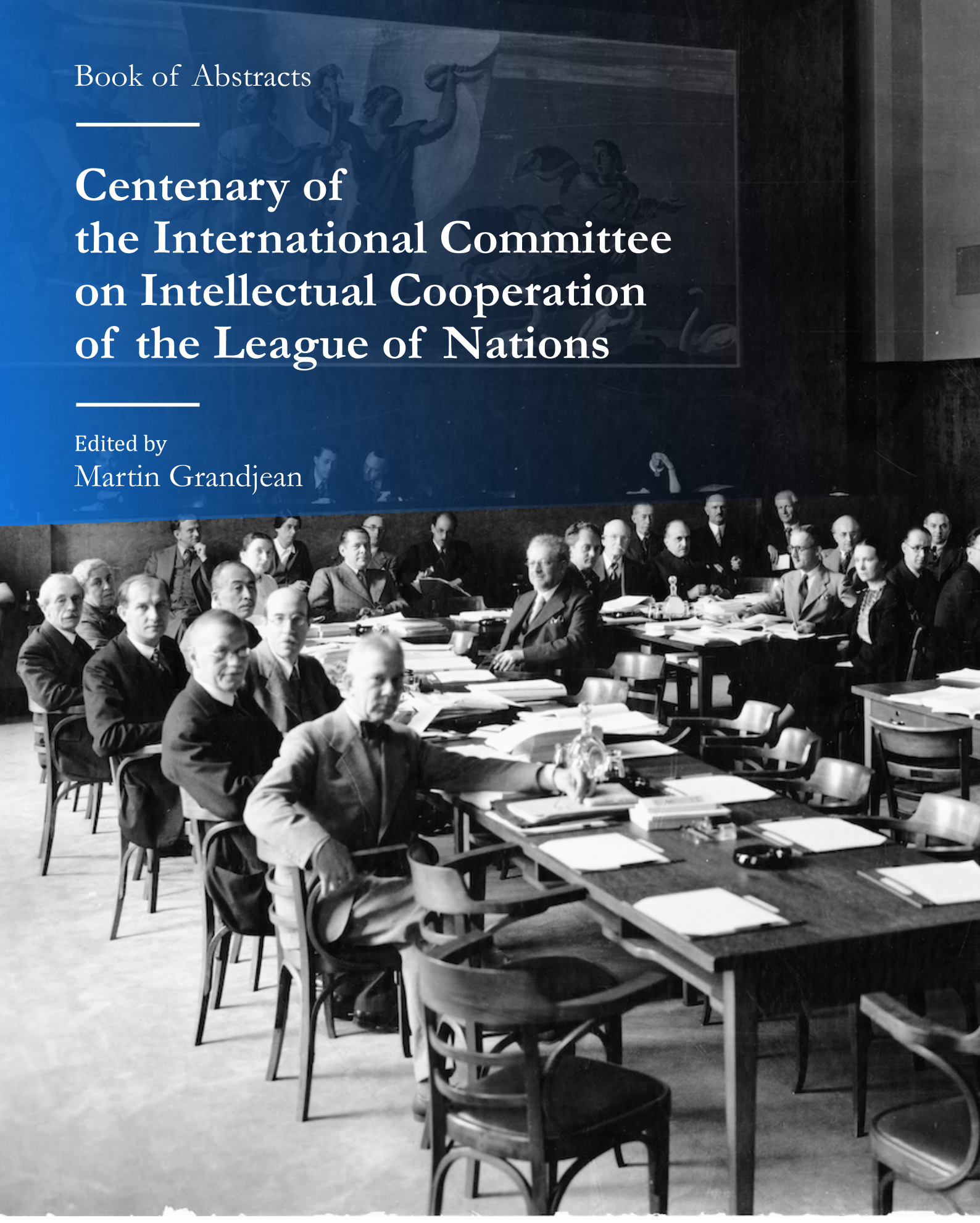
Book of Abstracts

Centenary of the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations

Edited by
Martin Grandjean



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Note

This book of abstracts is a compilation of texts provided by the authors for the Centenary of the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation. The conference took place at the United Nations Library in Geneva on May 12-13, 2022.

The abstracts are listed in order of appearance. The program and the authors' biographies are available at www.intellectualcooperation.org

Each paper can be referred to independently with its respective citation and URL or as a whole:

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Illustration: One of the last meetings of the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, August 1939 at the Palais des Nations. League of Nations Archives, picture CM075 (UNOG Library, Geneva)

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On August 1, 1922, on the shores of Lake Geneva, the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (ICIC) met for the first time in what would later become the "Palais Wilson". Although this was the first time that these twelve international personalities from the sciences and arts, including Henri Bergson, Kristine Bonnevie, Marie Curie-Sklodowska, Albert Einstein, Gilbert Murray, Jules Destrée and George E. Hale, came together, the idea of creating such a coordinating body for intellectual matters predates the founding of the League of Nations and has its origins in the internationalist movements of the late 19th century. What would later be considered by its actors as an attempt to build a "General Republic of Intelligence"[1] or a "League of the Minds",[2] was just one element of the vast diplomatic and bureaucratic machine that was set up at the end of the Great War to try to pacify Europe and create a new world order based on multilateral cooperation.

But the idea of intellectual cooperation nonetheless inspired the work of bodies and institutions that operated for nearly 20 years, trying to find their place and define their missions in a rapidly changing context. From a consultative committee, it quickly grew to become a real center of activity with the founding of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC) in Paris in 1926 and other third-party structures like the International Educational Cinematographic Institute (Rome, 1928). Not without generating some tensions with the League of Nations at the turn of the 1930s, this institutionalization led to intellectual cooperation gradually becoming independent from the League's Secretariat. Although the Second World War interrupted the transformation of the Committee and the Institute into a full-fledged international organisation, UNESCO would resume and expand the activity in this field at the end of the conflict.

The centenary of the creation of the ICIC is an opportunity for historians to step back and examine the achievements but also the limitations of this enterprise, its lack of diversity and cultural representativeness. In recent years, there has been a renewed interest in this field of research (see bibliography), in parallel with a renewed interest in the League of Nations as a whole, in a context of doubts about the capacity of multilateral institutions. Without attempting to cover all the areas that remain to be studied in relation to intellectual cooperation and soft power diplomacy in the interwar period, such an event therefore seems to be a useful place of exchange at the crossroads between the archives, teaching and research communities. To do this, the scientific committee invites participants to reflect in particular on the renewal of our methods: whether it is about new approaches or the use of innovative digital tools, the aim of this conference is not only to look at the past but also to inspire future research.

[1] Julien Luchaire, Discourse, Jan 16, 1926, UN Archives Geneva, 13C/37637/48765, p.5.

[2] Paul Valéry, Report to the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters, July 21, 1930, League of Nations document C.428.M.192.1930.XII p.108 (UN Archives Geneva).

Intellectual Cooperation, a Short Historiographical Overview

Introduction to the conference

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Grandjean Martin. 2022. "Intellectual Cooperation, a Short Historiographical Overview". *Centenary of the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations*. Geneva, 7-12. https://intellectualcooperation.org/grandjean-2022

Intellectual cooperation? As an introduction to the centenary conference of the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (ICIC) of the League of Nations (LoN), writing a new definition of this well debated concept would be a bit disrespectful of this century of work around the Leagues's involvement in scientific and cultural issues. Basically, either we take up the vocabulary of the institution and the question of definition is quickly answered, or we embark on an enterprise whose scope is beyond such an introduction and mostly redundant with the rich existing literature. As an opening of this centenary event, and to leave room for the contributions of the conference participants who will all respond in their own way, let us ask ourselves the question of how to establish such a definition? The question is therefore not so much the content of the definition as the conditions of possibility of such a definition.

Indeed, the prestigious experts who met for the first time in a Geneva meeting room in August 1922 do not know precisely what the ICIC consist of. The League of Nations is itself a very recent institution and the debates that led to the creation of the Committee were far from unanimous. To add to the possible confusion, the administrative terminology is no clearer than the more political diatribes the LoN Assembly has witnessed in previous years on this subject, especially around Léon Bourgeois' resolution. How to establish a precise definition when for 20 years this term has been systematically used to avoid giving details about this field of activity of the League of Nations?

In a somehow underrated 1922 note summarizing most of the issues of the new Committee to General Secretary Eric Drummond, Under Secretary General Inazo Nitobe admits that the Secretariat's communication strategy is to use the term "intellectual cooperation" to avoid confusion. To avoid that people think that the ICIC is interested in the rights of intellectual workers, and to avoid the League of Nations involvement in educational questions, which are too sensitive in national contexts. Basically, it is a "negative" definition, which says everything that intellectual cooperation is not, but which uses relatively impenetrable terms:

> In French the term 'Organisation internationale du Travail intellectuel' was consistently used; but in English this Committee has been called by various names, giving rise to a good deal of misunderstanding. In the Assembly resolution the term 'International Organisation (sometimes 'Coordination') of Intellectual Work' was used [...]. It naturally led to a mistaken idea that the object of the Committee was to start an organisation something like the International Labour Office for intellectuals [...]. Then it was also believed by outsiders that the Committee would deal with questions of education, and hence terms such as 'Committee on International Education', 'Intellectual Intercourse and Education', and 'Intellectual Development Committee' were used by correspondents. We thought that the title 'Intellectual Cooperation' would do away with these misconceptions [...] so we persistently used this in our correspondence.[3]

Despite the precautions of the Secretariat, this lack of definition will cause many problems and misunderstandings. But in the end this strategy works quite well in that it establishes a kind of very encompassing definition, whose lack of clarity makes it a kind of "big tent" likely to suit everyone since

[3] Nitobe, Inazo, 'Observations on the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation', 18 August 1922, p. 1. League of Nations Archives (UNOG Library) R1031/13/22652/14297. Online: https://archives.ungeneva.org/committee-on-international-cooperation-in-intellectual-work-dr-nitobe-transmits-observations-on-the-constitution-and-work-of-this-committee

everyone understands what suits them. Of course, more precise definitions were formulated at the time of the League of Nations, but they are so often included in pompous declarations in public events or publications that they lend themselves more to an analysis of the discourse than to a real discussion of the substance.

It is therefore mainly by observing the activity of the Committee, and then of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC) opened in 1926 in Paris, that we can deduce this definition. And this is obviously the task to which many historians have devoted themselves in recent years. One of the ambitions of this centenary event is to bring together those who are writing the history of intellectual cooperation today. To make this small community concrete, to make it aware of itself. But if the goal is indeed to meet, to review our findings and to coordinate our future efforts, it is also to take a moment to appreciate the work that has been done. All this is because the definition of intellectual cooperation lies precisely in the collection of all this individual research.

Compiling most of the publications on the subject, based on the references cited by the current literature and the main academic search engines, is a way to grasp the size, evolution, and diversity of the intellectual cooperation studies (fig. 1). The limits of such an initiative are obvious (non-Western languages, old publications poorly referenced or unavailable, etc.), but by cross-referencing the citations of each publication, it is possible to establish a relatively coherent corpus. Doing this exercise also logically means questioning the definition of intellectual cooperation. Indeed, the ICIC actors make a rather systematic use of the term "intellectual cooperation", so it is relatively easy to look for publications that cite this notion, but should we stop there?

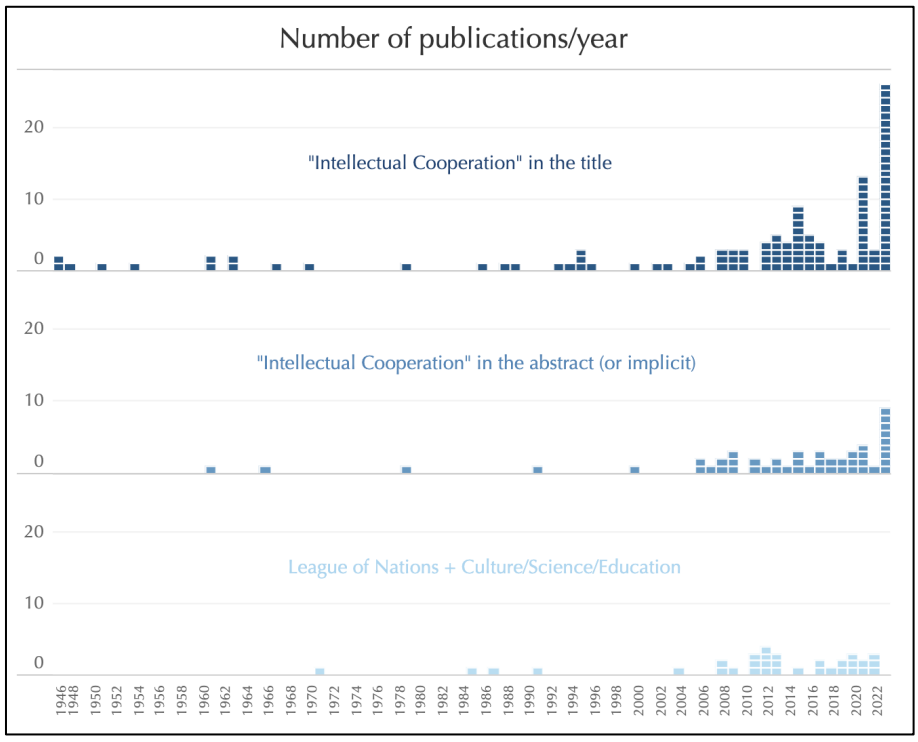

Fig. 1 Number of publications per year since the end of WW2[4]. Statistics from the Intellectual Cooperation Bibliography.[5]

To stay within the scope of intellectual cooperation, we do not include the thousands of publications in the history of international relations, history of science, history of education, intellectual history concerning the 1920s and 1930s. A publication is included only if it mentions intellectual cooperation in its title or summary, makes an implicit reference to it (for example by citing a project carried out within the framework of the

[4] We have voluntarily included the 2022 conference papers in this data (the last bar on the right). Of course, these communications are probably less important than journal articles and monographs, but when we are interested in the impact of publications we are sometimes surprised at the short- and medium-term influence of shorter forms of publication.

[5] More visualizations are available at https://intellectualcooperation.org/stats as well as links to interactive versions.

committee without naming intellectual cooperation itself), or deals with the relationship between the League of Nations and the scientific, educational and cultural fields.

This is a work-in-progress, but the result is striking: among the 200 publications that make up the core of this list, three quarters were published less than 20 years ago.[6] And given the number of colleagues who have responded to the call for papers of this conference, this trend does not seem to be diminishing. This purely quantitative statistic is pleasing for the dynamism of the field, but is this increase a guarantee of greater diversity in the subjects and approaches? This book of abstracts certainly proves it.

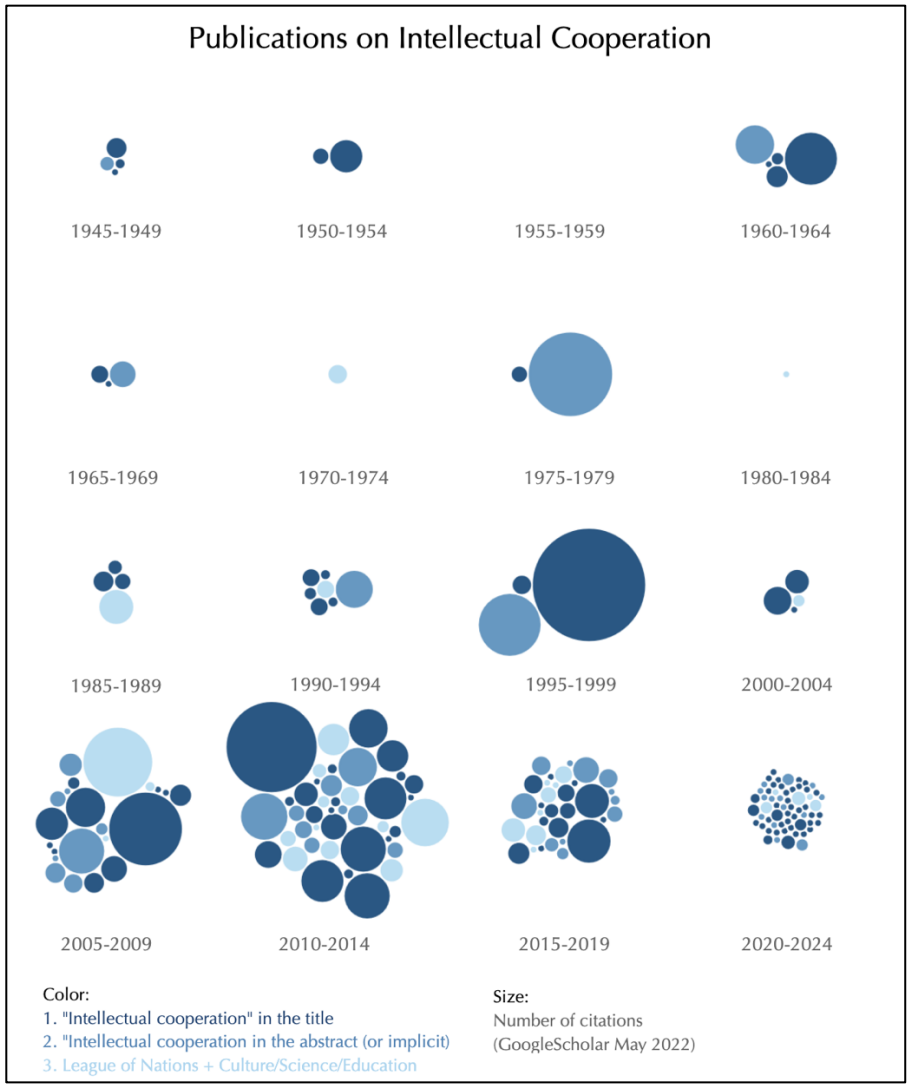

Fig. 2 Number of Google Scholar citations (May 2022) of the publications listed in the Intellectual Cooperation Bibliography.[7] Max value = 225.

Beyond the simple quantity, the impact of these publications can be imperfectly assessed by looking at their citations. These books and articles are more than pure information, they are also links to other publications. A network of influences that could be reconstituted to try to understand the different working communities around intellectual cooperation, the different generations, the different schools, the different archives used.

