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# Modern State Building and Transnational Expertise - The League of Nations Advising for Turkey's Statistical Internationalization (1926-1927)

Aykiz Dogan

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*History and Historical Theory / 3*

**SHAPING AND RESHAPING  
THE GLOBAL MONETARY ORDER**  
**DURING THE INTERWAR PERIOD AND BEYOND**  
*Local Actors in-between the International Institutions*

*Edited by*

CATHERINE P. BRÉGIANNI *and* ROSER CUSSÓ

*Alfeios*  
Athens  
2023





**SHAPING AND RESHAPING THE GLOBAL MONETARY ORDER  
DURING THE INTERWAR PERIOD AND BEYOND**



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ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ



ΑΘΗΝΑΝ



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*Introduction by C. Brégianni*

**ALFEIOS  
ATHENS 2023**



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## MODERN STATE BUILDING AND TRANSNATIONAL EXPERTISE

### THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS ADVISING FOR TURKEY'S STATISTICAL INTERNATIONALIZATION (1926-1927)

#### Introduction

According to many historians and sociologists of quantification, as a knowledge instrument and “state science”, statistics characterize the construction of modern states.<sup>1</sup> The studies on the development of statistical institutions and policies in modern state-building have been mostly centered on the experience of Western Europe and other Western countries. The same applies to the literature on the “statistical internationalism”<sup>2</sup> and international spaces of expertise in which conventions of quantification were negotiated for the uniformization of methods and comparability of data since the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and especially after the construction of the League of Nations. The question of the implications of international statistical activity and expertise for state building in other parts of the world is still not fully

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. for instance M. Armatte, « Une discipline dans tous ses états : la statistique à travers ses traités (1800-1914) », *Revue de synthèse*, 112/2 (1991), pp. 161-206. H. Le Bras, *Naissance de la mortalité. L'origine politique de la statistique et de la démographie*, Paris, Gallimard-Seuil (Hautes Études), 2000. A. Desrosières, *The Politics of Large Numbers: A History of Statistical Reasoning*, transl. C. Naish, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1998. P. Lascoumes, « La Gouvernamentalité : de la critique de l'État aux technologies du pouvoir », *Le Portique. Revue de philosophie et de sciences humaines*, 13-14 (2004). T. M. Porter, *Trust in Numbers: The Pursuit of Objectivity in Science and Public Life*, Princeton University Press, 1995. A. J. Tooze, *Statistics and the German State, 1900-1945: The Making of Modern Economic Knowledge*, Cambridge University Press, 2001. S. Woolf, “Statistics and the Modern State”, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 31/3 (1989), pp. 588-604.

<sup>2</sup> E. Brian, « Statistique administrative et internationalisme statistique pendant la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle », *Histoire & Mesure*, 4/3-4 (1989), pp. 201-224.

explored. Previous studies suggest that the experience of non-European countries might inform about not only on how expertise circulated between states in process of nation building but also on the multilevel (international and national) interactions and power relations in the implementation of international policies.<sup>3</sup> This chapter examines the League's effort to establish cooperation with the newly created statistical office in Turkey and to affiliate this office with the international quantification program which established its headquarters in Geneva after WWI.<sup>4</sup> It will be argued that both this cooperation and the internationalization of Turkish statistics owed their inception to international experts.

International expertise indeed played an important role in the modernization of the statistical machinery that the new Turkish state inherited from the previous Ottoman Empire. During its last century, the Empire had invested in reforming its quantification policies according to changing social, political and economic conditions as well as international developments in statistical methods, policies and institutions.<sup>5</sup> Especially from the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Russian, French and American experts were hired to lead the statistical administration and departments.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> A. Dogan, « L'étatisation turque dans l'entre-deux-guerres et ses acteurs : construire un ordre mondial par l'expertise », PhD diss., University of Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne, 2022. *Idem*, "Modernising Turkey with Statistics: Implementing ISI Expertise in the Turkish Statistical Reform during the late 1920s", *European Review of History* (2023, forthcoming). *Idem*, "Knowledge Transaction and State Making from Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic", *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, 32 (2021), <http://journals.openedition.org/ejts/7454>

<sup>4</sup> A shorter version of this article was presented as: A. Dogan, « Les experts transnationaux et l'internationalisation des statistiques économiques de la Turquie (1926-7) », Conference *Acteurs du développement économique et financier entre global et local. Un aperçu par le biais des réseaux personnels, durant l'entre-deux-guerres et au-delà/Actors in Economic and Financial Development, between Global and Local. Through the Optic of Personal Networks, during the Interwar Period and beyond*, TransMonEA project, Academy of Athens - HFRI and the UMR D&S/University of Paris I, 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> of October 2020.

<sup>5</sup> H. İnalçık, "Did the Ottomans Use Statistical Methodology?", in H. İnalçık, Ş. Pamuk (eds.), *Data and Statistics in the Ottoman Empire*, Ankara, State Institute of Statistics Prime Ministry Republic of Turkey, 2000, pp. 3-13. K. H. Karpat, "Ottoman Population Records and the Census of 1881/82-1893", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 9/2 (1978), pp. 237-274. Ö. L. Barkan, « Essai sur les données statistiques des registres de recensement dans l'empire ottoman aux XVe et XVIe siècles », *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 1/1 (1957), p. 9. C. Behar, *The Population of the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, 1500-1927*, Ankara, State Institute of Statistics, 1996. E. Z. Karal, *First Population Census in the Ottoman Empire 1831*, Ankara, TC Başvekâlet İstatistik Umum Müdürlüğü, 1943, in Turkish.

<sup>6</sup> Z. Toprak, "Quantification in the Ottoman State or the Birth of Modern Statistics", in H. İnalçık, Ş. Pamuk (eds.), *Data and Statistics*, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-112, in Turkish. S. J. Shaw, "The Ottoman Census System and Population, 1831-1914", *International Journal of Middle East*

The Ottomans participated in the emerging “statistical internationalism” in Europe from its peripheries taking part in various international conferences, organizations and conventions regarding quantification.<sup>7</sup> The Turkish nation state was constructed on this Ottoman heritage. After the Lausanne treaty which provided international recognition to the political independence of the new Turkish state and the proclamation of the Republic in 1923, the nationalist Government invested in a statistical reform and hired the Belgian statistical expert, Camille Jacquart. The Belgian demographer went to Ankara in 1926 to lead the newly established Central Statistical Office.<sup>8</sup>

The director of the statistical administration at the Belgian Ministry of Interior, Jacquart was an actor of the international field in which the post war international order and the authority of the emerging League of Nations in international statistical activity were negotiated. He played a key role in constructing the Turkish statistical office in dialogue with the major international authorities in quantification such as the League and the International Statistical Institute (ISI). This chapter demonstrates his role in establishing cooperation with the Economic and Financial Section of the League (EFS) within the framework of the international program which laid the foundations of what Martin Bemmman calls, the system of “world economic statistics”.<sup>9</sup>

This case study provides insights on the implications of international quantification policies in the implementation of state statistics in a nascent nation-state. It sheds light on the role of transnational experts such as Jacquart in the co-construction of national and international statistical systems. It discusses the strategies of the international bureaucracy and experts in setting a course for national bureaucracies. The negotiations for cooperation with the Turkish office reveals how the EFS went beyond its official capacity which did not permit having relations with non-member

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*Studies*, 9/3 (1978), p. 330. K. H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population, 1830-1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics*, University of Wisconsin Press, 1985.

<sup>7</sup> It was for instance among the seventeen signatories of the Meter Convention in 1875 which put in place an international system of units and an international bureaucracy. BIPM, Bureau International des poids et mesures, “Member States”, <https://www.bipm.org/en/about-us/member-states/tr/>

<sup>8</sup> Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Archives (BCA), 030.18.1.1\_14-40-16.

<sup>9</sup> M. Bemmman, “How and Why the League of Nations Became the Centre of World Economic Statistics”, in A. E. S. Aurora, Y. Santos (eds.), *A Century of Internationalisms. The Promise and Legacies of the League of Nations*, Routledge, 2022. *Idem*, “Weltwirtschaftsstatistik. Internationale Wirtschaftsstatistik und die Geschichte der Globalisierung, 1850-1950”, Habilitation thesis (unpublished manuscript), Freiburg, 2020.

states and contributed to the statistical internationalization of the new Turkish state which had yet no affiliation with the League when the EFS initiated the process in 1926.<sup>10</sup> While acknowledging the interdependence between the EFS and the governing organs of the League (the Council and the Assembly), this study provides further evidence validating Clavin and Wessels' observation on the relative autonomy of this international bureaucracy.<sup>11</sup> This case study hence informs on the interwar "technical internationalism"<sup>12</sup> which established the structures of a global endeavor before the transition to the post WWII order and institutions which took over the League. It also highlights some neglected aspects of the Kemalist Government's strategies for a "symmetrical internationalization".<sup>13</sup>

The article begins by introducing the negotiation tables in which the authority of the League in international statistical activity and in particular the EFS statistical program were debated based on League publications and conference proceedings. A second section briefly informs as to the context of Jacquart's mission in Turkey during the first years of nation-state building. The following sections focus on the first correspondences between the EFS and Jacquart at the head of the Turkish Office to explore how cooperation between these two institutions was negotiated between December 1926 and February 1927. The original letters found in the League archives in Geneva which served as the primary sources of this study are published in the appendices.<sup>14</sup> The article hence not only provides insights regarding the

<sup>10</sup> Turkey entered the League on July 18, 1932, becoming its 56<sup>th</sup> member and on 17 September 1934 was elected as a non-permanent member of the Council. M. O. Hudson, "Admission of Turkey to Membership in the League of Nations", *The American Journal of International Law*, 26/4 (1932), pp. 813-814.

