

Chapter 5

Enacting the international: R. G. Watt and the League of Nations Union

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Introduction

As Julie Evans, Margaret Allen and Cindy McCreery have argued in this section of *Transnational Ties*, concepts of empire provided powerful ways of mediating the ‘authority’ of trans-colonial governance, images of gender and competing identities for Australians in the nineteenth century. Moving into the twentieth century, however, and with the accelerating pressures of mobility, communication and consumption—in short, of modernity—empire became a less exclusive way of experiencing the authority of Australia’s transnational ties. Akira Iriye has noted the extent to which an idea of international society came to define forms of conduct, activism, intervention and accountability early in the twentieth century. These forms in turn seemed—so H. G. Wells observed—to summon ‘a new kind of people’, a ‘floating population’ of figures associated with an increasingly formalised sector of international organisations.¹ The authority these figures invoked in their ideals, and exercised in setting ‘standards’ and ‘processes’, continues to underpin much of the discursive power of the ‘international’ and the experience of transnationalism.

Just as ‘empire’ had particular meanings for Australia as a sequence of settler colonies, so did the ‘international’ as a space associated with new civic modes framed by concepts of nationhood and state experimentation. A good deal has been written about ‘international citizenship’ as it informed essentially voluntary social movements associated with labour and women’s rights from the late nineteenth century onwards, and comprehending issues of destiny and solidarity. The transition into more institutionalised, and later professionalised, forms of action is less studied—except as a loss of that earlier vitality, or as a break between distinct identities and experiences.² After World War I and the recognition of Australia at the 1919 Paris Peace Conference (explicitly) and the Russian Revolution (implicitly), these new modes of the international—as an ideal of world regulation or global (potentially violent) transformation—required development and recognition.

For some commentators, these modes served to defuse the challenge of a type of nationalism with no goal beyond its own insular, radical tendencies.³ These modes were also seen to demonstrate political ‘maturity’. In acquiring ‘special dominion’ responsibilities at Paris, so Harrison Moore argued in 1933, Australia remained within the compass of the British Empire but with enhanced capacities for independent state action. Such capacities, John Latham added, also recast the wider sphere in which civil society must be imagined. By entering into the conduct of ‘international relations’, Latham stated, Australians must accept that, ‘in any intelligible sense’, the main currents of society can exist only ‘between men organised in States and not between unorganised masses of men, or between any State and such a mass’.⁴ Less defensively, W. K. Hancock observed that the British Empire itself had proven more a laboratory for, than simply a precursor to, the recognition of the kind of ‘international problems’—especially of economic, cultural and racial diversity—that so characterised the twentieth century.⁵

Translating such thinking into reality, while also fleshing it out as imaginary, was a rather different matter, and one that still—through the inter-war years—required self-conscious adaptation. A figure such as Jessie Street might negotiate such a transition fairly seamlessly. Her privileged family background (with a fair degree of ‘empire’ providing structure and opportunity) was a considerable, largely unquestioned asset, and brought an element of continuity to campaigns that were underpinned by extensive travel and spanned from prewar feminism and peace and disarmament to post-1945 concepts of human rights.⁶ For others, however, this was much less the case. To become the ‘new kind of person’ Wells identified was an experimental and perhaps risky affair. Frank Moorhouse has conveyed much of this process in the figure of Edith Campbell Berry, the heroine of his novels *Grand Days* and *Dark Palace*. Leaving Sydney to take up her position as clerk, Internal Administration, Division 1, Class B, in the League of Nations, Berry soon finds herself in a Geneva café, ‘testing herself to see if she indeed felt international’. Did she move or behave like a stranger or tourist? Was there some distinction in comportment between being an ‘international woman’, a ‘European’ or a ‘cosmopolitan’, and how might such a persona be accessible to an Australian, accustomed only to the ‘brand new’?⁷

I want to look now at one such process of experimentation, noting what was invested in it as a transition between the worlds of ‘empire’ and ‘international’ with which we are much more familiar, and particularly by registering the risks involved. ‘Missing links’ are not always edifying creatures, but they do help us understand as historically conditioned much that we otherwise take for granted. At a time when the ‘international’ is invoked so potently—as threat, benchmark

or the selective domain of intervention by ‘the willing’—it is particularly useful to look back at how that space first came to be ‘peopled’.

‘Idealism, energy and persistence’: making space for the international

Unlike Edith Campbell Berry, Raymond Watt (1889–1967) lived his transnational life largely at home, in Sydney. He shared, however, much with her in testing himself through the forms of activism he adopted as an advocate for international causes from the 1920s to the 1940s. His was not the transnationalism of travel but of conscience, of an intellectual and personal investment in understanding issues defined as being of significance beyond the nation, and in that new space for international engagement caught ambivalently between social movements and the functions of states.⁸ Watt’s outlook was formed not through encountering differing societies and cultures; it was a product of working to establish standards against which such differences might be judged. His outlook was shaped in part by a creative engagement with the changing media available to bring the world, in authoritative ways, to popular attention. His apparent altruism was in itself a cultural artefact of his time, the brittleness of which was evident in his experience, even his personality. For these reasons, his is a useful life to reclaim from obscurity, not necessarily to place in the ranks of ‘significant figures’ alongside, say, Jessie Street, but to understand as a symptom of how contingent are the ways in which we care for our world.

Born in Gosford, New South Wales, in 1889, Watt was the fourth of nine children in a strict Congregationalist family. Five of eight sons served in World War I. Ray, however, stayed at home, abandoning study at Camden Theological College and the University of Sydney (where his courses were English, Greek, economics, philosophy and psychology) to help his father’s business as a manufacturer’s agent. Watt was ambiguous in his stance towards conscription in a poem written in 1917, but clear in espousing the glory of military sacrifice. A manifesto of 1918 declares his commitment to ensure there would be no return to the carnage of World War I, and ‘to work so that others will not have died in vain’. His sense of the war was thus tinged with an awareness of opportunities denied, of honour in service and of advancement in education. Perhaps by way of compensation, his manifesto saw in the war an emblem of what could be achieved through other forms of dedication, and in the synergy of technology, the State and social mobilisation. The war had, he observed, ‘heightened the emotional tone of the community’; its effect should be to ‘force everyone nearer to those verities which are fundamental’.⁹