[6] The time bias is obvious: the older a publication is, the more likely it is to be forgotten or not cited. But this effect is marginal compared to the overall trend.

[7] More visualizations are available at https://intellectualcooperation.org/stats as well as links to interactive versions with paper identification for each circle.

Fig. 2 shows the publications on intellectual cooperation by periods of 5 years. The size of the circles gives an idea of the current impact of these texts (number of Google Scholar citations). It is only one form of influence measurement among others. In a further study, the objective would be to measure only citations between publications that are part of the corpus and to focus on structure rather than quantity.

The biases of such a measurement are obvious, it above all gives a view of what is cited today (since it is recent publications that are indexed and whose references are analyzed). But it helps to remember that while the quantity increases over time, it does not always mean that recent publications replace old ones, which sometimes reinforce their "absolute reference" status over time. Basically, this graph shows a slightly different situation from Fig. 1. There is indeed a limited but very real number of clearly important publications before the 2000s. And on the other side, recent publications are numerous, but logically relatively little used, at least for now.

Without commenting on the intrinsic quality of all these publications, a few milestones seem to stand out. All are very different in their type (chapter, monographs or journal article), just as they differ in their approach and their role for our research community. They represent very distinct historiographical periods:

- The first monographic works in the 1950s and 1960s (Northedge 1953; Kolasa 1962; Pham 1962).
- The political history of science and intellectuals in the 1970s (Schroeder-Gudehus 1978).
- The rediscovery of the Institute's archives and their articulation with the history of French diplomacy in the 1990s (Renoliet 1999).
- The time of transnational analyzes and the explosion of interest around the League of Nations and intellectual cooperation in the 2010s (Laqua 2011b).[8]

But this is the history of intellectual cooperation written yesterday. This literature will continue to accompany our research community and bear fruit, but to continue our quest for a way to define intellectual cooperation, let us look at the history being written today, in this book of abstracts. And to introduce us to all the papers presented hereafter, let's leave the final word to Gonzague de Reynold, one of the only two members of the ICIC (with Gilbert Murray) to have been a member during its entire activity. In his 1937 report to the gathering of the national committees on intellectual cooperation, concerned about the future of the League, he writes:

> I have seen intellectual co-operation born, I have followed all its steps since the first minute of the first hour of the first day. I know its past, but I cannot predict its future. Its present organisation is doubtless only a stage. What will happen to it later? It is possible that in the future historians will see intellectual co-operation as the basis of a new civilisation. It is also possible that this attempt will be recorded as a failure and that it will be forgotten because of its insignificance. Who can say now what part of all we have undertaken will be fruitful or sterile? But we are not responsible for the results: we are responsible only for making the attempt. Let us make it.[9]

So, what do today's historians say?

[8] Other most cited publications (>20 citations) include Smith and Toynbee (1960), Schroeder-Gudehus (1986), Bekri (1990), Taillibert (1999), Canales (2005), Druick (2007), Fuchs (2007), Dumont (2008), Herrera Leon (2009), Löhr (2010), Riemens (2011), Wilson (2011), Goodman (2012), Pemberton (2012), Pernet (2014), Laqua (2011a), Grandjean (2014), Pita Gonzalez (2014), Grandjean (2017), Grandjean (2018).

[9] De Reynold, Gonzague, 'Function of Intellectual Co-operation in the Organisation of the Contemporary World', Report submitted to the Second General Conference of the National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation, Paris, July 1937, League of Nations Archives (UNOG Library) C.530.M.369.1937.XII, p. 59.

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European cultural diplomacies and the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (ICIC)

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Faucher Charlotte. 2022. "European cultural diplomacies and the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (ICIC)". *Centenary of the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations*. Geneva, 13-14. https://intellectualcooperation.org/faucher-2022

The paper explores the role and influence of the ICIC on the content and practices of the cultural diplomacy of Western European countries during the interwar period.

After the armistice, diplomats and intellectuals in Germany and France, and to a lesser extent in Britain, engaged in debates about how to adapt wartime propaganda to the peace time. Many agreed that the propaganda offices that had opened during the First World War were unsuitable for the peace time. Yet, they refused to relinquish some of the strategies that they had used to promote benevolent images of their nations among allied or neutral countries. Largely as a result of these discussions, cultural diplomatic offices opened within the ministries of foreign affairs in France (Service des Oeuvres françaises à l'étranger [SOFE] in 1920), Germany (Akademischer Austauschdienst in 1924), Italy, and Spain and the USSR (Martin and Chaubet 2011, 87). These offices further institutionalised and formalised practices and policies that had emerged in the nineteenth century and had been bolstered by practices of the 'civilising mission' in imperial contexts, and cultural propaganda during the First World War (Chaubet 2006).

The role of different members of the ICIC and their national agenda in shaping the ICIC has been discussed in the scholarship. Daniel Laqua has showed how the intellectuals who subscribed to the internationalism of the ICIC and busied themselves with transnational issues were 'actually conforming to national categories' and were trying to negotiate a path that overlapped national and transnational or international projects (Laqua 2011b, 53). Not only were members of the ICIC thinking within national frameworks, but they also aimed to upheld the prestige and influence of their nation of origin with the ICIC and the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC) (Scholz 1994). In particular, French academic Julien Luchaire sought to establish France as the leader in the field of international intellectual relations by supporting the creation of the IICI. France was certainly not the only nation that hoped to improve its cultural assets through contribution to the ICIC. For example, Italy championed the opening of the International Educational Cinematographic Institute (IECI in existence between 1928 and 1937) which rapidly acquired a fascist character (Druick 2007, 83).

Some of the members of the ICIC and IIIC had had previous dealings with the cultural diplomatic strategies of their countries. Marie Curie-Skłodowska had been invited to lecture at the French cultural institute in London in the 1920s (Fonds Pierre et Marie Curie NAF 18462 XCVIII Sabatier Société d'encouragement, F 49-52). Julien Luchaire occupied a position at the Ministry of Public Instruction, and as a young lecturer in Italian at the University of Grenoble in the early 1900s, he had founded the first French cultural institute abroad (in Florence) in 1907 (Renard 2001). His knowledge of and networks within French cultural diplomacy were well developed and predated his involvement in cultural internationalism. Henry de Jouvenel, who dealt with the ICIC because of his role in the Confédération des Travailleurs Intellectuels and was a rapporteur for the Commission, was also active in the Association Française d'Echanges Artistiques (a close support of the SOFE). Moreover, themes discussed within the ICIC and the IIIC, including linguistic policy and academic exchanges, overlapped the very areas in which national cultural diplomatic offices were meant to intervene.

This paper examines how the ICIC influenced discussion over the content and methods of national cultural diplomacy in France, Britain and Germany and how the governments of these countries considered the ICIC and connected institutions in relation to their own cultural diplomacy. In other words, this paper aims to assess how intellectual cooperation in the interwar years impacted, if at all, the making and development of state-led cultural diplomacy in Western Europe. In addition, it is concerned with how civil servants and diplomats in charge of academic and cultural diplomacy considered the ICIC.

To address these questions, my work builds on the literature that has taken institutional and diplomatic approaches to study cultural internationalism (Renoliet 1999; 2020). In addition the works of Daniel Laqua but also the publications by Benjamin Martin on cultural treaties are particularly central (B. G. Martin 2021; Laqua 2011b; 2011a). This secondary literature is combined with an analysis of the archives of the ICIC national committees in La Courneuve, France, Berlin, Germany and the national archives in Kew, Britain as well as the private papers and memoires of their key members (such as Gilbert Murray whose archives are deposited at the University of Oxford). Minutes and reports of the sessions of the ICIC digitised through the UN archives are crossed with an analysis of the archives of offices for cultural diplomacy in the ministries of foreign affairs in these three countries. In terms of methodology, the paper is concerned with policy and lexical analysis to trace evidence of the influence of internationalist thought and of the 'internationalist-nationalist' dialectic (D. Laqua) on the making of state-led cultural diplomacy.

The proposed paper is part of my new book-length project supported by the British Academy and the European Research Executive Agency (REA). This research looks at the institutionalisation of cultural diplomacy in a transnational and comparative perspective at a time when, in the late 19th and early 20th century, it became increasingly important for states and citizens to project a benevolent image of their nations abroad. Cultural diplomacy encompassed vehicles of culture such as literature, exhibitions, world fairs alongside cultural and academic institutions. The central question of the project will be, 'how and when did cultural diplomacy emerge in Europe, and how can integrating this aspect of diplomacy help us rethink our definition of foreign affairs?'

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N. Politis (1872–1942), a "governments' intellectual': the promotion of the idea of intellectual cooperation as a basis for world peace

Marilena Papadaki

Papadaki Marilena. 2022. "N. Politis (1872-1942), a "governments' intellectual': the promotion of the idea of intellectual cooperation as a basis for world peace". *Centenary of the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations*. Geneva, 15-16.
https://intellectualcooperation.org/papadaki-2022

Nicolas Politis (1872-1942) played a major role in the socio-political scene of his time, not only as a French academic and theorist of international law, but also as a Greek diplomat and politician. He simultaneously drew on all areas of his acknowledged competence and in doing so, he intervened at three levels of action, that of France, Greece and new international institutions in The Hague, Paris, Geneva and United States of America. His sociological-based international law doctrine sought a reconciliation of individual liberty with social justice and had as its main element "social solidarity" which could be developed through "social conscience", a concept firstly introduced by the French constitutionalist Léon Duguit. This idea was at the basis of his activity, within the framework of the League of Nations, to create a system of collective security that could prevent one national group from dominating another through warfare. Politis strongly believed in the power of international cooperation and the basic role the international elites had in order to to inform and introduce people of all countries to a new culture of peace and collaboration.[10] As one of the most fervent supporters of the "spirit of Geneva", he gave innumerable speeches in front of various groups of interest (including in front of the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation), supporting LON's role in the establishment of a new international order based on peace and legality. Among the best-known academic societies of the post-war period, in which Politis developed considerable activity, were the Institute of International Law, the International Juridical Union of Paris, the Institut des Hautes Études Internationales of Geneva, the École des Hautes Études Internationales of Paris and others. He was also a founder member and later President of the Hague Academy of International law, financed by the Carnegie Endowment as a graduate school that brought together every summer specialists in international law from all continents.

Politis encouraged the construction of an international network of people that would work for a common goal: "create peace" by organizing meetings of statesmen and scientists, literary, artistic and press conferences, teacher-student exchanges and university trips. He even encouraged church networking in order to promote international peace. He considered that the question of peace had to be taken out of pure ideology and placed on the solid ground of scientific documentation: "The problem of peace", he stated "is in the last analysis only a question of education."[11] For him, the notion of international spirit, the counterpart of the notion of absolute state sovereignty, had to be sought in all countries and at all levels of education, in schools, colleges, universities and had to be achieved by all means of intellectual training.[12] According to Politis, the Paris Pact of 1928, wishing to "outlaw war" would never have any practical value other than that which public opinion would attribute to it. It would therefore be essential to introduce the public opinion of all countries to the importance of the peaceful settlement of international disputes. In addition, Politis argued that it was necessary to promote the collaboration of all the major institutions that worked for the organization and maintenance of peace, notably the League of Nations, the Pan- American

[10] Jacques, Politis, *L'avenir de l'Europe*, Neuchâtel 1946, p. 129-131.

[11] APNP, 211/21, Manuel général de l'Instruction primaire, 16 avril 1927, n° 30, Nicolas, Politis, « La Dotation Carnegie », p. 546.

[12] APNP, 211/21, « Inauguration de l'École des Hautes Études Internationales, Discours de François Albert, Louis Loucheur, Nicolas Politis, Arthur Fontaine, Étienne Fournel, Julien Luchaire », Extrait de la *Revue Internationale de Sociologie*, 1925, p. 10.

Union, the PCIJ, as well as to encourage States, even outside these institutions, to become truly aware of their international duties.[13]

During the XIII Assembly of the League of Nations, chaired by Politis, the education of public opinion in international affairs and international cooperation was the central topic of the debates and led to a series of decisions, including the establishment of a radiotelegraph station to broadcast weekly news in several languages on the work of the League and its results. The Assembly paid tribute to the International Union of Associations for the LON for its efforts to educate public opinion and diffuse the idea of an "international spirit". It also called the attention of governments to an enquiry into the preparation of a special education training program to support LON and accepted a draft convention on the international circulation of educational files. Finally, the Committee of Intellectual Cooperation was demanded to study methods of enabling the international press collaboration in order to develop a better mutual understanding between nations, and thus contribute to the organization of world peace.[14]

When Politis was Greek Ambassador in Paris, the idea of bringing the elites together to achieve the ideal of world peace found its expression in the preparation and expansion in France, of a Delphic festival, an initiative of the Greek poet Angelos Sikelianos and his wife, Eva Palmer. These were athletic and theatrical events held in the very places where the ancient Amphictyonic League was located. According to the founders, the aim was to transmit morals, customs, concepts and institutions through the communication of international elites. Politis supported the promotion of the Delphic idea by taking advantage of its prestige within the Institute for Intellectual Cooperation and the Carnegie Endowment. As ambassador, he also strongly supported the project of creating the Cité Universitaire of Paris who would facilitate the circulation and communication of international youth and was also the founder of the Greek home in it.

The main lines of Politis socio-political engagement over the course of his life are linked to a new type of intellectual, the "governments' intellectual", who appeared on the international scene at the beginning of the 20th century. This type of intellectuals were often reformists who did not believe that one could improve the condition of people's lives by force or by overturning the social order. "Governments' intellectuals" promoted the debate and reasoned arguments and sought to make themselves useful by drawing upon their academic skills to inform opinion and guide the actions of statesmen. Most often, they were scholars involved in already existing international political or scholarly institutions or the new bodies created in the years immediately preceding and following World War I. Independent academic actors accredited by various states as diplomats, experts, arbitrators, and even political representatives, the multiple competences of "governments' intellectuals" gave them the resources to accomplish their goal: to strengthen the relations between the elites in orders to draw the scholarly and political worlds closer together. During the interwar years, they even attempted to persuade policymakers that scientific expertise could be an effective tool in the service of international government. Their conferences, international scholarly institutions, and the reviews they founded or to which they contributed to were conceived as bridges responsible for ensuring the circulation of elites and ideas at the international level.

[13] APNP, 217/48, Lettre de Politis à R. Broda, League for the Organization of Progress.

[14] APNP, 222/82, Discours de clôture de l'Assemblée de Politis.

Mobilising international public opinion: Moral disarmament as the public diplomacy of the League of Nations

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> The League will never be a great success until there is formed as its main support a powerful international public opinion (Smuts 1918)

As part of their attempt to create stability after the First World War, the liberal internationalists drafting the League of Nations' Covenant wanted to mobilise the 'moral force' of the international public. They argued that, if educated and informed properly, the rational, war-averse public would understand the importance of a peaceful world order based on international cooperation and hold their governments accountable (Cohrs 2006, 30-35; Wertheim, 2019). Mobilising the public was therefore one of the major tasks lined up for the League. In my work, based on the research I have done for my thesis, I show that both the League's International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (ICIC) and the Information Section (IS) became important actors in this process. While promoting what became known as 'moral disarmament', Secretariat officials did not only try to encourage international cooperation, but also made clear that a stable world order would only be achieved with the League managing international relations in the right direction.

While the concept of moral disarmament fell under the activities of the ICIC, there was a clear overlap with the work of the IS. Secretariat officials saw journalists, for instance, as important actors in achieving moral disarmament. Historian Heidi Tworek describes how the Secretariat initiated discussions on how the press could contribute to the achievement of a stable world order. In preparation of a conference of press experts organised in 1933, the League called for proposals on how to stop the 'spread of false information which may threaten to disturb the peace or the good understanding between nations' (Tworek 2010, 24) Similarly, David Goodman discusses how in the later 1930s attempts were made to create a 'Convention on Broadcasting in the Cause of Peace' in order to prohibit the broadcasting of 'hostile speech and false claims' (Goodman 2020, 165). In my research I show that, apart from pushing for protocols and regulation, League officials also conducted an active lobby for the international organisation. IS officials stayed in close contact with individuals they considered opinion-shapers. They travelled around the world to lecture about the League and created information offices in some member states. In the reports they wrote, the officials captured the state of public opinion on the League and described what they did to improve it. In my thesis I argue that their efforts and the cooperation with the League of Nations' societies, set up by civil society actors, can be considered as the public diplomacy of the League.

To demonstrate the practical efforts of the ICIC and IS in the field of moral disarmament I will focus on their related activities in educational programs. Education was one of the focus points of the ICIC. Historians as Ken Osbourne have shown how the committee urged national governments to revise textbooks in order to create a more 'international mind' (Osborne 2016). The ICIC's executive organ, the International Institute for Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC) in Paris facilitated university exchanges by collecting and publishing all available exchange programs and funding opportunities (IIIC 1929). The ICIC encouraged travelling and saw it as part of the road to moral disarmament. In the long term, cultural exchanges would strengthen the respect between nations: 'A young man from one country who has travelled under normal conditions to another, and has had genuine contacts with his contemporaries there, seldom fails to bring back sound ideas about that country, and often develops a keen appreciation of its merits' (League of Nations Secretariat 1938, 150).

IS officials saw the importance of targeting the youth as well, in order to shape a new generation that understood the importance of the League. IS official Gabrielle Radziwill phrased it somewhat cunningly in 1923: 'La jeunesse d'aujourd'hui c'est la opinion publique de demain; c'est dans beaucoup de cas le gouvernements de demain' (Radziwill 1923). Together with the ICIC and the League of Nations societies

set up by civil society actors in member states, the IS coordinated some educational programs. For the ICIC, the summer school was a perfect activity in which students from different nations would learn about each other's cultures. As with the university exchanges, the IIIC gathered information on all summer schools taking place throughout Europe and published a comprehensive list (IIIC 1928).