<sup>11</sup> P. Clavin, J. W. Wessels, "Transnationalism and the League of Nations: Understanding the Work of its Economic and Financial Organisation", *Contemporary European History*, 14/4 (2005), p. 465.

<sup>12</sup> D. Speich-Chassé, "Technical Internationalism and Global Social Change: A Critical Look at the Historiography of the United Nations", in A. Mathias and T. Werron (eds.), *What in the World?: Understanding Global Social Change*, Policy Press, 2020, pp. 243-63.

<sup>13</sup> Liebisch-Gümüş defines the foreign policy of the Kemalist Government for participating in multilateral, cross-border schemes of cooperation and international organizations on an equal footing with other participants as "symmetrical internationalization" strategies. C. Liebisch-Gümüş, "Intersecting Asymmetries: The Internationalization of Turkey in the 1920s and the Limits of the Postcolonial Approach", *Acta Universitatis Carolinae Studia Territoria*, 19/1 (2019), pp. 13-41.

<sup>14</sup> These first correspondences between the EFS and the Turkish Statistical Office are found in two different folders in the League archives. The first one is the folder "Monthly Bulletin" in the Section 10 EFS repertories (1919-1927), R351 12361. The second folder is the "Application for League Documents" of Section 49 (1923-1927) R1792 57662. Some additional documents



processes of international cooperation and internationalization of national data through the intermediation of international experts but also provides original documentation.

### I. The Allied Meetings as Negotiation Tables for Framing “International Co-operation in Statistics”

Established at the end of the World War I as a first political international organization (IO) aiming to achieve global status, the League sought to acquire a dominant position among other international bodies. The Article 24 of its Covenant placed all “international bureaux and all commissions for the regulation of matters of international interest hereafter constituted” under its direction. The article also proposed the same for those “already established by general treaties if the parties to such treaties consent[ed]”.<sup>15</sup> The League aspired to a hegemonic position in international quantification taking over most of the ideas and responsibilities envisaged by other IOs invested in statistical activity. Statistical work was not the only sector of international action that the League attempted to centralize under its auspices, but one of importance. It was considered essential for the activities and objectives of the League, for instance, to establish a liberal international trade system.<sup>16</sup>

As one of its officers, Alexander Loveday, later summarized in an article entitled “The League of Nations and International Trade Statistics”, the EFS organized a meeting of statisticians in London, August 1919, during the construction of the League.<sup>17</sup> The purpose of this “informal meeting” was “to consider in a general manner the way in which the new League organization could best assist in the development of international cooperation in statistics and to discuss the relation of the League with the various existing

---

found in other repertoires are used, such as “External Fonds”, as well as other historical sources.

<sup>15</sup> United Nations, “The Peace Treaty of Versailles, signed June 28, 1919. Part I: The Covenant of the League of Nations”, <https://www.ungeneva.org/en/library-archives/league-of-nations/covenant>

<sup>16</sup> R. Cussó, « L'activité statistique de l'Organisation économique et financière de la Société des Nations : Un nouveau lien entre pouvoir et quantification », *Histoire & Mesure*, XXVII/2 (2012), pp. 107-36 & p. 119. *Idem*, “Building a Global Representation of Trade Through International Quantification: The League of Nations’ Unification of Methods in Economic Statistics”, *The International History Review*, 42/4 (2020), pp. 714-736. See also the chapter by R. Cussó in this book.

<sup>17</sup> “Soon after the formation of the preliminary organizing skeleton of the Secretariat of the League of Nations, it was decided to hold an informal meeting of statisticians”. A. Loveday, “The League of Nations and International Trade Statistics”, *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 94 (1921), p. 156.

international institutions which dealt with this subject".<sup>18</sup> The idea of assisting existing organizations was likewise stated in the "Explanatory statement" of this meeting.<sup>19</sup>

The meeting brought together a male elite<sup>20</sup> of allied powers representing the ISI, International Institute of Agriculture (henceforth IIA) and the League –that is the Secretariat, EFS, and the Labor Section (henceforth ILO)– as well as British and French statistical bureaus. These representatives participated without being officially mandated by their respective institutions due to the informal character of the meeting since "[t]he League and its organisation [were] not yet formally established" at the time.<sup>21</sup> Apart from the Japanese Nitobe Inazo, who participated as one of the under-secretaries general of the League, the participants were all from Allied powers of Europe, from France, Italy, Belgium and mostly from Great Britain. They held multiple roles in international and national institutions and transnational networks of the allied powers.

The chair of the meeting, the British economist and officer Arthur Salter<sup>22</sup> raised two international problems: there were "important gaps in the existing organisation" and "the whole field of international statistics [was] not covered", therefore measures "to fill up the existing gaps" were needed "to avoid overlapping".<sup>23</sup> British participants –mostly political bureaucratic actors some of whom were related to the League or representing other IOs– predominated both in number and voice. They supported the idea of centralizing international statistical work under the auspices of the League. One of the architects of the League, the British diplomat and politician, Robert Cecil underlined for instance, "the importance of statistics in the sphere of international administration". A representative of the ISI, Athelstane Baines (a former senior British civil servant in Indian Civil Service and a member of the Royal Statistical Society and American Statistical Association among others):

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<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 156.

<sup>19</sup> The "Explanatory statement" of this meeting was documented in the proceedings which were published by the League. According to this statement, the meeting was organized to discuss how "the League organisation could assist the development of international co-operation in statistical work". League of Nations, "Conference on International Co-operation in Statistics", August 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup>, 1919, London, Printed for The League of Nations by Harrison & Sons, St. Martin's Lane, London, W.C., p. 3.

<sup>20</sup> Among the 24 participants, only two were female: Mdlle. Quanjer, accompanying M. Methorst and the British secretary, Miss M. W. Maxwell.

<sup>21</sup> League of Nations, "Conference on International Co-operation in Statistics", *op. cit.*

<sup>22</sup> Salter was Secretary of the Allied Supreme Economic Council and first unofficial director of the EFS. LONSEA. "Arthur Salter", <http://www.lonsea.de/pub/person/5102>

<sup>23</sup> League of Nations, "Conference on International Co-operation", *op. cit.*, p. 8.

*[...] emphasised the necessity for co-ordination, not only as between the different International Bureaux and Institutes working under the auspices of the League, but the still more important work of co-ordination and critical survey of the statistical work of the various Governments by some central statistical authority.*<sup>24</sup>

The British economist, Assistant Secretary of Statistics Department of the Board of Trade, A. W. Flux presented a prototype of a “new monthly Bulletin”, “designed to summarise the economic position of certain principal countries” suggesting that it should be undertaken by a central international organization.<sup>25</sup> This proposition was based on earlier international initiatives such as the decisions of the Brussels International Convention (which, signed in 1913, had established an International Bureau of Trade Statistics) and the Supreme Economic Council, which was the source of the prototype prepared and presented by Flux.<sup>26</sup>

There were also Americans who although not participating in person, intervened indirectly as “a report of a conversation with Mr. Hoover, transmitted by Mr. Fosdick, was read at the Conference”. The American lawyer and public administrator, Raymond Fosdick was at that time a deputy secretary of the League before joining the Rockefeller Foundation in the coming years. As for the future President of the USA Herbert Hoover, he was heading the American Relief Administration and serving as an adviser to President Wilson notably during the Paris Peace Conference and the constitution of the League. According to the American report, Hoover

*[...] emphasized the need for a uniform system of price index numbers and suggested that the organization of the League of Nations might also be utilized to secure the prompt collection and circulation (in some cases by cable) of economic statistics, particularly as to raw materials, which are not adequately dealt with by existing institutions.*<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9-10.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* p. 8. For a detailed analysis regarding earlier initiatives and the role of the Supreme Economic Council of the Allied powers in the preparation of the pilot issue of the monthly bulletin, cf. M. Bemmman, “When the World Economy Came into Being: The Supreme Economic Council and the Establishment of ‘World Economic Statistics’”, in E. Conze, *et al.* (eds.), *The Paris Peace Conference of 1919 and the Challenge of a New World Order*, Oxford, Berghahn, 2023 [forthcoming].

<sup>27</sup> League of Nations, “Conference on International Co-operation”, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

The British and American side at this time advocated entrusting economic statistics to the League. This proposal raised questions about the activity of another IO in Brussels which was publishing trade statistics but was not invited to the meeting. The idea of centralizing international statistical activity at least by a coordinating authority (which would be integrated to the League according to the Article 24 of its Covenant) encountered resistance. The competition between the ISI and the IIA made a consensus even more difficult. Their international bureaucracies sought to affiliate themselves with the League, albeit with special autonomy based on the example of the International Labor Office. While both called for “decentralization” to structure the League as a political entity composed of independent technical sections benefiting from its resources, their position-takings differed according to their structures and resources.

