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Chapter 2

The Defeat of University Autonomy

French Academic Diplomacy, Mobility Scholarships and Exchange Programs (1880s–1930s)

Guillaume Tronchet

Introduction

From the late nineteenth century to the 1930s, an increasing number of international students chose to study in France. They were only 500 in 1868. From 6,000 regularly enrolled students before World War I, their number reached to more than 17,000 in the interwar period, making the French university market one of the most attractive in the world. At the same time, the French Third Republic created a high-level academic network with around twenty institutes abroad, several hundred teachers of French language, and university chairs all over the world.

It is generally accepted that this development was a key part of French cultural diplomacy, in a sense a compensatory mechanism for restoring national prestige after the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. But international competition between states does not explain everything, and the concept of "cultural diplomacy" may be a trap for historians in understanding the richness and complexity of international higher education history. The international life of universities involved multiple transnational connections (mainly between institutions, academics, etc.) regardless of governments. Moreover, we must never forget that the concept of "cultural diplomacy," before being a useful category of analysis, was a category of practice, which foreign ministries used to incorporate under their administrative control all international activities distinct from military, economic or political

considerations.¹ Under the French Third Republic, international higher education was a social space for struggles between different actors in order to dominate the field. Using the concept of "cultural diplomacy" therefore abides by the views of the winners, at the expense of studying specific social dynamics and actors forgotten by history.²

For these reasons, it is better to use the concept of "academic diplomacy," meaning the international and transnational actions developed in higher education, whether by state or nonstate actors, provided that such actions bear witness to the autonomy of academia from diplomacy. This chapter attempts to sketch out the rise of French academic diplomacy and the changing landscape of international academic policies throughout the French Third Republic, at the end of which the monopoly of the academic field declined in favor of the diplomatic field and its cultural diplomacy. This chapter will especially focus on mobility scholarships and exchange programs launched during this period, not just as useful examples to reveal what happened, but also to consider them as factors in the progressively weakening of university autonomy in international relations.

A Multilevel Approach

The beginning of the French Third Republic was a key moment for the emergence of international higher education in France and thinking on academic questions in a global context. This process resulted from interactions occurring on different scales (local, national and international), within which new scholarships and exchange programs were founded for the benefit of a small French elite.

National Trends

On a national scale, two trends of internationalization can be identified. The first one resulted from the fact that republicans who were involved in the reform of the French higher education system (members of the French government, senior members of the Ministry of Public Instruction and academics close to the government) looked beyond the French borders to learn from foreign models—particularly Germany—in order to upgrade the training of French elites³ and strengthen the spread of French language and culture, in accordance with the imperialism of the Third Republic. In this context, in 1873 the Ministry of Public Instruction created the first national scholarships for mobility abroad, mainly to go to German universities. Six French students were selected annually for this award.⁴ The same process was related to the foundation, in 1882, of a government office (*Service des échanges universitaires*) dedicated to the exchange of academic dissertations and scientific publications between French and thirty-nine foreign universities, mostly in Germany (about 45,000 copies were sent abroad and 100,000 copies were received in France before 1914).⁵

The second national trend of internationalization was supported by academics (mainly in modern languages, history and archeology) who were interested in the creation of international mobility scholarships (between 1883 and 1914, about twenty young teachers in modern languages received a government-funded scholarship to study abroad each year)⁶ or in the foundation of new French schools abroad, in order to develop their own fields of teaching and research (like the *Ecole française de Rome*, which was founded in 1873 to train a new generation of historians and archeologists).

By the 1880s, these proponents of internationalization met together to share ideas and projects within national and extraparliamentary fora (*Alliance française*, *Société de l'enseignement supérieur*, *Société pour la propagation des langues étrangères*, etc.). These formed a "reformist nebula"⁷ in which certain norms of internationalization emerged or

stabilized in the 1880–1890s. The “intellectual expansion” of France abroad was not a new theme,⁸ but higher education now occupied a central role.

International Trends

At the same time, this internationalization process was also supported by social dynamics on a global scale. First, as Victor Karady has argued, rising levels of international migration in the 1890s led to the development of French courses being offered to foreigners, in order to meet the growing demand coming from national elites who lacked a higher education system, or people forced into academic exile because they had lost the right of access to higher education in their home country.⁹ Among the forty nationalities represented in French universities before World War I, 51 percent of the international students came from the Russian Empire (including many Jewish refugees), while a majority of others came from Eastern Europe and the Ottoman Empire. At the time, there were no French scholarships for these international students.