Accordingly, in 1921, Watt became a foundation member of the NSW branch of the League of Nations Union (LNU) and was elected its general secretary in 1926. He saw in the new sphere of the international, as represented by the League of Nations, the prospect of idealised order or calamitous disorder. It was a sphere

that carried all the potentialities of modernity, redeemed from the mires of nationalism but shadowed by unprecedented economic instability and military destruction, now with the capacity to engulf the globe.¹⁰ He was not an ‘internationalist’ in the sense of envisaging a universality of culture—a view that might be associated with one of his Sydney LNU colleagues David Stead. Stead’s daughter, Christina, conveyed elements of her father’s philosophy in her portrait of Sam Pollitt in *The Man Who Loved Children*: Pollitt advocated the ‘monoman’, embodying ‘world peace, world love, world understanding, based on science and the fit education of even the meanest, most wretched’ person.¹¹ Watt was more attuned to another prominent LNU leader and parliamentarian Littleton Groom, who characterised the league as an experiment in a new ‘technique of government’: deliberative and representative.¹² In Watt’s own words, the league offered a mechanism to achieve ‘regulation’ across nations ‘on the basis of consent’.¹³

In 1930, Watt was a founder of the Federal Australian League of Nations Union, and served as its national secretary until 1945. He was therefore organiser and publicist for the union at a state and national level while also assuming a number of closely related responsibilities, including as honorary correspondent for the International Labour Organisation (ILO). His work had many dimensions, as did the union itself. As one among a network of associations that characterised inter-war intellectual engagement, centring mostly on precepts of social improvement through enlightened fellowship, the union depended on commitments sustained through regular meetings, addresses, subscription drives and public events, the circulation of information and the crafting of forms of concern and activity that were appropriate to pre- or proto-professional engagement with international issues. If the league itself represented the quest for ‘world government’, the union was a lobby group for this cause and an embodiment of the forms of citizenship appropriate to that ideal.

The most prominent issues on the league’s agenda spanned from the objectives of disarmament, the arbitration of international conflict and the collective enforcement of peace to the oversight of colonial mandates, the setting of standards and conditions for labour, health and migration, and the equitable distribution of economic progress and access to justice. Bold ‘political’ causes, such as disarmament, might have been the first appeal of the league, and those that fell most quickly into disillusion, but it was the latter causes—‘non-political’ matters of ‘technique’ and ‘regulation’ focused on social and economic reform—that more enduringly held the interest of those who looked to the league as a way of comprehending the foundations of insecurity and articulating principles of international justice. In this guise, the league’s challenge was one of political imagination, and often seemed to supersede the conventional political divisions of the period. So, for example, Sir Otto Niemeyer, stern emissary from

the Bank of England, agreed with Watt to give an address for the union during the mission in which he famously condemned Australians for the financial recklessness evident in their exposure to the Great Depression. Humanitarian responsibility, Niemeyer insisted in Sydney in 1930, was integral to international economic interdependence. A member of the league's finance committee since 1922, he had been associated with the resettlement of refugees in Greece and Bulgaria. As Niemeyer informed his Sydney audience, these were 'severely practical' questions that 'touch even distant Australia' and perhaps placed local over-indulgence in a new light.¹⁴

Watt's work demonstrated that the relationship between the forms of civic action that sustained the union and the causes associated with the league were often unsteady.¹⁵ This relationship was, however, (as Frank Moorhouse's novels attest) integral to the power of the inter-war international community as a field of commitment.¹⁶ Although a less colourful character than Edith Campbell Berry, Watt nonetheless sought to 'enact' the international in ways that extended the boundaries of intellectual and moral engagement. In this sense, he 'lived' the international through one phase of its troubled emergence, at a time when few other sources of informed opinion and political influence were available, and in relation to the sphere of largely voluntary organisations that figured so centrally in transnationalism.¹⁷ It was his 'idealism, energy and persistence' that was most admired by Peter Heydon, for example, who as one of Australia's early career diplomats later recalled the open, critical engagement Watt had fostered—an engagement Heydon thought became rare in more polarised debates after World War II, and hard to sustain amid the pressures of official work that he knew so well.¹⁸

'A fiery orator': finding a voice for international awareness

Watt certainly became a ubiquitous figure in inter-war Sydney, exploring and exploiting opportunities to present the league and build its constituency. His ideal of 'regulation by consent' was influenced heavily by issues of equity in distribution—of power, finance, resources and wealth—among nations, primarily in a restive Europe, but encompassing a world internationalised through the legacies of nineteenth-century imperialism and facing disintegration through class-based unrest, the restraint of trade and the lure of ideologies that fed on such distortions.¹⁹ The schemes he proposed could be complex, such as a 1932 system of international tariff discounts that would reward countries adopting social reforms: a 10 per cent discount given to the produce of a state that implemented the 40-hour week; 5 per cent off for those that legislated against night work for women and children; another 5 per cent if children under 12 were kept from work.²⁰ They were, however, delivered in an accessible, engaging style: 'Why don't we?' 'What if?' He was a regular commentator on radio stations 2KY, 2CH, 2BL and 2GB, at public lectures and meetings associated

with the union (in city, suburban and country centres), in the press and in classes of the Workers' Educational Association [WEA]. An intense, restless man, Watt was remembered by J. D. B. Miller (later a leading international relations scholar) as 'a fiery orator' around the city: 'a man of very deep convictions' who 'made the League of Nations Union...a significant body'.²¹

Miller's first memories of Watt come from the time when, as a schoolboy, Miller regularly visited the union's office in Castlereagh Street. Perhaps Miller's interest had been kindled by the recitation of Sir Walter Murdoch's 'Credo', inserted by the union in the NSW Department of Education's *School Magazine*: 'I believe that all human beings are members of one family', all races having the 'same right to life and happiness and a fair share of the earth and of the things which the earth produces'.²² Schools were a favoured recruiting ground for the union, and Watt drove such initiatives hard (membership campaigns, badge distributions and international 'pen friend' programs, which by 1940 had garnered 25,486 subscriptions to the Correspondence Scholars International scheme).²³ Whether in classrooms or public ceremonies, with precisely timed programs of speeches interspersed with musical and poetry recitals, Watt made certain the league had a ready appeal. On the radio, he carefully framed a persona serving the same purpose, with evident success: '[T]he listener feels you are able to be trusted,' testified one letter of appreciation; '[Y]ou are not puffed up with your own vanity,' noted another.²⁴

A marked ambiguity, however, surrounded Watt's work with respect to his official role and its 'advocacy' dimensions—and these aspects in themselves reflected the fragility of the international as an area of social engagement. Watt was essentially the first fully salaried official of the League of Nations Union (Constance Duncan was appointed to a similar position for the Victorian branch in 1934, but shared it with other responsibilities, including to the Bureau of Social and International Affairs, a more exclusive and privately funded body devoted to exploring the origins of international conflict).²⁵ As such, Watt was to organise and (as he increasingly saw it) speak for an organisation that was of its essence voluntary but had to develop engagement with issues that demanded expertise and state action. In selling pamphlets and booklets, he was in part raising funds that met his salary, buying time to broach such work, as well as supporting an ideal.