The IIA represented itself as “a living example of effective and useful permanent collaboration between Governments” that supplied data for its publications (a monthly bulletin and a yearbook) of agricultural statistics.<sup>28</sup> It sought to affiliate itself with the League as an autonomous agriculture section. Italian delegates of the IIA favored the formation of a coordinating authority under the auspices of the League. They underlined indeed the difficulty “to persuade the National Governments to unify their system of collecting and preparing statistics” suggesting that the League could “exercise [...] moral authority in the field of statistics” so as “to provide a more adequate basis of comparison”.<sup>29</sup>

On the other hand, the ISI, “founded in 1885 as a consequence of the International Congresses held periodically since 1855”, was presented by Lucien March as “a private association composed of official heads of statistical bureaux and of unofficial statisticians, economists, etc.”.<sup>30</sup> Supported by March, who participated in the meeting as the director of the “Statistique Générale de la France” while also being a member of the ISI, the ISI delegates tried to affiliate its Bureau at the Hague with the League as the official responsible for international demographic statistics. They opposed granting any binding power to any decision-making body that was to be formed and sought to include private actors in it. This position-taking might be seen as the French one. March indeed insisted on the importance of “private exchanges” and argued that it was “necessary to include non-official representatives” based

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<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

on the tripartite model of the ILO.<sup>31</sup> This proposition met with resistance especially from the IIA delegates who called into question the quality of data provided by non-state organizations (“these organisations are too often prejudiced and self-interested”).<sup>32</sup>

Even though a sort of division of statistical work took shape between the present IOs, the crucial question of who would coordinate all these economic, demographic, agricultural and labor statistics remained unresolved. The “appointment of an International Advisory Council on statistics”<sup>33</sup> proposed by the EFS as an agenda of the Conference and supported by the British delegates was generally accepted. The conflict of interest between the participants hindered consensus however on how to organize this council, who to appoint and with what powers. It was then decided that the League would appoint a committee “to make suggestions” and “prepare a Report”.<sup>34</sup>

The resulting expert committee included exclusively male representatives also from two other IOs specialized in commercial statistics. This time not only British and French but also Spanish, Canadian and Italian national statistical institutions as well as a Japanese diplomatic officer were invited. Again, the transnational connections between the European majority were remarkable, linking various national and international institutions both in political, bureaucratic and scientific fields.<sup>35</sup> For instance, the ISI was represented by its Vice-President Delatour and the secretary H. W. Methorst, and not by its President, Luigi Bodio, who was also invited, albeit as the President of the Italian Supreme Council of Statistics. The secondary affiliations of these actors highlighted their multiple positions and networks and the porosity between various national and international power-knowledge fields concentrated in Europe. For instance, Delatour was a member of the *Société d'économie politique* in France, Methorst was a Director at the Dutch Central Statistical Bureau, and Bodio was involved in politics as an Italian Senator.

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<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5, 10.

<sup>32</sup> The General Secretary of the IIA, “Signor Dragoni, replying to a suggestion made by M. Varlez, expressed the opinion that statistics furnished by unofficial, or trade union organisations are of great importance, but are not to be placed on the same level with statistics compiled by official institutes. The Industrial and Employers’ Organisations supply the raw material of statistics for the use of the official bodies, but these organisations are too often prejudiced and self-interested, and regard statistics more as a means than an end”. *Ibid.*, p 14.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>35</sup> The full list is available in League’s archive documents in the folder R290 80 678 “Minutes of the International Statistical Conference held in Paris on October 11<sup>th</sup>, 1920” of the EFS files (Section 10).

A senior officer at the Ministry of Interior of Belgium, Camille Jacquart, who would lead the statistical reform in Turkey, was a member of the ISI, while he was representing the International Bureau of Commercial Statistics. The secretariat of the League was represented by A. Loveday, who also participated in the previous conference, and by another British economist, W. Layton.

With new actors included the question of autonomy of the existing IOs and national statistical bureaus with respect to the League became an even greater concern. Against the minority position of the League, the British and Canadian delegates in favor of establishing “within the organization of the League a statistical section”, the majority position was opposed to the idea of entrusting the League with any power beyond simple coordination. It recommended forming a permanent “International Commission of Statistics” composed of experts from the existing IOs to advise the League Council regarding the statistics it needed.<sup>36</sup>

In spite of this first resistance, the League went well beyond simple coordination. Especially the EFS created its own economic statistics program undertaking also the monthly bulletin project as of 1920.<sup>37</sup> It organized furthermore other international conferences, which allowed it to better frame, legitimize and consolidate the scope and instruments of its action. It started sending questionnaires to various states requesting economic data in preparation for an International Financial Conference.<sup>38</sup> Held in Brussels in 1920 (September 24-October 8), this Conference was organized in response to calls from professionals of the finance sector in Europe for measures to regulate trade and finance destabilized by the war.<sup>39</sup> Upon the recommendation of forming a body “of bankers and businessmen” which would “frame measures to give effect to certain decisions of the Conference”, the Council resolved to form a Financial and Economic Committee around the EFS.<sup>40</sup> As the collected data would now also serve to make research and

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<sup>36</sup> Minutes of the International Statistical Conference held in Paris on October 11<sup>th</sup>, 1920, League Archives R290 80 10678 (Section 10). R. H. Coats, “Report of the International Statistical Commission Appointed by the Council of the League of Nations”, *Quarterly Publications of the American Statistical Association*, 17 (1921). For more context, see also R. Cussó, « L'activité statistique », *op. cit.* A. Dogan, « L'étatisation turque », *op. cit.*, pp. 356-59.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. R. Cussó, « L'activité statistique », *op. cit.*, p. 123.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> For more context, cf. Y. Decorzant, « La Société des Nations et l'apparition d'un nouveau réseau d'expertise économique et financière (1914-1923) », *Critique internationale*, 52/3 (2011), pp. 35-50.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. the “Resolution of the Council of the League of Nations of October 25<sup>th</sup>, 1920”, whereby

policy recommendations on economic and financial matters, the re-surfing necessity to unify and standardize national statistics was addressed again in the Genoa Conference of 1922.<sup>41</sup> The Conference resolutions granted the League the responsibility of world economic statistics involving also the elaboration of “common principles” expected to “serve as a basis for the organization of [states’ statistical] departments”.<sup>42</sup>

The international action of EFS hence developed in collaboration with various private, state and international actors and built its legitimacy through conferences, conventions and other strategies. The League furthermore found the opportunity of affirming its “specialized organizations” while intervening in the Austrian financial crisis with a stabilization program. It was in this set of circumstances that the Economic and Financial Organization (EFO) was institutionalized in 1923.<sup>43</sup>

According to its official definition, the EFS was responsible for providing “the secretariat and permanent experts of the ‘Economic and Financial

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a ‘provisional Financial and Economic Committee’ was set up. The Council, by a resolution of September 10<sup>th</sup>, 1923, deleted the word ‘provisional’. The Economic Committee was later separated from the Financial Committee. League of Nations, *The Committees of the League of Nations. Classified List and Essential Facts*, Geneva, 1945, p. 37.

<sup>41</sup> The question on the standardization of statistical data was in fact formulated and treated since the very first International Congress of Statistics in Brussels in 1853. R. Cussó, « La quantification internationale à la lumière de la SSP et des Congrès internationaux de statistique : continuités et ruptures », *Journ@l Électronique d’Histoire des Probabilités et de la Statistique*, 6/2 (2010).

On the Genoa Conference and the emergence of a global regulation of the monetary system during the Interwar period, cf. C. Brégianni, “Interwar International Institutions, Great Depression and Greece: monetary and peripheral dimensions of the global economic crisis”, in A. Kakridis, S. Rizas (eds.), *Great Depression and Greece: Economic, institutional and social dimensions*, Athens, Bank of Greece, 2021, pp. 135-165, here 137-139, in Greek. *Idem*, “A Regulatory Role of Money in the Interwar Period and Beyond. Global Actors and Local Players, from Institutional and Historical Respective”, paper presented in the Conference *Monetary Integration and Disintegration in the Interwar Europe: The Impact of the Great Depression from Institutional Agency to Local Conditions*, TransMonEA Research Project, Academy of Athens - HFRI (1 & 2 November 2021).

<sup>42</sup> “Report to the Council by the Economic Committee of the Provisional Economic and Financial Committee on their Session held in Geneva from June 8<sup>th</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup>, 1922”, Geneva, July 4<sup>th</sup> 1922. Archive document no. C-437-1922-II-C\_BI. For an evaluation cf. F. D’Onofrio, “Agricultural numbers: the statistics of the International Institute of Agriculture in the Interwar period”, *Agricultural History Review*, 65/2 (2017), 277-296.

<sup>43</sup> Patricia Clavin demonstrates how the Provisional Committee became the Economic and Financial Organization (EFO) in 1923 on the occasion of the League intervening in Austria with a financial stabilization program. P. Clavin, *Securing the World Economy: The Reinvention of the League of Nations, 1920-1946*, Oxford University Press, 2013, pp. 25-33.



Organization' of the League of Nations" and "should not be regarded as a *de facto* autonomous body, such as the ILO or the Hague Court, not even as an internal 'organization' that can have relations with non-member states".<sup>44</sup> Yet, it established relations with Turkey long before its official membership of the League in 1932. In this respect, the EFS established informally "a significant degree of autonomy" as underlined by Clavin and Wessels,<sup>45</sup> while being accountable to the Secretary-General and governing organs of the League (the Council and the Assembly were composed of government representatives).

Besides the *Monthly Bulletin*, the EFS produced other series as well. It published the first volume of *Balances of Payments* in 1924<sup>46</sup> and of the *Statistical Yearbook* (of 1926) in 1927.<sup>47</sup> The section underwent several transformations during the 1930s, but in its new forms continued organizing conferences and publishing international statistics such as *Money and Banking*, the *Review of World Trade* or the *World Economic Survey*. Its relationship to various states thus involved a universal mission but no universal membership (admission was subject to a selective process by the League Assembly). It served as a laboratory for the elaboration and implementation of new methods and policies in international quantification which were later enhanced and reinforced by new supranational actors. The United Nations took over most of its work<sup>48</sup> and it also inspired statistical activities of other international organizations such as the World Bank or the International Monetary Fund.

## II. Importing International Expertise in the Reorganization of State Statistics in Turkey

Turkey was not one of the twenty-five countries that responded to the EFS unification program in 1924,<sup>49</sup> but it was represented both in the World Economic Conference of 1927 and the International Conference relating to

<sup>44</sup> Original in French. *Répertoire*, « Fonds du secrétariat, Section(s) économique et financière », [http://libraryresources.unog.ch/ld.php?content\\_id=19934149](http://libraryresources.unog.ch/ld.php?content_id=19934149). All the quotes from the original documents in French, were translated by the author.