Especially interesting for this paper are the summer schools taking place in Geneva, where national League societies cooperated with the Secretariat. The national societies saw the organisation of these summer schools in Geneva as a good opportunity to educate school children on the importance of international cooperation. The most influential of these societies, the British League of Nations Union (LNU) held a first summer school in 1923 and attracted most people in 1937, when 350 school children from notable public schools travelled to Geneva (McCarthy 2015, 114). The overarching International Federation of League of Nations Societies (IFLNS) started with similar summer schools in 1927 and offered parallel programs in English, French and German for students coming to Geneva (IFLNS, 1932). The Secretariat opened their premises to these summer schools and the list of speakers contained high League officials. Secretariat directors often described the activities of their own section.

I will discuss how these summer schools fit in the strategy of the League's IS. The section had a limited mandate to operate but cooperated with the League societies to improve the image of the international organisation. From the perspective of the IS and the ICIC, the summer schools in Geneva were an opportunity to target the school children and students. Some of the programs of these events contained specific sessions on moral disarmament, but the summer schools themselves were also clear examples of how the League tried to achieve it. For a week or two, the League societies and the Secretariat had the opportunity to shape the international mind amongst the 'public opinion of tomorrow' at the headquarters in Geneva.

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In the engine room of intellectual cooperation. A prosographic approach to the civil servants of the *Institut international de coopération intellectuelle* in Paris

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In 1926 the Weimar Republic finally joined the League of Nations; after some quarrels before the official invitation – and the acceptance by the German officials – Germany took its seat in the general assembly and the council of the Genovese institution. But the year 1926 did not only mark the time when Germany was allowed to take part in the political works of the League of Nations; from now on (and even a little bit earlier to pave the way for full participation of the new member) German citizens could also become member of the regular staff of the League of Nations' secretariat – and of the International Institute for Intellectual Cooperation in Paris, too.

The first one chosen for a post in Paris was the well-known social scientist Gerhard von Schulze Gaevernitz, a senior professor with close relationships especially to England. He started his work in Paris late in spring 1925, wrote in his diary that he started getting in contact with French officials – and that he left the Institute one and a half year later:

> "Am Institut überwiegend Menschen empfangen, internationale Beziehungen vermittelt, insb. Zwischen Deutschland und Frankreich – konnte manchen Menschen nützlich werden – aber gab die Stellung im Spätherbst auf, welche meine wissenschaftliche u. erzieherische Lebensaufgabe kreuzte."[15]

After Schulze Gaevernitz had left the institute for good its director Julien Luchaire together with the German foreign ministry began to look for an substitute.

> „Herr Luchaire bat um meine Vermittlung bei der Beschaffung eines deutschen Nachfolgers für Schulze-Gaevernitzs. Es würde entweder ein in wissenschaftlichen Kreisen bewanderter Verwaltungsbeamter oder, was im deutschen Interesse vorzuziehen wäre, ein jüngerer Wissenschaftler mit Verwaltungsgeschick in Frage kommen. Die äußeren Bedingungen sind ungünstig (50 000franz. Franken Jahresgehalt). Es wird nötig sein, deutscherseits etwas zu diesem Einkommen beizutragen, wenn wir eine tüchtige Kraft stellen wollen."[16]

In the end the German side sent Werner Picht to Paris, an expert for adult education with close connections to the Prussian minister of education and a member of the vast George circle which had quite an impact in Germany in the interwar years. Shortly after Picht another German – Margarethe Rothbarth – was sent to

[15] „At the institute mainly received people, conveyed international relations, especially between Germany and France – could become important for some people – but gave up the post late in fall, because of my scientific and pedagogical life goal." Gerhard von Schulze Gaevernitz. Lebenschronik 1925/26. Nachlass Schulze-Gaevernitz: Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung für die Freiheit. Archiv des Liberalismus

[16] „Mister Luchaire asked for my advice to choose a German successor for Schulze-Gaevernitz. Either an official with close ties to the scientific community or, and that would be preferred in the German interest, a younger scientist with administrative abilities could be useful. The conditions are rather unattractive (50 000 Franc per year). The German side must add something to this amount of money to be able to find a capable person." Brief Soehring an Staatssekretär a.D. von Rheinbaben, Ministerialdirektor Schäffer u. Legationsrat von Bülow 17. September 1926. In: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts R 65508 Das Internationale Institut für geistige Zusammenarbeit in Paris.

Paris as well; she was an historian by training and part of the other influential intellectual circle of the time (the Naumann-Kreis).

The switch from a well-known researcher at the end of his career (Schulze Gaevernitz) to young academically trained experts (Picht) is just one example to highlight the recruiting policy of the Institute. But it gives a hint towards the competences and qualities that a member of the institute should own. In my paper I focus on the civil servants who worked at the International Institute for Intellectual Cooperation in Paris: Who applied for a post at this institute? What was his or her career path before he or she tried to become a member of the Institute? Which role did the national states play to find suitable candidates for the vacant position – and what did 'suitable' mean in certain cases (and suitable for whom; for the League of Nations, for the government?) Who got rejected (and if one can answer this question – with which reasons)? Who got hired? Where did people go after their contracts ended?

For answering these questions, I want to use mainly the personnel records of the International Institute for Intellectual Cooperation. My aim is therefore not to concentrate (again) on the big names of intellectual cooperation in the 1920s and 1930s – like Einstein, Curie, Valéry, Thomas Mann, Bergson etc. – but to shed light on the prosography of those people who did all the administrative work and earned their living through the daily routine of intellectual cooperation and became part of a – surely – French dominated but nevertheless international working environment. A closer look in – as I would like to call it – the "engine room" of intellectual cooperation will lead to a better understanding of what intellectual cooperation meant in that months and weeks when no congress took place, no committee meeting was scheduled, and no lecture series had to be organized.

Transnational actors are therefore used as "Trojan horses" to get a better insight into transnational processes of intellectual cooperation. By looking at the officials at the Institute and by taking serious their acting on "different social arenas and networks" and their "multiple roles […] on different spatial scales"[17] we will get a fine-tuned understanding of how an institution like the Institute worked, where its problems lay and in which areas it worked rather successfully.

[17] Antje Dietze u. Katja Naumann, Revisiting Transnational Actors from a Spatial Perspective, in: The International History Review 25 (2018), H. 3/4, p. 415-430.

A League of Minds with a Heart: Intellectual Cooperation and Emotions in the Interwar Period and Beyond

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In the introduction to an "Open Letter" entitled "A League of Minds," published by the Institute of Intellectual Cooperation in 1933, philosopher Paul Valéry and art historian Henri Focillon explained that if perpetual peace were to ever to become a reality, then a "fundamental agreement" among people of learning in different countries needed to be reached (Valéry and Focillon 1933, 13). As true "intellectual combatants," they were to march toward the "moral conquest of public opinion," lift up the "spirit of the masses," and ultimately win the fight for peace (Kolasa 1962, 42–3). Against this backdrop, emotions emerged as a central feature of intellectual cooperation in the interwar period and beyond. Members of various committees and sub-committees involved in the League's intellectual cooperation—and/or in bodies associated with it—evoked emotions both in official documents and in the other textual and visual materials they produced. They crafted notions such as "international agreement" or "friendship" as the stated goal of their activities, and they outlined concrete steps to achieve it.

As a result, interwar intellectual cooperation turned into the crafting of a distinct "emotional style" that used feelings both to denounce inequities and to argue for a peaceful way forward. Having pledged to remain "apolitical," the intellectuals involved in cooperation would not interfere with nation-states but would instead strengthen the connections that they had with one another. This aspect is particularly important if one takes into account that the "League of Minds" was not confined to Europe but was meant to include the entire world. The breadth of the League's scope was proudly displayed on the cover of the aforementioned 1934 "Open Letter" edited by Valéry and Focillon. Front and centre was a list of contributors comprised of men from different nationalities: next to the two Frenchmen were not only other Europeans like Spanish writer Salvador de Madariaga and British classical scholar Gilbert Murray but also representatives from other parts of the world such as the Brazilian physician Miguel Ozorio de Almeyda, the Mexican writer, philosopher, and diplomat Alfonso Reyes, and the Chinese educator and founder of the Chinese Academy of Sciences (a.k.a. *Academia Sinica*) Cai Yuanpei. In an open letter to Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore, who was also involved in this work, Gilbert Murray explained that great promise lay in "a certain germ of mutual sympathy" that might sprout among "people of goodwill or good intelligence" from different countries around the world, and advocated for using art and literature as a means to bring them about (Murray and Tagore 1935, 20). In his reply to Murray's letter, Tagore did not try to hide his scepticism: "I must confess at once that I do not see any solution of the intricate evils of disharmonious relationship between nations, nor can I point out any path which may lead us immediately to the levels of sanity" (Murray and Tagore 1935, 32). He too adopted an emotional rhetoric and the description of physical, embodied experiences to make his point: "We have seen Europe cruelly unscrupulous in its politics and commerce, widely spreading slavery over the face of the earth in various names and forms" to the point that "our spirit sickens at it" (Murray and Tagore 1935, 40–1; 44). The effects of such nefarious policies had been devastating to the point that now "Asia is preparing to imitate the ruthless aspect which slays, which eats raw flesh, which tries to make the swallowing process easier by putting the blame on the victim" (Murray and Tagore 1935, 46–7). Yet, despite the strength of these words, Tagore was far from being altogether dismissive of Gilbert Murray's arguments. Instead, he sent his British friend a message of hope and of faith "in the ultimate truths of humanity" that they both shared. He also expressed his commitment to "meeting in mutual understanding and trust in the common field of cooperation; never for nourishing a spirit of rejection, but for the glad acceptance which constantly carries in itself the giving out of the best we have" (Murray and Tagore 1935, 67). Emotions such hope, faith, and trust made its way into his rhetoric and shaped his framing of the questions on hand.

The passionate involvement of prominent non-European intellectuals such as Tagore was not enough to make the "League of Minds" a body that would embrace the entire world but might explain the resilience of intellectual cooperation in the twentieth century and beyond. To be sure, as many authors have emphasized, "Intellectual Cooperation" never lost its Eurocentric character. The members' tally remained deficient in non-Europeans names (Renoliet 1999, 184–5); and "others" often seemed to make only useful "contributions," while the intellectual world that counted the most remained the one conceived, written, and dominated by countries and peoples from the small western end of the Eurasian landmass (Kolasa 1962, 64). Yet thinking about the work of emotions might help to illuminate why the past unfolded the way it did, and how intellectual cooperation survived two world wars and worldwide conflicts in different forms. More specifically, emotions can help us to understand when and how international encounters such as congresses took place, the workings of bureaucracy, machines, and technologies, as well as the development of the infrastructure of intellectual cooperation and the shape of the spaces and technologies through which we live and interact in the twenty-first century.

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Central Europe and the Making of International Intellectual Cooperation

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This paper shows how the Central European case shaped the making of the League's intellectual cooperation programme after World War I and the future character of international cooperation in education, the sciences and culture. Before World War I, the intellectual internationalisation movement limited itself to science and scholarship and only rarely relied on government support. After the war the League of Nations laid the foundations for a new mode of international intellectual cooperation that transgressed the narrow academic field and included action in non-academic agendas such as the arts, letters, film, libraries, archives and museums. The foundation for this new mode of international intellectual governance was laid by the Geneva-based International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation. ICIC established itself 100 years ago, in 1922, as a non-governmental agency with the aim of advising the League of Nations on the precarious state of intellectual work and intellectual cooperation in various countries and the improvement of the tools of cooperation at the international level. It won the support of the League Council and established itself as a broker between the League, individual states, and their leading intellectual actors. The successor states of the former Habsburg lands and beyond proved to be an appropriate arena for the ICIC's initial operation. It noticed that in Central Europe intellectual life was most at peril in the wake of World War I. It recognised in particular that the economic crisis had put intellectual workers in dire straits and that these workers were in urgent need of assistance. In this paper it is argued that the practical experience gained by ICIC in the Central European region has shaped the future form of international intellectual cooperation. In particular, ICIC's initial operation in this area helped to build up (1) its capacity and tools for operation, (2) its later scope of action, and which (3) paved the way for the strategies UNESCO would adopt after 1945.

From 1922 onwards, ICIC undertook comprehensive inquiries in the twelve nation states which had been newly established between the Baltic and the Aegean Sea on the territories of the dissolved empires. To gather information, it encouraged local activists and institutions to set up the first national sub-committees in the former Habsburg lands. Their surveys show that the local informants not only evaluated the disintegration of the Habsburg Empire differently, but they also developed different views on the form and scope of international assistance for intellectual workers they expected from the League of Nations: In the new Republic of Austria intellectual life had suffered the most as a result of the war. The new state had inherited most of the actors and the infrastructure of the fully developed intellectual life of the former empire. However, due to the dismal financial situation of the state, the cultural institutions and the institutions of higher learning were on the verge of closure. At the same time, the intellectual elites were faced with the trauma of the disintegration of a centuries-old empire, which had demonstrated an astonishing power of integration in the age of nationalism. The activists of the Austrian national committee – the Landeskomitee für geistige Zusammenarbeit – hoped for not only moral support, but also financial aid, which failed to materialize and immediately made the League's activities appear contradictory. The League's harsh economic recovery programme for Austria paid no regard to the ICIC's objective of restoring cultural life. It rather resulted in the dismissal of thousands of academic officials from public service in Austrian universities, museums and libraries. The rigorous stabilization policy of the League by its Commissioner-General of Austrian Finances and the spreading of message of success, although the state of intellectual workers had not improved at all, disillusioned the Austrian activists of intellectual cooperation with the League's policy. The head of the national sub-committee in Vienna, the renowned historian Alfons Dopsch, in a private letter to another Viennese activist assessed the League's policy of intellectual cooperation as "completely worthless for us."

In contrast to the ambivalent attitude of Austrian activists, the ICIC policy seemed met with greater approval in the other successor states of the Habsburg Empire. Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Poland were founding members of the League, Austria joined in 1920, Hungary in 1922. Austria and Hungary had been defeated in the First World War. Their intellectual and political elites had to overcome the trauma of losing an empire dominated by their respective people. In contrast, Polish, Yugoslav and Czechoslovak intellectual elites celebrated national independency from empires that had more or less oppressed their Slavic population as a triumph. The different views on the dissolved empire left traces in the respective approach to the League of Nations: The Austrian international activist Alfons Dopsch had in mind the unprotected cultural and unprovided intellectual heritage, for the protection of which he sought support. The polish activist Oskar Halecki, also a historian and Secretary of ICIC, who had been entrusted with an enquiry in the successor states of the former empires, saw the advantages of the new nation states for intellectual development. Since the "majority [of the new states] owed their independence to the recent war", Halecki pointed out in his report to ICIC that intellectual life in the Central European states had undergone an "extraordinary development (creation of new universities, learned societies, research institutions, libraries, etc.)" He noticed a spirit of optimism and he noted that despite the economic crisis and the lack of financial resources the development of intellectual life in these countries "would suffice to prove that European civilisation was by no means condemned to death." (ICIC. Minutes of the Second Session, 26.7–2.8.1923) As a matter of fact, new institutions were established in several newly established countries (except the Republic of Austria).

Both Dopsch and Halecki were well aware of the contrasting post-war experiences, the one in a loser state, the other in a victorious state. The contrasts manifested themselves in their demands and actions: Dopsch expected compensation for the cultural sector in the face of the League's harsh economic recovery programme for Austria. The young Republic of Austria had to administer the fully developed cultural and intellectual heritage of a dissolved Empire. Its actors and institutions needed to be rescued via external funding. In contrast, the victorious states of Central Europe which had suffered suppression of national scientific and cultural activism in former empires at the "borderlands of Western civilisation", as Halecki would later call it, strove not so much for financial support for the preservation of the non-existing cultural heritage, but for intellectual assistance. Intellectual cooperation "with the great western countries" by the exchange of scholars and publications would allow Central European countries "to come out of their isolation". Since these countries did not request pecuniary, but intellectual assistance, Halecki promoted the idea of the establishment of national committees in the economically more favoured Western countries which could help the new countries to escape from isolation through the exchange of scholars and books.

According to this, in 1923 ICIC drew up "a systematic scheme of action", which heralded a new era in international intellectual cooperation. The foundation of this scheme was twofold: the formation of national committees in countries whose intellectual life has been less severely affected by the postwar-crisis, and the raising of funds. The new League scheme was ultimately approved by the League Council in December 1923. In January 1924, the general-secretary of the League, Eric Drummond, asked the governments of the member states "to be good enough to consider the possibility of forming a national committee in your country […], and to lend moral and financial support to this national committee when it has been formed." (League of Nations. Secretary-General. Draft letter to the Governments, 2 January 1924) Furthermore, the Geneva-based ICIC was authorized to "receive [funds] from any institution or private persons interested in the work", funds destined for the purpose of saving international intellectual life and cooperation (League of Nations. Secretary-General. Draft letter to the Governments, 2 January 1924). The national committees, for which the sub-committees in Central Europe served as a role model, should act as "intermediaries" within their respective countries and ICIC. They should assist ICIC in the enquiry on the conditions of intellectual life, and they were called to transmit requests of intellectual workers and institutions in their respective countries to ICIC or to other national committees (ICIC. Minutes of the Third Session, 5.12.–8.12.1923). New national committees were subsequently formed in beneficiary countries of Europe (e. g. Belgium, France, Norway, Switzerland) and beyond (e. g. Australia, Brazil, Japan, USA). Finally, an appeal was issued on behalf of the national committees.

Starting in the mid 1920s the scope of ICIC's primary activity – the initiation of cross-border intellectual cooperation – had limited itself to the field of science and scholarship, which had been the main object of institutionalized international cooperation from the nineteenth century onwards. ICIC had declared itself competent for academic issues. It consisted of 12 representatives of the academic world and it carried out its work within three sub-committees for bibliography, inter-university relations and intellectual property.