In addition, the process was strengthened by the fact that French reformers and academics established new international standards that circulated via the ‘global academic web’ woven by the back-and-forth movement of actors and ideas in the worldwide higher education community.¹⁰ Through organizing and attending international congresses and events in higher education, French participants benefited from discussions with their peers and ministry officials on topics ranging from the equivalence of degrees between different countries, the reception of international students and the general organization of higher education systems.¹¹

Local trends

Local initiatives were also crucial in the rise of French academic diplomacy and mobility scholarships. With new standards for international development circulating within the global academic web and the French government keen to reform the university system, French universities launched initiatives to promote themselves on a global scale and thereby increase their number of students. They were assisted by local actors (mayors, lawyers, doctors and merchants) who wanted to develop their social capital, international networks, tourism and other economic opportunities for their cities. The national competition among French universities, especially between Paris and the rest and also between provincial universities themselves, was here a key factor in this international scramble. From the 1890s, academics and philanthropic citizens founded "committees of patronage for foreign students" in a dozen French university towns, such as Paris (1890), Lyon (1891), Nancy (1893) and Grenoble (1896), in order to raise funds, welcome international students and finance international activities. These committees provided information for foreign students on living facilities and finding accommodation in hotels or private homes in university towns. French universities did not have a campus¹² and student housing was therefore a key area for helping international students when they arrived in France. "The goal of these committees is to make the student's stay in France agreeable as well as profitable," said one observer.¹³ Above all, holiday courses (or summer schools) for international students were created, particularly under the influence of the Oxford Summer Meetings, launched in 1888, and the German *Ferienkurse*, created in 1889. Prior to World War I, French universities took the leading position in organizing such events.¹⁴

These initiatives were significant for university budgets, contributed toward developing university course catalogs and stimulated the creation of new local academic degrees highly

valued by international students.¹⁵ To promote these developments, universities also drew up marketing campaigns with the financial support of the committees of patronage, which customized marketing materials (handbooks, posters and advertisements in the international press in many languages). In order to study in France, international students still had to rely on their own funding because the field of scholarships was still limited to French mobility abroad only. Some of the French universities accepted private donations for funding two or three mobility scholarships a year (like the Albert Kahn Around-the-World Scholarships funded by the University of Paris in 1898),¹⁶ while other universities invested in building branch campuses abroad at the beginning of the 1900s in order to mobilize transnational networks of municipal communities. In this way, the University of Lyon was very active in the Middle East with the foundation of a Law School in Beirut in 1913 (where some local students could learn French law), while Grenoble turned to Italy, Bordeaux and Toulouse to Spain, and Lille to Great Britain. The first French institutes of Florence, Madrid and London were also created in the early twentieth century.¹⁷

Toward a State Public Policy

The 1910s represented a turning point in the history of international academic relations for France. For the first time, and with different names—"foreign policy of universities" and "university expansion"—French academic diplomacy no longer depended only on uncoordinated local initiatives, intellectual debates and public authorities, but became a state public policy, conceptualized as a whole, and openly debated in Parliament and the national press. The beginning of the first exchange programs of students and professors launched or controlled by the government introduced a new framework for the landscape of scholarships.