<sup>45</sup> P. Clavin, J. W. Wessels, "Transnationalism and the League", *op. cit.*

<sup>46</sup> League of Nations, *Memorandum on Balance of Payments and Foreign Trade Balances. 1910-1923*, Geneva, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1924.

<sup>47</sup> League of Nations, EFS, *International Statistical Yearbook 1926*, Geneva, Publications of the League, 1927.

<sup>48</sup> For an overview of these transformations cf. P. Clavin, J. W. Wessels. "Transnationalism", *op. cit.*

<sup>49</sup> R. Cussó, "Building a Global Representation of Trade", *op. cit.*



Economic Statistics in 1928 (both organized by the EFS).<sup>50</sup> The *Statistical Yearbook* which was first published as a document of the World Economic Conference of 1927<sup>51</sup> included estimates or old data for Turkey mostly reported by other IOs such as the ISI and IIA which compiled statistics from the Ottoman state.<sup>52</sup> The results of the first census of the Turkish Republic in 1927 were integrated into the *Yearbooks* starting from the following year and gradually into various tables of the *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics* and other League publications during the 1930s. One could reasonably wonder as to what change took place between 1924 and 1927. During this time span Turkey somehow became part of the international endeavor on statistics led by the EFS of the League.

In fact, Turkey was for a good while part of the “statistical internationalism” which emerged during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The Ottoman Empire was represented in these spaces as “Turkey”, a founding member among others of the International Institute of Agriculture (IIA) and a member of the International Statistical Institute (ISI).<sup>53</sup> The Ottoman state participated in negotiations of international norms and applied international expertise in its quantification policies to produce national statistics based on census-taking and administrative registries – two sources of public statistics according to Desrosières.<sup>54</sup> The Ottoman State first started to publish foreign trade statistics at the end of the 1870s and compiled other census results in the form of yearbooks in the 1890s as in other census-taking countries.<sup>55</sup> During the transition to the nation-state

<sup>50</sup> Turkey did not sign the resulting convention.

Section économique et financière, « Actes de la Conférence économique internationale tenue à Genève du 4 au 23 mai 1927 », C.356. M.129.1927. League archives, R2702 10B 3911 5066, Conférence de Statistique 1928, Représentation de la Turquie. League of Nations, *Proceedings of the International Conference Relating to Economic Statistics*, Geneva, November 26<sup>th</sup> to December 14<sup>th</sup>, 1928, C.163.M.64.1929. II.

<sup>51</sup> League of Nations, EFS, *International Statistical Yearbook 1926*, Geneva, Publications of the League, 1927.

<sup>52</sup> Turkey figured in various tables of the *Statistical Yearbooks* of 1926 and 1927 with previous data or estimates. For example, on the 1927 *Yearbook*, Turkey appeared in 29 of a total of 103 tables. League of Nations, EFS, *International Statistical Yearbook 1927*, Geneva, Publications of the League, 1928.

<sup>53</sup> R. D. Volta, « L'institut international d'agriculture. Proposé par S. M. Le Roi d'Italie », *Revue d'économie Politique*, 19/7 (1905), pp. 597-621. G. J. Stermerdink (ed.), *Members of the International Statistical Institute. A Cumulative List for the Period 1885-2002*, Voorburg, International Statistical Institute, 2003.

<sup>54</sup> A. Desrosières, « Décrire l'État ou explorer la société : les deux sources de la statistique publique », *Genèses*, 58/1 (2005).

<sup>55</sup> T. Güran, “The First Ottoman Statistical Yearbook Dated 1897”, in H. İnalçık, Ş. Pamuk (eds.), *Data and Statistics*, *op. cit.*, pp. 165-179. K. H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, *op. cit.*

in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the state took further the earlier experimentations of statistical centralization. The central bureau established during WWI by the German statistician, Professor Würzburger in Istanbul<sup>56</sup> probably served as a prototype for the construction of a new central statistical office in the new capital Ankara after the creation of a new Turkish state.

Despite the remarkable continuities in state bureaucracy, the military elite which founded a new parliamentary government in Ankara during the armed struggle against the Allied occupation at the end of WWI adopted a narrative of rupture. As many scholars remarked, statistics proved to be a site of political struggle not only during the fall of the Ottoman Empire, but also during the negotiation of the new Turkish State.<sup>57</sup>

The leaders of the new state soon invested in a large-scale statistical reform to respond to the necessities of nation building and to demonstrate the modernity of the new national bureaucracy, as other young governments formed at the end of the world war.<sup>58</sup> In fact, as national experts of that time such as Celal Aybar, who contributed to this reform, as well as historians later asserted, the Ottoman statistical system suffered from financial difficulties since the loss of sovereignty over public finances after the declaration of a moratorium on debt payments in 1876.<sup>59</sup> For example, the Turkish economic historian Korkut Boratav argued that: “The dependent and semi-colonial status of the Ottoman Empire had resulted in relatively developed statistical systems on external trade and foreign debts, whereas elementary quantitative information on the state of the nation was lacking”.<sup>60</sup>

Shortly after the proclamation of the Republic in 1923 following the Lausanne treaty which provided international recognition to the new Turkish

<sup>56</sup> M. Djélal, « La Statistique en Turquie », *Progress in Public Administration*, 6.4 (1933), pp. 425-433.

<sup>57</sup> F. DüNDAR, « Compter, classer, contrôler », *Turcica*, 37 (2005), pp. 187-220. K. H. KARPAT, *Ottoman Population*, *op. cit.* S. J. SHAW, “The Ottoman Census”, *op. cit.* Z. TOPRAK, “Quantification in the Ottoman State”, *op. cit.* M. ZAMIR, “Population Statistics of the Ottoman Empire in 1914 and 1919”, *Middle Eastern Studies*, 17.1 (1981), pp. 85-106.

<sup>58</sup> BEMMANN observes that many governments adopted the mantra repeatedly put forward by “Western” observers that one could recognize the “modernity” of a country by the state of its official statistics, among other elements. M. BEMMANN, “Weltwirtschaftsstatistik”, *op. cit.*, pp. 372-373.

<sup>59</sup> The Ottoman Public Debt Administration, a transnational bureaucracy, whose foreign members were chosen by the creditor banks and bondholders took over the administration of around one third of state revenues. A. DOGAN, « L'étatisation turque dans l'entre-deux-guerres et ses acteurs », *op. cit.*

<sup>60</sup> K. BORATAV, “Kemalist Economic Policies and Etatism”, in A. KAZANCIGIL, E. ÖZBUDUN (eds.), *Atatürk: Founder of a Modern State*, Hamden, Archon Books, 1981, p. 166.

state as a sovereign political entity after decades of war and struggle for independence, the nationalist Government invested in a statistical reform. Following the negotiations with the Belgian Government in 1924, it was decided to entrust this mission to the director of the statistical administration at the Belgian Ministry of Interior, Camille Jacquart. Upon the official invitation in 1925 by the Turkish Government, this Belgian demographer came in 1926 to lead a new Central Statistical Office in Ankara.<sup>61</sup> The Office was established in early 1926 as one of the first institutions founded in the Republican period and Jacquart was appointed as its first director.<sup>62</sup>

Doctor of law, Jacquart (1867-1931) started his career in journalism (1889-98), then worked at the Administration of Statistics and Electoral Affairs of the Ministry of the Interior as a civil servant (1898-1913), a director (1913-1919) and then as the director-general (1919-1929). While working in public administration, he served as an expert and a technical advisor for the Government in conducting studies and other missions. He also taught statistics and commercial law in Belgian higher education institutions.<sup>63</sup> He contributed to the literature on statistical sciences through his numerous publications. He was also a prominent international figure. He was a member of the International Statistical Institute (ISI) and the International Institute of Commerce at Brussels. He represented the latter in the International Statistical Commission (see previous section) and played an active role in the preparation of the Conference for International Cooperation in Statistics in 1920 and its various initiatives (1919-1920).<sup>64</sup> He participated in international activities of the League Health Committee (1925).<sup>65</sup> After three years in Turkey, he returned to Belgium as Secretary General of the Belgian Ministry of the Interior at the end of 1929. He came back to Ankara upon a request by the Turkish government in October 1930 to supervise the

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<sup>61</sup> Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Archives (hereafter BCA), 030.18.1.1\_14-40-16.

<sup>62</sup> The Decree was promulgated in the Official Gazette (no. 388) of 2<sup>nd</sup> June 1926 (p. 2). Jacquart took office at the end of March 1926 (BCA 30.10.0.0\_12-71-47). The construction of Turkish Statistical Office by Jacquart is not much studied except. A. Dogan, « L'étatisation turque dans l'entre-deux-guerres et ses acteurs », *op. cit.* & S. Yildirim, "Belgian demographer and statistician Camille Jacquart and the construction of modern statistics in Turkey", *Modern Türklük Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 7/1 (2010), pp. 8-36, in Turkish.

<sup>63</sup> A. Dufasne, « Camille Jacquart », in Académie Royale de Belgique (ed.), *Biographie nationale*, t. 39, Bruxelles, 1976, pp. 471-478.

TUIK, "Former Presidents", <http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/UstMenu.do?metod=eskibaskan>

<sup>64</sup> League Archives, Section 10 (1919-1927), "International Statistics", R290 80 678.

