

# David Mitrany during the First World War. Some Ambiguities in His Biography

Mihai Alexandrescu<sup>1</sup>

*Babeş-Bolyai University, Faculty of History and Philosophy,  
Cluj-Napoca, Romania*

Email: mihai.alexandrescu@ubbcluj.ro

**Abstract:** David Mitrany during the First World War. Some Ambiguities in his Biography. In this paper, I will attempt to provide another overview of the David Mitrany activity in his first years in England (1908-1918), to emphasise the important role played by his Romanian origin on his work during the First World War, but also to fill in some gaps remained in his *official* biography for that period. In this respect, I opposed some information collected from David Mitrany personal collection to several details from the literature presenting him with a 'diplomatic and intelligence work' in the wartime. These new data provide us another meaning for many of his works in the interwar period.

**Keywords:** David Mitrany, intelligence, diplomacy, Romanian Legation to London, Foreign Office

**Rezumat:** David Mitrany în timpul Primului Război Mondial. Unele ambiguități din biografia sa. În acest articol, voi încerca să prezint o altă perspectivă asupra activității lui David Mitrany în primii săi ani din Anglia (1908-1918), să subliniez rolul important pe care l-a jucat originea sa românească asupra activității sale din Primul Război Mondial, dar și să completez unele omisiuni rămase în biografia sa *oficială* pentru acea perioadă. În acest sens, am opus unei informații provenite din arhiva personală a lui David Mitrany unor detalii din literatura care îl prezintă cu „activitate diplomatică și de intelligence” în anii războiului. Aceste noi date ne oferă un alt sens pentru multe dintre lucrările sale din perioada interbelică.

**Cuvinte-cheie:** David Mitrany, intelligence, diplomație, Legația României la Londra, Foreign Office

David Mitrany remains famous through his functionalist approach to international affairs influencing the theoretical debate for several decades.

---

<sup>1</sup> Mihai Alexandrescu is Senior Lecturer at the Department of International Studies and Contemporary History, Babeş-Bolyai University, author of the only Romanian monograph on Functionalist Approach of David Mitrany (Mihai Alexandrescu, *Functionalismul si Sistemul International (David Mitrany)*, Cluj-Napoca: Eikon, 2010). E-mail: mihai.alexandrescu@ubbcluj.ro

Dorothy Anderson presented some data about his Romanian origins rewriting some details from his *Memoirs*<sup>2</sup> and adding even less information. In fact, his biography is very lacunar and, I would say, even ambiguous in some respects. These gaps in Mitrany's biography could be filled by studying also his personal collection from Library of London School of Economics and Political Science. This collection includes more proves about his life that help us give a proper meaning to many of his works.

There is little reference in literature about David Mitrany's life. The autobiographical chapter from his last book and the famous article written by Anderson in 1998 became the most quoted sources describing his life. A closer analysis of the two sources, corroborated with that provided by James T. Shotwell, in 1924, and confronted with David Mitrany's personal collection from LSE's Library, paves the way for new interpretations. In this article, I chose to pursue David Mitrany until 1918 insisting on his origins in Romania and his presumed intelligence activity during the First World War. I started, in my analysis, from an undemonstrated statement made by Dorothy Anderson in 1998 and in 2004 that between 1914 and 1918 David Mitrany had a 'diplomatic and intelligence work'.<sup>3</sup> Without any bibliographical reference, she slipped such an important detail of Mitrany's life. Just this ambiguity determined me to seek for more evidences on this detail. I think that clarifying this part of his first years in England helps us to define properly his intellectual and professional path during the interwar period.

In this paper, starting from the above-mentioned sources, I present my considerations about his early life and the important role played by his Romanian origin during the First World War.

The method of analysis in this paper is that of deductive reasoning, benefiting from the chance to read Mitrany's personal collection at LSE's Library. Even though the analysis period is 1908-1918, my target is presumed 'intelligence and diplomatic work' relating to Romania, leaving aside a deeper analysis of his papers or of his debut in journalism in the same period.