The Nationalization of French Academic Diplomacy

This nationalization process saw a new generation of actors, often born in the 1870s, who thought that international higher education policies could serve their own careers, such as newly elected members of Parliament seeking a national cause to distinguish themselves in the political sphere or academics interested in going into senior public service. In 1910, all these actors teamed together in the Office national des universités et écoles françaises (ONUEF), an interest group that obtained investment credits from the Parliament for French academic diplomacy. A new budget line was introduced in 1912 via the Ministry of Public Instruction to support international academic activities. The ONUEF itself received subsidies to advise on the organization of French academic diplomacy and to propose reforms. Up to 1914, its director, Professor Jules Coulet, was very active. Social rights for French teachers who wanted to teach abroad were obtained in 1913 (their years abroad being recognized as part of their career progression); job offers for teachers of French were methodically listed by the ONUEF; the creation of French studies departments in foreign universities was encouraged (the University of Reykjavik in 1911, the universities of London and Amsterdam in 1912, the universities of Copenhagen, Helsinki and Oslo in 1913, and the universities of Kansas and Minnesota in 1914); a French handbook of higher education was published in 1914; and more equal terms for international students were introduced (equivalence of degrees and equal tuition fees for French and foreign students). The first exchange programs between French and U.S. universities were negotiated and managed at a national level by the ONUEF. In 1911 an agreement was made between Harvard and the Sorbonne for an annual exchange of two professors (the first exchange professors were William M. Davis, Professor of Geology at Harvard, and Charles Diehl, Professor of Byzantine History at the Sorbonne),

and in 1912 a similar arrangement was made for a young French professor to reside at Columbia in New York.

Government administration therefore became more present in the process, but the lack of centralized and dedicated offices for international academic affairs caused the organization of French academic diplomacy to develop as a federal apparatus. Provincial university initiatives, which sometimes tried to group themselves together for international activities without governmental agreement, were frozen. This nationalization process was not peculiar to France: national regulation of international academic affairs also took place in Germany, Spain (with the creation in 1907 of the Junta para Ampliacion de estudios e investigaciones scientificas) and Britain (with the creation in 1912 of the Universities Bureau of the British Empire). Far from narrowing the field of possibilities, these new national strata elevated existing initiatives, but did not replace them, instead shaping the opportunities for new repertoires of action. Ultimately, interstate cooperation would be improved by World War I.

World War I and Interstate Cooperation

The outbreak of war obviously impacted the international academic arena.¹⁸ Some projects were brought to a standstill, like those for the development of student exchange. By 1915, French universities had lost 70 percent of their international students. Conversely, other sectors were boosted, like the sending of books and academic speakers abroad for French propaganda. In 1915 the ONUEF was charged by the government to send hundreds of thousands of copies of the *Manifesto by French Universities to the Universities of Neutral Countries*, published in November 1914, all over Europe.

But the main change was the reorganization of French academic relationships with foreign universities according to the diplomatic position of their country vis-à-vis France

(allied, neutral or enemy). The war severed connections with German higher education, while it strengthened those with Allied nations. This situation disrupted the transnational dynamics of cooperation between academics and institutions, and led French academic diplomacy into interstate cooperation. The first step of this process was the arrival of thousands of Serb refugees, including students, and the conclusion of an academic exchange agreement between the two countries in November 1916, which provided the first French government scholarships for foreign students. The second step concerned the presence of US demobilized soldier-students in France, which led in 1919–20 to the organization by the ONUF of an academic program for 5,000–6,000 American students in French universities.¹⁹ These two episodes pushed all actors involved to take into account the increasing need for reciprocity in international higher education standards, building a bridge between the French imperialism of the nineteenth century and the intellectual cooperation that would shape international academic affairs in the 1920s. The decision to allow universities the right to confer honorary degrees on international figures—the Sorbonne conferred the first French degree of Doctor *Honoris causa* on President Woodrow Wilson in December 1918—was one of the symbols of this new state of affairs.

The French-Serbian Academic Exchange Agreement of 1916

From the beginning of World War I, France took several academic initiatives to support her Serbian ally: a "Serbian Day" was launched in March 1915 by the Ministry of Public Instruction to raise funds for Serbian school children; conferences on Serbia were organized in universities; and propaganda books were published. In the autumn of 1915, the retreat of the Serbian army caused a wave of refugees. French academic diplomacy was mobilized and the Ministry of Public Instruction founded a committee in December 1915 to coordinate the

reception of Serbian refugees in the French education system. The ONUF led the operations for the reception of hundreds of Serbian students in universities. In order to strengthen cooperation, France and Serbia signed a convention in Corfu, on 9 November 9, 1916, and another one in Paris, on 27 November 27, 1917. These agreements provided scholarships for Serbian students who wanted to study in France (400 were created by the Serbian Government and 100 by the French government each year); courses in Serbian for students in French universities (a chair of Serbian language and literature was created at the Ecole nationale des langues orientales); and conferences on Serbia for French students. This was the first academic agreement concluded between two states on such a large scale (in 1918, 44 percent% of international students in French universities were Serbs) and based on reciprocity. It became a model for all of the academic agreements concluded in the 1920s by France with other countries.