<sup>65</sup> League Archives. Comité d'Hygiène, Le Communiqué au Conseil et aux Membres de la Société, 1925, C-647-M-236-1925-III.

preparations for a second general census. He passed away a few months after his return to Belgium.<sup>66</sup>

Jacquart found in Turkey the opportunity to experiment with the statistical centralization model, which prevailed especially after the war and which he defended already in Belgium.<sup>67</sup> He conducted the first population, agriculture and industrial census of the Turkish Republic according to ISI conventions.<sup>68</sup> He played a key role in the circulation of statistical norms, knowledge and know-how at the intersection of international expert spaces, Turkish and Belgian state fields. Concrete exchanges with the EFS started only after Jacquart took office as the director of the newly established Central Statistical Office in 1926.

### III. An Invitation for Technical Cooperation with Regard to Turkish Data: Expert Connections and Concepts of a World Economy

Jacquart's background and network connections which probably played a role in his recruitment by the Turkish Office, obviously contributed to building dialogue with the League bureaucracy. In fact, the EFS addressed all of its letters directly to Jacquart and not to the Turkish Office. Their first letter to "Monsieur Jacquart" dated December 14<sup>th</sup>, 1926, and was stamped by A. Loveday as the Head of Economic Documentation Service.<sup>69</sup>

Alexander Loveday (1888-1962) was a British academic and civil servant who worked at the War Office before joining the Economic and Financial Section (EFS) of the League. He occupied senior positions at the section, from its establishment to its restructure and the final devolvement into the United Nations.<sup>70</sup> His bureaucratic-scientific background and trajectory is

<sup>66</sup> For more details, cf. A. Dogan, « L'étatisation turque dans l'entre-deux-guerres et ses acteurs », *op. cit.*

<sup>67</sup> Jacquart afterwards contributed to statistical centralization in Belgium as well. A. Dogan, « L'étatisation turque dans l'entre-deux-guerres et ses acteurs », *op. cit.* For an inquiry on the international diffusion of the centralization model and its different definitions, cf. J.-G. Prévost, J.-P. Beaud, *Statistics, Public Debate and the State, 1800-1945: A Social, Political and Intellectual History on Numbers*, Routledge, 2015.

<sup>68</sup> A. Dogan, "Modernising Turkey with Statistics", *op. cit.*

<sup>69</sup> League Archives (1919-1927). Economic and Financial Section (10). "Monthly Bulletin of Statistics". R351 12361 56101. The study refers to the signing party as the author of the letter even though the corrected drafts found in the League archive folders indicate that it might well be secretaries or other officials who wrote the letters to be signed by a chief. See the Appendices (Letter 1) for the entire letter. Unless otherwise specified, following citations are from the same source and translated from the original in French by the author.

<sup>70</sup> Born in Scotland, Loveday studied at Peterhouse College (University of Cambridge). He

representative of the many British “international” officers and experts who largely populated the League bureaucracy<sup>71</sup> as a consequence of the British economic power during the interwar period.<sup>72</sup> Loveday played an active role not only in negotiations with international actors (see the first section) but also with national offices for the implementation of the EFS program. His letter stated that:

*We regret that we are unable to publish statistics for Turkey and we are very keen to fill this gap in our statistics. I would therefore be very grateful if you could inform me if you can provide us with some of the information listed on a regular basis and thus cooperate in this endeavor.  
I would be extremely pleased if Turkey could be added to the list of countries for which economic information is published.*

Loveday began his letter stating that he “learned from Mr. Manrette, head of the Research Division at the International Labor Office” (ILO) that Jacquart was “in charge of the reorganization of statistics in Turkey”. The name of the French geographer and ILO officer, Fernand Maurette was misspelled in the letter. This international expert had met Jacquart during his mission between 1925 and 1926 to study labor legislation and work conditions in Turkey and to consolidate international cooperation between the ILO and Turkish authorities.<sup>73</sup> Loveday’s mention of him pointed out the connections

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lectured on political philosophy at Leipzig University, then economics at Cambridge. He worked for the War Office for four years before joining the EFS in 1919. He served as a chief (1929-1931), then the Director of Financial Section and Economic Intelligence Service (1931-1939), and the Economic, Financial and Transit Department (1939-1940). After the Second World War when the United Nations replaced the League, he worked for a short while as a member of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, USA. In 1946, he became a Fellow of Nuffield College, Oxford, where he was appointed the third Warden in 1950. He retired in 1954.

“From the Archive - Alexander Loveday”, *Nuffield College Library's blog*, May 23, 2014, <https://nuffieldcollegelibrary.wordpress.com/2014/05/23/from-the-archive-alexander-loveday/> Cf. also, LONSEA, “Alexander Loveday”, <http://www.lonsea.de/pub/person/5246>

<sup>71</sup> Clavin and Wessels underline the domination of British officers in the Financial Section and the importance of political stakes especially in times of the nomination of section directors. P. Clavin, J. W. Wessels, “Transnationalism and the League”, *op. cit.*, pp. 472, 475-6.

<sup>72</sup> This economic power would be destabilized during the 1930s. B. Eichengreen, *Golden Fetters. The gold standard and the Great Depression 1919-1939*, New York/Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1992. C. Brégianni, “Transnational Cooperation and Leading Ideologies in a Period of Economic Nationalism. A contradiction of the European Interwar?”, *Neohellenica Historica*, 1 (2010), pp. 37-58, in Greek.

<sup>73</sup> For more details about this mission, cf. M. Gülmez. *1919-2019 ILO-Türkiye İlişkilerinin Yüzyılı*. Ankara, ILO Türkiye Ofisi, 2019, in Turkish.

between the two interlocking international bureaucracies both invested in quantification under the League. The strong network logic between international experts structured their transnational space in such a manner that one's position and investments served as resource for another. "Knowing your interest in statistical work", Loveday stressed the point of asking for Jacquart's "support with regard to the statistical data on Turkey".

Indeed, Loveday did not write to the Turkish Statistical Office, but specifically to Jacquart. The Belgian demographer's background and network connections in the international space of expert-statisticians contributed to the establishment of a dialogue between the two institutions. Their previous collaboration provided a certain legitimacy to Loveday's request when he introduced the statistical project and products of EFS and asked Jacquart to "cooperate in this endeavor". Indeed, Jacquart was already engaged in the universalist vision behind this project.

This invitation letter was both personalized and standard. Loveday informed about the purpose and content of the two documents he sent as appendices. He presented the *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics* underlining that it was "published regularly every month since 1920". The monthly questionnaire, which was the second document enclosed and presented in the letter, was more than a simple tool for gathering data. It defined the nomenclatures, units and concepts and described which data were relevant, in which method and by which units they should be represented. It was an instrument of giving direction to national statistical institutions and their quantification policies. Those institutions were supposed to fill the questionnaire according to instructions and send it back to the central Geneva Office "each month by telegram or letter". Explaining standard procedures and demanding standardized data at a fixed date, the EFS's invitation letter served itself as an instrument of its international policies aiming at the production of world economic statistics through harmonization of methods and data.

The *Monthly Bulletin* evolved covering additional variables and details over time, but at the time it included "the monthly statistics on the production of coal, iron and steel, on the imports and exports, shipping movements, price fluctuations, gold reserves and currency circulation, exchange rates and discount rates, etc.". These key variables that the EFS defined in the *Bulletin* and questionnaire related national statistics to each other. The EFS project promoted a specific concept of an interconnected world economy based on global commercial and financial circuits.<sup>74</sup> As the letter emphasized

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<sup>74</sup> For the statistical elaboration of concepts of "economy" in the interwar period, cf. A. J. Tooze, *Statistics and the German State*, *op. cit.* For a discussion on the "economy" as an invention of the 20<sup>th</sup> century built out of a series of competing projects and "new technologies



in a similar manner with the British officer who presented the project at the conference in 1919, the Bulletin purported to summarize “in a concise form the economic situation of most of the world’s major trading countries”, which made at the time a total of “about fifty countries”. These international products published in Geneva relied on the idea of a universal statistical language which enabled stratifying countries in a world market according to their resources and trade. By making comparisons possible they promoted not only competition and increased integration to world markets through open trade but also hierarchical classifications.

The trade capacity of any given country as well as the ability to present it in quantitative terms were defined as a form of capital. These self-representations enabled a political and economic system of modern statehood. A hierarchical order appeared in consequence, with “most of the world’s major trading countries” already part of this community, alongside those who were not (yet) integrated and those for which “it has been only recently possible” to publish trade series. As example for the latter group, the letter of the EFS mentioned statistics of Palestine, Syria, Lebanon, and Iraq, while referring to Turkish statistics as a gap (namely a “lacune”) to be filled. Laying in a certain geographical area, these countries were not arbitrary examples. They were all part of what the “Turkish Empire” was once as the League called it in its Covenant and were subjected to the mandate system by the Article 22.<sup>75</sup> The EFS based its reasoning on political and regional categories placing countries in a world order designed by international treaties and consolidated by numbers.

#### IV. Commitment to a Universal Project: Ambitions and Deficiencies

The response of Jacquart one month later confirmed his commitment to the statistical project of the League.<sup>76</sup> It was implicit in the letter that making

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of organization, measurement, calculation, and representation”, cf. T. Mitchell, “Rethinking Economy”, *Geoforum*, 39/3 (2008), pp. 1116-1121.

<sup>75</sup> “Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone”. League of Nations, “Covenant of the League of Nations”, 28.4.1919, available at: The Avalon Project, Lillian Goldman Law Library, [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th\\_century/leagcov.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/leagcov.asp)

<sup>76</sup> The letter was dated January 12<sup>th</sup>, 1927, but was recorded in the League registries on February 25, 1927, indicating a postal service delivery time of approximately one month. Unlike the EFS letters and Jacquart’s following typed responses, this letter was handwritten. League Archives, “Monthly Bulletin of Statistics”, R351 12361 56101. See the Appendices

Turkish data international was part of his mission. In this regard, hiring an international expert such as Jacquart instead of a local statistician was a strategic choice in accordance with the aspirations of the Turkish Government to demonstrate the modernity of the new state to the international community. Not only his technical knowledge, but also his symbolic and social capital, in particular his reputation and connections in international expert networks, made it possible to lay the foundations of a statistical office in dialogue with major international actors. On the one hand Jacquart's mission reinforced the symbolic capital of Turkey in the international arena; on the other, it highlighted its deficiencies.

