Emotions and International Relations

15 to 17 December 2014, The University of Melbourne

Co-Convenors:
Barbara Keys (The University of Melbourne)
Jessica Gienow-Hecht (Freie Universität Berlin)

With support of the Faculty of Arts and the ARC Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions at the University of Melbourne and Freie Universität Berlin.
CONFERENCE PROGRAM

Emotions in International History

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MONDAY, 15 DECEMBER 2014

6:00-7:30pm  Keynote Address:
Professor Ute Frevert, Max Planck Institute for Human Development
Emotional Politics in International Relations: A Historical Perspective

Elisabeth Murdoch Theatre A, The University of Melbourne

TUESDAY, 16 DECEMBER 2014

9:00-9:15  Welcome and introductory remarks: Barbara Keys and Jessica Gienow-Hecht

9:15-11:15  PANEL 1  THEORY AND PRACTICE

9:15-10:00  Frank Costigliola, University of Connecticut
The Promise and the Limits of the "Emotional Turn"
Comment: Ute Frevert

10:00-10:45  Emma Hutchison and Roland Bleiker, University of Queensland
Theorising Emotions in World Politics
Comment: Frank Costigliola

11:00-11:15  MORNING TEA

11:15-12:00  Megan Willis, Australian Catholic University
Emotions in Psychology
Q & A: Audience

12:00-1:30  LUNCH

1:30-4:00  PANEL 2  THE COLD WAR

1:30-2:15  Kate Davison, The University of Melbourne
Loyalty, Trust and Homosexual Character Defects in Cold War National Security Policy
Comment: Tilman Pietz
Ai Kobayashi, The University of Melbourne
The Emotional Aftermath of the Pacific War: Early Postwar Diplomatic Relations between Australia and Japan
Comment: Roland Burke

Emma Shortis, The University of Melbourne
"The One Remaining Pristine Continent": Popular Emotions and the Environmental Protection of Antarctica
Comment: Ai Kobayashi

CONFERENCE DINNER
University House
(Participants only)

WEDNESDAY, 17 DECEMBER 2014

9:00-11:45  PANEL 3  HUMANITARIANISM AND HUMAN RIGHTS I

Jessica Gienow-Hecht, Freie Universität Berlin
"Saving Women and Children": Emotions, Gender and the Rhetoric of Humanitarian Intervention since the War of 1898
Comment: Christina Twomey

Christina Twomey, Monash University
When Women Went to War: Emotion, Affect, and the Concentration Camp Controversy in Cuba and South Africa, 1895-1902
Comment: Kate McGregor

11:00-11:45  Vera Mackie, University of Wollongong
Performing Empathy and Solidarity in International Relations
Comment: Robert Brigham

11:45-4:45  PANEL 4  HUMANITARIANISM AND HUMAN RIGHTS II

Kate McGregor, The University of Melbourne
Emotion, Memory and Indonesian Human Rights Activism: The "Comfort Women" Survivors of the Japanese Occupation
Comment: Kate Davison
12:30-2:00  LUNCH

2:00-2:45  **Tilman Pietz**, Freie Universität Berlin  
Better Argument, Better Emotions, or Both: The German Green Party and the  
1999 Kosovo Intervention

Comment: Emma Shortis

2:45-3:30  **Robert Brigham**, Vassar College  
Blood Speaks with a Terrible Voice: Clinton and the Rwandan Genocide

Comment: Emma Hutchison and Roland Bleiker

3:30-3:45  AFTERNOON TEA

3:45-4:30  **Roland Burke**, La Trobe University  
"They Think Such Things Don’t Matter": Emotional Diplomacy in the UN Human  
Rights Program

Comment: Vera Mackie

4:30-4:45  **CONCLUDING REMARKS**

Barbara Keys and Jessica Gienow-Hecht

5:30-7:00  *Optional post-conference event:*

Cocktails at home of Ara Keys  
(Participants only)

**LOCATION AND CONTACT ADDRESS**

The conference will take place in the Upper East Room, University House, at the University of Melbourne:

University House  
1 Professors Road, The University of Melbourne  
Victoria 3010  
Tel: +61 3 8344 5254

Limited space is available for attendees. If you wish to attend, or for more information, please contact Emma Shortis: emma.shortis@unimelb.edu.au
PARTICIPANTS

Roland Bleiker, University of Queensland
Roland Bleiker is Professor of International Relations at the University of Queensland. His current research examines how images, and the emotions they engender, shape responses to humanitarian crises. Recent publications include Aesthetics and World Politics (Palgrave, 2009/2012) and, as co-editor with Emma Hutchison, a forum on “Emotions and World Politics” in International Theory (Vol. 3/2014).