### **Coming into contact with the United Kingdom**

David Mitrany was born on 1<sup>st</sup> of January 1888 in Bucharest in a Jewish family. His surname is known as a Sephardic Jewish name frequently found in this country. M. A. Halevy noted that they were traders settled in Walachia

---

<sup>2</sup> David Mitrany, "The Making of the Functional Theory. Memoirs", In David Mitrany, *The Functional Theory of Politics*, London School of Economics & Political Science: Martin Robertson, 1975, pp. 3-82.

<sup>3</sup> Dorothy Anderson, "David Mitrany (1888-1975): An Appreciation of His Life and Work." *Review of International Studies*. 24.4, 1998, p. 577.

starting from 1496 after they had fled from Spain due to anti-Semitic persecution. These Sephardic Jews seem to arrive in Walachia via Vienna, but also from different Italian cities. One of these cities was Trani, hence the name Mitrani. Just since 1730, during the ruling of Nicholas Mavrocordatos in Walachia, the Sephardic Jews from Bucharest were acknowledged.<sup>4</sup>

Particularly about David Mitrany's family we know that his parents, Moscu and Jeannette, lived in Romania even after the First World War and his brother, whom name we do not know, moved to Paris, acting as a doctor.<sup>5</sup>

After the accomplishment of his military service in Romania, David Mitrany moved to Hamburg. There are very little data about the three years spent in this German city and they are pretty unclear. Mitrany wrote, in 1969, that he attended 'evening classes at the Kolonial Institut, the precursor of the University of Hamburg'.<sup>6</sup> It is not clear the status that Mitrany had in those classes. He insisted just on the impact on his intellectual preoccupations to work 'in a business office' and to 'come across the new ways dealing with the social problem, beyond mere charity'.<sup>7</sup>

A very interesting *Sunday* is mentioned in his Hamburgean life when 'an older acquaintance - later to become one of the city's leading lawyers and a judge' facilitated the entrance of young Mitrany to 'a group of factory apprentices at a social settlement'.<sup>8</sup> We would have a hard mission if we propose to learn more about his benefactor or even about the place of this revelation because no any other data about his life earlier than 1916 we could learn from his personal collection at LSE's Library.

In any case, in autumn of 1912 he enrolled at the LSE. Among his professors Mitrany preferred to mention only L. T. Hobhouse and Graham Wallas. In that period G. Lowes Dickinson and Clement Attlee had been teaching also at LSE.

I suppose that David Mitrany lived, at least before the outbreak of the Great War, in Tooting, a southern suburb of London. During his LSE studentship he worked in Tooting both as a social worker in a settlement of the Shaftesbury Society of Fairlight Hall and as an advisor for teenagers seeking jobs being a member of the Juvenile Advisory Committee of the Tooting Labour Exchange. 'Labour exchanges' were a 1909 creation of the Liberal Government of H. H. Asquith government, namely of David Lloyd George as Chancellor of Exchequer (1908-1915).

---

<sup>4</sup> Cernovodeanu, Paul. *The History of the Jews in Romania 1 1*. Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, 2005.

<sup>5</sup> David Mitrany, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*.

In wartime, Mitrany was involved 'into intelligence work relating to South-Eastern Europe for both the Foreign Office and the War Office'.<sup>9</sup> However, Dorothy Anderson noted that he was 'for a while attached to the Romanian Legation in London'.<sup>10</sup> This fact appears only in her article, without any biographical reference. Just indirectly we could suppose that Mitrany would have collaborated, in 1914, with the named Legation when he translated into Romanian the British White Paper, but no prove is clear.

In 1916, he became a member of League of Nations Society, an association created to promote the idea of changing the post-war world order from the traditional balance of power towards an 'international system of peace and security'.<sup>11</sup> Of course, the meaning of his adherence to this group promoting the original idea of Bryce's group is deeper and I think that we find in it the beginning of Mitrany's collaboration with other groups in the following years developing cordial relationships with few influential persons.