Replying to "Monsieur Loveday", Jacquart confirmed that he was "in charge of the reorganization of Turkey's statistics" which he presented as deficient and incomplete:

*for almost all the points listed in the monthly questionnaire which accompanied your letter, it is impossible under the present conditions of statistical work in Turkey to provide the requested statistical information.*

The only available data, the "monthly foreign trade statistics" were published "with delays of several months and still irregularly". Highlighting these flaws with respect to the expectations of the EFS or international norms in general, was a means to emphasize the importance of his role in the Turkish statistical reform. "It is not a small task" (« Ce n'est pas une petite affaire »), he wrote, "and it will take some more efforts to establish regular monthly statistics".

From the point of view of the international expert, sharing statistics for international quantification purposes, such as the EFS projects, required a specific organization and discipline at national level. Collecting, recording, and reporting data regularly and systematically in a standardized format required resources, including qualified and trained staff, and the official adoption of standardized procedures. Turkey was somehow lagging behind in this type of statistical bureaucratization and it was the mission of the Belgian statistician to calibrate the statistical system of Turkey with the international system that the EFS and other organizations such as the ISI were trying to consolidate. Jacquart concluded his letter by emphasizing his commitment to internationalize Turkish statistics: "I shall not fail to report them to the League of Nations when possible, and I am also eager to see Turkey included in your Monthly Bulletin". He also expressed his interest in

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(Letter 2) for the entire letter. Unless otherwise specified, following citations are from the same source and translated from the original in French by the author.



the statistical products of the League: “I shall be glad to receive your monthly bulletin for my personal use and for the collections of the Central Statistical Office that I lead here”.

Jacquart hence engaged the Office in the exchange of documentation with the League which was an important step in establishing cooperation between the two institutions. In fact, he did not wait for the EFS response to send another letter sharing official documents regarding the statistical reform in Turkey.

#### V. Sharing State Documents: Turkey’s Statistical Reform and Claim for Modernity

Before receiving Loveday’s response on February 14<sup>th</sup>, Jacquart sent a second letter on February 8, 1927, and two legal documents which decreed the creation of the Central Statistical Office and announced the first general population census.<sup>77</sup> These documents informed on the legal basis of national policies and institutions in Turkey regarding statistics. They also certified Jacquart’s official position and authority.

While his first letter only mentioned his responsibility in the reorganization of Turkey’s statistics, in this short (four-sentence) letter, Jacquart emphasized that he was leading the Turkish Office and signed as “Director general”. The dialogue between the two bureaucracies –one national and the other international– relied on the transnational position of the Belgian statistician as public administrator in a third country and his ties with international actors. These ties were evident in his demand for the League publications “and particularly a statistical yearbook”. Although the EFS’s letter did not mention it, Jacquart knew that they were preparing to publish a first Statistical Yearbook for 1926.<sup>78</sup>

Furthermore, Jacquart did not address “Monsieur Loveday” as he did in his first letter, but “Monsieur le Directeur et cher Collègue”. Addressing him

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<sup>77</sup> This letter was classified in the archive folder “Application for League documents”, Section 49 (1923-1927) R1792 57662. Unless otherwise specified, the following citations are from this same source. The annexed documents were typed in French, but unlike Jacquart’s letters, they contained orthographic and syntax errors. They were most probably composed and typed by a non-native French speaker, which does not necessarily mean that Jacquart did not have any role in their construction. Translation by the present author does not reflect most of these errors. Cf. the Appendices (Letter 3) for the entire letter.

<sup>78</sup> “The first edition of the International Statistical Year-Book was published as one of the documents of the World Economic Conference in the spring of 1927 and contained data up to the end of the year 1925 or 1926” wrote Loveday in the preface of the second Yearbook. League of Nations, EFS, *International Statistical Yearbook 1927*, *op. cit.*

as a “dear colleague”, he implied that they were indeed part of a common endeavor. As members of the same expert community, they undertook different missions and worked for separate institutions, but operated from a common epistemological foundation. They spoke the same language and acted upon common beliefs, even though they had different interests and resources.

Probably Jacquart played an important role of intermediation in the quest of engaging the Office to cooperate with the EFS. The letter included state documents that Jacquart could not be able to share without the authorization of the leading governmental actors such as the Prime Minister or the President, Mustafa Kemal.<sup>79</sup> Furthermore, Jacquart declared “I shall be very happy if consistent relations could establish between us” which confirmed the willingness for cooperation from the Turkish side. Whether Jacquart recommended sending official documents and asked the national leaders for their permission, or if it was their idea will remain an unanswered question for this study, but most probably Turkish actors contributed in or checked the letter.

In fact, the attached Decree not only stipulated the duties and authorities of the Office but also their limits: while established as an autonomous unit granted with responsibilities regarding the elaboration of quantification policies, Jacquart’s Office was under the strict supervision of the Council of Ministers and its President (the Prime Minister).<sup>80</sup> While the Office was entitled to make changes in methods, procedures and tools regarding all statistical work in state departments (except for the military) for a gradual uniformization and centralization, it required the approval of the executive branch.<sup>81</sup> A second expert body, a Statistical Commission, composed of officials from various Ministries, was to advise the PM in his decisions regarding the Office policy proposals. Furthermore, while the Decree delegated the

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<sup>79</sup> The leader of the independence war and the construction of Turkish nation state, Mustafa Kemal received Atatürk as surname upon a parliamentary decision following the promulgation of Surname Law in June 1934. Due to his military success against Greek occupation during the Greco-turkish war (1919-1922), Ismet Pasha received the surname İnönü.

<sup>80</sup> This document was a (French) translation of the Decree no. 3517 of 25 April 1926 (published in the Official Gazette no. 388 on 2 June 1926) which founded the Central Statistical Office.

<sup>81</sup> The 1924 constitution (in law until 1961 constitution) attributed legislative power to the Grand National Assembly (composed of only elected male members until 1934). As for executive power, the Assembly elected the President of the Republic as the “head of the State”. He designated the Prime Minister, that is the President of the Cabinet, who chose the Cabinet members likewise from among the deputies, by asking the Assembly a vote of confidence after obtaining the approval of the President of the Republic. Between March 1925 and November 1927, the Government was presided by Ismet Pasha, while since 1923 Mustafa Kemal was the President of the Republic.

Office's director to represent the Office externally, this capacity was also rather limited: "The director corresponds with the heads of the statistical offices of foreign countries for the exchange of documents and the gathering of information useful to the Ministries and the Service". The Decree hence excluded international organizations as possible interlocutors. Furthermore, these types of correspondences were to "be submitted in advance to the President of the Council". In other words, the latter and probably other high degree governmental actors of the executive branch, verified and perhaps even adjusted Jacquart's letters. In fact, even though there were no documents regarding the exchanges with the EFS in Turkish State Archives, an archived file regarding the approval for the exchange of information with the Stockholm Statistics Administration in 1929 exemplifies the control process.<sup>82</sup> Therefore, not only bureaucratic-scientific actors, who in Turkey's case was a foreign international expert, but also elected state actors indirectly participated in the exchanges with the EFS. Hence both were involved in the technical cooperation which served as an instrument for the international policies of the League.

The second attachment announced a general population census to be realized in the coming months of 1927.<sup>83</sup> "The organization of this operation was entrusted to the newly created Central Statistical Office in Angora, which is headed by Mr. Camille Jacquart, a member of the International Institute of Statistics". No other reference was made to Jacquart who was only represented by his affiliation to this specialized IO. The document rather focused on and translated segments from the Prime Minister's speech during a meeting on 4<sup>th</sup> January that brought "together all the senior government staff; Ministers, deputies, senior officials" prior to "a trial census to be held in Ankara on 14<sup>th</sup> January". The speech had two objectives: "to explain to them the importance of the proposed operation and to call on their assistance" and "to constitute the starting point for a propaganda in order to interest and initiate all classes of the population to the census". This gathering was indeed arranged as part of the "propaganda" activities designed, as part of the census project, to avoid possible resistance.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Internal letters between Jacquart (as the director of the Office) and governmental actors, shows that the Turkish Prime Minister wrote to the Minister of Foreign Affairs to ask for his opinion. BCA 30.10.0.0\_24-135-1 (09.01.1929).

<sup>83</sup> This second document was entitled « Turquie–Recensement de la population–Création d'un Office Central de Statistique ».

<sup>84</sup> The related documents are published in L'Office Central de Statistique, *Recensement général de la population au 28 octobre 1927*, Fascicule III, Imprimerie bachvekalet mudevvenat, Ankara, 1929. Cf. A. Dogan, "Modernising Turkey with Statistics", *op. cit. Idem*, « L'étatisation turque »,

The document cited the PM's speech which insisted on "usefulness", "accuracy", "exactitude" and "necessity": "the necessity of possessing statistics, that are accurate, clear and precise numerical records in all the fields which the action of the government must exercise". The need was highlighted in various occasions: "We feel every day this need for information and documentation". It indicated that, as a nation-state under construction, Turkey needed to quantify itself, to count and govern: "We want to establish the exact number of inhabitants", said the President of the Council, "not one more not one less".