Robert Brigham, Vassar College
Robert K. Brigham is the Shirley Ecker Boskey Professor of History and International Relations at Vassar College in Poughkeepsie, New York. He is author or co-author of nine books on U.S. foreign policy, including most recently The United States and Iraq (Wiley-Blackwell, 2013). His current book project examines humanitarian intervention during the Clinton presidency (Cambridge University Press).

Roland Burke, La Trobe University
Roland Burke is a lecturer in history at La Trobe University. His principal area of research is the history of human rights. He is the author of Decolonization and the Evolution of International Human Rights (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), and recipient of the Crawford Medal (2010) for early career scholarship from the Australian Academy of the Humanities. At present, he is finalizing a manuscript on the intellectual history of arguments against the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Human Rights in Eclipse).

Frank Costigliola, University of Connecticut
Frank Costigliola is Professor of History at the University of Connecticut. His recent book Roosevelt’s Lost Alliances: How Personal Politics Helped Start the Cold War (Princeton University Press, 2012) explored the intersection of personal and political relations, and the role of emotions, in the diplomacy of the Allied leaders who won World War II and then lost the peace. Roosevelt’s Lost Alliances received the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations’ Robert H. Ferrell prize for best book.

Kate Davison, The University of Melbourne
Kate Davison is a Ph.D. student at the University of Melbourne.

Ute Frevert, Max Planck Institute for Human Development
Ute Frevert is a Director at the Max Planck Institute for Human Development and a Scientific Member of the Max Planck Society. Her recently published works include two co-authored volumes: Learning how to feel: Children’s literature and emotional socialization, 1870-1970 and Emotional lexicons: Continuity and change in the vocabulary of feeling 1700-2000 (both Oxford University Press, 2014). Ute Frevert is an honorary professor at the Free University in Berlin and member of several scientific boards; she was awarded the prestigious Leibniz Prize in 1998.

Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht, Freie Universität Berlin

Emma Hutchison, University of Queensland
Emma Hutchison is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow in the School of Political Science and International Studies at the University of Queensland. Her current key research projects examine trauma and emotions in world politics, as well as how disaster imagery shapes humanitarian practices. Her research has appeared in a range of scholarly journals and books, and she is currently completing her first book, titled Affective Communities in World Politics: Collective Emotions After Trauma, which is under contract with Cambridge University Press.

Barbara Keys, The University of Melbourne
Barbara Keys is an international historian at the University of Melbourne. She is the author most recently of Reclaiming American Virtue: The Human Rights Revolution of the 1970s (Harvard University Press, 2014) and as part of a project on emotions in diplomacy has published “Henry Kissinger: The Emotional Statesman” (Diplomatic History 2011).
Ai Kobayashi, The University of Melbourne
Ai Kobayashi is a Research Fellow in the School of Historical and Philosophical Studies at the University of Melbourne, supported by an ARC Discovery Early Career Researcher Award. She is currently working on the history of Australia-Japan relations after World War II.

Katherine McGregor, The University of Melbourne
Katharine McGregor is a Senior Lecturer and ARC Future Fellow in the School of Historical and Philosophical Studies at Melbourne University. She is currently working on a project entitled "Confronting Historical Injustice in Indonesia: Memory and Transnational Human Rights Activism."

Vera Mackie, University of Wollongong
Professor Vera Mackie is Senior Professor of Asian Studies in the School of Humanities and Social Inquiry at the University of Wollongong. She is Research Leader of the Forum on Human Rights and Human Security: Changing Paradigms for Dealing with Inequality in the Asia-Pacific Region (2010–2014) and an Australian Research Council Australian Professorial Fellowship (2004–2009) on ‘The Cultural History of the Body in Modern Japan’.

Emma Shortis, The University of Melbourne
Emma Shortis is a second year PhD Candidate in the School of Historical and Philosophical Studies at the University of Melbourne, researching the history of the environmental protection of the Antarctic.

Christina Twomey, Monash University
Christina Twomey is an ARC Future Fellow and Professor of History at Monash University. She is the author of 3 books including Australia’s Forgotten Prisoners: Civilians Interned by the Japanese in World War II (2007) and, with co-author Mark Peel, A History of Australia (2011). Her current project examines the origins of the concentration camp at the end of the nineteenth century.