Skilled in public relations—and sharing with his wife, Eileen, an interest in the psychology of commerce—Watt was inventive in devising schemes of social participation. A 100-car treasure hunt across northern Sydney, for example, ending in fireworks and community singing, was publicity for the union while also supporting Ray and Eileen's travel to the Brussels World Peace Congress in 1936 (the third and last time he left Australia).²⁶ In public speaking, he was drawn increasingly into questions of interpretation, tactics and style that were

personalised: *his* point of view, *his* integrity, *his* opinion. Watt's activities were therefore caught between an ethic of association that was essentially collective and patterns of organisation and commentary that were becoming increasing specialised.

This was not an unchallenged position. David Stead—stoically idealist and president of the NSW branch of the LNU in 1930–31—held that there should be no paid official for such a body: the task was a calling not a job.²⁷ Other union colleagues expressed similar views, reflecting their own opportunities and the ambivalent placement of international concern between solidarity and expertise. Janet Mitchell, for example, served as education secretary for the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) in 1924–26, then as director of the thrift service of the Bank of New South Wales (1926–31), and in 1925 was an Australian delegate to the first Institute of Pacific Relations conference in Honolulu. Frustrated in testing the boundaries of such new fields of instruction, she left in 1931 to work as a journalist in Harbin, China, with feelings of bitterness that Australia had failed to recognise her talents (she returned in 1933 as acting principal of the Women's College, University of Sydney). Before departing, she closely scrutinised Watt's sincerity, diagnosing a failure of his early, if 'simple-minded', idealism as he became more immersed in the LNU. Mitchell had grown 'uncomfortable' with Watt's pursuit of a 'political' dimension to what should have remained matters of 'publicity'.²⁸ His ego, she judged, had compromised a cause that should have reflected selflessness and devotion.

Watt's papers include many photographs of his activities with the Student Christian Union and the WEA: they are images of groups at study, at picnics, on rambles—of fellowship. If the LNU began with elements of the same ethos, it soon acquired other imperatives. As a personality, but also as an official, Watt marks these transitions. In contrast with Mitchell's increasing distrust, Eleanor Hinder, who pioneered industrial welfare in Australia as superintendent of staff welfare at Farmer's department store before travelling to undertake similar work in China and later at the ILO, sympathised with Watt's fruitless search for a 'place where your social vision could express itself'.²⁹ Hinder saw a continuity with the religious vocation and university studies Watt had given up to assist his father's troubled business, only to face again in the LNU the frustration of his personal capacities to make a difference. His importance to Hinder—and not to her alone—in building a sense of mission was implied in letters that closed with 'love to you—that's the kind of thing one doesn't say to a man, if one is a woman'. From Shanghai, she wrote, '[Y]ou seem to be so real a factor these days in my life.'³⁰ In addition to a personal closeness, there is a move beyond the bonds of fellowship in the qualities that define a cause. 'We have the belief,' another supporter wrote, 'that you will make good and be a leader of men.'³¹

Personal dedication and motivation were clearly sensitive issues in this context—perhaps they always are in transnational lives: what explains a move beyond the ready, local identity? If inter-war communist internationalism, according to Eric Hobsbawm, centred on an ethic of ‘transcending selfishness’, its liberal variations similarly ‘reprioritised loyalties’ in their own terms—although Watt’s idealist philosophy was more attuned to self-realisation than subscription to the laws of history.³² Hinder and Mitchell had acted on their belief in international causes but in ways that reflected the particular opportunities available to them, in part arising from earlier feminist internationalism. Unmarried and mobile, they made careers in work that offered an intersection between gendered roles and international opportunities.³³ Watt, from 1926 married with children and living (ironically) in Anglo Street, Chatswood, stayed at home, seeking the authority of a public commentator. Scrutiny of his motives—of the fit between his personality and the task of winning public ‘trust’—was recurrent.

Even his much younger brother Alan questioned Watt from his college in Oxford, where he had travelled on a Rhodes Scholarship (the brothers’ circumstances in education, and career, were to prove very different). ‘Before I left,’ Alan probed in 1923, ‘the virtues that I saw in you seemed clouded. You seemed to feel that sacrifices on your part should be recognised; almost to suggest that unless they were so recognised, they would not be justified.’ Ray, Alan wrote from his Balliol study, needed to find humility, whereas for Alan—complaining of the ‘ghastly’ strains of his final examinations—philosophical reflection gained the legitimacy of academic study: ‘[W]e must seek the conditions of beauty and holiness,’ Alan counselled, ‘along the path of economic reconstruction.’³⁴

What lay behind such scrutiny? In these exacting assessments of Watt’s claims to speak for international causes there are tests of authority similar to those observed by Evans, Allen and McCreery in the context of ‘empire’. For Watt, however, they are informed by registers of secularisation, modernity and personality. Watt’s theological interests had transferred to psychology as a way of understanding the bases of international unrest. He concurred with one of his mentors at the University of Sydney, Professor Francis Anderson, for many years also president of the NSW LNU, who maintained that ‘the world passes from one crisis to another in the attempt not to forestall poverty, but to prevent the threatened prosperity’ that modernity might confer in aspirations and opportunities to be shared among humanity.³⁵ To catch this popular sensibility required the tailoring of a certain appeal. In seeking to dispel the disillusion of colleagues, Watt could argue that

the world always had its plethora of money-grubbers, its political power-seekers and its bovine masses. Surely they only *seem* to be more numerous now-a-days simply because this age has, what other ages did

not have (not at any rate so widespread!) the pinnacles of new ideas from which to regard them...Certainly, to me, the purview of people these days seems very much more comprehensive than that of those amongst whom I spent my early years³⁶

The challenge was to push such 'new ideas', and to create and capture enthusiasm.

The LNU was for Watt a career—if one with a salary that at certain points could be guaranteed only for three-month periods, and always needing supplementation.³⁷ More than once he threatened resignation, either because he felt there was insufficient support for his work, insufficient payment for him as a 'breadwinner' or intolerable compromise to his mission. 'I am not at all easy in my mind,' he confided to Stead in 1931, given the failure of the union to address the extent to which international tension reflected incipient class rather than national conflict, requiring 'coordinated action on economic and financial matters' and, as such, sustained research and representation to governments.³⁸ Frustrated, and sometimes labouring his discontent, he still strove to build a position from which it was possible to speak convincingly for international issues beyond the cycles of crisis.

