Hemispheric Imaginings: The Monroe Doctrine and Narratives of U.S. Empire*.

**Juliette Dumont** received her PhD in history from the Université Sorbonne Nouvelle – Paris 3 in 2013. Since 2016 she is an associate professor at the Institut des Hautes Etudes de l'Amérique Latine and researcher at the Centre de Recherche et de Documentation des Amériques (UMR 7227). Her research focuses on Latin American international and cultural relations, in particular on Argentinian, Chilean and Brazilian cultural diplomacy. She currently works on Pan-Americanism and education. In 2022, she published “Chilean Cultural Diplomacy and Cultural Internationalisms: An Entangled History (1927–1940s)”, in *Culture as Soft Power: Bridging Cultural Relations, Intellectual Cooperation, and Cultural Diplomacy*, edited by Elisabet Carbó-Catalan and Diana Roig Sanz and “Pan-American Intellectual Cooperation” in Juan Pablo Scarfi, David Sheinin (eds.), *The New Pan-Americanism and the Structuring of Inter-American Relations*.

**Laura Febres, Alexander von Humboldt Foundation**

### **“The Monroe doctrine and the invasion of Venezuela (1902-1903) through *El hombre de la levita gris* by Enrique Bernardo Núñez”**

Enrique Bernardo Núñez, Venezuelan historian, writer and diplomat, was born in the city of Valencia in 1895. An expert in showing in literature the international conflicts of colonialism, as demonstrated in his novel *Cubagua* (1931), in which he paints the desolation left by the Spanish conquest on that island, recognized for the wealth provided by its pearls.

In his novel *El hombre de la levita gris* (1943), he presents a reflection on the invasion of the Venezuelan coast by England, Germany, Italy, and other European and Latin American countries in the years 1902 and 1903 due to the debts that this nation had contracted with those countries, due to their economic and political instability, caused by the continuous revolutions generated by the warlords prior to these dates, with the purpose of appropriating or staying in power.

This invasion became an international conflict of great importance because when the United States corroborated the armed presence mainly of England and Germany in a Latin American country with very little capacity for its defense, they put forward the Monroe postulate formulated in 1823 and summarized in the phrase *America for the Americans*. After the episode of the blockade of the Venezuelan coasts, the postulate already turned into a doctrine, the power exerted by the United States in Latin American areas in the 20th century is reaffirmed.

Enrique Bernardo Núñez shows in detail the situation of ignorance and helplessness in which Venezuelans found themselves at that time to defend themselves in such an international conflict. However, once the conflict was resolved in international courts, the debt claimed by the creditor countries was reduced to less than half of the initial claims of the claimant countries.

**Laura Febres** received her PhD in History from Universidad Católica Andrés Bello, and her MA in Literature from Universidad Simón Bolívar in Venezuela. She is a researcher, professor, editor and coordinator of the project “The female gaze from cultural diversity: a sample of her novels from the 1990s to the first decade of the 21st century”. She has published more than a dozen monographies and several edited volumes, and has received several awards and recognitions, among which are: Honorable Mention in the contest sponsored by the Organization of American States (OAS) in 1984 on the occasion of the centenary the birth of Pedro Henríquez Ureña; Academic Merit Award granted by the Metropolitan University in 2001; Antonia Palacios Medal awarded by the Venezuelan Writers Circle in 2002; Academic Trajectory Award given by the Metropolitan University in 2004; Nomination for the XIX Menéndez Pelayo International Prize conferred by Casa de América in 2005. She has also obtained first place in the award for research and intellectual creation at the Metropolitan University in the years 2008-2009, 2009-2010 and has been in the top five in 2010-11, 2012-2013, 2014-15. From 1987 to September 2018, she was Full Professor at Universidad Metropolitana in Caracas, Venezuela. Currently, she is working as a researcher funded by the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation at Catholic University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt.

**Jochen Kleinschmidt, KU Eichstätt-Ingolstadt**

**“The Monroe Doctrine as a Semantic of Low-Intensity Securitization”**

The Monroe Doctrine has been described with a variety of legal, political and strategic concepts, with their plausibility varying according to the historic era in question. In this contribution, I will propose that besides having been used as a legal doctrine of state sovereignty, as a geopolitical claim to a sphere of influence, and as an instrument of liberal universalism, the Monroe Doctrine has also consistently been employed as a semantic of securitization. That is to say, the narrative of the Western hemisphere as a space of specific conditions of political legitimacy has always been coupled to the identification of possible threats to its inhabitants. Contrary to the assumptions of securitization theory, however, the Monroe Doctrine as a securitizing semantic, despite being of great geographical reach, and being undertaken by consequential actors in world politics, has been a low-intensity securitization, which generally did not serve to legitimize any militarization of political relations, but rather to delegitimize certain societal processes. This is then connected to recent developments in IR theory, which propose societal multiplicity as the central problem formula in international politics.

**Jochen Kleinschmidt** received his PhD in political science from LMU Munich in 2014. Since 2021, he has been working as a Research Associate at the Catholic University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt, and as Coordinator of its Center for Latin American Studies (ZILAS). Previously, he has held positions at Universidad del Rosario in Bogotá, Universidad EAFIT in Medellín, the University of the German Armed Forces in Munich, and at NATO School. His research focuses on International Relations theory, conflict studies, political geography and Latin American studies, and has recently been published in *Alternatives*, *International Politics*, *Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional* and *Small Wars & Insurgencies*.

**Christopher Robert Rossi, Arctic University of Norway**

**“Line of Amity, Line of Enmity: Hemispheric Fraternity, the Monroe Doctrine, and US Large Policy Men”**

A common hemispheric identity borne of a shared colonial heritage facilitated Hamiltonian thoughts (never fully realized) of the Americas as a “region of futurity”, republican virtue, and fraternity. Critical events of the 1890s-1914 challenged such thoughts of solidarity as Rooseveltian Large Policy Men reworked the Monroe Doctrine into a Caribbean Großraum, which became a critical springboard to the US’ rise to global power. Attributes of the Monroe Doctrine as a Line of Amity and Line of Enmity are assessed in terms of the US’ spatial confrontation with themes of universalism and hemispheric isolationism.

**Christopher Rossi** is professor of international law and international relations at the University of Tromsø. He has worked at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the UN International Atomic Energy Agency, the Iowa Law College, American University and the Clinton White House National Security Council. He is the author of *Remoteness Reconsidered: The Atacama Desert and International Law* (University of Michigan Press, 2021), *Whiggish International Law: Elihu Root, the Monroe Doctrine, and International Law in the Americas* (Brill/Nijhoff, 2019), *Sovereignty and Territorial Temptation* (Cambridge University Press, 2017), *Broken Chain of Being, James Brown Scott and the Origins of Modern International Law* (Kluwer, 1993), and *Equity and International Law* (Transnational, 1991). He has a Ph.D. and M.A. from Johns Hopkins, an LL.M. from London, a J.D. from Iowa, and a B.A. from Washington University.

Discussant/Moderator:

*Juan Pablo Scarfi*, Universidad de San Andrés/CONICET

*Thomas Fischer*, KU Eichstätt-Ingolstadt