For the same year, Mitrany added a little detail mentioning his participation in a 'group of foreign editors' who were 'guests ... through battered Albert on fields of Somme'.<sup>12</sup> It seems it was a real adventure.

In 1917, David Mitrany was designed to participate in a campaign in different cities of England alongside other four lecturers (G. Lowes Dickinson, L. Woolf, H. N. Brailsford and A. J. Grant). His correspondence with the staff of League of Nations Society reveals that he enjoyed a good appreciation and trust among his superiors.<sup>13</sup> In his opinion, he was selected to take part of that team of lecturers due to his origin but also to his foreign intonation.<sup>14</sup> In the same time his Romanian background was a key motivation of his adherence to an idea which was coming to change the old tradition in the European diplomacy:

*"My subject was 'Small States and a League of Nations', for which I seemed well suited by my origin as by my foreign intonation. Coming as I did from a small country, where resentment at the bossiness of the Great Powers was endemic, my theme might well have been a plea for straight sovereign equality among state."*<sup>15</sup>

Undoubtedly, the first three years of war gave him the opportunity to show his ability to make relevant analyses on the war evolution but also to prove his loyalty to the host country. In 1918 he became a member of the

---

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem.* p. 6.

<sup>10</sup> Dorothy Anderson, *op.cit.*, p. 577.

<sup>11</sup> David Mitrany, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem.*, p. 48-49.

<sup>13</sup> *David Mitrany Papers*, box 66, at LSE's Library.

<sup>14</sup> David Mitrany, 1975, p. 6

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem.*

Labour Party's Advisory Committee on International Affairs and he gave up on his membership in 1931 when the Party's leadership conditioned it with the Party's membership.

It seems that just in April 1919 he finished his 'war work' once again Mitrany keeping a dark shadow on his wartime activities.

### A presumed relationship with British intelligence

One of the most interesting details about David Mitrany's work during the First World War is the 'intelligence work'. This hypothesis is encouraged in the literature just by what he noted in his *Memoirs*:

*"I was drawn into intelligence work relating to South-Eastern Europe for both the Foreign Office and the War Office."*<sup>16</sup>

David Mitrany wrote that he was 'drawn into' the intelligence work rather than he would have been 'invited' or 'desired' to be part of it. This semantic is quite present in his *Memoirs* giving the reader a wide spectrum of interpretations. If his commitment in the intelligence work in the Second World War is proved, his activity during the First World War seems to be kept intentionally in a blurred image.

The character who would have opened or drawn him on the path to this kind of activity was Sir George Prothero, famous for coordinating *Peace Handbooks*. These volumes contain documents prepared by the Historical Section of the Foreign Office to support British delegates at a peace conference. David Mitrany was involved in the document concerning Romania. However, apart from this moment, Mitrany's ties with the British intelligence are still to be sought out and explained.

So far, my considerations have been based on five sources: (1) David Mitrany, *The Making of the Functional Theory. Memoirs*, 1975; (2) Dorothy Anderson, *David Mitrany*, 1998 and 2004; (3) James T. Shotwell, *Introduction*, 1924; (4) James T. Shotwell, *Autobiography*, 1961; (5) *David Mitrany Papers* at LSE's Library, 1917, box 29.

Besides the ambiguous statement of Mitrany, in literature there are other ones slipped by James T. Shotwell<sup>17</sup> and Dorothy Anderson<sup>18</sup>. In the first case, I consider a short presentation made by Shotwell to Mitrany in his 1924

---

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>17</sup> James T. Shotwell, *Economic and Social History of the World War*. Washington: Carnegie Endowment for Internat. Peace, 1924, pp. 33-34; James T. Shotwell, *The Autobiography of James T. Shotwell*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1961, pp. 143-144.