Tilman Pietz, Freie Universität Berlin
ABSTRACTS

Blood Speaks with a Terrible Voice: Clinton and the Rwandan Genocide
Professor Robert Brigham, Vassar College

In the 1990s, intrastate conflict and internecine violence became an unfortunate but familiar feature of the post-Cold War landscape. A main characteristic of the violence was its appalling targeting of civilian noncombatants. The international community was slow to respond to these humanitarian crises, and as a result, many hundreds of thousands of people were killed. In Washington, the Clinton administration debated the appropriate response to mass slaughter. Clinton recognized the moral dilemma posed by humanitarian intervention. He worried that an interventionist foreign policy could not be sustained politically, especially given the drastic changes taking place at the United Nations and in Congress. Ultimately, Clinton purposefully decided to forgo a full and frank debate on the efficacy of humanitarian intervention, and instead relied on what he called "assertive humanitarianism," a limited and selective armed response to mass atrocities and the construction of a deterrent liberal order.

This paper explores the Clinton administration's response to the Rwandan genocide, weaving humanitarian concerns into the fabric of traditional security studies. Specifically, it explores the ideas that animated Clinton’s policies toward Rwanda and the role that emotions played in the administration’s deliberations. It argues that the Clinton administration was so guilt-ridden over its failure to act during the genocide, that it did not respond to counter-attacks by the new Tutsi government or to problems in the refugee camps in the Congo. The administration was handcuffed to respond to Africa’s World War by its own emotional rendering of the tragedy.

Theorising Emotions in World Politics
Professor Roland Bleiker and Dr. Emma Hutchison, University of Queensland

Emotions play an increasingly important role in international relations research. This paper briefly surveys the development of the respective debates and then offers a path forward. The key challenge, we argue, is to theorize the processes through which individual emotions become collective and thus political. We further suggest that this is done best by exploring the middle ground between two tendencies: macro theoretical models that develop a general theory for understanding collective emotions and, in contrast, micro studies that investigate how specific emotions function in specific circumstances. Applying this framework we then identify four realms that are central to appreciating the political significance of emotions: 1) the importance of definitions; 2) the role of the body; 3) questions of representation; and 4) the intertwining of emotions and power. Taken together, these building blocks reveal how emotions permeate world politics in complex and interwoven ways and also, once taken seriously, challenge many entrenched assumptions of international relations scholarship.

'They Think Such Things Don’t Matter': Emotional Diplomacy in the UN Human Rights Program
Dr. Roland Burke, La Trobe University

After almost two decades of Western, and particularly American, diplomatic failure in the human rights and humanitarian spheres of the General Assembly, incoming Ambassador Daniel Patrick Moynihan located part of the cause: 'they think such things don't matter'. It was a neglect of symbolic power and those evanescent, intangible aspects of the debate – emotion and sentiment. These features had been observed from the earliest days of the program, by US representative Eleanor Roosevelt and her colleagues. More than any other realm of international politics, the human rights and humanitarian enterprises were dominated less by measurable outcomes and standard geopolitical calculation. Instead, this was a province where sentiment mattered, not merely due to the evocative power of the subject matter – the fate of individual human freedom and well-being – but in the practice of diplomacy itself. From the 1950s onward, the US was studiously indifferent to the decisive power of sentiment, dismissive of what its advisors saw as the "emotionalism" of human rights debates. Such pejoration of symbolism, sentiment, and emotion was ultimately disastrous, with a key player in the Western democratic group ceding its power to others, not least, authoritarian regimes. This paper will recover the history of emotional debate in the human rights sphere, and argue for its legitimacy as a diplomatic and political strategy. Sentiment and evocative symbols were at the core of the project; to engage in "emotionalism" was both an expression of fidelity to the purposes of human rights and humanitarianism, and an indispensable realist calculation.