Table 2.1 Serbian students in French universities, 1914–21

	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921
Serbian students	103	15	125	586	1,416	1,546	1,437	1,179
Percentage of Serbians among foreign students	1.6	0.8	6.4	24.4	44.2	25.6	28.3	18.2
French scholarships for Serbian students	-	-	-	84	112	105	107	106

Source: *Annuaire statistique de la France*, 1916–18, 1919–20

At the same time, French decision-making in international academic affairs increasingly followed a top-down process. With the general increase of the government's power during the war²⁰ and the ONUF gradually becoming a pro-internationalization official higher education agency, universities were no longer able to stay at the forefront of international innovation. Gone were the days when back and forth was the norm between actors operating

on different levels (local, national and global). At the end of the war, the Ministry of Public Instruction clearly set the tone. At the beginning of the 1920s, it concluded a dozen academic and scientific agreements between France and other countries, mainly for the exchange of professors: with Italy and Romania (1919), Yugoslavia (1920), Belgium (1921), Poland (1922) and Czechoslovakia (1923).

From Academic Diplomacy to Cultural Diplomacy

After World War I, the development of international academic relations benefited from the rise of "Geneva internationalism."²¹ In 1933 an observer noted that "the number of agents—national and international, private and official—devoting all or part of their time to promoting understanding among nations through schools and universities [was] legion."²² Only four national university offices, like the ONUEF, had been created before the war: in Germany, Britain, France and Spain. A dozen similar organizations were established afterwards, like the Institute of International Education in the United States (1919) and the Romanian University Office (1923), to promote their national education systems and launch academic exchange programs. Numerous international organizations were interested in international educational relations as well, such as the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, created in Paris in 1924.²³ As a result, the international mobility of students and professors increased. About 80,000 students were studying outside their country at the end of the 1920s.²⁴

France quickly took the leading position in the international student market: 17,000 students came to France in 1931, about 20–25 percent of the number of those studying abroad at that time, while only 9,000 international students went to the United States, about 7,000 to Germany and 5,000 to Britain. In some provincial universities this rate even reached 80 percent, such as at the Rouen Faculty of Sciences in 1930. Beyond the intellectual influence

of France after World War I, this leading position was due to the increasing investment of the government in the field of international higher education, which pursued a very liberal policy until the mid 1930s.²⁵ But academia no longer enjoyed the autonomy it had possessed in the 1900s for its international activities. The universities and the Ministry of Public Instruction were of course still involved in academic diplomacy, especially through the ONUF, but the main change in the field of international academic affairs concerned the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs developing its own cultural diplomacy to compete with other nations, especially the fascist countries. In 1920, the Service des œuvres françaises à l'étranger was created to reorganize academic mobility abroad, to stimulate the foundation of French cultural institutes in strategic countries and to manage grants for international students in France. It was a turning point for academic exchanges, which not only became part of an imperial policy of academic *grandeur*, but were also progressively integrated into French foreign policy, under the control of diplomats. At the beginning of the twentieth century, academic exchange programs had not been based on diplomatic efforts to isolate Germany, like the Franco-Russian Alliance or the Entente Cordiale. Following World War I, academic activities at the international level were openly in line with the new goals of French foreign policy, mainly toward Central and Eastern Europe.

For example, new French Institutes were founded in Prague (1920), Zagreb (1922), Sofia (1922), Damascus (1922), Bucharest (1924), Warsaw (1925), Berlin (1930) and Vienna (1930). The directors, often academics, were not appointed by universities or the Ministry of Public Instruction, as was the case for French institutes in the 1910s, but by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. At the same time, many government scholarships, based on the model established by French–Serbian cooperation during World War I, were created as part of a new state strategy to dominate the market of student elites coming from Eastern and Central

Europe. Each year, about 800 international students (approximately 5 percent of the total number of students who came to France) benefited from fee reductions and government scholarships created by the Ministry of Public Instruction. The Russians were the most numerous (about 300 students), followed by the Yugoslavs (about 200) and Romanians (about 100). The Ministry of Foreign Affairs also created its own scholarships for about 100 international students selected each year by French embassies and consulates, with a focus on Czechs (fifteen to twenty scholarships per year), Yugoslavs (about fifteen scholarships), Poles (about fifteen scholarships), Hungarians (between eight and ten scholarships) and Bulgarians (between six and nine scholarships).²⁶