<sup>18</sup> Dorothy Anderson, "David Mitrany (1888-1975): An Appreciation of His Life and Work." *Review of International Studies*. 24.4, 1998, pp. 577-592; Dorothy Anderson, "Mitrany, David", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004.

volume, in the list of contributors. The American professor brought the following details:

*“David Mitrany – Graduate of the High School of Commerce, Bucharest, B. Sc. in Economics (London); with Rumanian Army in the Second Balkan War 1913; during the War attached to Rumanian Legation at London, at the request and at the disposal of the British authorities; worked for Foreign Office, Intelligence Development of War Office and the Ministry of Information; from July 1919, for three years on the editorial staff (foreign affairs) of Manchester Guardian; since January 1921, Foreign Editor of Manchester Guardian Commercial.”*<sup>19</sup>

Later, in his *Autobiography*, Shotwell came back with a brief mention of Mitrany, which the latter takes over in one of his self-flattering passages with which he has used the reader in his *Memoirs*:

*“My Austrian colleagues understood the situation perfectly and co-operated with good will. But I could not have carried out so great a responsibility if I had not been able to share it with David Mitrany, who not only aided in the editing the volumes on all the countries of southeastern Europe but wrote the final volume summing up, in a masterly survey, the effects of the war in the Danubian countries. Mitrany was Romanian-born but had been correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* in Germany and then served in the British Foreign Office during the war. His intimate knowledge of men and events never influenced his critical objectivity, for his advice, like his writings, was in the best traditions of English Liberalism. He also worked with me on some of my adventures in peace-making during the years that followed. Finally his contributions to political thought won him the honour of a professorship in the Institute for Advances Studies in Princeton – Einstein’s colleague.”*<sup>20</sup>

In both cases, Shotwell inserted some confusing data which were in contradiction even with Mitrany's chronology. Firstly, when the American Professor placed Mitrany in the Balkan War of 1913, being known that he left Romania no later than 1909, and in the fall of 1912 he became a student at the London School of Economics. Secondly, his mentioning of being ‘attached to the Romanian Legation at London, at the request and at the disposal of the British authorities’ in a time when Romania was still keeping its neutrality, seems to be a non-sense. This appears as if Mitrany was as a double agent.

---

<sup>19</sup> Shotwell 1924, pp. 33-34.

<sup>20</sup> James T. Shotwell, *The Autobiography*, Bobbs-Merril, 1961, pp. 143-144.

This confusion was amplified still more since Dorothy Anderson<sup>21</sup> introduced two articles that were taken in the literature on Mitrany's life. The information that David Mitrany was 'attached to the Romanian Legation in London' was squeezed by Anderson in her 1998 article. However, this detail is not found in Mitrany's *Memoirs*. In her Oxford Dictionary article, Anderson based this fact on her 'personal knowledge'<sup>22</sup>, which remains quite difficult to consider in the absence of any other evidence.

A real question mark remains on the so-called 'diplomatic work' because I have had no indication of any real involvement of Mitrany in this field at that time. Indeed, we can notice that he mentioned in his *Memoirs* that he made a translation into Romanian of the British White Paper, which was sent to Bucharest with a 'diplomatic bag', but he did not note whether it meant a British courier or a Romanian one. On the other hand, Mitrany himself described this as work done 'at speed and on my own initiative'<sup>23</sup>, not as a diplomatic activity.

If the Mitrany's ties with the Romanian Legation in London during the First World War are not yet clear, his involvement in intelligence work seems to be marginal rather than decisive. If his intelligence activities during the Second World War were engaged and institutional, those during World War may be harder enclosed in what is called *intelligence* properly. I still keep doubts that Mitrany has already received the trust to be involved in the English intelligence operations. In this regard, two aspects are taken into account. The first one is the short duration passed since he entered the United Kingdom (1911), being naturalized only in 1924. The second one, much more concrete, relates to an exchange of letters between the War Ministry officials, that I found in the personal collection of David Mitrany.<sup>24</sup>