The Promise and the Limits of the 'Emotional Turn'
Frank Costigliola, University of Connecticut

In the past decade and a half, scholars in the humanities and the social sciences have devoted increasing attention to the emotions. There is even discussion of an "emotional turn" following on the cultural and linguistic turns that earlier transformed scholarly inquiry. Much of this focus on the emotions tries to apply the insights of neurobiologists and cognitive scientists who have mapped the regions of the brain and their respective functions. Neurobiological evidence concludes that human beings are not entirely rational actors. Feelings influence behavior even when people, including historical actors and scholars, believe they are abjuring emotions. While benefiting from the insights afforded by the sciences, historians need to be careful lest they succumb to the positivism of the "psychohistorians" of the 1950s-70s, who believed they could write scientifically grounded history based on psychoanalytic theory. This paper will map the various paths of research undertaken by historians studying the emotions and compare the prevailing assumptions of this emerging historiography to those of the psychohistory written in earlier decades.
Loyalty, Trust and Homosexual Character Defects in Cold War National Security Policy
Kate Davison, Ph.D. candidate, History, University of Melbourne

The issue of homosexual ‘character defects’ became a key concern in national security policy across several countries in the early phases of the Cold War, and especially during the late 1950s and early 1960s. In Australia, the UK, Canada and America especially, homosexuality was seen to constitute a ‘security risk’. The common justification was the threat of blackmail, which introduced a level of vulnerability where state secrets were concerned. Yet homosexuality as a Cold War issue also extended beyond the Anglophone world and across the iron curtain. Because the ‘homosexual’ seemed to fit unnoticed into society more easily than other ‘deviants’, the issue of invisibility was of direct concern to security agencies – indeed, the entire spying apparatus was built upon disguise, deception and the ability to assimilate unnoticed. Measures were introduced to establish a science of detection, resulting in numerous descriptions and discursive constructions of ‘the homosexual character’. These descriptions were often of a distinctly emotional quality. Strong links were drawn between the emotions of trust, loyalty, and sexual conformity, versus distrust, disloyalty and sexual perversion, especially in relation to national character. Upon these distinctions were built numerous conclusions about emotional practice within Cold War international relations, and specifically the suitability or unsuitability of certain individuals for intelligence work. This paper will address the construction of emotional ‘types’ within international diplomacy and intelligence in relation to sexual practice and sexual identification.

“Saving Women and Children”: Emotions, Gender and the Rhetoric of Humanitarian Intervention since the War of 1898
Professor Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht, John F. Kennedy Institute, Freie Universität Berlin

This paper seeks to fulfill two premises. First, based on the author’s research on the history of international and emotions, it will sketch out the challenges and risks of “doing emotions and international history”. In particular, it will argue that historians lack the analytical tools and the study necessary to conduct a neurological analysis of emotions as a language in international history. That said, historians can analyze the symptoms and expressive forms associated with specific emotions such as anger, disgust, fear, love, joy or happiness (Ekman, 1972). Such forms differ greatly according to the socio-cultural context and this is where historians, similar to anthropologists in the current study of emotions, can make a real and very much needed difference.

Second, the paper will present a case study to illuminate this point. It investigates the trope of “Women and Children First” which originated in an incident of loss of sea in the 1850s before it meandered into the interpretation of the Cuban revolt, in the mid-1890s. Retracing several case studies of similar interpretations, this paper argues, first, that the current rhetoric surrounding humanitarian intervention appealing strongly to emotional norms was developed in the war of 1898. That rhetoric stressed both moral and legal aspects while also appealing to the U.S. public’s emotional sympathy – but without considering the actual needs and insights of local victims. Such lopsidedness is, the paper concludes, not incidental but rooted in a century-long emotional and gendered representation of “innocent civilians” that purposely masks actual strategic, military and economic interests. In the case of Cuba, historians of international relations can retrace and analyze the projected function and manipulation of emotional norms including the public’s reactions. But they cannot isolate the emotion per se.

The Emotional Aftermath of the Pacific War: Early Postwar Diplomatic Relations between Australia and Japan
Ai Kobayashi, University of Melbourne

Australia and Japan were at war between 1941 and 1945. The rebuilding of their relations after the war involved coming to terms with the antagonisms created by the war. This paper considers how the Australian government was aware of these emotions and sought to manage them as well as the ways that the Japanese government also had to deal with the emotional effects of the war in its relations with Australia.

Emotion, Memory and Indonesian Human Rights Activism: The ‘Comfort Women’ Survivors of the Japanese Occupation
Dr. Katherine McGregor, University of Melbourne