The drafting of the charter of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, which was intended to serve as the executive body of ICIC, based on French government support and established in Paris, opened up the possibility to include a new agenda: culture and cultural heritage, in particular the field of arts and letters, for which ICIC declared itself and the new institute competent in 1925. Although the idea of including cross-border culture into international cooperation was implemented only after the opening of the new International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation in Paris, it was not new: Since the Austrian activists had great interest to inform the European public of the unprotected cultural property and endangered cultural life, they had worked relentlessly to convince the League and ICIC of a comprehensive approach. The Austrian national committee included representatives from both the academic and cultural world from the outset. However, it is not clear yet in how far internationalization of cultural affairs was a result of the ongoing Austrian requests. The International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation opened in 1926 and worked on a wide range of academic and non-academic subjects including international issues relating to music, literature and the arts as well as international relations between museums. In the same year, the IIIC established an International Museums Office (Office international des musées). Furthermore, in 1928, the International Educational Cinematographic Institute (IECE)—also part of the League—was founded in Rome. This shift in international intellectual cooperation, which took place in the mid-1920s, paved the way for the strategy UNESCO would adopt after 1945.

Scholars amidst borders: Soviet representation to the League's Committee on Intellectual Cooperation as an attempt of cross-ideological cooperation in the interwar Europe

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Contesting and contested – these two attributes grasp well the very character of interactions between the newly founded Soviet state and many offices and branches of the League of Nations. Over the two interwar decades, these interactions were shaped by a complex interplay of ideological tensions, mutual aversion and still cautious interest – be it for the sake of prestige or out of economic considerations.

While the young Bolshevik state, with its arduous strife for the world Communist revolution and active support of its own Internationals[18] lived and disseminated what can be roughly summarized as an alternative scenario[19] to the Wilsonian moment[20], this endeavour was requited with equally strong a sentiment on side of international organizations. The League´s fund providers, such as Rockefeller Foundation encountered Soviet scout for recognition, cooperation, and money with whole-hearted rejection of the political regime[21].

It was often the utilitarian spirit that dictated many of the League´s committees and affiliated organizations to steer at least some cooperation with the Bolshevik state nonetheless. In these terms, the League´s Health Organization worked with the Soviet Russia[22] in realm of Public Health – this endeavour brought relief to hunger and helped to stop epidemics within the Bolshevik state, but also, largely, from spreading westwards into the core states of the League[23]. The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation (ICIC) had to encounter Soviet Russia from many perspectives, too.

Bound to its mission to support scholarly communication, severely aggravated by the ruptures of the World War I, the ICIC sought to restore and expand pre-war networks of academic and then cultural circulation. This restoration demanded interventions for immediate relief to the intellectuals affected by economic calamities all across Europe (apart from Russia, one might speak of the ICIC effort in Austria[24]). In case of scholars from the collapsed Russian Empire, the challenge was even more demanding. The revolution of 1917 scattered many throughout the world as political refugees – while some remained equally desolate within the Soviet Russia´s political turmoil[25]. ICIC´s early engagement with the Russian issue aimed at

[18] Dogliani in Sluga & Clavin, 2017: 38-60

[19] Armstrong, 1993: 158ff

[20] Manela 2007 (in Conrad & Sachsenmaier: 121-150) and 2009

[21] Gross Solomon, 2000

[22] Borowy in Gross Solomon, Murard & Zylberman, 2008: 87-113

[23] Weindling, 1995

[24] Feichtinger in Becker & Wheatley, 2020: 167-190

[25] See continuous address of the Russian issue throughout the minutes of the ICIC early sessions: the initiative to send books to Russian scholars inside of the new Bolshevik state (Minutes of the First Session, held in Geneva, August 1st to 5th, 1922, Geneva, 11 October 1922), appeal for cooperation to provide fleeing Russian intellectuals with necessary visas and scholarly credentials (Minutes of the Second Session, held in Geneva, July 26th to August 2nd, 1923, Geneva, 1 September 1923), Ukrainian and Russian intellectuals as refugees (Minutes of the Third Session, held in Paris, December 5th to 8th, 1923, Geneva 1 January 1924) etc.

immediate relief to intellectuals, custodian to the political change, and their soon re-integration within the largely international peer community.

As the decade progressed to its close, the ICIC alike other offices of the Leagues had to adapt its initiatives according to the growing inner-state consolidation of Communists and gradual recognition of this new regime by ever more states. This political switch deepened the pre-existent ambivalence even further: the strife to adjust visible from the Committee´s mid-twenties´ debate on changes in source submitting the list of essential academic publications for the Russian segment: an emigrant scholarly bibliographer Nikolaï Roubakine or the Soviet state-driven agency[26]. The choice here was of strategic, but also of programmatic nature. To opt Soviet meant to give in to very logical and pragmatic facts: the vast majority of Russian-language scholarship was being produced within the Soviet state. However, politically, the ICIC struggled with the side effects such a decision would have: exclusion of emigrant scholars and factual recognition of collaboration with state-controlled academia of the Communist regime. This qualitatively new degree of state intervention into academia changed the whole interface of the Russian-speaking scholarship in new Soviet borders – and it is precisely this dramatic and persistent change that brought me to the ICIC dealing with the Soviets.

My current project[27], which gradually progresses towards its completion, is focused on the 1970-1980s. Yet over and over, it unavoidably references the international, inner-political, and scholarly antecedents in the Interwar. What ripened into an epistemic clash in one field in Brezhnevism springs from the deep and sustainable transformation of the whole interface how Soviet scholarship functioned both practically and epistemically. I, too, work with a largely accepted consensus among researchers, that the Interwar period was, for post-Tsarist scholars, a period of forced and violent detachment from their international networks, rupture of effective scholarly exchanges, a state-induced attack upon the circulation of knowledge and expertise that sealed the isolation of now-Soviet scholars and made them vulnerable to political abuse upon them and through them upon the population.

This abstract sets on to a critical reassessment of this tacitly consensual narrative of detachment and rupture. In this regard, the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation is a perfect agency from the Interwar that can shed light upon the early phase of the Russian scholarship transforming into Soviet. I modify the argument of rupture as I reconstruct two decades of strategy, with which the ICIC encountered Russian-Soviet transformation, as it sought to secure the uninterrupted circulation of scholars and scholarliness and to support intellectuals now stranded on various political poles. As an example of its later stage strategy of cooperation, I discuss a largely international path of Nikolay Ossinsky[28], a Soviet high-state officer and a member to the LON International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

Despite the marginal Soviet participation with the League and an air of mutual distrust between the Bolsheviks, the LON offices and the fund-givers at the Rockefeller Foundation, a certain amount of cooperation could be carried out on shoulders of few impactful professionals. For the Soviet players here, their borderline status both in the USSR and the international community protected and endangered them at the same time. The newly-founded state yearned recognition – this allowed the few impactful players like Ossinsky a good share of action space, but put themselves at risk of political repression at home.

With the aid of archival sources from the UNESCO- and the League of Nations archives, I reconstruct the ambivalent and cautious stride of the ICIC with relation to intellectuals and scholarliness caught in the happening Russian to Soviet transformation. I trace the change of narratives from complete over partial rejection of the Communist regime and targeted work with refugee intellectuals – to *volens nolens* cooperation with the Soviets on behalf of scholars in it. For this stage of cooperation, Ossinsky serves as a good example of a scholar amidst borders – between states, political ideologies, and the newly created boundaries within the Soviet academia, too.

the entanglements of roles and agencies: as a scholar, as an international officer, and as a communist ideologist, – which allowed Ossinsky, and other Soviet representatives to the ICIC, too, to function as an ideological border-crosser and inter-epistemic mediator, negotiating deals in Soviet interest, while

[26] Minutes of the Eleventh Session, held in Geneva, July 22nd to 26th, 1929, Geneva 14 September 1929).

[27] https://ifg.univie.ac.at/ueber-uns/mitarbeiterinnen/wissenschaftliche-mitarbeiterinnen/anastassiya-schacht/

[28] http://www.lonsea.de/pub/person/7160 (retrieved on October 27, 2021)

maneuvering the ever narrower political landscape of rising Stalinism, pursuing international intellectual cooperation on behalf of an ever self-isolating state that, finally, after two years of representative membership in the Intellectual Committee, cost Ossinsky his career and life in 1938.

Ossinsky´s international career and individual fate in Grand Terror serves as an exemplary inference to draw a larger and complex picture of intellectual cooperation between the international and the Soviet as they were: estranged, yet ever cautiously observing each other players. Their interaction, well traceable through the documents of the ICIC in 1920-1930s, contributes to a better understanding of Interwar international entanglements, which, unresolved, carried their impact on into the tensions of the Cold War – and of the present day.

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Gabrielle Radziwill: the story of Eastern European princess at the service of Intellectual Cooperation

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The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate the participation of women and their involvement in the intellectual cooperation and administration of the League of Nations during the interwar period. To reach this goal, the case study of Lithuanian activist princess Gabrielle Radziwill is presented.

Women's participation and significance in the history of interwar diplomacy is sometimes still perceived only in the light of their participation in creating women's organizations or fighting for women's rights. These activities were very important for the development of the visibility of women at the Western societies, but it was also the main factor to start a new era of European politics. Right after the First World War, women scientists, writers, politicians and other intellectuals also gathered around the League of Nations and its supported organizations. Moreover, many organizations, which helped war refugees, veterans and orphans were primarily based on women's work and intellectual thinking.

This experience contributed a lot to the creation of the League of Nations and also brought hope to ensure the revival of post-war societies and prevention of future disastrous conflicts. The experiences of Western and Eastern fronts during the First World War could be seen as a common motivation for women joining Intellectual Cooperation and other organisations in London, Paris, and Geneva, which were created side by side with the League of Nations.

It is important to analyse the questions, what were the main factors of a successful woman's career in an international organization: was it a noble origin, an experience of volunteering during the war or the participation in the intellectual work? Was the ethnic factor also important? International organizations had to deal with many different languages, cultures, ways of communication and to have vast knowledge, which was essential in trying to build up a European, and moreover, global identity. That is why, the ideas of international peace and intellectual collaboration was at the centre.

Political integrity and stability as well as intellectual cooperation was very important for newly created states in Eastern Europe and helped to secure the recognition from the Western states. Politicians, diplomats, scientists and people from non-governmental organizations were actively making connections with intellectuals from different countries.

In the official staff registry of the Secretariat of the League of Nations three persons were listed as 'Lithuanians'. The first was Tatiana de Peganow, an assistant at the Economic and Financial section and later a senior assistant in Legal section from 1920 to 1929. The second was Joseph Georges Jassulaitis, who worked as a messenger and translator from Lithuanian language from 1925 to 1937. Nevertheless, the third, princess Gabrielle Radziwill was an exceptional case in the context of all woman in the administration of the League of Nations and nearby organizations. Not only that she was the first female Member of the Section, also, she worked for the League for very long time, i.e., eighteen years – from 1920 to 1938.

The main sources to reconstruct the works of Gabrielle Radziwill are preserved in the Archives of the United Nations of the period of the League of Nations (1919–1946). We can find basic information in the personal files of the Staff of the League as well as in the documents of different sections. Also, the Archives of the Committee of Intellectual Cooperation (ICIC) and the archives of the Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC) represent her works and tasks during the years. In addition, there is useful information in the Lithuanian Central State Archives and digitized collections from different Lithuanian archives. Lithuanian and Swiss press also helps to better understand the relations between international organizations and the society, to indicate public opinion on issues discussed at the League of Nations and involvement in

women's organizations. The official publications of the League and its fellow organizations are also useful as a source of public communication.

Princess Gabrielle Jeanne Anne Marie Radziwill (1877–1968) was born in Berlin into the noble Lithuanian family of Radziwill (Radvilos), who received the title of *Reichsfürst* from the Holy Roman Emperor in the middle of the sixteenth century. Her family belonged to the branch of Nesvizh, which still has living descendants. During and after the First World War, Gabrielle spent two years working as a nurse for the Russian Red Cross on the Russian-Persian front in charge of the local hospitals. After the Bolshevik Revolution she had to flee Russia because of the persecutions of her family. She asked for the citizenship from the newly established Lithuanian government and was granted, it gave her possibility to move to London and later to Geneva, where she joined the creation of the League of Nations. Being a refugee herself, she perfectly understood the importance of protecting women and children during the conflicts and the significance of empowering of woman through international societies.

Princess Radziwill began her career as a Senior Assistant in the Information Section of the League of Nations. From 1927 to 1931 she worked as a Member of the same section and was responsible for gathering information on the Baltic States and their neighbours. Due to her knowledge of Russian, German, French, English, Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian languages she was able to submit huge amount of local press reviews, recommendations for the diplomats and members of the Secretariat who were dealing with those countries. Gabrielle Radziwill herself had made many trips to Lithuania in the 1920s and 1930s. Her afterwards reports were good source of information on political and everyday life of the country, where she was seen as an unbiassed observer from the highest rank of administration of the League of Nations and her visits were estimated as the signs of appreciation.

From 1931 to 1934 Radziwill switched to the Social Questions and Opium Traffic Section in the League and later, officially joined Intellectual Cooperation and International Bureaux Section, where she worked until 1938. Here she continued the communication with different women organizations and participated in their events as a representative of the Secretariat and its Intellectual Cooperation branch. Reports of her supervisors and colleagues described princess as kind and generous person as well as thorough and efficient officer, these qualities no doubt were important for her successful and fruitful work in various directions of international organizations.

‘Le film, éducateur universel”.[29] The reception of the International Educational Cinematographic Institute in Chile

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https://intellectualcooperation.org/gaticamizala-2022

In the context of the interwar period, the discussion surrounding the educational character of cinema, as well as the possibilities that came from its cosmopolitism, turned film into an exceptional medium that could promote ideas of internationalism and cultural cooperation. To respond to these interests and contribute to the development and strengthening of intellectual cooperation, the League of Nations supported the development of the International Educational Cinematographic Institute (IECI), which was active between 1928 and 1937 with its headquarters located in Rome, Italy. Mussolini’s government saw in cinema a tool for mass communications that could impact people, have persuasion power, and projection into the future, while, at the same time, being able to link these qualities with cinema’s education potential (Sorlin 1994; 2007). The objective behind the IECI “was to encourage the production, dissemination and exchange of educational films in order to promote international understanding among the world’s peoples” (Unesco Archives, n.d.). The IECI was placed under the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (ICIC) and was “one of the most successful interwar experiments in cultural cooperation” (Iriye 1997, 71).

One of the reasons why the IECI was so successful was due to its ability to reach many members of the League of Nations, as well as extend invitations to participate to states who were not, at the time, active members of the international organization (such as Mexico) (Herrera León 2008). Although not all Latin American countries participated actively of the League of Nations and adjacent Institutes, Chile was perhaps one of the most constant members of the region, joining de League in 1920. Although Chile did not have an active cinema industry, with only a few films being made per year and coming from private initiatives (Ossa Coo 1971; Mouesca 1997), the Chilean government created the Instituto de Cine Educativo (ICE) [Educational Cinema Institute] in December 1929 (Alvarez, Colleoni and Horta 2014, 28). The Chilean Institute initially depended on the Ministry of Education, but from 1931 its administration became dependent on the University of Chile, which became the main institution in charge of cultural diplomacy during the 1930s and until the 1973 coup d'etat (Dumont 2018). The link between the ICE and the IECI was established after the Chilean institute was created, but became the official representative of the international institute in the country.

The exchanges between the IECI and the Chilean ICE allow to explore how particular nations received, appropriated, and translated into their local field, the ideas and projects of cultural internationalism that were put forward by a supranational organization, such as the IECI. To address these exchanges and networks, the concept of cultural internationalism, as well as institutional and diplomatic approaches to the topic are key because they allow us to analyse the circulation of ideas and how networks were built around these circulations. Moreover, by exploring the dialogue between the SDN’s IECI and a Latin American nation, the aims is to include this region into the discussion of cultural internationalism, thinking about the ways in which nations used and appropriated ideas that came from supranational organizations, through translating them to their own interpretation of cultural internationalism.

The archival approach includes using data from the United Nations archive, the Archives du Ministère des Affaires Ètrangères in France (series 242QO), and the Archivo Nacional de la Administración (ARNAD) in Chile (series MEDU and MREL). The Chilean National Library holds 14 letters sent between Luciano

[29] This is a phrase written by Jean Benoit-Levy, French film director and producer, in a letter to the Organisation de Cooperation Intellectuelle regarding cinema and the education of peoples. See Archives du Ministère des Affaires Ètrangères, FRMAE 242QO, folder 1889, p.177.

de Feo and Gabriela Mistral regarding the IECI and Mistral's work within the organization. Memoria Chilena holds the three ICE available newsletters. The annals of the Universidad de Chile, the institution which housed the Chilean Cinema Institute, are held digitally on the university's website. By examining these documents, one can understand the different ways in which communication between the two educational cinema institutions took place, as well as how governmental and institutional decisions were included.

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The League of Nations and Cultural Heritage. For an intellectual history of a notion.

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My paper aims to explore the idea of cultural heritage as it was developed within the League of Nations and its cultural bodies, notably the Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle (IICI, 1925) and the Office International des Musées (OIM, 1926), but also the Commission Internationale de Coopération Intellectuelle (CICI, 1922), the Organisation de coopération intellectuelle (OCI, 1922) and the Sous-commission des Lettres et des Arts (1926).

After the fundamental study by Jean-Jacques Renoliet (1999), Martin Grandjean (2018) has reconstructed the network of relations between the member states and their representatives, providing an extremely eloquent « topographie institutionnelle » of the intellectual cooperation at the LoN. Pierre Leveau's book (2017) has offered a detailed picture of IICI's extensive spectrum of cultural activities. For the OIM, studies have almost exclusively focused on its museum policy. Consequently, there is still a lack of studies addressing the issue of cultural heritage within the LoN, framing it in the history of heritage studies, within a broad horizon of intellectual history and political relations.

The idea of heritage was consubstantial to the original mission of preserving a European and Western culture promoted by the LoN and marked by a spirit of solidarity between nations. Nevertheless, the issue clearly presented considerable points of contradiction, thus generating internal tensions within the LoN itself. In fact, the debate conducted within the intellectual bodies of the SdN was heir to national protection policies that, at least since the early nineteenth century, the European states developed to forge their own "identity memories", what are known as "imagined communities" (Benedict Anderson).