On October 18, 1917, Sir Edward Carson sent the British Government a memorandum entitled 'Proposal mission to Romania'. The author deplored the situation in Romania as an outcome of the 'Russian collapse'. Romania's material needs were 'most urgent' but 'Roumania's geographical position' made difficult any British support. In terms of Carson 'it is also important to give any possible encouragement to the Roumanian people to continue their resistance to the enemy and to show them that their efforts to preserve a remnant of their country from the invader have won the admiration and

---

<sup>21</sup> Dorothy Pauline Anderson (born in 1924) was the secretary of David Mitrany since May 13, 1958, and previously (1948-1957) she had been a Librarian at Hendon Technical College (see *David Mitrany Papers*, box 63).

<sup>22</sup> Dorothy Anderson, "Mitrany, David", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004.

<sup>23</sup> David Mitrany, 1975, p. 5.

<sup>24</sup> *David Mitrany Papers*, box 29, London School of Economics Archives.

appreciation of the British Government and Nation.’<sup>25</sup>

A slight jealousy can be noticed in Carson's writing when he states that the French mission of General Henri Berthelot ‘has placed France in a more favourable light than ourselves in Roumanian eyes.’ Edward Carson, who had been Minister without portfolio and member of the War Cabinet of David Lloyd George since July 1917 until January 1918, put forward to the Government the following five objectives that a British Mission to Roumania would have had to follow:

*“To give proof of British sympathy with Roumania in the trials she is undergoing, and to encourage her to continue resistance to the enemy.*

*To protect British interests.*

*To organise British Propaganda in Roumania so far as practicable in the present military situation.*

*To establish in Roumania an organisation corresponding to the Anglo-Roumanian Society, to co-operate with the latter in fostering mutual good relations.*

*To collect information for the British Government as to the best lines on which commercial assistance may be rendered to Roumania, and commercial relations between the two Countries encouraged for the future.”*<sup>26</sup>

Considering the general diplomatic context that joined the Entente's Powers in the First World War the proposed objectives for a British mission in Romania should not have disregarded the state interests of the Kingdom of Romania. It is precisely in this logic that the British official's explanation should be read in his memorandum:

*“The last-mentioned of these objectives is of less urgency under existing conditions than the others, and may be regarded as only incidental to the more pressing work of the Mission. But the importance of giving Roumanians ocular demonstration of our solicitude for their safety and of our determination that their integrity and independence shall be restored, with full reparation for the wrongs they have suffered, cannot be questioned, especially in view of the fate that has hitherto befallen the small nations who have joined the Allies, and of our repeated declarations that the protection of these small nations is one of our essential war aims.”*

Here there is a detail that sparked my interest in finding footpaths that brought David Mitrany closer to the world of British intelligence. Edward Carson took into consideration the proposals made by Robert Donald for the staff of the projected British Mission. Donald had been, since 1904, the editor of

---

<sup>25</sup> Edward Carson to British War Government, 18<sup>th</sup> of October, 1918, in *David Mitrany Papers*, box 29, London School of Economics Archives.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*.



the *Daily Chronicle*, which in 1914 became the most read newspaper in the UK, outperforming *The Times*, *Daily Telegraph*, *Morning Post*, *Evening Standards* and *Daily Graphic*. Robert Donald's newspaper advocated the Liberal Party politics, including Prime Minister Lloyd George, and offered the government all the support in its war effort. From the Carson Memorandum we find out that:

*"As to the personnel of the proposed Mission, it is submitted that it need not be numerous. Mr. Donald's suggestion that either Lord Hugh Cecil, president of the Anglo-Roumanian Society, or Mr. Mackinder, MP, would be a suitable head of the Mission, is endorsed by Lord Milner and Colonel Buchan, and the names of Mr. Leeper<sup>27</sup> of the Department of Information, Mr E. D. Madge and Mr. Mitrany, a Roumanian journalist, are mentioned as possessing qualifications for the work."*