'Let's imagine Geneva': evoking the international

However scrutinised by elements within the LNU, Watt was not alone in his aspirations. The union became a prominent organisation at a time when the pursuit of social and political causes through publicity, discussion and the distribution of information had an importance unimaginable to us in an age of mass electronic communication. Such activities in themselves, however, imposed a considerable burden. The Victorian Bureau of Social and International Affairs, which provided a joint secretariat for the Victorian LNU and the rather more restricted membership of the Institute of Pacific Relations, the Melbourne Round Table group and Royal Institute of International Affairs branch, reported in 1930 that 'by far the most claims on [our] time and attention' were made by the LNU, with its growing membership and many activities.³⁹ Between 800 and 1000 full adult members had initially joined the NSW branch ('war memories turned people into crusaders'), but by 1925 membership had fallen to 200. Numbers quickly recovered, however, when Watt became a full-time officer (1417 members by 1929, 1555 by 1930, 3560 by 1938). While membership fluctuated, it was assumed, in response to international events and perceptions about the league's relevance (declining to 1036 in 1934, amid the Sino-Japanese crisis, up to 3138 in 1935 after Italy's attacks on Abyssinia), even lean years saw intense activity (more than 200 lectures were given in metropolitan Sydney in 1934).⁴⁰ 'The first answer to every citizen who wishes to help the League is "Join the League of Nations Union"'—this appeal from Sir Edward Grey, heading

Australian application forms, was not merely gratuitous but expressed a meaningful connection between the union's programs and the League of Nations. How was Watt to represent or enable that connection?

As a voluntary body, the LNU thrived on sociability—on acts of meeting, modes of discussion, codes of commitment. Its leading, or most prominent, members formed a solid core and a distinct social stratum: overwhelmingly Protestant (Anglicans by far the dominant group, followed by Presbyterians), academically educated (law being the largest disciplinary background) and frequently academics by profession.⁴¹ About 40 per cent of members were women—an association encouraged perhaps by the league's constitutional commitment to non-discrimination. Association with the union was often one affiliation among many others, including with the English Speaking Union, the Student Christian Movement, the Victoria League, the United Service League, the Town Planning Association, the Racial Hygiene Association—the list was extensive. The international, in these contexts, was in part defined through networks and ways of 'performing' concern in meetings, speech and action. If prominent members led such activities, they were joined, watched and listened to by many others who contributed their labour, time and money.

One of the heights of the union's calendar, for example, was an international ball. Watt claimed to have conceived this function, held first at the Palais Royal in 1926, then at the new Trocadero, which usually attracted more than 1200 people. Other branches, even those in the United Kingdom, soon adopted the ball.⁴² Complete with vice-regal patronage, these were national-costume or themed affairs, including a pageant in which bonds of art, science, industry and friendship were personified. The Adelaide pageant was especially famous for its elaborate staging: in 1929, actors represented characters including 'Peace', 'Public Opinion', 'Self-Interest', 'Goodwill', 'Time', 'Necessity', 'Experience' and 'Humanity'. The Sydney branch was more modest in performance, but equally earnest: 250 people in 1930 represented a spectrum from 'Music' and 'Architecture' to 'Law', 'Agriculture' and 'Commerce'.⁴³

Very effective in raising money, these pageants were the lighter end of a continuum of activities that defined the LNU's claim to speak for the advancement of people across the world. George Rich, a justice of the High Court since 1913 and an initially cynical delegate to the 1922 league conference, returned from Geneva as if from a 'revivalist meeting'. He was struck by the behaviour of 'shrewd, practical, able and conciliatory men of the world, meeting together to solve in a commonsense way problems that baffled nations'.⁴⁴ This face-to-face emphasis indicated a desire to establish credentials, to secure accountability, to ground the abstraction of issues in the display of virtues and to enable an exchange between people accorded the status of delegates of their societies, representing interests rather than states. In this sense, there seemed to be a

thread running from sociability at the lunchtime talk or the evening lecture to the promise of the international in a high diplomacy not confined to officials. Douglas Copland, then a young and enthusiastic professor of commerce at the University of Melbourne, recorded in his notebook that the importance of the league lay in tracing the 'growth of government', adding the aphorism that 'the history of the evolution of civilisation is the history of the evolution of *social groups*'.⁴⁵

Figure 5.1: An earnest group: Ray Watt is second from the right in the front row among the delegates at the League of Nations Union Annual Meeting and Conference in Canberra, 28-31 January 1938.



The others are: front row, right to left, W.A. Woods (Tas.), RGW, R.J.F. Boyer (Qld), Sir Robert Garran (president), M.M. Rischbieth (WA), Professor F. Alexander (WA); back row, right to left, O. Smith (Tas.), Eileen Watt (NSW), Constance Duncan (Vic.), E.M. Boyer, W. Macmahon Ball (Vic), Rev Norman Lade (SA), L. Littlejohn (NSW), F.E. Barraclough (NSW), Captain F. O'Sullivan (Qld) and Ruby Rich (NSW). Raymond Watt Papers, National Library of Australia, courtesy Gabrielle Watt.

Modelling 'regulation by consent', Watt was indefatigable in facilitating such social groups, always present, sometimes a speaker—although at the most prominent occasions a higher dignitary would preside (Watt, after all, was not quite of the right stratum). When Watt did get such roles, however, there was an almost palpable sense that he could push too hard at suitable codes of conduct. So, for example, when Watt attended the 1936 league conference as an Australian delegate, S. M. Bruce, as official government representative, would allow him only to 'submit in writing any brain waves that might occur to me'; otherwise

'I'm to be put in cold storage in case my enthusiasm should raise the temperature in Europe'.⁴⁶ Watt's busy-ness could irritate office holders who had jobs elsewhere ('Frankly, Raymond,' Fred Alexander wrote from the University of Western Australia regarding a conference on postwar reconstruction that Watt was keen to organise in 1945, 'I am extremely pressed'), just as his need to raise funds by selling his services beyond the LNU was a matter of sensitivity for those who gave their time for nothing.⁴⁷

Watt's work extended beyond organisation. His extensive papers are sorted into hundreds of folders of press clippings organised by theme, country, issue or organisation, drawn from the local and international press (prominently the *Christian Science Monitor*, *Manchester Guardian* and *London Times* and the British Broadcasting Corporation's *Listener*), pamphlets, journals, reports and Hansard. There are index cards of quotations culled from wide reading and pocket books of speaking notes regularly revisited and revised. Meticulously selected, marked or transcribed, these materials testify to a sustained program of largely autodidactic synthesis, usually soon turned into some form of speech, radio address or press commentary.