If, initially, at Geneva the concept of a « common heritage of humanity » was conceived in its ethical sense, with the creation in Paris of the OIM, the question of the conservation of the artistic heritage became more and more specific.

In line with its diplomatic and pragmatic nature, the OIM did not propose any definition of the notion of heritage. Indeed, the term *patrimoine* itself does not appear systematically in its documents until 1931, the year of the Athens Conference on the conservation of monuments (Desvallées, Mairesse (dir.), 2011). By stimulating an intense dialogue between academics and curators from different member states, the OIM sought to harmonize the different experiences and competencies that each country had individually developed in conservation and museology. The aim was not only to build shared conservation practices but to develop a modern heritage culture. Thus, with the LoN, the question of heritage underwent a decisive turning point when the debate on conservation and museums moved from the national level to an institutional organism of international reference. In this way, during the inter-war, OIM stimulated a reflection on the notion of cultural heritage that would spread to its programmatic lines after the Second World War with Unesco.

The OIM has carried out massive comparative work between the various national legislations and policies for the protection of monuments, in order to draw up shared normative documents. The case of Belgium, France and Italy, whose legislative action increased in the first three decades of the twentieth century, are particularly interesting, as they laid down the essential principles for the history of conservation, such as the primacy of the public interest over the private interest, and the protection of the landscape. Furthermore, it is significant that the OIM, as early as 1927, recognized the problem of the protection of « natural beauties » as a matter of « the heritage of humanity », while stressing its universal value.

One of the central issues of my paper will concern the specific « Common heritage of humanity », a locution that we usually trace back to the Conference of Athens of 1931 mentioned above and to the personality of

Euripide Foundoukidis. Nevertheless, this idea (today replaced by a more neutral «World Heritage ») has a much longer history within the LoN itself, which we can trace by investigating the intellectual relations that the cultural bodies of the Geneva organization maintained with the university and museum world in the 1920s and the 1930s. In fact, during the international art history congresses, an animated debate took place regarding the idea of a common heritage that clashed with the legal status of individual and national property. This debate early moved to the OIM. Here the universalist idea of heritage was especially promoted by certain representatives of socialist thought - such as the Belgian Jules Destrée, Minister of Science and Arts and first president of the OIM, whose declarations of principle he forged. This precise political stake and the key personality of Destrée deserve to be highlighted.

My presentation will be based on rereading the prominent publications promoted by the IICI-OIM and on some archive documents (https://digital.archives.unesco.org/en/ - International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (IICI) ; Total Digital Access to the League of Nations Archives Project (LONTAD)). It will discuss this rich international debate's main themes and key concepts, terminologies, and most relevant personalities to highlight the birth of the notion of heritage within one of the protagonists of its long history.

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« Les relations internationales au point de vue musical » – Music and Intellectual Cooperation

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In my paper I will focus on the activities of the League's organizations for intellectual cooperation in the field of music. Most discussions about music took place in the Sous-Commission des Lettres et des Arts/Comité permanent des Lettres et des Arts. In a first step, the paper will outline and contextualize the work of the Sous-Commission/Comité permanent in the field of music. The experts involved discussed various topics, like the creation of national sound archives, the international role of the standard pitch, and the promotion of folk music research. The activities were strongly influenced by (Western) elite culture, educational ideas, and new technologies. This made it possible to include discussions about music also in other projects of intellectual cooperation in an easy way.

The commission members - comparable to their colleagues in other fields - had to face numerous challenges: e.g., the selection of "qualified" experts, the lack of practical influence, and the question of how to appropriately handle highly politicized topics such as folk music research. Thus, while examining a very specific topic, the paper also contributes to a broader analysis of the internal functioning of the League's intellectual cooperation.

In a second step, I will embed the activities of intellectual cooperation in their external context and focus on the cooperation between the League of Nations and existing international organizations in the field of music. One of the most important persons in this context is Edward Dent, who not only served on the Sous-Commission des Lettres et des Arts, but also held leading positions in the International Musicological Society and the International Society for Contemporary Music.

Finally, in a third part, two examples will be used to examine how UNESCO's approach to musical issues differs from its predecessor organization. This will be shown by two examples. The first deals with the immediate postwar period and the development of the first work programs of UNESCO. The second analysis focuses on the establishment of the idea of intangible cultural heritage at the beginning of the 21st century.

The Argentine Commission for Intellectual Cooperation. The itinerary of a cultural diplomacy agency of the Argentine State (1936 – 1948).

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https://intellectualcooperation.org/lacquaniti-2022

[English translation below]

En esta ponencia se analizan algunos rasgos del funcionamiento y de las políticas culturales implementadas por la Comisión Argentina de Cooperación Intelectual (CACI) entre 1936 y 1948. Esta pesquisa forma parte de mi investigación doctoral que tiene como principal objeto de estudio a la Comisión Nacional de Cultura (CNC). Ésta fue una agencia estatal instituida por la ley de propiedad intelectual de 1933, sancionada durante el gobierno nacional del Presidente Agustín P. Justo (1932-1938). Entre 1935 y 1955 la CNC implementó un conjunto de políticas culturales y gestionó una serie de instituciones destinadas a patrocinar e incentivar las actividades de los artistas y los intelectuales en Argentina en el área de las ciencias, las letras, las bellas artes, la música, la radio, el cine y el teatro, entre otras. Dentro de ese conjunto de instituciones puede incluirse a la CACI, agencia estatal que operó como una especie de "apéndice de la diplomacia cultural" de la CNC. La CACI se encargó especialmente de gestionar intercambios culturales entre el Estado argentino y otras instituciones del extranjero, pero sobre todo se concentró en organizar actividades que tenían como fin principal la difusión de la literatura argentina a través de diversas tareas de traducción, edición de libros y publicaciones periódicas. Por su parte, muchas de las actividades que en principio debía administrar la CACI recayeron en la CNC, como por ejemplo el intercambio entre estudiantes y profesores universitarios y la concesión de becas de investigación y perfeccionamiento en Argentina y en otros países.

La instauración de la CACI tuvo lugar en julio de 1936 a través de un decreto del Presidente de la República Argentina Agustín P. Justo.[30] Ésta desarrolló sus funciones bajo dependencia del Ministerio de Justicia e Instrucción Pública de la Nación y en coordinación con el Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y Culto. La CACI enmarcó sus actividades dentro del programa de cooperación intelectual promovido por la Sociedad de Naciones a través de la Comisión Internacional de Cooperación Intelectual (la bibliografía reciente sobre la CICI es prolífica; a modo de síntesis, que de ningún modo es excluyente se pueden indicar los siguientes trabajos: Herrera León 2008, 169-200; Laqua 2011, 223-247; Pita González 2014; Pernet 2014, 342-358; Pernet 2015, 135-153; Sánchez Román 2015, 47-69; Dumont 2018; Grandjean 2018; Grandjean 2020, 65-89; Pernet 2020, 209-2019; Fólica and Ikoff 2020, 247-271).

La creación de la CACI no fue un caso aislado en el continente americano, sino que se sumó a otras iniciativas alentadas por la Sociedad de Naciones y los respectivos gobiernos nacionales en cuanto a la institucionalización de este tipo de comisiones de cooperación intelectual hacia mediados de los años treinta (Pita González 2014, 203-236). Uno de los motivos que podría haber influido en la decisión del presidente Justo para crear esta agencia de la diplomacia cultural del Estado argentino pudo haber sido su deseo de modificar algunas imágenes negativas sobre su gobierno que estaban circulando en el plano internacional. Especialmente algunos escritores antifascistas habían catalogado a su gobierno como una administración que coartaba la opinión pública y que utilizaba "prácticas fascistas" para perseguir a intelectuales opositores

[30] Decreto del Presidente de la Nación Agustín P. Justo, Buenos Aires 14 de julio de 1936. Consultado en el Archivo de la Academia Nacional de la Historia. Fondo Carlos Ibarguren. Caja 14, II, folios 3 y 4.

(Saítta 2001, 408-409).[31] En este sentido, la creación de la CACI acompañó a otras iniciativas oficiales que en ese mismo año de 1936 se tradujeron en la organización de distintos congresos internacionales en la ciudad de Buenos Aires y que tuvieron, entre sus fines, promover imágenes positivas del país y su desarrollo cultural: el congreso del P.E.N. CLUB, el *Entretien* de la Sociedad de Naciones y la Conferencia Panamericana por la Paz (Manzoni 2007 a, 3-17; Manzoni 2007 b, 161-172; Manzoni 2009, 541-568; Pernet 2007, 66-73; Gaioto 2018, 238-257; Lida 2019, 6-17; de Aldama Ordóñez 2019, 329-356; Giuliani 2020, 127-143; Mazzucchelli 2021, 208-237; Pita González 2021, 337-357) .

Uno de los objetivos principales que se había fijado el programa de la CACI fue el de rectificar ciertas representaciones sobre la República Argentina que circulaban en el exterior. Con ello se buscó ofrecer una imagen del país a la vanguardia de la producción científica, artística y literaria. El propósito, como indicó su primer presidente Carlos Ibarguren, fue el de dar a "conocer al mundo la cultura y el pensamiento argentino, de modo que nuestra patria no sea mirada únicamente como productor de carnes o cereales o como centro comercial cuyo mercado interesa únicamente de éste punto de vista material a las naciones del mundo".[32] Entre los años de la Guerra Civil Española y la Segunda Guerra Mundial, el gobierno argentino intentó explotar estratégicamente algunas imágenes elaboradas por escritores, intelectuales y diplomáticos que concebían a Argentina como "refugio" del humanismo y la cultura occidental en América Latina. Ello tenía lugar en el contexto de consolidación del fascismo, del nazismo y otras dictaduras militares en el "Viejo Continente" que amenazaban, de acuerdo a las impresiones de esos sectores, con la continuidad de la civilización europea. El uso de estas imágenes fue recurrente, por ejemplo, en los discursos de los escritores, políticos y diplomáticos que participaron en las conferencias del *Entretien* de Buenos Aires en 1936 y en otros congresos organizados por la CACI en los años sucesivos.

La herramienta privilegiada por la CACI para la difusión de la cultura argentina en el exterior fue el libro impreso. Ello se materializó en la organización de la "Exposición del libro argentino" en las capitales de algunos países de Europa (Roma, París, Bruselas) y América (Rio de Janeiro, Santiago de Chile, Lima, Asunción del Paraguay). Como parte de esas exposiciones se invitó a intelectuales, escritores y artistas que brindaron conferencias que luego la CACI editó en distintos libros que fueron distribuidos gratuitamente en bibliotecas públicas y otras instituciones culturales y educativas del extranjero. La concentración de esfuerzos y recursos en la difusión del libro como principal instrumento de cooperación intelectual respondió a dos factores determinantes. En primer lugar, la elección de este objeto en detrimento de otros bienes culturales estuvo condicionada por el presupuesto que el Poder Ejecutivo Nacional le asignaba anualmente a la CNC; y que fue lo suficientemente acotado como para emprender una empresa más ambiciosa que contemplase la promoción de otras actividades vinculadas con el desarrollo de la industria cultural, como por ejemplo el cine.[33] En segundo lugar, las políticas culturales de la CACI respondieron principalmente a los criterios estéticos y los gustos personales de Carlos Ibarguren, quien fue su presidente entre 1937 y 1945. Este escritor, vinculado con el movimiento y las ideas del nacionalismo católico argentino en los años de entreguerras, en más de una ocasión demostró cierto desprecio hacia el cine, el cual no podía ser comparado, desde su perspectiva, con otras manifestaciones artísticas de "milenaria jerarquía"[34], entre ellas el libro y el teatro.

La personalidad de Carlos Ibarguren es entonces central para comprender los rasgos específicos de las políticas culturales de la CACI entre 1937 y 1945, a pesar de que ésta contaba con una Comisión Asesora conformada por otros diecinueve miembros provenientes de distintas disciplinas académicas. Ibarguren poseía una reconocida trayectoria en el campo intelectual argentino que lo ubicó simultáneamente en cargos importantes en distintas instituciones culturales: en esos años ofició como presidente de la Academia Argentina de Letras, como miembro del P.E.N. Club de Buenos Aires y como integrante de la Comisión Directiva de la CNC desde 1933 hasta 1951, de la que además sería su Presidente entre 1942 y 1944. Así, su actuación como presidente de la CACI puede ser pensada en su rol de articulador cultural entre la CNC y

[31] El caso más resonante fue el del escritor y poeta argentino Raúl González Tuñón, exiliado en Madrid tras haber sido procesado judicialmente en 1935 por incitación a la rebelión por la publicación de Las brigadas de choque (1933).

[32] Información radiotelefónica de Carlos Ibarguren sobre el Congreso Internacional de Escritores. 16 de Julio de 1936. AANHRP. Fondo Carlos Ibarguren. Inventario N° 14, Caja IX, folio 78, p. 5.

[33] Tal como habían intentado realizar otras comisiones nacionales de cooperación intelectual, como la comisión mexicana, chilena y brasilera.

[34] La Comisión Nacional de Cultura. Su labor en 1941, Peuser, Buenos Aires, 1942, p. 47.

la CACI. Determinante también fue su participación como Presidente del P.E.N. Club argentino durante la organización del congreso internacional del P.E.N. Club y el *Entretien* en Buenos Aires en 1936, junto a su secretario el escritor Antonio Aita quien al año siguiente también fue designado en el puesto de secretario de la CACI.

El estudio de esta agencia diplomática ilumina algunas facetas interesantes para pensar no solo el posicionamiento del Estado argentino en el concierto internacional, sino también para estudiar la construcción del aparato estatal y sus dinámicas de funcionamiento durante la segunda mitad de los años treinta y la primera mitad de la década del cuarenta. En este sentido, el enfoque de esta investigación se puede enmarcar dentro de los estudios que en la historiografía argentina han recibido el nombre de "el Estado desde adentro" (Bohoslavsky y Soprano 2010; Plotkin y Zimmermann 2012 a & b; Soprano 2007, 19-48; Di Liscia y Soprano, 2017). Por un lado, como se indicó, este trabajo se nutre de las investigaciones recientes que han ahondado en el estudio de las relaciones internacionales, las redes intelectuales y de sociabilidad, y los proyectos de cooperación intelectual en clave trasnacional y/o global durante el período de entreguerras, cuyos aportes son imprescindibles para pensar la conformación de las prácticas, los saberes y las políticas culturales del Estado argentino en general y los de la CACI en particular. No obstante, también repara en ciertas especificidades propias de la estructura estatal en el contexto local. Así, el análisis de la CNC y la CACI a lo largo de la década del treinta y la primera mitad de los años cuarenta, revela ciertas dinámicas del funcionamiento de un Estado que, lejos de ser una estructura homogénea, presentaba un agregado de agencias —entre ellas, juntas y comisiones— que muchas veces se superponían en sus funciones (Cattaruzza y Eujanian 2003, 221; Persello 2015). Esa "hipertrofia burocrática" (Campione 2007) fue, en varios sentidos, una respuesta ensayada por el Estado argentino a la crisis general del liberalismo de comienzos de la década del treinta. Además, se evidencia en la burocracia cultural de este mismo Estado una preponderancia de funcionarios que comulgaban con el pensamiento del nacionalismo católico (Zanatta 2005; Tato 2009, 149-169).

El análisis de determinadas políticas culturales y ciertos elencos de intelectuales que se vincularon de alguna manera con el funcionamiento de estas dos agencias estatales entre 1933 y 1946 demuestra que las continuidades entre los sucesivos gobiernos nacionales fueron más acusadas de lo que indica una mirada atenta y ceñida a la política electoral (Lacquaniti, 2021). En este sentido, el triunfo de Juan Domingo Perón en las elecciones de febrero de 1946 marcó definitivamente un punto de quiebre en el universo cultural y político argentino, sujeto a divisiones entre detractores y partidarios de la política oficial. En cuanto al funcionamiento de la CACI, se pueden observar continuidades y cambios en el modo de imaginar a la nación y de proyectar ese imaginario en el extranjero durante los primeros años del gobierno peronista. En lo que atañe a aquellos procesos relacionados con la "invención de tradiciones", se observa que en la última publicación de la CACI, *Argentina en Marcha* (1948), el peronismo recuperó en gran parte representaciones oficiales que habían circulado anteriormente sobre el significado de la cultura argentina, sobre todo en relación con la difusión del folklore y la construcción oficial del gaucho criollo como arquetipo nacional. Lo mismo se puede indicar acerca de los esfuerzos para resignificar una imagen construida en los años previos que situaba a la Argentina como defensora de la latinidad y el hispanismo en América. Pero quizás el rasgo más innovador dentro del imaginario nacional promovido por el peronismo haya sido la importancia que le atribuyó al saber técnico y al desarrollo de la tecnología. Otro aspecto original estuvo dado por la valorización y la incorporación del tango al patrimonio cultural y al canon artístico de la nación.

Por último, a diferencia de lo que había sucedido hasta entonces, la CACI se estableció como un órgano de propaganda de la doctrina del gobierno oficial de turno, y *Argentina en marcha* fue una plataforma para presentar la simbología y las ideas peronistas en el extranjero.[35] Además en esta publicación, el gobierno de Perón, a través de la voz de sus intelectuales orgánicos, expuso una postura crítica frente al funcionamiento de la ONU, organismo multilateral al que percibía estar dominado por los intereses de las dos potencias beligerantes en esos años iniciales de la Guerra Fría: los Estados Unidos y la Unión Soviética. Frente a esos dos modelos diferentes de organización social, el peronismo opondrá su doctrina de la "Tercera Posición" (Paradiso 2002, 523-572). No obstante, esto no significó una ruptura absoluta con los programas de colaboración e intercambio cultural promovidos por la ONU. En 1948 el gobierno de Perón se mostraría dispuesto a trabajar conjuntamente con la UNESCO a través de la recientemente creada Junta Nacional de

[35] Para ese entonces, Homero Guglielmini (secretario de la CNC) había reemplazado en 1946 a Carlos Ibarguren en la Presidencia de la CACI.