On the same day, a memorandum of Lord Alfred Milner was registered. He was referred to by Carson as if he were in agreement with the staff proposed for the British mission. Member of Lloyd George's five-member War Cabinet and influential member of the British intellectual and political elite, Lord Milner presented a nuance of the goals the British mission would have had to pursue:

*"But there are other arguments for the Mission if we can send a sufficiently strong one. The Roumanins are much discouraged just now. One of their causes of discouragement is that they think they are being forgotten by their Western Allies, or at any rate by England. As a matter of fact we are doing a great deal more for Roumania than is commonly supposed [...] It is not, therefore, as if our Mission represented a purely platonic sympathy. We are doing – under very great difficulties and at the most enormous disadvantage, owing to distance and for the miserable communications – what we can."*

*"If it was only to help the Roumanians to realize this and our disposition, and also to find out, as perhaps it might, that there are other ways of helping them which do not occur to us, I think the Mission would do good."<sup>28</sup>*

Regarding the staff of the British Mission in Romania, Lord Milner considered particularly important the value of the people who were about to compose it, as 'it would be much better not to send a Mission at all than to send an inadequate' people. As for Lord Cecil and Professor Mackinder, he agreed, but he said that 'I know nothing of Mr. Mitrani, but if he really is a 'capable Roumanian journalist', I think he might be a valuable addition. I

---

<sup>27</sup> Later, Allan W. A. Leeper was an expert of the British delegation at the Paris Peace Conference.

<sup>28</sup> Lord Alfred Milner to British War Government, 18<sup>th</sup> of October, 1918, in *David Mitrany Papers*, box 29, London School of Economics Library.

am told he is a very clever man.'<sup>29</sup>

For two reasons, I find interesting that Lord Milner said he did not know anything about Mitrany, just that he was a 'very clever man'. First of all, this can be considered as an element supporting that the David Mitrany's involvement in British intelligence activity took place earlier than 1918. Secondly, Milner was a friend of the Hobhouses, but his name was also linked to the environment in which the League of Nations Society activated during the war. From those I can assume that David Mitrany had not yet enjoyed a lobby strong enough to get into this sphere of activity.

This episode important begins to clarify partially the confusion that remains in the literature about the early years of David Mitrany's work.

I do not have any information to witness the presence of David Mitrany in the last team of the British mission. It is worth mentioning here that, in 1918, he continued to be active in London in the League of Nations Society and later in Labour Party's Advisory Committee on International Affairs. None of these comes to confirm a real commitment of Mitrany in a British intelligence service or in a diplomatic one.

From my point of view, the involvement of David Mitrany in the British *intelligence* environment during the First World War was a marginal episode, but later he tried in some moments to place it in a stronger light depending on certain contexts that might have given him the chance to enhance his biography with his connection to some circles of expertise. What motivated his *contribution* to British intelligence was his desire to show his loyalty to Britain, and his work was, in many cases, voluntary and on his own initiative.

This does not diminish the importance of his writings from the perspective of the study of international affairs, in many cases he managed to demonstrate even a well-structured and well-grounded writing.

At the same time, I do not deny his participation in the promotion of a League of Nations project, but it was not coordinated directly by any government department, but by the League of Nations Society, regardless of some human resources that could have been shared with other bodies.

As such, I consider that Mitrany's participation in a series of public conferences to present the advantages of a League of Nations is not likely to support the hypothesis of intelligence activities. So I appreciate fair enough his expression 'drawn into' to describe his initial relationship with the British Intelligence Service.

---

<sup>29</sup> *Ibidem*.

### Writing about Romania during the First World War

Beyond his work on the Functionalist Approach and Marxism and peasants, the Mitrany's list of publications includes some works about Romania, most of which being published during the First World War and the others in the interwar period. For the war period, we retain the following titles:

- (1) *O cauză dreaptă* [A Right Cause] (1915)
- (2) *Rumania: Her History and Politics* (1915)
- (3) *German Penetration in Rumania* (1916)
- (4) *Greater Rumania. A Study in National Ideals* (1917).