In this commentary, Watt was also exploring new forms of authority. The international as 'news', as a defined category of information, was deeply formed by its media and associated assumptions of audience—ever since Jeremy Bentham first noted the term taking 'root in the language' of 'reviews and newspapers'.⁴⁸ By the inter-war years, these media were undergoing rapid change. The Melbourne *Herald* borrowed the promise to 'put a girdle round the earth' in the rapid transmission of international reporting, conveyed in headlines, wireless communication, picture-grams and frequent editions. Radio, in particular, began making an even more direct appeal, bringing a world of voice and sound into the informal spaces of the home. In 1933, on one of his overseas trips, Watt sought particularly to build connections with the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). He brought back a report on the power of broadcasting to evoke familiarity over distance that noted, by way of illustration, the impact 'for Australian listeners [when] the first broadcast of an English nightingale seemed to bring them nearer home'.⁴⁹ He also brought back an enthusiasm for organising 'listening groups': small collections of interested people who would gather round a radio to listen to a program and then, perhaps with guidance from materials provided, discuss their views.

The League of Nations itself was astutely aware of, and partly a product of, such potentialities in the flow of information. Any interested person, as Watt reminded readers and listeners, could receive the league's 'Radio Nations'. The league's engagement with new media was, however, guarded. Responding to the growth of cinema, the British LNU was prepared to name Charlie Chaplin as Foreign Ambassador to the World in 1925, but argued more generally that it was

ill-advised 'to deliberately misrepresent Western culture' by providing through most of the film that was available to people beyond the West 'a succession of facile peeps at the frothy sides of life, and so stir up racial animosity and antagonism'. The league's 1937 convention on broadcasting required nations to 'stop without delay...any transmission which is detrimental to good international understanding'—a policy readily adopted by governments keen to minimise discussion of fascism.⁵⁰

Less cautiously, Watt embraced radio with an almost Wellsian mission of 'world education' through a cultivated persona fastidiously searching through 'the cables' while imaginatively engaged by the material covered. A 1935 talk for nine–twelve year olds began: 'I want to draw a picture for you. Will you close your eyes? Let's imagine Geneva.' A 2GB broadcast on 27 September 1937 began (as the script has it):

Japan bombs Chinese cities! Civilian cities! The incident means, of course, this!—the thing so much feared has become a FACT...[a city bombed] to terrorise a nation into submission, and children, and women, as well as men, have had to take the shock of military ruthfulness [sic].⁵¹

Such a presentation would usually end with an appeal for the listener to think about the issue: why did they feel about it as they did? Without the 'oracle' status of the Australian Broadcasting Corporation's (ABC) 'Watchman', Watt was discursive rather than opinionated.⁵² If not offering the professionalised analysis Macmahon Ball called for in 1938, when lamenting the quality of information Australians received about international developments (there was 'plenty of spot news', but 'no serious attempt to weave the spots into an intelligible pattern'),⁵³ Watt sought to bring significance to the 'facts' he accumulated. In this, he insisted, expertise was no solution in itself—particularly given the propensity of ABC programmers to be 'half-mesmerised by [academics'] show of learning' rather than exploring more flexible ways of generating interest.⁵⁴

There was evidence that some officials in government regarded the league and the LNU as pacifist or dangerously left wing (as evident in attempts in 1938 to terminate Constance Duncan's talks on international affairs on ABC women's sessions, and to insist that she not speak as a representative of the union).⁵⁵ Watt, however, secured undoubted and enduring popularity. By 1941, engaged by the Commonwealth Department of Information, he could confidently adopt a highly personalised appeal. Prompting listeners to recall him as a delegate to league assemblies, he prepared scripts to be read with a colleague, Arthur Moorhead, in which he played an over-eager aficionado to Moorhead's world-weariness. One broadcast began:

M: Well, what do you think is the 'most important news' today?

W: Oh, a little item tucked away in just a few words—like so much of the really important news.

M: Oh, stop it—which one?

W: The one about the appointment of the American Ambassador to London.

M: As it happens, I didn't notice it—whom did Roosevelt appoint?

W: Winant—John G. Winant!

M: I never heard of the man—was he one of your colleagues, like Halifax, at Geneva?

W: No, he was after my time there, but I know his views very well.

So the exchange developed, outlining the contribution Winant might make as a former director of the ILO with a keen interest in social security, and effectively positioning the international as a field of interest somewhere between the figures of Watt and Moorhead, both seeking a point of access to a rapidly changing world.⁵⁶

These changing modes of sociability and communication reveal some of the ways in which the world as an object of interest was made accessible in the inter-war years. It is easy to dismiss them as mannered, and of a piece with the 'failure' of the league to prevent the return of world war. Perhaps, however—following Stuart Macintyre—it is more rewarding to see them as 'negotiating a transition'. Before this point, the international was either a social movement or a field defined by roles allocated in a strict social and political hierarchy, often those of 'empire'. Soon it would, under pressure of World War II and then the Cold War, become increasingly compartmentalised into credentialled practice on the one hand and, on the other, a public discourse attuned not so much to the 'morality' of abstract principles ('Peace', 'Goodwill', 'Humanity', as they might be acted out in a pageant) but to the 'moralism' of positions taken in the name of 'democracy' or 'freedom'.⁵⁷ Watt was a product of this transition and would himself experience the changes it wrought.

World events in the late 1930s scarcely favoured support for the league. Continuing to search for ways of raising the LNU's profile, Watt led moves to associate it with assistance to Chinese and European refugees, including through the foundation of the Refugees Emergency Council of New South Wales in 1938. In this, the union joined a new diversity of organisations that sought to represent specific cultural and religious affiliations, including the Australian Jewish Welfare Society, the German Emergency Fellowship Committee and the Continental Catholic Migrants Welfare Society. Despite deepening uncertainty among LNU leaders as to whether their mission should be advising government or acting as the 'conscience of the community', Watt hoped to formalise a state-sponsored role for the union in actively leading and assisting resettlement.⁵⁸ While he continued to broadcast on the topic—even prompting one listener to

offer a portion of his farm in Tumberumba to the league, if only for the resettlement of 'the peasant type'⁵⁹ —the refugee issue itself indicated ways in which the modes of the international were changing. World government was becoming international management, supporting the victimised and persecuted populations of brutal nations and seeking to strengthen and unify others.⁶⁰