It was also in this meeting that "Ismet Pasha took the opportunity to develop a whole governmental program of reorganization of statistics in general and to outline the role of the newly created Central Office". It was "set up to perfect the statistics" in their possession and to establish those they lacked, including "accurate and complete records of the population". It was not only targeting the multitude on circumscribed state territory to define it as a population, an object of government, but also to rationalize, in other words to discipline, the bureaucratic field. Indeed, the Office was "also responsible for monitoring and coordinating the statistics currently produced by the ministerial departments, indicating the rational methods to be adopted in order to make them as accurate and as useful as possible". It was "to institute a single center of management for the statistical work", to ensure "the uniformity and the scientific and practical value of methods". It would recruit and train its staff so that it could "prepare itself all the statistics of general interest" eventually taking over the work of other units as well:

*We will thus gradually replace the current dispersion of statistical work in the different ministerial departments, concentrating this work in an office where it will be entrusted to a specialized staff, having acquired by study and by practice the particular capacities required for the development of statistics.*

While statistical centralization had been attempted already during the late Ottoman period as an alternative to the competing decentralization models, this commitment to replace all dispersion was a response to the requisites of nation-state building to objectify and define a national population through quantified knowledge. The Turkish Government hence chose as many other young national governments, to adopt the centralization model which became

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*op. cit.*, pp. 433-475. Z. Toprak, "The First Population Census in the Republican Ankara (Trial Census-1927)", *Ankara Dergisi*, 1/2 (1991), pp. 57-66, in Turkish.

internationally prevalent especially after the war.<sup>85</sup> Its implementation in Turkey implied the concentration of statistical work in a professional unit equipped by specialized staff according to uniform methods, gradually taking charge of all state statistics.

Even though the document carefully avoided referring to the Ottoman heritage, the statistics of this undisclosed past were implicitly characterized with deficiency.<sup>86</sup> The document distinguished between “good statistics” and “tables established without reflection and without methods by persons who are not apt”. It insisted that “these tables are not statistics”, that “they lack two things: They do not represent the reality, because they are inaccurate and they are not usable because by analyzing them we perceive that they do not bring the light sought, but doubt and confusion”. Statistics on the other hand, required a certain expertise, “an aptitude”, “to bring out the exact meaning and scope, to measure their value and to draw conclusions with precision and clarity”.

The document drew on a social science perspective circulating in international scientific fields. It employed concepts (e.g. *faits sociaux*) of the new science, sociology, which established the society as its object of scientific inquiry as in Durkheimian school, whose influence in the national construction of Turkey is underlined by scholars.<sup>87</sup> While rejecting positivism as a devout Catholic, Jacquart was also a sociologist inspired by Quetelet’s quantitative approach to (what he called) “social physics”.<sup>88</sup> The document aligned with Jacquart’s approach when describing statistics as a policy tool for a social project, meant to observe and transform social reality by state

<sup>85</sup> For an inquiry on the diffusion of this model and its different definitions, cf. J.-G. Prévost, J.-P. Beaud, *Statistics, Public Debate and the State*, *op. cit.*

<sup>86</sup> For a critic of reading non-western histories in terms of a lack or incompleteness cf. D. Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, Princeton University Press, 2000.

<sup>87</sup> S. A. Arjomand, “À la recherche de la conscience collective: Durkheim’s Ideological Impact in Turkey and Iran”, *American Sociologist*, 17 (1982), pp. 94-102. T. S. Nefes, “Ziya Gökalp’s Adaptation of Emile Durkheim’s Sociology in his Formulation of the Modern Turkish Nation”, *International Sociology*, 28/3 (2013), pp. 335-350. H. O. Özavcı, “Differing Interpretations of ‘la conscience collective’ and ‘the individual’ in Turkey: Émile Durkheim and the Intellectual Origins of the Republic”, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 75/1 (2014), pp. 113-136. R. F. Spencer, “Culture Process and Intellectual Current: Durkheim and Atatürk”, *American Anthropologist*, 60/4 (1958), pp. 640-657. Ş. Turan. *The Events, Intellectuals and Ideas that Influenced Atatürk’s Mindset*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1982, in Turkish.

<sup>88</sup> A detailed study on Jacquart’s role in Belgium’s first sociological association and his sociological work influenced by Quetelet’s “social physics” will be published separately. A. Dogan, “A Transnational Scientist of the Social: the Trajectory of the Belgian Statistician Camille Jacquart (1867-1931)”, Working Paper, UMR D&S, Université Paris I.

action. This description was widely shared by official statisticians especially in Western Europe and was based, as underlined by T. Porter, on the alliance between bureaucratic power and science since the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The document incorporated the prevalent idea in these circles which associated statistical offices to observatories.<sup>89</sup>

*It is by aspiring to these ideas that the Office could become a veritable observatory of social facts, always at the disposal of the Government to enlighten it on the situation of the country, on the economic and moral conditions of the population, and on the results obtained by institutions of all kinds operating in the general interest. Deeply hoping that these expectations would be realized and that the first important work undertaken by the Office, the general census of the population, would succeed fully with the assistance of the Ministry of the Interior, of all the authorities, and the population.*

The document put emphasis on the role of state officials (especially the Prime Minister) and institutions. On the contrary, there was, for instance, no mention of Jacquart's speech in the meeting even though it was possibly partly cited.<sup>90</sup> His leading role in the new statistical policies was not recognized.<sup>91</sup> This agency was attributed to the Prime Minister and other state authorities. The document referred to the Belgian expert only once. Regarding his background as a demographer, bureaucrat in the Belgian Ministry of the Interior, or expert in various League committees, only his affiliation to the ISI was emphasized, which probably was a key factor in his recruitment.

The employment of an internationally recognized European expert to head the process echoed the exhortations about the replacement of inaccurate registries by scientific statistical work, the insistence on precision, accuracy, and practical value. Proving the reliability of its statistics was a challenge for the new Turkish state which claimed by this text a commitment in international norms. This narration should be considered as part of its struggle to recoup its sovereignty over its numbers.

<sup>89</sup> T. M. Porter, "Introduction: The Statistical Office as a Social Observatory", *Centaurus*, 49/4 (2007), pp. 258-260.

<sup>90</sup> The document (in French) largely translated from the Turkish PM's speech, but some parts were different. It has not been possible to compare with Jacquart's speech, as it was not published, unlike the former which was included in the census publication: *L'Office Central de Statistique, Recensement général de la population au 28 octobre 1927*, Fascicule III, Imprimerie bachvekalet mudevvenat, Ankara, 1929.

<sup>91</sup> For a study on Jacquart's leading role in the population census of 1927, cf. A. Dogan, "Modernising Turkey with Statistics", *op. cit.*

By sending these documents the Turkish authorities informed the EFS that Jacquart would soon have key statistics to share but also publicized the statistical reform program and the official rationale that guided it. Although the involvement of Turkish authorities, in particular executive governmental actors, in the cooperation with the EFS was indirect, their consent and willingness for internationalizing national statistics was essential for the quantification program of the League which aimed to cover all states and regions of the world.

#### VI. Transnational Actors and Instruments of Technical Assistance: Redefining Cooperation in Terms of Advising

In the meantime, the EFS first responded to Jacquart's earlier letter. Their reply (on February 12, 1927) focused on the external trade statistics that Jacquart had mentioned. "I was very pleased to hear that your Central Office already publishes foreign trade statistics for Turkey" wrote Loveday. He introduced the "Memorandum on Balance of Payments and Foreign Trade Balances", which was an "annual publication". Its latest edition covered "about 60 countries", and for which they "would be extremely interested to receive statistics" from Turkey as well.<sup>92</sup> Like the *Monthly Bulletin* and *Statistical Yearbook*, this publication was not only an international product but also a policy tool structuring economic statistics.

While the previous letters explained general procedures in a generic way, this letter provided customized advice based on Jacquart's earlier response: "Given, moreover, that many countries only publish quarterly trade figures, I take the liberty of asking you to consider the possibility to communicate to us –at least for a while– only quarterly figures for the *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*".

It also asked for "the complete collection of foreign trade statistics already published". Adding other projects and providing specific recommendations, the EFS sought to extend the scope of cooperation once it was established.

International quantification activities stimulated and guided national policies by defining standards, concepts, nomenclatures, key data, methods for collection and treatment as well as providing models and examples. Yet they depended largely on the ability and willingness, in other words, the "cooperation" of state actors who would invest in statistical work incorporating these norms. They used data from nongovernmental or private actors when

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<sup>92</sup> League Archives, R351 10 56101 12361, *op. cit.* Cf. the Appendices (Letter 4) for the entire letter.



they could. For instance, the EFS asked for exchange rates of the Turkish lira from the Ottoman Bank (a private British-French joint venture which acted as the central bank of Turkey until 1932).<sup>93</sup> International quantification however required the development of modern state statistics mobilizing the resources of a centralized power.<sup>94</sup> In this respect, cooperation stood out as a key instrument of international policies and owed very much to the transnational circulation of experts such as Jacquart. “I was sure I could count on your interest in our compilation of statistics”, wrote Loveday. Even though the Turkish Office had not shared any statistics yet, technical cooperation was established on both sides. After receiving the state documents, the EFS wrote another letter on February 24, 1927: “I thank you very much for your collaboration with us in the exchange of statistical publications”.<sup>95</sup>

Note that the version found in the League archives might be a draft destined to be signed by Loveday because it contained a handwritten note “for the” before the typed “Head of Economic Documentation Service” and was signed by another expert, A. Rosenberg. As such, it indicated the collective work within the secretariat in preparing letters as instruments of cooperation. But it also signaled a certain confusion. It referred to two letters. The first, dated 12<sup>th</sup> February, might be the letter signed by Loveday, which is analyzed above, but there was no other letter in the archive folder. Hence the second one that Rosenberg referenced as that of February 14<sup>th</sup>, could be a factual letter which was finally discarded (unless it was one of the nine lost documents mentioned in the *Répertoire*).