The end of the Suharto regime in 1998 in Indonesia and the associated reform movement resulted in a new emphasis on human rights in laws, greater freedom for survivors and human rights organizations to mobilize, protest and discuss human rights offences. At the same time human rights advocacy and an increased freedom of expression led to a new emphasis on memory and narrating different versions of the Indonesian past. This paper examines the uses of memory and emotion in domestic and transnational human rights activism in the case of the ‘so-called comfort women’. In 1999, for example, when the public was still reeling from the May 1998 rapes of ethnic Chinese women, Internews Indonesia broadcast the story of the survivor of Japanese military sexual slavery Mardiyem on fifty radio stations throughout Indonesia. Further to this the Japanese organization VAWW-NET, video recorded Mardiyem’s pilgrimage to the outer island of South Kalimantan, where she had been forcibly detained in a ‘comfort station’ and used the recording in the 2000 Tokyo Women’s International War Crimes Tribunal on Japan’s Military Sexual Slavery. The authors of Mardiyem’s biography, a young Indonesian activist and Japanese scholar, made a film about women survivors and founded the Solidarity Network for Indonesian Ianfu (the Japanese word for ‘comfort women’) in 2009 with the support of a New York artist. In 2010 a Dutch photographer and anthropologist exhibited photographs of Indonesia survivors, gathered from around Indonesia, simultaneously in Jakarta at the Dutch Cultural Centre and at the Museum of Rotterdam. In all these cases memory activists turned to life stories, testimonies and photographs of survivors of the violence in an effort to sufficiently move concerned populations to support their activism. Jasper has argued that emotions such as ‘moral shocks’ offer a valuable window into understanding why people join protest movements. Using emotions as an analytical framework this paper will explore how human rights activists appeal to emotions through the use of memory and images.
Performing Empathy and Solidarity in International Relations
Professor Vera Mackie, University of Wollongong

An important part of the business of international relations is ritual. Rituals provide visual and tangible affirmation of the fiction that international relations involves negotiations between equal partners. Official visits between heads of state or other national representatives will usually include a public ritual such as a press conference, where equality, empathy and solidarity are acted out. Think of photo opportunities of heads of state, side-by-side, often in identical business suits (in the case of male leaders). In this paper I will analyse visual representations of a series of such rituals, including: press conferences in the Rose Garden at the White House; photo opportunities of George W. Bush and Junichiro Koizumi playing baseball at Camp David just after ‘9/11’; and then Secretary of State Hillary Clinton visiting Aung San Suu Kyi in Burma and expressing empathy and solidarity through her choice of dress.

'The One Remaining Pristine Continent': Popular Emotions and the Environmental Protection of Antarctica
Emma Shortis, PhD Candidate, University of Melbourne

The 1991 Madrid Protocol banned all mining in the Antarctic for 50 years. Throughout the campaign to protect the continent, the Antarctic environment was repeatedly characterized as ‘pristine’, ‘pure’ and ‘at risk’. How the emotions invoked by such characterisations informed, and were used by, the international campaign for protecting the continent, and how this was connected to fears for the environment more generally, is crucial to understanding the adoption of international legal protection for ‘the one remaining pristine continent.

When Women Went to War: Emotion, Affect, and the Concentration Camp Controversy in Cuba and South Africa, 1895-1902
Professor Christina Twomey, Monash University

One of the great controversies of the South African War (1899-1902) was the concentration camp system created by the British Army. Similarly, the ‘concentration order’ issued by the Spanish General Weyler in the Cuban War of Independence (1895-98) led to intense concern about the fate of reconcentrados. This paper examines the work of two women who campaigned on behalf of the victims of concentration policies – Emily Hobhouse in Britain (on behalf of Boer women and children) and Clara Barton in the USA (on behalf of the Cuban reconcentrados). Both visited the scenes of incarceration, and reported back to metropolitan audiences, making emotional appeals for assistance and an end to the concentration policy. While both employed similar emotions, Hobhouse wrote in opposition to her government policy; Barton’s work had stronger resonance with the aims and objectives of the US administration. The paper explores the proposition that emotion in humanitarian interventions is not purely affect, but rather a complex interplay of perceptions about nation, empire and gender.

Better Argument, Better Emotions or Both: The German Green Party and the 1999 Kosovo Intervention
Dr. Tilman Pietz, Freie Universität Berlin

Germany’s participation in NATO’s bombing campaign against Yugoslavia from March to June 1999 marked a sea change in its political culture and its relationship to the use of force in international relations. Ironically it was the center-left coalition government of the Social Democrats and the Green Party who sent German troops into combat for the first time since 1945. For the Green Party which was founded as an anti-war party during NATO’s double track policy of the beginning 1980s this political decision proved to be highly divisive resulting almost in the breakup of the party and thereby of the coalition. My paper will discuss how the Green Party leadership around Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer was able to secure the necessary majority at a special party convention (Sonderparteitag) by combining political arguments with the evocation of emotions attached to collective pictures of Germany’s Nazi past.

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