With the outbreak of World War II, Watt was restless. Union membership was declining: 'weakest in churches, strongest in schools'. By 1946, it stood at 406 in New South Wales.⁶¹ Older patterns of sociability were difficult to sustain in a fully mobilised society, and international relations resolutely became matters of states. 'Information' itself assumed a new character. In 1940, Watt was one of 'the carefully selected people in key positions in the community' who received a regular bulletin from the Lord Mayor's Committee for Civil Morale, providing talking points to use in conversation, speeches, for publication, 'whenever you can help to inform or inspire'—including statistics on bomb and submarine construction, rationing schedules and the supply of petrol and rubber.⁶² Taking leave from the league that year, Watt contested the federal Sydney seat of Martin for the Australian Labor Party; his publicity featured a fulsome endorsement from Dr H. V. Evatt: '[I]n the world of international movements, Raymond Watt has rendered magnificent service in the cause of Labour and Humanity.' He lost but reduced the sitting member's majority from 7000 to 139.⁶³

By 1941, Watt was himself mobilised into the short-wave radio division of the Department of Information. In 1942, he moved to a publicity unit established in the Department of War Organisation and Industry, where he drafted lectures and speeches on the necessity of restraint, 'preparing the public mind' for regulation and developing extensive contacts with fellow journalists. Watt had, so the unit's assistant director Creighton Burns allowed, a real challenge: Sydney was judged to be deeply hedonistic and anarchic, and 'clearly the most difficult [city]...in the Commonwealth...to persuade' to comply with sacrifice in the name of victory.⁶⁴ Even with this allowance, Watt was less effective in exerting restraint on the press than he had been as a publicist. After losing preselection for Martin in 1943, in 1945, he was placed in charge of the war department's Civilian Requirements Section, overseeing the allocation of resources to toy production. There was no lapse in his association with the league. He continued as national secretary of the LNU and in 1943 became vice-president of the NSW branch. Numbers in his WEA classes on international affairs continued to be rivalled only by those in psychology. Even in the WEA, however, it was clear that a more academic caste was defining the syllabus. Among the tutors listed in New South Wales, only Watt and those taking 'child study' now had no university qualifications.

In an executive meeting on 10 July 1945, the union agreed to support the new United Nations Organisation, effectively acknowledging the end and failure of

the League of Nations. Three weeks later, the LNU became the United Nations Association of Australia (UNAA). Watt was confirmed as president of its NSW branch and elected to the national executive. It was soon clear, however, that more than a name change was anticipated. A federal organiser was appointed to assist with the revival of the cause. In rebuilding membership and visibility, stockbroker R. P. Greenish advocated a shift in activities from public meetings and lunch or evening lectures to the screening of films in suburban halls on Sunday evenings, followed by discussion led by 'outstanding people'. The UNAA should, Greenish advised, develop its own film unit, staffed by 'experienced people, preferably ex-servicemen with [the] latest knowledge of 16mm films', who would exhibit documentaries on 'agriculture, public health, industry' and so on, perhaps prefaced by a cartoon 'thrown in for entertainment value' as part of an 'essentially democratic people's program'.⁶⁵ Older devotees of the LNU, such as Mildred Muscio—a feminist whose networks spanned the National Council of Women and the Racial Hygiene Association—complained to Watt that she was uncertain whether the new federal organiser was to be 'servant or master'.⁶⁶ Clearly, however, a new direction was set. 'Face-to-face' fellowship, the talk or address interspersed with recitation or song, was to be replaced with an 'educative' process, seeking to heighten, as Greenish put it, 'the international exchange of knowledge, skills and the arts'.⁶⁷

In March 1947, Greenish became national secretary of the UNAA; R. J. F. Boyer, recently appointed chairman of the ABC, had already been elected to succeed Watt as NSW president. Establishing 'standing committees' on human rights (canvassing the 'happy assimilation' of Aboriginal Australians) and the status of women (dealing with equal pay), the UNAA moved away from the normative, empirical, social engineering cast of the league—Watt's emphasis on 'regulation by consent'—to a mode more attuned to the universalism of rights proclaimed by the United Nations.⁶⁸ 'The UN Story' and 'UN Specialists Talk to You' replaced Watt's radio talks. 'UN Science Magazines' were screened in venues organised in association with Rotary and church clubs.⁶⁹ The valiancy of the international began shifting from standards whose basis lay in political economy to values to be upheld in the application of expertise and the pursuit of 'democracy'.⁷⁰ No doubt this latter language seems more familiar to us now, more pragmatic if not more credible, but it is worth pausing to consider what was lost as well as gained in this rapid transition in modes and authority.⁷¹

Conclusion

Having negotiated a career in one mode, Watt now had to find new paths through the 1950s. At each step, it was clear how much had changed in the political and cultural valiancy of the international. He gave lectures for the Henry Lawson Labour College on the future of Palestine, the influence of economic security on the political life of nations and the psychological effects of the atomic bomb.

Narrowly defeated for preselection for the state seat of Lane Cove in 1946, he unsuccessfully contested the federal seat of Bennelong in 1949. Employed briefly to teach English at the Burwood Migrant Hostel, he established a secretariat and library for the emerging South Pacific Commission before securing regular work for the Information Section of the High Commission for Pakistan.⁷² Gradually, he built a 'public relations consultancy', providing services for industries seeking to break into emerging overseas markets, whether with opals, condensed milk or poultry feed. In 1961–62, he wrote on commission for the Department of Trade, surveying, for example, the access gained by Victa prefabricated homes or DefENDER snail repellent to buyers in Asia.⁷³ This was not quite the world of open international exchange he had envisaged through the 1930s, when his mantra had been 'we either fight or trade'.

In the postwar decades, then, Watt found a meagre purchase on new modes prevailing in international engagement. While selling Chamber's Encyclopedia door-to-door in 1951, he was drawn into conversation by an Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO) officer to whom he was 'known' as once being a 'figure of interest', but who now reported he found nothing of note in Watt's views.⁷⁴ When Alan Watt, who had joined a fledging diplomatic corps in 1937, was appointed permanent secretary of the Department of External Affairs in 1950 (returning, it was said, Australia's diplomacy to the safe hands of a career diplomat), the *Daily Telegraph* speculated on the possible influence of his older brother, who had 'spent most of his sixty years as an apostle for international understanding'. It was not a link Alan made himself: Ray does not appear in his memoirs.⁷⁵

What can be made of these contrasts across three decades, symbolised poignantly in the different circumstances of these two brothers: a parable of the talents? If one appeal of transnational history is to enable an appreciation of opportunities that exist when categories predetermined by national themes are suspended, Ray Watt—in his activism if not mobility—gives us one such narrative. Further, his experience prompts questioning of how concepts of the international are shaped. What gains legitimacy in that field and connects it with our sense of ourselves? A meeting with prayers, a radio talk or a pageant at the Trocadero are very distant from the 'conspicuous compassion' of 'Live Aid' and the shock and awe of CNN. Both are, however, performances of a kind, even if the last is managed through a television remote control that regulates for us (in Graeme Turner's words) a world of 'ubiquity that seems to displace geography altogether' and put in its place 'a generic corporate professionalism' in covering the world.⁷⁶ Dying of cancer in 1967, Watt gratefully accepted financial support from the Australian Journalists Association, of which he had long been a proud member. In his letter of thanks, he noted that while radio had stimulated open discussion, 'whoever controls television will sooner or later control governments'.⁷⁷ For

all his archaism, Watt can continue to prompt reflection on what shapes the ways we enact the international, and what these modes enable or deny.