Intelectuales. Sin embargo, el itinerario y el significado de ese programa exceden los límites de esta ponencia, aspectos que serán estudiados en otra ocasión.

English translation

In this presentation, I analyze some of the features of the functioning and cultural policies implemented by the Argentine Commission for Intellectual Cooperation (CACI) between 1936 and 1948. This paper presents some advances of my doctoral research which has the National Commission for Culture (CNC) as its main object of study. The CNC was a state agency established by the intellectual property law of 1933, sanctioned during the national government of President Agustín P. Justo (1932-1938). Between 1935 and 1955, the CNC implemented a set of cultural policies and managed a series of institutions aimed at sponsoring and encouraging the activities of artists and intellectuals in Argentina in the areas of science, letters, fine arts, music, radio, cinema, and theater, among others. The CACI, a state agency that operated as a kind of "cultural diplomacy appendix" to the CNC, can be included within this set of institutions. The CACI was especially in charge of managing cultural exchanges between the Argentine State and other foreign institutions, but above all, it concentrated on organizing activities whose main purpose was the diffusion of Argentine literature by translating, publishing books and newspaper articles. Many of the activities that the CACI was originally supposed to deal with, were finally performed by the CNC, such as exchanges between university students and professors and the granting of scholarships for research and development in Argentina and other countries.

The CACI was established by presidential decree in July 1936 by the President of the Argentine Republic Agustin P. Justo.[36] It performed its duties subordinate to the Ministry of Justice and Public Instruction of the Nation and in coordination with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Worship. The CACI framed its activities within the intellectual cooperation program promoted by the League of Nations through the International Commission for Intellectual Cooperation (the current bibliography on the CICI is prolific; by way of summary, which is by no means exclusive, the following works: Herrera León 2008, 169-200; Laqua 2011, 223-247; Pita González 2014; Pernet 2014, 342-358; Pernet 2015, 135-153; Sánchez Román 2015, 47-69; Dumont 2018; Grandjean 2018 ; Grandjean 2020, 65-89; Pernet 2020, 209-2019; Folica and Ikoff 2020, 247-271).

The CACI creation was not an isolated case in the American continent, but one more initiative among others encouraged by the League of Nations and the national governments regarding the institutionalization of this type of intellectual cooperation commissions towards the middle of the thirties (Pita González 2014, 203-236). One of the reasons that could have influenced President Justo's decision to create this cultural diplomacy agency of the Argentine State could have been his desire to modify some of the negative images of his government that were circulating internationally. Some antifascist writers had cataloged his government as an administration that restricted public opinion and that used "fascist practices" to persecute opposition intellectuals (Saítta 2001, 408-409).[37] In this sense, the creation of the CACI accompanied other official initiatives that in that same year of 1936 resulted in the organization of different international congresses in the city of Buenos Aires and that had, among their goals, to promote positive images of the country and its cultural development: the congress of the PEN CLUB, the *Entretien* of the League of Nations and the Pan American Conference for Peace (Manzoni 2007 a, 3-17; Manzoni 2007 b, 161-172; Manzoni 2009, 541-568; Pernet 2007, 66-73; Gaioto 2018, 238-257; Lida 2019, 6-17; de Aldama Ordóñez 2019, 329-356; Giuliani 2020, 127-143; Mazzucchelli 2021, 208-237; Pita González 2021, 337-357).

The CACI had set as one of its main objectives to rectify certain misconceptions about the Argentine Republic that circulated abroad. It sought to offer an image of the country at the forefront of scientific, artistic and literary production. Its purpose, as indicated by its first president, Carlos Ibarguren, was to make "the world aware of Argentine culture and thought, so that our country is not seen only as a producer of meat or cereals or as a commercial center whose market is only of interest to the nations of the world

[36] Decreto del Presidente de la Nación Agustín P. Justo, Buenos Aires 14 de julio de 1936. Archivo de la Academia Nacional de la Historia. Fondo Carlos Ibarguren. Caja 14, II, folios 3 y 4.

[37] The most resonant case was that of the Argentine writer and poet Raúl González Tuñón, who was in exile in Madrid after being prosecuted in 1935 for inciting rebellion for the publication of the book Las brigadas de choque (1933).

because of it".[38] Between the years of the Spanish Civil War and the Second World War, the Argentine government tried to strategically exploit some images created by writers, intellectuals and diplomats which depicted Argentina as a "refuge" of humanism and Western culture in Latin America. This took place in the context of the consolidation of fascism, nazism and other military dictatorships in the "Old Continent" that threatened, according to the impressions of those sectors, the continuity of European civilization. The use of these images was recurrent, for example, in writers, politicians and diplomats' speeches who participated in the *Entretien* of Buenos Aires in 1936 and in other congresses organized by the CACI in the following years.

The printed book was the tool chosen by the CACI for the dissemination of Argentine culture abroad. This was materialized by the organization of the "Argentine Book Exhibition" in the capitals of some European countries (Rome, Paris, Brussels) and America (Rio de Janeiro, Santiago de Chile, Lima, Asunción del Paraguay). Intellectuals, writers and artists were invited to give lectures in these exhibitions, which the CACI later published in different books that were distributed in public libraries and other cultural and educational institutions abroad for free. The concentration of efforts and resources on the dissemination of the book as the main instrument of intellectual cooperation responded to two determining factors. In the first place, the choice of this object to the detriment of other cultural assets was conditioned by the budget that the National Executive assigned annually to the CNC. This budget was not enough to undertake a more ambitious plan that contemplated the promotion of other activities associated with the development of the cultural industry, such as the cinema.[39] Secondly, the cultural policies of the CACI responded mainly to the aesthetic criteria and personal tastes of Carlos Ibarguren, who was its president between 1937 and 1945. This writer, who was associated with the movement and ideas of Argentine Catholic nationalism in the inter-war years, on more than one occasion has shown a certain contempt for the cinema, which could not be compared, from his point of view, to other artistic manifestations of "millennial hierarchy"[40], such as the book and the theater.

Even though, the CACI had an Advisory Commission made up of nineteen other members from different academic disciplines, Carlos Ibarguren's personality is central to the understanding of the specific features of CACI's cultural policies from 1937 to 1945. Ibarguren has developed a well-known career in the Argentine intellectual field, which had simultaneously placed him in important positions in different cultural institutions: in those years he was president of the Academia Argentina de Letras, a member of the P.E.N. Club of Buenos Aires and a member of the CNC Board of Directors from 1933 to 1951, and he became its President from 1942 to 1944. As a result of this, his performance as president of the CACI can be circumscribed to his role as a cultural articulator between the CNC and the CACI. Determinant was also his participation as President of the Argentine P.E.N. Club during the organization of the international congress of the P.E.N. Club and *Entretien* in Buenos Aires in 1936, aided by his secretary, the writer Antonio Aita, who the following year was also appointed to the position of CACI secretary.

The study of this diplomatic agency illuminates some interesting facets to think not only about the positioning of the Argentine State in the international arena, but also to study the construction of the state apparatus and its operating dynamics during the second half of the 1930s and the first half of the 1940s. As a result, the focus of this research can be framed within the bibliography that in Argentine historiography has been named as "the State from within" (Bohoslavsky and Soprano 2010; Plotkin and Zimmermann 2012 a & b; Soprano 2007, 19 -48; Di Liscia and Soprano, 2017). On the one hand, as indicated, this work dialogue with recent research that has delved into the study of international relations, intellectual and sociability networks, and projects of intellectual cooperation in a transnational and/or global dimension during the interwar period, whose contributions are essential to think about the conformation of the cultural practices, knowledge and policies of the Argentine State in general and those of the CACI in particular. However, it also points out certain specificities of the state structure in the local context. Thus, the analysis of the CNC and the CACI throughout the 1930s and the first half of the 1940s reveals certain dynamics in the State functioning, which far from being a homogeneous structure, presented an aggregate of agencies — among

[38] *Información radiotelefónica de Carlos Ibarguren sobre el Congreso Internacional de Escritores*. 16 de Julio de 1936. AANHRP. *Fondo Carlos Ibarguren*. Inventario N° 14, Caja IX, folio 78, p. 5. (The translation is from the author).

[39] Just as other national commissions for intellectual cooperation had tried to do, such as the Mexican, Chilean and Brazilian commissions.

[40] *Comisión Nacional de Cultura*. Su labor en 1941, Peuser, Buenos Aires, 1942, p. 47. (The translation is from the author).

them, boards and commissions—which often overlapped in their functions (Cattaruzza and Eujanian 2003, 221; Persello 2015). This "bureaucratic hypertrophy" (Campione 2007) was, in many ways, a rehearsed response by the Argentine state to the general crisis of liberalism in the early 1930s. In addition, it can be observed in the bureaucracy of this State a preponderance of officials who shared the thought of Catholic nationalism. (Zanatta 2005; Tato 2009, 149-169).

The analysis of certain cultural policies and intellectuals that were linked in some way to the functioning of these two state agencies between 1933 and 1946 shows that the continuities among the following national governments were more pronounced than an attentive and close look at electoral policies indicates (Lacquaniti, 2021). In this sense, Juan Domingo Perón's triumph in the February 1946 elections marked a turning point in the Argentine cultural and political universe, subject to divisions between detractors and supporters of official policies. Regarding the functioning of the CACI, continuities and changes can be observed in the way the nation was imagined and in the way that this image was projected abroad during the first years of the Peronist government. As regards the processes related to the "invention of traditions", it is observed that in the last CACI publication, *Argentina en Marcha* (1948), Peronism largely recovered official representations that had previously circulated about the meaning of Argentine culture, especially concerning the spread of folklore and the official construction of the gaucho criollo as a national archetype. The same can be said about the efforts to provide new meaning to an image built in previous years that had placed Argentina as a defender of Latinity and Hispanism in America. But perhaps the most innovative feature within the national imaginary promoted by Peronism was the importance attributed to technical knowledge and the development of technology. Another original aspect was given by the appreciation and incorporation of tango into the cultural heritage and artistic canon of the nation.

Finally, contrary to what had happened up to that moment, the CACI was established as a propaganda organization of the official government doctrine, and *Argentina en Marcha* was established as a way to introduce peronist symbols and ideas abroad. Apart from that, in this publication, the government of Perón, through its intellectuals' voice, exposed its criticism of the United Nations functioning. It considered the UN as a multilateral organization dominated by the interests of the two belligerent powers in those initial years of the Cold War: the United States and the Soviet Union. Faced with these two different models of social organization, Peronism will oppose its doctrine of the "Third Position" (Paradiso 2002, 523-572). However, this did not mean an absolute break with the collaboration and cultural exchange programs promoted by the UN. In 1948, Perón government was willing to work together with UNESCO within the context of the recently created "National Board of Intellectuals". However, the itinerary and meaning of that program exceed the limits of this paper. Those aspects will be studied on another occasion.

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Mexico and the Permanent International Studies Conference. The Sense of the International, 1928–1939

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https://intellectualcooperation.org/hernandezsosa-pitagonzalez-2022

This article reconstructs the history of the Permanent International Studies Conference, by relating its origin to the concern of the League of Nations to discuss post-war international problems. Taking into account that the Conference was thought of as an academic space for the exchange of ideas, it remained under the supervision of the Institute for Intellectual Cooperation and over the years it acquired greater autonomy. This study offers a way to consider the general and particular process by which the Conference was incorporating the participation of Mexico. Understanding the participation of Mexico through the creation of the Scientific Committee for the study of International Relations proves the difficulties faced by some countries to join. During the debates, it was stated that the Mexican definition of the International Concept was very different from that of the powers. It is a historical approach that privileges the analysis of practices and actors (individuals and organizations), in order to understand the construction of the "international" concept during the interwar period.

This work reconstructs, broadly speaking, the history of the International Studies Conference (ISC), developed between 1928 and 1939 through twelve annual plenary sessions held in different European cities. The data use to approach this study has been collected from the archives of the Ministry of foreign Affairs Mexico, the personal archives of Isidro Fabela, and the Butler Library, Columbia University.

The origin of this Conference responded to the concern of the League of Nations to define the international as a new multilateral space that limited nationalisms. To do this, the Conference summoned specialists from different institutions dedicated to the scientific study of international affairs. Its organization was in hands of International Intellectual Cooperation and despite its short life it is possible to distinguish two periods.

Towards the Invention of a Common Language of Science: The League of Nations' Committee for Intellectual Cooperation and the Colonial Question in British India

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https://intellectualcooperation.org/dutta-2022

This presentation explores how the League of Nations' International Committee of Intellectual Cooperation viewed the role of India and its particularities in a broader framework of universal science / knowledge. Drawing from the writings, correspondences and biographical details of the first two Indian members of the committee – two Bengalis namely Devendra Nath Bannerjea and Jagadis Chandra Bose – I show how they used the notion of academic sovereignty of intellectual cooperation in the face of the lack of political sovereignty of a colonised nation. Especially taking into account the discussions around the formation of 'national committees' and what those 'national committees' meant to the larger project of 'international cooperation,' I contextualise the oscillation between certain fundamental categories at play – Indian anti-colonial nationalism and its specific position vis-à-vis imperial / metropolitan / global circulation of knowledge.

As a general background, the League of Nations' International Committee of Intellectual Cooperation, instituted in 1922, is considered a prototype of intellectual and scientific internationalism, which in later decades paved way to the creation of UNESCO (Sluga 2010, 393-418; Sluga 2013, 45-78). The existing historiography around this form of interwar intellectual internationalism took notice of how the turbulent political situations in Europe conditioned the trajectory of scientific cooperation (Laqua 2011, 223-47). Extending from that, Reijnen and Rensen's research has located these efforts within many European intellectuals' rethinking of Europe's political destiny in the 1920s and 30s (Reijnen, and Rensen 2014, 01-30).

In short, throughout the 1920s and 30s the League's committee contested, debated, reframed and, in turn, expanded the semantic reverberations of its constituent categories and concepts: the role of intellectualism and the direction of international cooperation. With humanists and classicists like Henri Bergson and Gilbert Murray at its helm, and eminent natural scientists like Albert Einstein and Marie Curie representing their national scientific realms in an international institution, the committee strived to create a 'new order' of a common language and a universal scientific temperament conducive to what they thought as the role of knowledge in an internationalist world order. Murray's 1929 essay "From Chaos to Cosmos" best exemplified their universalist strategies, where alongside the call for the "standardization of scientific terms" and "co-ordination of bibliography" of different scientific disciplines, he also explicitly charted the "soul-satisfying" moral role of "the Western races of men" in this academic project (Murray 1929, *The Ordeal of This Generation*, 185-86, and 193-94). Precisely at the same time, while corresponding with the British bureaucracy for the upkeep of the imperial interests in India, Murray reiterated the non-political nature of universalist knowledge that could overcome the "interests [of] … nationalist politics" in India (India Office Records and Private Papers IOR/L/E/7/1432/75vii).

In that context, the committee's universalist ambition of having an integrationist scientific language for both humanistic and natural sciences was therefore interspersed with the political conditions of racialized (thus non-universal) and colonial hierarchies. In the first decade (1922–1931) of the committee's activities the only members from a colonized country were two Bengali men from British India: Devendra Nath Bannerjea and Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose (Grandjean 2018, 542). Along with the Japanese member Tanakadate Aikitsu, they were also among the only non-white members of the committee. Though there have been recent attempts to integrate non-European actors (such as the Ibero-American knowledge

networks) within the dominant historical narrative about the committee, the colonial (and by extension, the racial) dimensions of it remained mostly unattended (Grandjean 2020, 65-89). By examining Bose and Bannerjea's roles and contributions in the committee, this paper addresses this gap; and asks the research question: how and why did the committee maneuvered to oscillate between their model of universal scientific cooperation and their discursive understanding of the colonial (and racialized) hierarchies of knowledge.

Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose (1858–1937) was a Bengali physicist and botanist, and from 1920 onwards a Fellow of the Royal Society in London. Educated in Cambridge, Bose championed in Bengal a unique blend of modern natural sciences and an anti-colonial quest for an idealized ancient Indian spiritual Sanskritic past – comparable to the efforts of his closest friend Rabindranath Tagore, Bengali poet, educationist and the first non-European to receive a Nobel prize. Simultaneous to a plethora of English writings concerning the new inventions in physics and botany, Bose parallelly wrote extensively in Bangla to chronicle his European sojourns, to popularize western / European science, and to situate that within his ideational framework of Sanskritic Indian past (Lahiri 2009, 21-41; Nandy 1980, 58; Dasgupta 1999, 255-58). Consequently, it is worth noting in this context as to how his continuous writings in Bangla journals published from Calcutta incorporated his European experiences during the League committee's meetings; and in turn, juxtaposed a highly technical realm of discussions taking place in post-WWI European Order and the horizon of expectations of Bengali reading-public in British India.

The second Bengali member in the committee, Devendra Nath Bannerjea (1899–1954) was a professor of political economy at the University of Calcutta, who helped drafting the League committee's proposal for the role of university-teaching in the grand scheme of universal science. Unlike Bose, Bannerjea's anti-colonialism included an active participation in the conservative internationalism of Nazi-Fascist political dispensation. After his association with the League's committee, during his long-term academic stay in Germany in the 1930s, Bannerjea eagerly fused the realms of Indological scholarship and the National Socialist regime (Framke 2014, 102-7). In sum, by taking into account the case studies of Bose and Bannerjea's interactions at and beyond the League's Committee for Intellectual Cooperation and at the same time moving beyond their mere biographical specificities, this paper contributes to the global intellectual history of scientific practices in the twentieth century; and address the negotiation and relocation of racial colour line and colonial difference in practice (Raj 2007; Baber 1996).

