## **Contents**

List of Tables ---- XV

List of Acronyms ---- XVII

#### Introduction --- 1

A Transnational and Social Approach to International

Organisations --- 2

The ILO, Technical Assistance and the Seeds of International

Development — 7

Conclusion --- 59

Archival Materials --- 15

Research Structure --- 16

## First Part Development as a Universalisation Strategy

#### Chapter I

Europe's Economic Recovery: the Emergence of a Matrix Thinking on Development —— 21

1	Albert Thomas, Reformism and the First World War — 23
1.1	Planning Under Socialist Reformism — 23
1.2	The Experience of the First World War 25
2	International Planning and the ILO's Hopes for European Economic
	Reconstruction Leadership —— 28
2.1	Expanding ILO Authority to the Economy —— 29
2.2	Public Planning and Economic Management — 31
2.2.1	The ILO: A Sounding Board for European Planist
	Experiments —— 31
2.2.2	The American Rationalist Movement: A Possible Model —— 33
2.3	International Public Works: A Solution to the European
	Crisis —— 37
3	Research on Planning as a Trans-Atlantic Project — 44
3.1	The USA Joins the ILO — 45
3.2	Recruiting American Experts —— 49
3.3	Difficult Collaborations with the Rockefeller Foundation —— 56

## Chapter II After the "Spirit of Geneva" Comes the "Spirit of Santiago": Early Regional

Cooperation in Latin America — 61

•	
1	Opposing Models: "Europeanism" vs "Universalism" — 62
1.1	The European Origins of the ILO —— 62
1.2	Pan-Americanism and the Creation of Regional Labour
	Offices —— 64
2	The Regionalisation of International Labour Office Activities — 68
2.1	Regional Cooperation Serving International Cooperation — 69
2.2	More Space for Non-European Countries — 70
2.3	Organising the 1936 Regional Conference in Santiago de
	Chile —— 74
3	The Beginnings of the ILO's Regional Programme in Latin
	America — 80
3.1	Social Insurance: ILO's Key to Latin America — 80
3.2	Migration for Colonisation: Population Redistribution and
	Development —— 83
	Conclusion — 89

#### Chapter III

## The Limits of the ILO's Universalist Ambition in Asia and the Problem of Underdevelopment --- 91

1	Two-tier Social Justice: Imperial Domination and "Special
	Regimes" —— <b>94</b>
1.1	Exporting the "Civilising Mission" —— 94
1.2	Putting in Place "Special Regimes" —— 95
1.3	Loosening the Colonial Grip: Indian Workers' Delegations to the ILO —— 97
2	The ILO's Attempts to Regulate Economic Competition — 101
2.1	Combating Social Dumping —— 101
2.2	Breaking Down the Walls of Protectionism: the ILO as an
	Instrument of US Economic Diplomacy in Asia — 104
2.3	The Office's Economic Research Missions —— 109
2.3.1	John Riches' Mission to Samoa —— 111
2.3.2	Harold Butler's Mission to India —— 114
3	Early Technical Assistance in Asia: The Case of China —— 117
3.1	Labour Inspection Reform —— 118
3.2	Vocational Training and Economic Reconstruction —— 120 Conclusion —— 122

# Second Part Development Tools and Practices: Between Knowledge Building, Expertise and Diplomacy

Chapte	r IV
-	's Contribution to the Internationalisation of the Standard of
Living -	
1	Raising the Standard of Living in Industrialised Countries —— 127
1.1	Wages and Minimum Wage —— 127
1.2	From Detroit to Europe: International Comparison of Purchasing
	Power —— 133
2	Extending Research Towards Less Developed Countries —— 140
2.1	The Impetus Given by the Santiago Conference —— 141
2.2	Collaborations with the Institute of Pacific Relations — 142
2.3	The ILO's 1938 Study on the Workers' Living Standard — 146
	Conclusion —— 154
Chapte	r <b>V</b>
Technic	al Assistance "Experts": ILO Brokers Around The World —— 155
1	Socialisation at the Office and the Emergence of a Sense of
	Belonging —— 158
1.1	ILO Civil Servants Engaged in Technical Assistance —— 158
1.2	International Civil Servants: A Homogeneous Social
	Group? —— <b>161</b>
1.3	Institutional Arrangements for International Socialisation —— 163
2	The Professionalisation of Civil Servants Before their Entry to the
	Office —— 165
2.1	Professional Trajectories in National Spaces —— 165
2.2	The Importance of Administrative Careers —— 171
2.3	The Experience of War and the Networks of Social Reform —— 172
3	Professionalisation Within the Office —— 174
3.1	A Predisposition to International Openness —— 175
3.2	In-Depth Knowledge of National and International Social
	Legislation 176
3.3	A Sense of Diplomacy —— 181
3.4	Professional Trajectories and Continuity After the Second World
	War 185

Conclusion —— 187

Cha	oter	VI
Lna	ibter	VI

The	Social	Reconstruction	of Europe's	Periphery:	Technical	Assistance	to
Gree	ce and	l Romania 1	RQ				

1	European Modernity and the Development of Social Policy — 192
1.1	The Difficult Reconstruction of Central and Eastern Europe — 192
1.2	The Pursuit of a European Social Model and its Limits —— 195
2	The Challenges of Technical Assistance — 201
2.1	Legitimising State Action and Building Territorial Unity in
	Romania —— <b>201</b>
2.2	Social Insurance Reform in Greece: A Point of Contention Betweer
	the Office and the League of Nations — 202
3	The Effects of Technical Assistance —— 205
3.1	The Limits of the Unification of Social Insurance Law (1933) in
	Romania —— 205
3.2	Czech Experts to Support the Development of Social Insurance in
	Greece —— 208
	Conclusion —— 212

### **Chapter VII**

## On the Roads of Venezuela: Experiences and Representations of International Expertise --- 214

1	Contexts and Challenges of Technical Assistance in
	Venezuela —— 216
1.1	Caracas: A Breeding Ground for Social Reformers — 216
1.2	Contact Point: Venezuelan Internationalists in Geneva — 219
1.3	In Search of International Support — 220
2	The Day-to-Day Running of the Missions —— 225
2.1	A Universalist Approach to Reform Projects —— 225
2.2	Field Surveys —— 232
2.2.1	"Hot, Ragged, Dirty" Venezuela —— 234
2.2.2	Inequality and Standards of Living — 236
2.3	Oppositions to the Labour Code —— 238
3	The Work of Experts in Crisis — 242
3.1	Feelings of Exile, Physical and Psychological Constraints — 243
3.2	When the Status of Expert Conflicts with Institutional
	Loyalty —— 245
	Conclusion —— 249

#### **Chapter VIII**

Technical	l Assistance and	l the Fo	rmulation	of an	International	<b>Development</b>
Policy Du	iring the Secon	d World	War 2	252		

1	Between Continental Defence and Regional Development —— 253
1.1	The Office Moves to Montreal —— 253
1.2	Social Security and Regional Solidarity —— 256
1.3	Technical Assistance in Support of the Allied War Effort — 264
2	The Post-War Social Agenda and Development — 272
2.1	Initial Reflections on Reconstruction —— 272
2.2	New York 1941 and Philadelphia 1944 —— 275
	Conclusion —— 282

General Conclusion — 284

Images —— 291

Unprinted Materials --- 297

Printed Materials, Archives of the International Labour Office — 301

Bibliography --- 303

Index ---- 327