Notes

- ¹ Iriye, Akira 2002, *Global Community: The role of international organisations in making the contemporary world*, University of California Press, Berkeley.
- ² See Mackinnon, Alison 1997, *Love and Freedom: Professional women and the reshaping of personal life*, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne; Allen, Judith 1984, *Rose Scott: Vision and revision in feminism*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne.
- ³ See Ellis, A. D. 1922, *Australia and the League of Nations*, Macmillan, London, p. 6.
- ⁴ Moore, W. Harrison 1935, 'Separate action by the British Dominions in foreign affairs', and Latham, John, 'Some recent international problems', *The Australian and New Zealand Society of International Law: Proceedings*, Melbourne University Press. Melbourne, pp. 1, 19.
- ⁵ Hancock, W. K. 1943, *Argument of Empire*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, p. 102.
- ⁶ Russell, Penny 1990, 'Jessie Street and international feminism', in Heather Radi (ed.), *Jessie Street: Documents and essays*, Women's Redress Press, Marrickville, pp. 181–3.
- ⁷ Moorhouse, Frank 1993, *Grand Days*, Vintage, Sydney, p. 74.
- ⁸ See, in general, Iriye, *Global Community*.
- ⁹ Typescript in R. G. Watt Papers, National Library of Australia (hereafter NLA), Mss 1923, Box 17, unnumbered folder.
- ¹⁰ See, generally, Wohl, Robert 1980, *The Generation of 1914*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London.
- ¹¹ Stead, Christina 1965, *The Man Who Loved Children*, Holt, Reinhardt and Winston, New York, p. 49.
- ¹² *Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates*, vol. 139, 23 May 1933, p. 1634.
- ¹³ Watt, R. G. 1931, 'The League of Nations: some current tendencies', *Morpeth Review*, vol. 11, no. 2, p. 37.
- ¹⁴ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 October 1930, p. 11; Watt to Janet Mitchell, 21 October 1920, Watt Papers, NLA, Mss 1837, Item 31; Iriye, *Global Community*.
- ¹⁵ See, generally, Birn, Donald S. 1981, *The League of Nations Union*, Oxford.
- ¹⁶ Moorhouse, *Grand Days*; and Moorhouse, Frank 2000, *Dark Palace*, Picador, London.
- ¹⁷ Tyrrell, Ian 1991, 'American exceptionalism in an age of international history', *American Historical Review*, vol. 96, no. 4, p. 1031.
- ¹⁸ Heydon to Eileen Watt, 20 March 1967, Watt Papers, NLA, Mss 1923, Box 7.
- ¹⁹ Watson, Adam 1992, *The Evolution of International Society: A comparative historical analysis*, Routledge, London.
- ²⁰ Transcript of a talk given on 2GB on 18 July 1932, Watt Papers, NLA, Mss 1535, Box 1c.
- ²¹ J. D. B. Miller, interview with Sir Alan Watt, NLA, TRC 306.
- ²² *The School Magazine*, Part 4, Class 6, vol. 23, no. 7, p. 2.
- ²³ Minutes of NSW branch annual meeting and conference, Watt Papers, NLA, Mss 1923, Box 1, Folder 12.
- ²⁴ Watt Papers, NLA, Mss 1923, folder of letters headed '2UW', Box 6.
- ²⁵ Langmore, Diane 1996, 'Duncan, Constance Ada (1896–1970)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography. Volume 14*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, p. 48.
- ²⁶ Minutes in folder marked 'Executive Committee: World Peace Congress', Watt Papers, NLA, Mss 1923, Box 13.
- ²⁷ League of Nations, NSW Branch, minutes for meeting of November 1931, Minute Book, Watt Papers, NLA, Mss 1923, Box 4.
- ²⁸ Mitchell, Janet 1938, *Spoils of Opportunity*, Methuen, London; Mitchell to Watt, 18 October 1930, Watt Papers, NLA, Mss 1837, Item 30.
- ²⁹ Foley, Meredith and Radi, Heather 1983, 'Hinder, Eleanor Mary', *Australian Dictionary of Biography. Volume 9*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, p. 304.
- ³⁰ Hinder to Watt, 23 May 1926, Watt Papers, NLA, Mss 1837, Item 21; 10 September 1926, Item 22.