Following the intellectual genealogies of the conceptual categories (universal scientific language, cooperation, colonialism and anti-colonialism), this research uses global intellectual history methods, thereby discursively weaving in a varied range of archival sources (Chakrabarti 2004, 75). The simultaneous use of the committee's papers in three major West European languages and the reception of the committee within the receptive framework of a vast range of Bangla language sources from British India will broaden the historiographical outreach of the committee's history from a non-Eurocentric vantage point. To that end, this paper extensively draws from Bose and Bannerjea's papers at the League of Nations Archives in Geneva; their correspondence with other European members of the committee; and Bose and Bannerjea's travelogues and related writings in Bangla (in four Calcutta-based journals – *Prabasi*, *Basumati*, *Bharatbarsha* and *The Modern Review*, accessed and researched by the current author at Hiteshranjan Sanyal Memorial Archive of the Centre for Studies in Social Sciences Calcutta, India).

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Nationalism and Internationalism in Intellectual Co-operation: Aikitsu Tanakadate and the Romanization of Japanese Language

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Saikawa Takashi. 2022. "Nationalism and Internationalism in Intellectual Co-operation: Aikitsu Tanakadate and the Romanization of Japanese Language". *Centenary of the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations*. Geneva, 49.
https://intellectualcooperation.org/saikawa-2022

The main purpose of this paper is to examine an aspect of intellectual co-operation that the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation (ICIC) of the League of Nations implemented, focusing on Aikitsu Tanakadate and his endeavor to promote the romanization of Japanese language. Tanakadate, while making a significant mark in the development of geophysics and seismology in modern Japan, had been committed to the ICIC as one of its members from 1927 to 1933 and devoted to his lifelong project for romanizing non-Latin script languages. It was Tanakadate's belief that the Latin alphabet, which was widely used in the world, should be adopted into all languages in principle, particularly Japanese, with a view to facilitating international understanding. His enthusiasm for the romanization of languages eventually led to the adoption of so-called 'Tanakadate Proposal' by the ICIC in 1931. Based on this proposal, the ICIC conducted a comparative survey on possibilities of the romanization in non-Latin script languages and published a detailed report about the situations in twenty languages in 1934. In the end, however, the ICIC concluded that any further effective actions could not be taken in light of the national nature of this question.

Given the above, this paper firstly shows the intent and purpose of Tanakadate's project from a point of view of his nationalism and internationalism. As a matter of fact, while emphasizing the significance of international understanding through the unification of various writing systems under Latin characters, he also aimed at spreading the Japanese *Volksgeist* (Minzoku Seishin) across the world. Secondly, this paper demonstrates how Tanakadate's idea was received and understood in the ICIC, with special attention to some members such as Julio Casares, Hendrik Lorentz and Gilbert Murray who particularly favored the romanization of languages. Thirdly, this paper sheds light on repercussions of Tanakadate's project to other countries, particularly China. As the Chinese intellectual Lin Yutang, who attended the meeting of the ICIC in 1931 in place of the Chinese member Wu Zhihui, strongly agreed with Tanakadate, the system for writing Mandarin Chinese in the Latin alphabet (Gwoyeu Romatzyh) was promoted by the Chinese government in the same period. In light of this, this paper makes a comparative review of different romanizations in Japan and China.

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The Bibliothèque Sino-Internationale and the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, 1933-1939

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Chang Jennifer Y. 2022. "The Bibliothèque Sino-Internationale and the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, 1933-1939". *Centenary of the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations*. Geneva, 50-51. https://intellectualcooperation.org/chang-2022

In 1933, the Bibliothèque Sino-Internationale (BSI) was established in Geneva, Switzerland, as China's direct response to the mandates of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation (ICIC). This paper explores the successful implantation of Intellectual Cooperation in both Europe and the Republic of China (ROC) through the study of the BSI with an emphasis on visual culture and Sino- European exchange. This approach measures the extent to which BSI's collection of art, photography, print and film media reshaped the institution of the library as an alternative space for diplomacy and a critical platform for the diffusion of Chinese culture internationally, particularly in the years following Japan's increasingly aggressive cultural diplomacy to justify the invasion of Manchuria in 1931.

The intertwined history and destinies of the BSI and the ICIC begin with the ICIC serving as a strategic platform for China to seek international guidance for modernizing education. At the Twelfth Session of the ICIC in August 1930, philosopher and linguist Wu Jingheng (or Wu Zhi-Hui, 1865-1953), was approved to represent China at the ICIC[41] and would later become one of four co-founders of the BSI. Then, the formation of the Chinese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation (CNCIC) led to the League of Nations' Mission of Educational Experts to China in 1931.[42] The five experts on this team was appointed by the executive arm of the ICIC, the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC), to submit recommendations for reorganizing of public education in China. Among them was BSI co- founder Carl H. Becker (1876-1933),[43] Prussia's former Minister of Education. Another co-founder of the BSI and participant in the ICIC was the French-educated biologist, Nationalist Party activist, and education reformer Li Yu-Ying (Li Shih-Tseng，1881-1973). Not only was Li a confidante of Wu, he also represented Wu at several ICIC meetings in Geneva and was a close friend of another BSI co-founder, the French socialist politician Edouard Herriot (1872-1957), who was an early champion of the League of Nations and a General Assembly Delegate representing France.[44]

In addition to the formidable profiles of BSI's founding members who were longtime defenders of the League of Nations, the BSI secured the political and financial backing of the Nationalist government to support its Geneva branch operations which were remarkably expansive in scale. During the BSI's most active period from 1934 thorough1936, the BSI enterprise consisted of three locations in Geneva alone. There was a center for Chinese language instruction, a printing facility for the reproduction of artworks and publication of texts in both Chinese and non-Chinese editions, and a grand library with administrative offices at the Châteu Montalègre[45] located preeminently near the League of Nations and the International Labour Office (ILO). One of the most salient characteristics of the BSI is that the institution featured a "museum"[46] following its move in October 1937 to quarters formerly housing the Disarmament

[41] League of Nations, "Appointment of Two New Members to the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation: Report by the French Representative," Geneva, 12 May 1930, LNA: R2219.

[42] Li Chang, *International Cooperation in China: A Study of the Role of the League of Nations, 1919-1946* (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1999), 50.

[43] *Zhongguo Guoji Tushuguan Gaiyao*, Shanghai, 1934.

[44] "Edouard Herriot," League of Nations Search Engine, University of Heidelberg, http://www.lonsea.de/pub/person/4353 (accessed November 10, 2021).

[45] *Bibliothèque Sino-Internationale Genève*, 2nd edition (Geneva: Imprimerie et Editions Union,1936), 20-22.

[46] "Geneva's Bibliotheque Sino-Internationale," *The China Critic* XXV.13 (29 June 1939): 199.

Commission, thereby enhancing the power and perception of place in the library and with the European public.[47] In China, the BSI Shanghai branch was officially launched in 1934,[48] although it was already open to the public as early as 1932.[49] The BSI continued its many functions as a library, arts and cultural center even during the War of Resistance against Japan (1937-1945), WWII, and Chinese Civil War (1945-1949). However, after Switzerland's diplomatic recognition of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1950, Li moved the BSI from Geneva to Montevideo, Uruguay, in 1951. Three decades later, negotiations between the foreign ministers of Taiwan and Uruguay ensued, resulting in the shipment of select contents including rare books, paintings, photographs, posters, films, and ephemera of the BSI to their current location at the National Central Library (NCL) in Taiwan in 1993.

The BSI constitutes a fascinating case study to explore how the ICIC served as a catalyst for the creation of the BSI franchise at a decisive moment during the interwar period. The relationship between the ICIC and the BSI thus presents a framework to re-evaluate the potentiality of the library as a distinctly hybrid institution of sinology, culture, and international affairs. Furthermore, the BSI collection of visual materials demonstrates how BSI worked closely with the ICIC to pursue intellectual cooperation as part of government policy for China's national reconstruction and to showcase these efforts for the member states of the League of Nations and the European public. The activities and events curated around these materials at the BSI as exemplified by exhibitions of Chinese paintings, calligraphy, photography, children's art, and film screenings underscore China's intent to engage with the world and inform the West of her plight in context of Japanese occupation and war.

In addition to the BSI collection at the NCL, this paper includes research of primary documents from the Archives of the ROC's Ministry of Foreign Affairs at the Institute of Modern History of Academia Sinica, Academia Historica, the "Private Papers" of Wu Zhi-Hui and Li Yu-Ying at the Kuomintang Party Archives, the Ministry of Education and Li Yu-Ying documents at the National Archives Administration, and the oral history interviews of former Ambassador to France and Uruguay, Tchen Hiong-Fei (1911-2004) at the Archives of Academia Sinica. The UNESCO Archives AtoM Catalogue, United Nations Archives Geneva, the League of National Search Engine of the University of Heidelberg, and the BSI Archives at Biblioteca Nacional de Uruguay were also consulted.

This paper argues that the BSI collection of artworks, posters, photographs, and films represent a specific body of visual source materials that were collected or commissioned for the purpose to support China's endeavors as a member of the ICIC and the League of Nations. This paper also contends that the primary objective of China's intellectual cooperation is to introduce China and Chinese culture to the international community rather than within the ideological confines of the West. That there is a dearth of published research on the BSI, let alone on its visual source materials,[50] necessitates a nuanced examination of the BSI's history in context of the ICIC as part of a collaborative network of intellectuals and institutions in both Europe and China during the interwar period.

[47] Tianshi Hu, "Zhongguo guoji tushuguan yu kangzhan," *Zhonghua Tushuguan Xiehui Huibao* 14, no. 4 (1940), 5.

[48] *Bibliothèque Sino-Internationale Genève, 2nd edition*, 16.

[49] Takashi Saikawa, "From Intellectual Cooperation to International Cultural Exchange: Japan and China in the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation," PhD diss., University of Heidelberg, 2014.

[50] *Cat'alogo de los libros chinos antiguos de la Biblioteca Sino-Internacional* (Taipei: National Central Library, 1984).

Education and childhood, a coveted field. The International Bureau of Education, an intergovernmental body seized in its relational network

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> *It is questionable whether such the delicate question of teaching can be dealt with objectively in an organism fatally subject to political influence like the IIIC, if it can be done in an institute whose headquarters are not located in a neutral country, but in the capital of a large country where, therefore, ambitions of cultural hegemony are very likely to exert their influence*
>
> (Piaget, director of the International Bureau of Education, 1932).

At the very moment, when the ICIC met for the first time (August 1922), when the 3rd Assembly of Nations took up its quarters in September 1922 also in Geneva, a nucleus of intellectuals, pedagogues, diplomats, and pacifists were joining together to try to build a "sanctuary for children". Why should children not benefit from an international body that cares about their fate, as is the case with workers (ILO, 1919) and now intellectuals themselves (ICIC, 1922)? Does one not agree in affirming that the combative spirit at the origin of wars can be channeled, objectified, and sublimated, and be supplanted by the instinct of solidarity, a superior form of sociality that requires thought (Bovet, 1917)?

Noting that the young League of Nations did not accept the many proposals inviting it to fund an office dedicated to education, intellectuals and educational psychologists, steeped in pacifism, who revolve around the Rousseau Institute are mobilized at the end of the Great War to create, in 1925 in Geneva, an International Bureau of Education (BIE) in the form of a corporate association. To enhance States'cooperation, the Bureau was transformed in 1929 into an intergovernmental organization – the first one entirely dedicated to educational stakes and to improve educational system - and approached Unesco immediately after World War II, before officially joining it in 1969.

Building on collective research, which presents the IBE as a matrix of "educational internationalism", we focus on the way in which this intergovernmental technical agency positioned itself with regard to the League of Nations and its bodies during the interwar period, then the nascent Unesco in 1944, in an attempt to gain legitimacy: "a very exciting sport" Piaget declared retrospectively (1959)[51], "to work in competition with powerful rivals". We examine how the spokespersons of the IBE negotiated the contours of the institution, the causes embraced, and the activities implemented to have their institution recognized as a platform of educational internationalism.

Its modus operandi plays a central role for this. Under the joint direction of Jean Piaget and Pedro Rosselló (1929-1968), the BIE institutionalized International Conferences on Public Education (ICPEs), supposed to respect "unity in diversity". We analyse the different facets and possible contradictions: aiming, through science, the documentation of educational problems identified at regional and national levels to guide "the global march of education"; advocating apoliticism in order to be able to intervene at the governmental level; conversely, acting on public schools, the preserve of nations, to build international intergovernmental cooperation. The argument of scientific objectivity to thwart political interference was also used to counter the International Institute for Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC) when the latter expanded its educational activities, without fully involving the IBE. Considering that the IIIC was walking "on its steps", the director

[51] A-BIE, B45. 25e Réunion du Conseil, 11.7.1959, Palais Wilson, p. 6.

Piaget using his voice and pen alerted his interlocutors - Belgium, Great Britain, but also Germany, Italy ... - of the danger that France made education its field of experimentation and thus imposed its cultural supremacy. The solution? Join the IBE which, for its part, would not seek "to standardize education by means of conventions, but on the contrary to strengthen the characteristics of the educational systems of each country by disclosing them"[52].

Its quest for universality placed the IBE in a marginal, even contradictory, situation, of which we try to define the logic, by also placing ourselves behind the scenes of major official assemblies, to capture the positions of the actors at work on the spot, right at their worktable. Taking advantage of prosopography and network analysis methods, we also highlight the profile of delegates involved as well as the strategies used by States at the CIIPs to make the latter a platform for claims and to experiment with a form of international collaboration that would stand out from the practices of the IIIC, and which will later be supported by Unesco.

To do this, we benefit from voluminous archives deposited at the Foundation of the Archives of the J.-J. Rousseau Institute, the Jean Piaget Archives, the archives of League of Nations (LoN) and above all at the IBE documentation and archives centre. We try to interpret positions that are less laudatory, even downright suspicious, but also silences of certain archives, in order to weigh the place of the IBE in this relational network and the role played, in these decades, by educational internationalism marked by the hope and ambition to deal and regulate the affairs of the world on a planetary scale.

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Teaching about the League of Nations: An attempt to cultivate international consensus during the interwar period

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During the interwar period, the view was widely shared by international scholars and officials of the League of Nations that it was essential to cultivate faith in international cooperation as the standard method for conducting world affairs among subsequent generations. They also believed that the League of Nations' existence was largely reliant on sympathetic responses from different peoples. In this context, from 1926 the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (ICIC) of the League of Nations constituted a Sub-Committee of Experts for the Instruction of Children and Youth in the Existence and Aims of the League of Nations (the Sub-Committee of Experts) and undertook the work of making the League of Nations known to the younger generation, which was one of the lasting educational achievements of the League. Although some scholars have analyzed how the program was carried out in some countries(Osborne 2016; Li 2021; Julie McLeod 2019; McCarthy 2010), the role of the ICIC in globalizing the program and how the program was carried out globally have not yet been fully explored. It is not only an important vehicle for understanding the role of international organizations in the process of globalizing particular educational concepts but also because it enables a historical reflection on the diverse voices expressed by differently positioned countries on peace education. The article aims to fill in the research gap by analyzing the networks of the Sub-Committee of Experts and reports written by scholars or governmental representatives in each country, published in Educational Survey and The Bulletin of League of Nations Teaching. This article argues that the Sub-Committee of Experts functioned as the centre of international communication although it did not directly undertake any activities within national territories. Furthermore, the necessity of the League of Nations' existence was not viewed as common sense in most countries.

The article includes three parts. In the first part, it argues that the cautious attitudes towards education upheld by the ICIC were also reflected in this program, and such conservative attitudes constrained the working scope and the role of the Sub-Committee of Experts in internationalizing the program. The article finds that when discussing how the Sub-Committee of Experts should function, the members of the ICIC shared the agreement of not interfering in national education systems and expected the description of the League of Nations in each country to diverge. The activities of the ICIC and the Sub-Committee of Experts mainly consisted of four tasks: a) organizing summer schools, b) issuing recommendations on the methods of teaching about the League, c) providing reference materials for those who showed an interest in the program and d) issuing educational journals that contained information on how the program was being carried out in each individual country. The ICIC kept its distance from governments while trying to establish a close relationship with teachers and other international organizations. In analyzing how those activities were conducted, the article reveals how the internal organs of the League of Nations were coordinated to try to ensure the successful operation of the program. The Assembly and the sub-organs of the Permanent Secretariat, such as the Information Section, the Library and the Intellectual Cooperation and International Bureaux Section, were all involved in supporting the works of the Sub-Committee of Experts.

In the second part, the article provides a descriptive analysis of how the program was carried out in different countries. Adding content about the League of Nations to textbooks, organizing special lectures on the League of Nations, and providing reading materials for teachers and students as references were the three main methods taken in most countries. Beyond these methods, the article finds that some countries also organized article competitions and arranged scholarships for individuals travelling to Geneva. The article reveals the degree to which these methods were employed, while showing that access to information about the League of Nations to teachers and students substantially varied. The article further shows that private

organizations played a significant role in carrying out the program in most countries. The League of Nations Unions in different countries were most active in the program, while the national Sub-Committee of the ICIC was seldom mentioned.

In the final part, the article analyzes what challenges the program faced in each individual country. The ICIC from the very beginning held the line that in each country, the image of the League of Nations was expected to be viewed differently, and that the League itself had no right to decide what students should know about the League in an any given national instance. As a result, the description of the League of Nations varied from one nation to another. The expectations placed on the League of Nations and how its image was viewed in the different parts of the international order it maintained played a decisive role in the popularity of the program in any given country. Accordingly, the article divides those countries participating in the program into four groups: the first group consisted of countries occupying dominating positions in the post-WWI international system that actively carried out the program. The second group consisted of those countries in Eastern Europe established after WWI which expected that the League could provide them with national security. The third group was comprised of those countries who felt themselves to be non-participants in the League of Nations system. The fourth group was made up of those that considered their national interests beyond the League's protection.

In the conclusion, the article summarizes the contradiction between the attempts of the ICIC to avoiding political influencing the program and the reality that the international educational program was inherently political, leading to a discussion of the role that an international organization such as the ICIC could and should take in globalizing educational concepts, especially relating to constructing a *sensus communis* among the next generation.