To ensure that the accommodation conformed to new hygiene and healthcare standards, the French government was also involved in building new campuses. The first and the largest was the Cité universitaire de Paris, created in 1921 with the help of the University of Paris, the municipality of Paris and the wealthy and philanthropic industrialist Emile Deutsch de la Meurthe. In south Paris, near the Parc Montsouris, thirty-five hectares were taken for nineteen student houses built between 1921 and 1939, with financial support from leading figures of transnational philanthropy (such as Murry Guggenheim, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. and David David-Weill).²⁷ Before World War II, up to 2,500 French and international students lived each year in the Cité universitaire. With this as a model several other *cités universitaires* were created in France during the 1930s, contributing to the attractiveness of provincial universities. To confirm the government's dominant position, in 1938 the ONUEF and the Cité universitaire de Paris were themselves contracted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the housing of scholarship students.

As there were frequent conflicts within the French government between actors related either to the Ministry of Public Instruction or to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs,²⁸ the

academic diplomats tried to preserve their autonomy throughout the 1930s, but without success. The international academic policy of France gradually came under the control of governmental cultural diplomacy. In 1932, when Paul-Henri Siriex, a student in political sciences, benefited from the first scholarship provided by Oxford University to a French student (under a general agreement negotiated by the ONUEF with the universities of Oxford and London to exchange five French and five British students), he clearly received instructions to spy on the British student aristocracy, as well as the activities of German students on the campus, and his reports were duly sent by the ONUEF to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.²⁹

This instrumental political reaction was part of a growing global trend. At the end of the interwar period, international higher education was certainly not just an arena reserved for academics or pacifists. Specialists in comparative education were under no illusions. In 1933, in a critical review of a book on intellectual relations, an observer pointed out this ambiguity: "many will be inclined to wonder what meaning is to be attached to the phrase 'international understanding' when the funds expended by the French Government in bringing students from Yugoslavia to Paris are cited as evidence of its pursuit in the section dealing with International Student Exchange."³⁰ In the middle of the 1930s, international understanding or peace was clearly not a French priority in relation to organizing academic exchanges.

Conclusion

The economic crisis and the rise of nationalisms in the 1930s, in shrinking the access to national academic markets, generated a contraction in the internationalization of higher education and an increasing role for governments in academic affairs, both of which induced a decline in university autonomy. In this context, reciprocity was less an academic ideal than

a political tool, and scholarships and exchange programs founded after World War I were under the control of diplomatic imperatives, even when programs were still managed by universities or the Ministry of Public Instruction. This "diplomatization" process was not temporary either. World War II and the postwar context would not fundamentally change the new dynamics of international educational exchange.

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Notes

1. Pierre Bourdieu, *Esquisse d'une théorie de la pratique* (Paris: Droz, 1972).
2. Guillaume Tronchet, "Savoirs en diplomatie. Une histoire sociale et transnationale de la politique universitaire internationale de la France, années 1870–années 1930," Ph.D. dissertation (Paris: University of Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, 2014).
3. George Weisz, *The Emergence of Modern Universities in France, 1863–1914* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983); Christophe Charle, *La République des universitaires, 1870–1940* (Paris: Le Seuil, 1994); Christine Musselin, *The Long March of French Universities* (London: Routledge, 2004).
4. We have practically no information on these scholarships, which were founded by the Ministry of Public Instruction Jules Simon. The few existing documents in the archives of the Ministry suggest that the system was not formalized.
5. Tronchet, "Savoirs en diplomatie," 110–24.
6. Tronchet, "Savoirs en diplomatie," 81–85.
7. Christian Topalov (ed.), *Laboratoires du nouveau siècle. La nébuleuse réformatrice et ses réseaux en France, 1880–1914* (Paris: Editions de l'EHESS, 1999).
8. Rahul Markovits, *Civiliser l'Europe. Politique du théâtre français au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 2014).
9. Victor Karady, "La République des lettres des temps modernes. L'internationalisation des marchés universitaires occidentaux avant la Grande Guerre," *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 121–22 (1998): 92–103; "La migration internationale d'étudiants en Europe (1890–1940)," *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 145 (2002): 47–60.