- ³¹ Ada Adams to Watt, n.d., Watt Papers, NLA, MSS 1923, Box 7.
- ³² Hobsbawm, Eric 2002, *Interesting Times: A twentieth century life*, Allen Lane, London, p. 137; see also Barrow, Logie 1989, 'The environment of fellowship around 1900', in Roy Porter and Sylvana Tomaselli (eds), *The Dialectics of Friendship*, Routledge, London, p. 166.
- ³³ See Howe, Renate 2001, 'The Australian student Christian movement and women's activism in the Asia-Pacific region, 1890s-1920s', *Australian Feminist Studies*, vol. 16, no. 36, pp. 311-23. Persia Campbell and Marie Byles were also Watt's associates, the first eventually working for agricultural and consumer groups in the United States and advising Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, the latter travelling in South Asia and settling in an ashram.
- ³⁴ Alan Watt to R. G. Watt, 19 November 1923, Watt Papers, NLA, Mss 1837, Item 16.
- ³⁵ Watt to Joyce Beeby, 15 February 1925, Watt Papers, NLA, Mss 1837, Item 18; Anderson, Francis 1935, *Peace or War*, League of Nations Union, Sydney, p. 41.
- ³⁶ Watt to Joyce Beeby, 15 May 1925, Watt Papers, NLA, Mss 1837, Item 18.
- ³⁷ See Anderson to Watt, 12 August 1931, Watt Papers, NLA, Mss 1837, Item 42.
- ³⁸ Watt to Stead and A. H. Garnsey, 1 January 1931; Garnsey to Watt, 2 March 1931, Watt Papers, NLA, Mss 1923, Box 5, unnumbered folder.
- ³⁹ 'BSIA Report for Year Ending December 1930', Copland Papers, NLA, Mss 3008, Box 50, Folder 1; see also Macintyre, Stuart 1994, *A History for a Nation; Ernest Scott and the Making of Australian History*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, pp. 125-37.
- ⁴⁰ League of Nations Union NSW Branch 1931, *Quarterly Bulletin*, no. 1, p. 1; no. 2, p. 8.
- ⁴¹ A survey of the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* indicates that, among those selected for inclusion in the dictionary and whose association with the LNU figures in their entry, 32 per cent (38 people) were affiliated with the Church of England, 12 per cent (14) were Presbyterian, 8 per cent (nine) were Methodist, 4 per cent (five) were Jewish, 3.5 per cent (four) were Baptist and 2.5 per cent were Catholic (one), Theosophist (one) and Australian Church (one). The percentage of lawyers was 14 per cent (16), academics 12 per cent (14), welfare workers and doctors both 7 per cent (eight) and clergymen 5 per cent. Forty per cent of the dictionary's selection were women.
- ⁴² League of Nations Union NSW 1935, *Quarterly Bulletin*, no. 6, pp. 2-3.
- ⁴³ Notes in Watt Papers, NLA, Mss 1923, Box 18, unnumbered folder; Minute Book of League of Nations Union NSW Branch Council, 30 April 1930, Watt Papers, NLA, Mss 1923, Box 4.
- ⁴⁴ Justice Rich, *Give the League A Chance: Appeal to Australia*, League of Nations Union, Sydney, in Copland Papers, NLA, Mss 3800, Box 14, Series 25.
- ⁴⁵ Notebook in Copland Papers, NLA, Mss 3800, Box 14, Series 25 (Copland's emphasis).
- ⁴⁶ Watt to Anderson, 22 September 1936, Watt Papers, NLA, 1837, Box 13.
- ⁴⁷ Alexander to Watt, 23 February 1945, Watt Papers, NLA, Mss 1923, Box 14, Folder 1; Watt to Anderson, 4 November 1936, Box 1, Folder 9.
- ⁴⁸ Bentham, Jeremy 1948, *A Fragment on Government and an Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*, Blackwell, Oxford, pp. 426-7.
- ⁴⁹ Typescript summarising visit, Watt Papers, NLA, Mss 1923, Box 3, Folder 2; Hilda Mathieson, Report to the Secretary of the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, 1931, in Watt Papers, NLA, Mss 1923, Box 11.
- ⁵⁰ See Johnson, Lesley 1988, *The Unseen Voice: A cultural study of early Australian radio*, Routledge, London, pp. 181-3.
- ⁵¹ Typescript of broadcast on 2GB, 27 September 1937, Watt Papers, NLA, Mss 1923, Box 3, Folder 34.
- ⁵² Inglis, K. S. 1983, *This is the ABC: The Australian Broadcasting Commission 1932-1983*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, p. 63.
- ⁵³ Ball, W. Macmahon 1938, 'Introduction', in W. M. Ball (ed.), *Press, Radio and World Affairs: Australia's outlook*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, pp. 17, 20, 23.
- ⁵⁴ Watt to Duncan Hall, 14 December 1937, Watt Papers, NLA, 1837, Item 100.
- ⁵⁵ Johnson, *The Unseen Voice*, pp. 181-2; League of Nations Union (Victorian Branch) 1938-39, *Annual Report*, p. 14.
- ⁵⁶ Typescript of 'Spotlight on Today's Cables', Watt Papers, NLA, Mss 1923, Box 6, unnumbered folder.

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⁵⁷ Macintyre, *A History for a Nation*, p. 125; see also Brown, Wendy 2001, *Politics Out of History*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, p. 26; Hunt, Lynn 2007, *Inventing Human Rights: A history*, W. W. Norton, New York, p. 212.

⁵⁸ Minutes of annual meeting and conference, Australian League of Nations Union, 17 June 1940, Watt Papers, NLA, Mss 1923, Box 1, Folder 12.

⁵⁹ David Macleod to Watt, 22 November 1941, Watt Papers, NLA, Mss 1923, Box 9, unmarked folder.

⁶⁰ See Iriye, *Global Communities*, p. 32.

⁶¹ Minutes of annual meeting and conference, Australian League of Nations Union, 17 June 1940, Watt Papers, NLA, Mss 1923, Box 1, Folder 13.

⁶² Bulletins in Watt Papers, NLA, Mss 1923, Box 11, unnumbered folder.

⁶³ *Standard*, 10 August 1943.

⁶⁴ Burns to Director-General, Department of War Organisation and Industry, 6 May 1943, Watt Papers, NLA, Mss 1923, Box 14, unnumbered folder.

⁶⁵ Report from Federal Organiser, 10 July 1947, Watt Papers, NLA, Mss 1923, Box 2, Folder 24B.

⁶⁶ Muscio to Watt, 2 December 1946, Watt Papers, NLA, Mss 1923, Box 2, Folder 24A.

⁶⁷ Report from Federal Organiser, 10 July 1947.

⁶⁸ Minutes of meeting of NSW UNAA Council, 10 February 1949, Watt Papers, NLA, Box 2, Folder 22.

⁶⁹ See UNAA NSW Branch 1950–51, *Annual Report*, pp. 3–4.

⁷⁰ For a detailed study of a similar transition, see Haraway, Donna J. 1996, 'Universal donors in a vampire culture: it's all in the family: biological kinship categories in the twentieth century United States', in William Cronon (ed.), *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the human place in nature*, New York, pp. 321–66.

⁷¹ See Anderson, Perry 1992, *A Zone of Engagement*, London, p. 367; and Douzinas, Costas 2000, *The End of Human Rights: Critical legal thought at the turn of the century*, Oxford, pp. 115 ff.

⁷² References and testimonials in 'Office of Education, Applications for Positions', National Archives of Australia (hereafter NAA), A1361/1 34/11/4, Part 784; typescript, Watt Papers, NLA, Mss 1923, Box 13, unnumbered folder.

⁷³ Correspondence and clippings in Watt Papers, NLA, Mss 1923, Box 11, Folder mislabelled 'WEA 1948'.

⁷⁴ 'Watt, Raymond Gosford', Miscellaneous Papers, NAA, AA 6119/90.

⁷⁵ Watt, Alan 1972, *Australian Diplomat: Memoirs of Sir Alan Watt*, Sydney. Watt does allow, in his interview with Bruce Miller, that Ray 'maintained a deep interest in foreign affairs and under other circumstances would have made some mark, I think, in that field' (NLA, TRC 306, p. 3).

⁷⁶ Turner, Graeme 2005, *Ending the Affair: The decline of television current affairs in Australia*, Sydney, pp. 126–7.

⁷⁷ Letter to President, NSW Branch of the Australian Journalists Association, 1 March 1967, Watt Papers, NLA, 1535, Box 1c.