Rosenberg was a Swedish economist who have joined the EFS a few years later than Loveday. As a League expert specialized in economic statistics and studies, Rosenberg (1893-1979) participated in missions to different countries (Albania, Baltic States or Greece). Later, he contributed to the creation of the United Nations’ “technical assistance program to developing countries” and continued to work in expert missions (Asia, Haiti, Indonesia, Guinea) also serving as a chief and director of economic development affairs.<sup>96</sup> His trajectory points out the transformation of interwar cooperation

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<sup>93</sup> League archives, External Fonds (London Office) of the Financial Section and Economic Intelligence Service, C1791 7 1(2)2734.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. also M. Bemmam, “Comparing Economic Activities on a Global Level in the 1920s and 1930s: Motives and Consequences”, in W. Steinmetz (ed.), *The Force of Comparison*, NY, Oxford, Berghahn, 2019, pp. 242-65.

<sup>95</sup> League Archives, R351 10 56101 12361, *op. cit.* Cf. the Appendices (Letter 5) for the entire letter.

<sup>96</sup> Born in Sweden, Johan Ansgar Esaias Rosenberg (1893-1979) was a graduate of Uppsala University and joined the League secretariat in 1921. He went to the United States in 1940



and expert missions into technical assistance programs for development. It demonstrates the continuities between advising missions to peripheral states that the League introduced as a means of diffusing hegemonic knowledge and norms and implementing international policies, hence the blue print of the post-war development establishment.

Jacquart's position was different than Loveday and Rosenborg. He was not an IO expert in an advising mission but was directly hired by a foreign government as a senior official for the constitution and administration of a state institution. Thus, in addition to a double presence in both national and international fields of quantification policies, his transnational expert position in Turkish bureaucracy distinguished him as the key actor in the implementation of a particular tool of state knowledge in Turkey. When adequately organized, this tool would serve as a technology of governance<sup>97</sup> both in international and national fields of power. In fact, it was exactly what the EFS and the Turkish Government expected of him.

A follow up letter dated October 31<sup>st</sup>, 1927, indicates that exchanges continued during the preparation of the League Yearbooks.<sup>98</sup> "The Head of the Economic Information Service" asked to verify certain railroad statistics, in particular, three tables indicating "the length of the railroads as well as the importance of passenger and goods transport". Beyond a simple verification, this letter insisted on the international comparability of national statistics:

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with the League economic and finance mission, headquartered at Princeton University during the war. He joined the United Nations (UN) secretariat in 1946. He served as interim executive secretary of the Economic and Commission for Asia and the Far East in 1947, and as a technical assistance official. He headed missions to different countries (Haiti in 1949, Indonesia in 1950) and represented the UN Technical Assistance Board in Indonesia in the mid-1950s, and the secretary general in Guinea, before retiring in 1959. "Ansgar Rosenborg, Was U.N. Official", *The Washington Post*, 18.12.1979,

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/1979/02/18/ansgar-rosenborg-was-un-official/b2b58e13-1a1a-44b4-9113-43d639580a1f/>

B. Englund, "Johan Ansgar Esaias Rosenborg", *Bygdebånd*,

<http://www.bygdebånd.se/person/932407/sverige/vastmanlands-lan/heby/ostervalavastmanlands-lan/ostervalavastmanlands-lan-hembygdsforening/johan-ansgar-esaias-rosenborg/>

Cf. LONSEA, "Ansgar Rosenborg", <http://www.lonseade/pub/person/5563>

<sup>97</sup> For a study on how different quantification techniques such as statistical indicators became "a prominent feature of contemporary global governance" cf. K. E. Davis, B. Kingsbury, S. E. Merry, "Indicators as a Technology of Global Governance", *Law & Society Review*, 46/1 (2012), pp. 71-104.

<sup>98</sup> League archives, « Petit Annuaire statistique de la société/Annuaire statistique international », R443 48254 62811 (Section 10). Cf. Appendices (Letter 6) for the entire letter.

*The compilation of these tables was extremely difficult because it was found in the course of the survey, that the statistics published in the various countries were based on very different principles, and I am by no means sure that the results shown in the above tables are really satisfactory.*

The letter therefore reiterated the EFS agenda of harmonizing national statistics according to a single international convention. The EFS sought to identify methods of producing railroad statistics, and to implement standardization. By informing national offices of the problems and requesting information on specific issues, this letter portrayed the key steps in international cooperation for the legitimization and application of an international convention with specific instructions. According to the letter, “while waiting for the implementation of the arrangements envisaged by the Transit Section of the League”, the EFS sought “to obtain more comparable data for the next edition of the Statistical Yearbook”. For this purpose, it enclosed “a short note on the nature of the difficulties we [they] have encountered”, and asked Jacquart to inform about “the method employed in compiling the statistics for Turkey”. It specified which kind of data “would be particularly valuable” and requested them “even if incomplete”.

Jacquart replied to this request on December 15<sup>th</sup> with a letter, typed with spelling mistakes, some of which were corrected by a black pen, and enclosing as an annex a “statement relating to the statistics of the railways of Turkey drawn up by the general administration of the railways of the Turkish Republic”.<sup>99</sup> Jacquart hence had access to statistics established by another public administration than his Office. His mediation made it possible to internationalize these data according to the EFS instructions by adding precision in response to the specific questions about the national methods and nomenclatures used in producing these statistics. Jacquart explained the particularities of the railway system in Turkey and identified the data which were still missing. The Belgian expert did not agree with the application of some of the methods proposed by the EFS: “[...] the sidings, shunting lines and dead tracks are not included. In fact, we find it superfluous to provide this information to the public”.

Jacquart ended his letter by announcing the preparation of “a statistical yearbook for Turkey”, and that he would therefore be able to “communicate within a few months detailed information on railroads and also on other matters”. The EFS officers, who replied to him “in the absence of Mr. Loveday”) to thank him for the statistical information, noted their “interest” upon

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<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.* Cf. the Appendices (Letter 7) for the entire letter.

learning that a statistical yearbook was in preparation.<sup>100</sup> Although archival records have not been found, it is highly likely that the Turkish Yearbooks were shared with the EFS ever since the first one was published in 1929. Indeed, the Office continued to send statistics as evidenced by the integration of Turkish data updated by the 1927 census into the League products starting with the *1928 Yearbook*. Turkish data were gradually incorporated during the 1930s into the *Monthly Bulletins* and other publications such as *International Trade Statistics*.

## VII. Concluding Remarks

The present study limited the analysis to a few correspondences and to a short increment of time. Further research is necessary to fully grasp the relationship between the two institutions in order to observe the dis/continuities in different contexts. Comparative study including other countries would also allow for a longer macro perspective. That being said, the analyzed historical material showed that technical cooperation for the creation of an international system of economic statistics involved: i.) establishment of regular contacts with national statistical services; ii.) exchange of documents, information, methods and statistics; iii.) directions for the internationalization of national data according to uniform standards; and iv.) assembling and publishing the harmonized data in the form of international products (yearbooks, memoranda, monthly bulletins, etc.).

This study highlighted the precursory role of the EFS in establishing the basis of an international system which would be further developed after WWII within the umbrella of United Nations. The EFS was established as a transnational agency at the confluence of two movements: a build-up in international statistical bodies starting from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, and the efforts of the WWI winners to impose a common normative structure on statistics based on their national systems, rules and interests which were not entirely homogeneous in all interested nations. The EFS program which not only compiled and compared methods but also adjusted and harmonized available data was a precursor in establishing a more systematic international quantification activity than previous efforts at the turn of the century. This program had structural implications for both international and national systems by intervening in the way statistics were produced by national institutions. It is true that the EFS suggestions had no binding force and

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<sup>100</sup> This reply dated December 22, 1927. *Ibid.* See the Appendices (Letter 8) for the original letter in French.

the Turkish Office might have refused to respond to their demands. Yet, they defined the principles of international comparability and standardization and exercised a symbolic power urging states to become part of a common, yet arbitrary, order mainly negotiated between white male European elites of world war victors who pursued the engineering of a quantified world. Due to Jacquart's efforts and the willingness of the Turkish government to give Turkey visibility in this emerging international system, technical cooperation was established, and concrete exchanges followed, contributing to a uniformization process. It was precisely this process which made possible the production of concrete international objects.

The case of Turkey as a nascent state at the peripheries of Europe showed that the formation of this international system was facilitated by the circulation of transnational experts such as Jacquart. The implementation of international policies required active mediation by international experts who guided national policies. Further research is needed however to understand whether there was more cooperation or resistance on the part of national actors.<sup>101</sup>

In any case, the decision by the Turkish government to hire an international expert, instead of a Turkish statistician was a strategic choice. Not only Jacquart's technical knowledge, but also his symbolic and social capital, in particular his notoriety, his relations in the networks of statistical expertise and his connections with IOs contributed to the legitimization policies of the government and reinforced the visibility and international opening of the new Turkey. This choice made it possible to establish the Turkish office in dialogue with the main international actors that produced international standards and policies of quantification.

In conclusion, technical cooperation in the case of Turkey related to a very particular context: i) national policy, which, as part of the state building process, invested in a large scope statistical reform adopting the centralization model and employing a foreign expert renowned in the field of international quantification policies; ii) international policy, which as part of the globalization process and the formation of a political and economic world order, aimed at the construction of an international system of economic statistics through technical cooperation. Two major tendencies, centralization and uniformization shaped national and international quantification policies and the relationship between them. Both Jacquart and the EFS reinforced this process on a national, transnational and international level.

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<sup>101</sup> On this topic, cf. W. Kaiser, J. W. Schot, *Writing the Rules for Europe: Experts, Cartels, and International Organizations*, Springer, 2014.