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10. This idea is inspired by Pierre-Yves Saunier's work about the "municipal web": "La toile municipale aux 19^e–20^e siècles: un panorama transnational vu d'Europe," *Revue d'histoire urbaine* 24(2) (2006): 163–76.
 11. Tronchet, "Savoirs en diplomatie," 101–66.
 12. Tronchet, "Savoirs en diplomatie," 214–18; Pierre Moulinier, *Les étudiants étrangers à Paris au XIX^e siècle* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2011).
 13. "The Reception of Foreign Students in French Universities and Schools," *Science*, March 27, 1896, 467.
 14. Tronchet, "Savoirs en diplomatie," 195–201.
 15. Between 1898 and 1914, French universities created about 190 academic degrees (Ph.D. degrees, certificates of French studies, etc.).
 16. Guillaume Tronchet, "Les bourses de voyage 'Autour du Monde' de la Fondation Albert Kahn (1898–1930): les débuts de l'internationalisation universitaire, 1860–1914," in Christophe Charle and Laurent Jeanpierre (eds), *La vie intellectuelle en France, XIX^e–XX^e s.* (Paris: Le Seuil, 2016), 618–20; Whitney Walton, "Cultural Internationalism in the Albert Kahn Around-the-World Boursiers's Report on France and the United States (1898–1930)," in Anne Dulphy, Robert Frank, Marie-Anne Matard-Bonucci and Pascal Ory (eds), *Les relations culturelles internationales au XX^e siècle. De la diplomatie culturelle à l'acculturation* (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2010), 471–82.
 17. For an updated bibliography on these institutions, see Tronchet, "Savoirs en diplomatie," 575–76.
 18. Tomás Irish, *The University at War, 1914–25: Britain, France, and the United States* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

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19. Tronchet, "Savoirs en diplomatie," 353–69; Caroline Barrera, "Les étudiants-soldats américains en France au sortir de la Première Guerre mondiale," *Histoire de l'éducation* 125 (2010): 27–47.
 20. Nicolas Roussellier, *La force de gouverner. Le pouvoir exécutif en France, XIXe–XXe siècles* (Paris: Gallimard, 2015).
 21. Hans de Wit, *Internationalization of Higher Education in the United States of America and Europe: A Historical, Comparative and Conceptual Analysis* (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2002).
 22. Spencer Stoker, *The Schools and International Understanding* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1933), 3.
 23. Founded in 1924, this Institute was distinct from the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations, but worked closely with it. See Jean-Jacques Renoliet, *L'Unesco oubliée. La Société des nations et la coopération intellectuelle, 1919–1946* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1999).
 24. Herbert Scuria, *Umfang und Richtung des Ausländerstudiums* (Dresden: Studentenwerk, 1929).
 25. Patrick Weil, *How to Be French: Nationality in the Making since 1789* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008).
 26. Tronchet, "Savoirs en diplomatie," 455–58.
 27. Dzovinar Kévonian and Guillaume Tronchet (eds), *La Babel étudiante. La Cité internationale universitaire de Paris, 1920–1950* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2013); Guillaume Tronchet, "La Cité universitaire: une *joint-venture* transnationale dans le Paris des années 1920 et 1930. Note de recherche," in Serge Jaumain and Pierre Van den

Dungen (eds), *Biermans-Lapôtre. Histoire d'un mécène et de sa fondation* (Paris: Roche, 2013), 85–100.

28. For a concrete example, see also Guillaume Tronchet, "'Un bluff perpétuel'. Les dessous de la présence française dans l'Université turque (années 1930)," in Gunes Isiksel and Emmanuel Szurek (eds), *Turcs et Français. Une histoire culturelle, 1860–1960* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2014), 285–305.

29. Paul-Henri Siriex, *Souvenirs en vérité, 1930–1980. Oxford, Londres 1940, Afrique, Madagascar, Djibouti, Inde, URSS, Sibérie* (Paris: Editions des écrivains, 1998).

30. *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1931–1939)* 12(6) (1933): 790–91.