In the aftermath of the war, he published three exclusive works about Romania, not taking into consideration those referring to the wider area of South-Eastern Europe:

- (1) *The New Rumanian Constitution* (1924)
- (2) *The Transylvanian Land Dispute* (1928)
- (3) *The Land and the Peasant in Rumania* (1930).

I would not fit these works into intelligence activity for either the Foreign Office or the Romanian Legation in London. Rather, it is about works for which he found, in the UK, an intellectual and political environment interested in the topics covered. I believe that these well-documented works and his activism within the League of Nations Society propelled him to the point he came to be proposed to the British mission team in Romania.

David Mitrany's presence in the environment that provided some reports needed for a coming peace conference can be seen by following the characters he came in contact with: Lucien Wolf and Sir George Prothero, whose common denominator was William Tyrell, the head of the Political Information Department of Foreign Office. The last coordinated the Prothero's group of historians who wrote *Peace Handbooks*.<sup>30</sup>

In the first stage, these experts supported the integrity of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the idea of a Balkan federation. Even David Mitrany published, in 1914, in the *New Romanian Journal*, led by Constantin Rădulescu Motru, an article titled "Towards the European Federation".<sup>31</sup> Subsequently, on the proposal of David Mitrany, Harold W. Temperley, Arnold J. Toynbee and Allen Leeper, the Foreign Office agreed in the summer of 1918 to dismantle the Habsburg Empire. At the end of the same year, the Foreign Office recommended that Transylvania be fully relayed to Romania,

---

<sup>30</sup> Carol Fink, *Defending the Rights of Others: The Great Powers, the Jews, and International Minority Protection; 1878-1938*, Cambridge University Press, 2006, pp. 150-151.

<sup>31</sup> Mihai Alexandrescu, "David Mitrany: From Federalism to Functionalism", *Transylvanian Review* XVI (1), 2007, pp. 20-33.

that the Banat be shared between Serbia and Romania, that Bukovina be divided between Romania and a Ruthenian State, and an international control commission to be set up to oversee Danubian traffic.<sup>32</sup>

In this logic, we can also fit the 1917 paper published by Mitrany with the title *Greater Romania. A Study in National Ideals*. The chapters of this paper gave a clear red thread of the pro-Romanian argument that Mitrany built in his document:

- *The Seed of Rumanian nationality*
- *Hungarian Tyranny*
- *Lese-magyarisme.*

At the end of the work he also provided an ethnic map of Greater Romania. The paper does not contain bibliographic references, thus revealing its informative character, being published in Great Britain by Hodder and Stoughton.

As a result, it can be concluded that during the First World War, David Mitrany was not part of any of the British intelligence services, but he only participated in a campaign to promote Romania's national ideals. It is exaggerated to interpret it as an involvement in the activity of the Romanian Legation in London, regardless of its purpose. Concerning the proximity to the British intelligence environment, it is rather involuntary, unbounded and even accidental. In this case, Mitrany's wording chosen in his memoirs is correct, as he was 'drawn into intelligence work', but not 'employed' or 'activated in'.

### Final Remarks

Literature has maintained some ambiguities in the biography of David Mitrany. Once the fog will dissipate, his life and work will receive a stronger light and will help us to understand better his actual message. I think that Mitrany himself encouraged this confusion of his biography by mixing his role as a journalist with that of a presumed intelligence worker, and sometimes he hinted that he had even a diplomatic activity. The superficial interpretation of James T. Shotwell and Dorothy Anderson has prompted the perpetuation in the literature of a cliché: 'diplomatic and intelligence work' during the First World War.

Finally, I think that two reasons for his actions during the First World War can be identified. Firstly it is the manifestation of loyalty to the host country and then his attachment to the interests of Romania, which he has often presented in an integrating language, so as to increase its potential.

---

<sup>32</sup> Mihai Alexandrescu, *Funcționalismul și Sistemul Internațional: (David Mitrany)*, Cluj-Napoca: Eikon, 2010, p. 62, ff 81.