

## GIFT EXCHANGE

Since Marcel Mauss published his foundational essay *The Gift* in 1925, many anthropologists and specialists of international relations have seen in the exchange of gifts, debts, loans, concessions, or reparations the sources of international solidarity and international law. Still, Mauss's reflections were deeply tied to the context of interwar Europe and the French colonial expansion. Their normative dimension has been profoundly questioned after the age of decolonization. A century after Mauss, we may ask: what is the relevance of his ideas on gift exchange and international solidarity? By tracing how Mauss's theoretical and normative ideas inspired prominent thinkers and government officials in France and Algeria, from Pierre Bourdieu to Mohammed Bedjaoui, Grégoire Mallard adds a building block to our comprehension of the role that anthropology, international law, and economics have played in shaping international economic governance from the age of European colonization to the latest European debt crisis.

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Grégoire Mallard is Associate Professor of Anthropology and Sociology at the Graduate Institute (Geneva). He is the author of *Fallout: Nuclear Diplomacy in an Age of Global Fracture* (2014) and co-editor of *Contractual Knowledge: One Hundred Years of Legal Experimentation in Global Markets* (2016). His publications focus on prediction, knowledge, and ignorance in global governance.

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# Gift Exchange

## THE TRANSNATIONAL HISTORY OF A POLITICAL IDEA

**GRÉGOIRE MALLARD**

Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies



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## Acknowledgments

The genesis of this book is a perfect illustration of the role of serendipity in the process of formulation and reformulation of research questions. Little did I know that I would follow in the footsteps of Marcel Mauss's acclaimed biographer Marcel Fournier and write a book on Mauss's anthropology of the gift when, ten years ago, my wife, Eléonore Lépinard, and I rented his Montreal apartment for a year and worked under the gaze of the bronze bust of Emile Durkheim that he had placed on his desk. With this book, I have confirmed my wife's suspicion that I remain inexorably fascinated by great dead white men – like Honoré de Balzac, Jean Monnet, or indeed Marcel Mauss – and that, instead of writing a book titled *Queering Marcel Mauss* – a task too intimidating, although highly relevant – I would spend several years researching Mauss's role within the group of solidarist and socialist thinkers who participated in the political affairs of the last century. For that, I will blame Marcel Fournier, as it is in his library that I first read Mauss's political writings, where I first found the missing link between the anthropology of gift-giving practices, the modern forms of international credit exchanges, and the intellectual history of the concept of solidarity that I was looking to explore. And I will thank Eléonore, who accepts me with all my deficiencies, and whose companionship remains a proof that gifts can be given without always being immediately given back.

Unfulfilled intellectual interests never die, and I found with this story an opportunity to revive an old flame of mine: I first became interested in the French nebula of solidarist intellectuals and sociologists during a class taught by Vincent Viet more than fifteen years ago at the École Normale Supérieure (Cachan) on the history of labor relations in France. These young sociologists' intellectual passion, political involvement, and thirst for emancipation formed a riveting narrative of collective ambition and accomplishments. But, in the following decade, I rarely returned to the belle époque and interwar period. Instead, I wrote my first monograph, *Fallout*, on the changing international legal environment, evolving conceptions of sovereignty, and new forms of contractual agreements that regulated the nuclear trade in

the second half of the twentieth century. I largely ignored the interwar period, as there was very little to regulate in terms of nuclear trade. Still, as *Fallout* focuses on a group of thinkers and politicians gathered around Jean Monnet, one of the main architects of the postwar European and global nuclear orders, I ventured from time to time into Monnet's early attempts to establish a financial and commercial European order within the League of Nations. As I researched the role of Jean Monnet and other important figures (like Konrad Adenauer and John Foster Dulles) in the (failed) establishment of an interwar financial order, I stumbled again on these French solidarists whose involvement in issues of international finance I had wanted to study. I also discovered that some characters who, like Jacques Soustelle, had exercised great responsibility in French postwar nuclear policy, had in fact started their career as PhD students working under the supervision of Mauss. Such oddities begged for more research.

Of course, the direction of this socio-historical inquiry has taken many turns, and what started as a book on the solidarists, European solidarity, and financial history, ended up as a book on Marcel Mauss, his essay *The Gift*, his followers, international law, and financial history up to this day.

Many colleagues and friends helped me navigate these various twists, and I would like to thank especially: Robert Mauss, who authorized me to consult Mauss's archives, and Christophe Labaune, who helped me explore the rich material at the Collège de France, as well as the staff of the Archives Nationales in Saint Denis, where I consulted the papers of Albert Thomas, Léon Blum, and Jacques Soustelle in particular. Jean-Michel Servet generously told me about the adventures of the Maussian economists around the French Caisse des dépôts et consignations, and he also read the whole manuscript and provided very useful feedback. Very special thanks go to Mohammed Bedjaoui, who opened his home to me, and gave me more than ten hours of recorded interviews and a presentation of his private papers. I also owe special thanks to Filipe Calvao, Sheila Galvin, and Davide Rodogno, who took the time to read and comment upon an early draft of the whole manuscript in June 2016. Deval Desai and Pierre Pénét read the full draft, as the manuscript was nearing completion in March 2018 and they gave me incredibly constructive comments. Furthermore, graduate students and colleagues at the Graduate Institute gave me additional comments during the class "Marcel Mauss and International Relations," which I gave at the Graduate Institute in spring 2017.

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Abbreviations

AIID	Association Internationale des Juristes Démocrates
CDC	Caisse des Dépôts et Consignations
CEPII	Centre d'Etudes Prospectives et d'Informations Internationales
DSA	Debt Sustainability Assessment
EBRD	European Bank for Reconstruction and Development
EC	European Commission
ECB	European Central Bank
ECJ	European Court of Justice
EDC	European Defense Community
EEC	European Economic Community
EFEO	École Française d'Extrême-Orient
EHES	École des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales
EMS	European Monetary System
ENA	École Nationale d'Administration
ENAA	École Nationale d'Administration d'Algerie
ENS	École Normale Supérieure
ENSAE	École Nationale de la Statistique et de l'Administration Economique
EP	European Parliament
EPHE	École Pratique des Hautes Etudes
ESM	European Stability Mechanism
EU	European Union
FLN	Front de Libération Nationale [Algeria]
GDP	gross domestic product
GPRA	Gouvernement provisoire de la République algérienne
ICJ	International Court of Justice
ICSID	International Center for the Settlement of Investment Disputes
IEP	Instituts d'Etudes Politiques
ILC	International Law Commission
ILO	International Labor Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
NIEO	New International Economic Order

*List of Abbreviations*

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OAS	Organisation armée secrète
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
PCJ	Permanent Court of Justice
RPF	Rassemblement du Peuple Français
SFIO	Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière
SMP	Securities Markets Programme
SRM	Single Resolution Mechanism
TFEU	Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union
UDMA	Union démocratique du manifeste algérien
UDSR	Union démocratique et socialiste de la Résistance
UGEMA	Union Générale des Etudiants Musulmans Algériens
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
US	United States
USRAF	Union pour le Salut et le Renouveau de l'Algérie Française
WTO	World Trade Organization