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How to guide and justify the work of the Intellectual Cooperation on textbooks? About the constitution and the action of the Committee of Experts de 1931

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Riondet Xavier. 2022. "How to guide and justify the work of the Intellectual Cooperation on textbooks? About the constitution and the action of the Committee of Experts de 1931". *Centenary of the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations*. Geneva, 57-58.
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The competition between nation-states, the superposition of imperialist dynamics, but also the losses and the various traumas caused by conflicts and wars have strongly determined reflections about educational systems, and especially the teaching oh history annd the texbooks. Education is a complex issue in many discussions within Intellectual Cooperation during the interwar period. Even if these questions generated many controversy (Grandjean, 2018 ; Hofstetter and Riondet, 2018), a first institutional action is envisaged in 1925 with the Casarès resolution to remove hawkish passages from school textbooks (Riondet, 2020a). If this resolution is not very used during the first years, it is the sign of the interest from Intellectual Cooperation for school matters. For the promoters of the resolution, the rapprochement of the peoples could be promoted by removing from the textbooks the passages contributing to a misunderstanding between the peoples of the different countries. For many protagonists, the teaching of history was intertwined in the processes of national education and the textbook constituted a cultural object crossed by many disciplinary and ideological issues.

In the context of the reconfiguration of Intellectual Cooperation in the 1930s (Renoliet, 1995, 1998), that work on school textbooks became a central question for these networks. In order to revive the question of the revision of school textbooks, but also to remedy the shortcomings of the Casarès Resolution, the revision of school textbooks was on the Commission's agenda in 1930. The results of the survey were published in 1932 under the title "The Revision of School Textbooks Containing Passages Harmful to the Mutual Understanding of Peoples". The report produced by the IIIC was submitted on February 15 and 16, July 1931, to a delegation of the sub-committee of experts for teaching young people about the goals of the League of Nations. A committee of experts is then envisaged, comprising Julio Casarès, Bruno Vignola, Ernst Bjerke, Otto Brandt, Gustave Glotz, Jean Piaget and Eileen Power. The Committee of experts, provided for by the decisions of the International Commission, sits at the International Institute for Intellectual Cooperation on the 15th and 16th. February 1932 then communicate the results of the exchanges. These reflections are used to think about the evolution of work on textbooks.

This paper questions how this material was made up and how it served as a basis for relaunching the work of the Intellectual Cooperation on manuals. By working with documents of the various insititons, comitee et delegation dealing with educational issues within Intellectual Cooperation and the archives of the work of the committee of experts appointed in 1931, our communication project focuses on the overall description of the evolution of modalities of Intellectual Cooperation's work on school textbooks, and on the study in particular of the constitution and functioning of the committee of experts in question and of the use of these reflections in the overall work of Intellectual Cooperation. This contribution can be part of the axis « The International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, its sub-committees and activities • The International Institute on Intellectual Cooperation, its sections and activities », but it would evoke elements likely to be in link with several other axes: "The International Bureau of Education and its relations to the League of Nation", "Bureaucratization of cultural, educational and scientific relations during the interwar, administrative machinery of Intellectual Cooperation at the League of Nations" and "Women involved in intellectual cooperation or playing a role in any of the organizations concerned with intellectual cooperation".

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'The League Committee of Intellectual Cooperation [...] has never attracted much sympathy in Great Britain': Britain and the League of Nations in the Interwar Period.

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'The League Committee of Intellectual Cooperation, or CIC, has never attracted much sympathy in Great Britain. The name has about it something priggish, something that sounds to our prejudiced ears "Latin and not Anglo-Saxon." It rouses, until it can explain itself, all the Englishman's instinctive mistrust of abstract ideas.' These were the words of Gilbert Murray, the chair of the CIC, writing to the *Times* in 1931. Murray's remark is an important starting point in order to understand Britain's interaction with the League's bodies on intellectual co-operation, namely the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (ICIC) and the International Institute for Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC).

Britain's relationship with the idea of 'intellectual cooperation' was defined by a pronounced public scepticism in the 1920s and 1930s. There were two major reasons for this. First, the discourse surrounding the idea of 'intellectual cooperation' in Britain highlighted a wider tension about the role of the intellectual in British society and the nature of British intellectuals more generally, where the term 'intellectual' was often deployed in a negative and pejorative sense, where anti-intellectualism was prominent in public discourse and where 'denialism' was part of English national identity. Second, Britain's relationship with intellectual cooperation was illustrative of a wider disinclination in British political and cultural life to 'buy into' a project that presupposed a degree of transnational cultural coherence in lieu of pre-existing imperial organisations and connections.

There are three ways through which Britain's interactions with intellectual cooperation can be measured: through an analysis of British attitudes towards the idea of 'the intellectual', through public discussions of the concept of 'intellectual cooperation', and through a brief exploration of the activities of the British National Committee on Intellectual Cooperation.

It is widely accepted that anti-intellectualism, and the idea that Britain has no intellectuals, is part of British – or, more specifically, English national identity. This has been argued by scholars such as Stefan Collini and T.W. Heyck. These ideas emerged in the 19th century and were usually framed versus other nations, especially France; for example, national qualities were often contrasted: England valued qualities such as pragmatism, empiricism and understatedness versus continental/French qualities of abstract rationalism, rhetoric and exaggeration. Often, to be an intellectual was portrayed in a negative light *because* the term was seen as one that emanated from continental Europe.

In his 1928 work *Learning and Leadership*, Alfred Zimmern wrote that 'Englishmen delight, indeed, in proclaiming their distrust of the things of the mind and in exhibiting an artificial contrast, drawn to their own sardonic taste, between intellect and character. One of their traditional pleasures, fit almost to be ranked as a national sport, is to fling darts of good natured irony against the lover of ideas.' In 1930 an editorial in the *Yorkshire Post* argued that 'a Frenchman or a German is flattered by being called "intellectual" while a true Englishman regards this epithet with a particular uneasiness, if not as a veiled insult.' Intellectual qualities could only be tolerated when it was concealed by something else, such as light heartedness, or when mingled with 'other qualities more traditionally British.'

This more general scepticism about the figure of the intellectual framed British popular attitudes towards intellectual co-operation. This can be seen in the many newspaper stories from the 1920s and 1930s that identified the term 'intellectual co-operation' for particular scorn. Newspapers would accuse the ICIC of having a 'somewhat cumbrous title' a 'name abhorrent to English ears', of having an 'appalling name!', an 'unattractive name!, being 'clumsily termed', and having a 'terrifying name' that 'makes the average man fight shy of it.' For British supporters of the League and especially those who were keen to promote its involvement in cultural and educational initiatives, this recoil at the term 'intellectual co-operation' was a source of continued vexation. Gilbert Murray frequently sought to defend the ICIC in public debates in Britain, but also lamented that the title did not translate to English as effectively as it did in other languages. In a broadcast on the BBC in 1930, he noted that the term 'intellectual cooperation' sounded 'absurd' in English but was 'all right in French or Italian.' Where publications did engage seriously with intellectual cooperation, they often remarked that British representatives stood out negatively when contrasted against their more erudite colleagues from continental Europe and beyond, emphasising British difference all the while.

A final means of exploring British attitudes towards intellectual cooperation can be seen through the experiences of the British national committee. The ICIC encouraged nations to set up national committees on intellectual cooperation to disseminate its work and to provide a framework to encourage further international cooperation. By 1924, these existed in eighteen countries. The British national committee was not set up until 1928. Even once established, the British national committee was not an especially active body; when the British Council was established in 1934, newspapers noted that it would be performing much the same role as the League's national committee ought to. By that stage, H.R. Cummings, who worked for the British League of Nations Union, wrote that 'no one ever hears anything' of the British national committee. It had, however, been prominent in supporting the International Studies Conference that took place in London in 1935 as well as initiatives relating to moral disarmament. As late as 1938, Gilbert Murray was criticizing the limited support of the British government for intellectual cooperation, writing in the *Times* that 'I can hardly believe that it can be permanently cold-shouldered simply on the ground that the British people take no stock in mere moral and intellectual values.'

It was not the case that Britain was uniformly reluctant to engage with the intellectual cooperation agenda. In April 1930, Gwylim Davies – a regular visitor to Geneva who attended Assembly discussions of intellectual cooperation - wrote of his dissatisfaction at how little was known of Wales in Europe, meaning that from the European point of view 'lies, culturally, almost in outer darkness.' Davies was unhappy that Wales had no representation on the British national committee of Intellectual Cooperation, a decision which was attributed to the fact that all members were nominated by national learned societies. For Davies and his Welsh colleagues, intellectual cooperation could be a means to promote a greater sense of national difference.

The discourse surrounding intellectual cooperation in interwar Britain thus reveals much about how imperial and national identity were constructed. British reluctance to enthusiastically embrace intellectual cooperation must be understood in the context of a wider antipathy towards the figure of the intellectual. While figures like Murray sought to fight against these conceptions in the 1930s, the case of the British national committee suggests that intellectual cooperation was viewed with much scepticism in interwar Britain.

Fascist Cultural Internationalism? Intellectual Cooperation in Mussolini's Italy, 1925–1937

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Martin Benjamin G. 2022. " Fascist Cultural Internationalism? Intellectual Cooperation in Mussolini's Italy, 1925-1937". *Centenary of the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations*. Geneva, 61-62. https://intellectualcooperation.org/martin-2022

In 1922, in the aftermath of the First World War, a cosmopolitan group of scientists and writers met in Geneva to create the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (ICIC). Connected to the newly created League of Nations, this organization promoted international education and cross-border cultural exchanges among its various national committees in order to advance what its supporters called "the international outlook." Ironically, however, one of the most active national committees of intellectual cooperation would be the one representing Mussolini's fascist dictatorship in Italy. From 1925 to 1937, Italy sent high-level representatives to the International Committee's meetings, hosted ICIC events, and opened a League-sponsored center for educational cinema in Rome as well as the international legal organization, Unidroit. Italy's National Commission featured many of the country's most prominent intellectuals, writers, architects, and composers, who used the ICIC's events and publications to raise Italy's scholarly and cultural profile, increase the prestige of Mussolini's regime, and promote fascist ideology in front of international audiences. Leading figures in the ICIC, including Marie Curie and Albert Einstein, feared the effect of the fascists' authoritarian nationalism on the committee's work, but withdrew their objections when the Italians threatened to withdraw from the institution.

What did it mean for an ultra-nationalist dictatorship to participate so eagerly in the cosmopolitan world of intellectual cooperation? In this paper, I explore these questions by reconstructing the story of Italy's National Commission of Intellectual Cooperation, from its foundation in 1924 to its dissolution in 1937 (when Italy left the League of Nations). Based on period publications and archival material in Rome, Geneva, and Paris, I reconstruct the origins of the committee, document its work, and analyze how outsiders—including other national committees, League leadership, and the international press—responded to the Italians' activities.

Fascist Italy's engagement with intellectual cooperation is a particularly interesting national case for at least three reasons. First, it allows us to explore an ironic case of the way Mussolini's dictatorship used culture to advance its power and prestige abroad. Scholars have long studied how fascist Italy, Nazi Germany, and other dictatorships used culture to mobilize and control their own people, but much less is known about how these regimes used cultural diplomacy to advance their illiberal agendas on the international stage. This international side of fascism's cultural politics was in fact a crucial element of fascism's appeal that deserves careful examination.

Second, fascist Italy's role in the networks of international intellectual cooperation can shed new historical light on the tensions between the theory of interwar internationalism and its practice. The ICIC was the first major institutional effort to put culture and ideas to work for world peace, based on a belief that cross-border intellectual and cultural exchange would necessarily promote international understanding in a liberal spirit. The Italians' effort to subvert this project, using intellectual cooperation as a means of promoting fascist ideology, was an early example of the challenges faced by liberal projects of what the historian Akria Iriye has called "cultural internationalism." For example, the ICIC's strictly apolitical character meant that it could not condemn activities—like Mussolini's 1931 demand that Italy's university professors swear loyalty to the fascist regime—that clearly violated its values. Should the organization have taken a stronger stand? This question is not only of historical interest: today, the resurgence of nationalist authoritarianism in many countries poses related challenges to liberal visions of international cooperation.

Third, the story of the Italian National Commission offers a way to advance our understanding of the varieties of internationalism. I argue that it is incorrect to assume that international intellectual cooperation had a necessarily liberal character. In fact, the case of fascist Italy's engagement with the world of intellectual

cooperation shows that fascism also proposed an internationalism, albeit one based on values (hierarchy, authoritarianism, and cultural nationalism) that seem at odds with what we think of as the international spirit. By analyzing the goals, values, and successes of fascist internationalism, my work seeks to contribute to the dynamic historical literature that is currently reevaluating the history and nature of internationalism in the twentieth century.

In the paper, I briefly trace the history of Italy's National Commission and then, on that basis, explore the first and third of these issues. Regarding the matter of how the fascists advanced a national agenda through international intellectual cooperation, I argue that the *way* the Italians ran their national commission was, itself, an ideological message: led by state representatives in a highly centralized manner, Italy's National Commission embodied fascism's totalitarian emphasis on "the action of the collective." Its insistence that the state-nation mediate any contact between the individual and the outside world expressed the fascist belief that all thought and expression is primarily, essentially national in character. Regarding the third point, I argue that fascist Italy's activities did not subvert the international character of intellectual cooperation, but did attack the *liberal* values of many of its leading supporters. In this way, the case of fascist Italy's National Commission highlights the fact there were multiple internationalisms *within* the sphere of intellectual cooperation. This is part of what made it possible for fascist Italy to use that sphere to advance an agenda that Italian leaders found meaningful. And this is part of what makes the history of interwar intellectual cooperation of continued interest today.

Academic Refugees and Intellectual Cooperation at the League of Nations

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Introduction

In December 1935, the League of Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, James G. McDonald, resigned in protest of the latest wave of persecution in Germany and the unwillingness of the international community to welcome refugees. Humanitarian assistance was a "political function" which belonged to the League itself, McDonald concluded after little more than two years of service.[53] That insight was just as true for the work of the League's bodies for intellectual cooperation as they struggled to provide relief to refugee academics in the 1930s. Set up in the spirit of liberal internationalism after the First World War, the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (ICIC) in Geneva and the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC) in Paris were unable to turn their ambitions into practical support for the most vulnerable members of their community. Why was it so difficult to help academic refugees?

On the one hand, the League lacked support from national governments, as McDonald lamented in his letter. But there was also a degree of overconfidence in prominently staffed committees which distracted from the substantial task of saving lives. Geneva bureaucrats seemed curiously removed from the realities of cultural life in a dictatorship, and they had underestimated the political nature of humanitarian assistance. More generally, then, the ICIC and IIIC serve as examples of how the international community grappled with the politicisation of seemingly technical questions of international life. Existing historiography on intellectual cooperation has rarely considered the question of refugee academics.[54] There are, however, excellent studies on the High Commission as well as the various private organisations, such as the Academic Assistance Council in Britain, and the reception of refugee academics abroad.[55]

This paper looks at academic refugees from the perspective of the League in order to understand how international organisations dealt with a specific humanitarian question within a larger political conflict. First, it surveys the institutional setting in the early 1930s. It then illustrates the realities of refugee appeals and showcases efforts for relief by drawing on examples from the archives of the League and private philanthropic organisations. Finally, it contextualises the problem of refugee academics within the history of intellectual cooperation during the inter-war period.

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[53] James G. McDonald, Letter of Resignation, 27 December 1935, League of Nations Archives, C1611-508-07.

[54] See, for example, Daniel Laqua, 'Transnational intellectual cooperation, the League of Nations, and the problem of order', *Journal of Global History* 6:2 (2011); Jo-Anne Pemberton, 'The Changing Shape of Intellectual Cooperation: From the League of Nations to UNESCO', *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 58:1 (2012); Jean-Jacques Renoliet, *L'UNESCO oubliée: La Société des Nations et la coopération intellectuelle (1919–1946)* (Paris, 1999).

[55] On the High Commission, see Greg Burgess, *The League of Nations and the Refugees from Nazi Germany: James G. MacDonald and Hitler's Victims* (London, 2016) and Monty Noam Penkower, 'Honorable Failures against Nazi Germany: McDonald's Letter of Resignation and the Petition in its Support', *Modern Judaism* 30:3 (2010). On the Academic Assistance Council, see Michael Cox, "'His finest hour": William Beveridge and the Academic Assistance Council', *LSE Blog* (28 April 2021), available at: https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/lsehistory/2021/04/28/his-finest-hour-william-beveridge-and-academic-assistance-council/ [accessed 15-02-2022]; and David Zimmerman, 'The Society for the Protection of Science and Learning and the Politicisation of British Science in the 1930s', *Minerva* 44:1 (2006), pp. 25–45. On the reception of refugee academics abroad, see Christian Fleck, *Etablierung in der Fremde. Vertriebene Wissenschaftler in den USA nach 1933* (Frankfurt a. M., 2015); and Marjorie Lamberti, 'The Reception of Refugee Scholars from Nazi Germany in America: Philanthropy and Social Change in Higher Education', *Jewish Social Studies* 12:3 (2006).

1 Institutional Setting: How did the League of Nations deal with academics fleeing Nazi Germany?

While the Covenant did not originally provide for a refugee organisation, the League of Nations soon faced the problem of repatriating prisoners of war as well as rescuing people from the 1921 Russian famine. In August 1921, the Norwegian explorer Fridtjof Nansen was appointed High Commissioner for Refugees. A committed humanitarian and internationalist, Nansen introduced a passport for stateless people which helped to resettle half a million people and earned him a Nobel Peace Prize. The initial conference establishing the Nansen passport in July 1922 was followed by several international arrangements for Russian, Armenian, and Assyrian refugees in the first half of the 1920s. After Nansen's death in 1930, his activities were taken up by the Nansen International Office for Refugees, though it never turned into a general agency for all types of refugees.

Meanwhile, the ICIC had taken up its work in Geneva, including studies on intellectual property rights, bibliographical questions, and the conditions of "intellectual workers".[56] In August 1923, the ICIC adopted a resolution "concerning the organisation of relief for the intellectuals among the Russian emigrants", which was supposed to coordinate the relief work already pursued by private bodies, though it did not offer any direct help.[57] Nor did any other ICIC and IIIC activities address the hardship of refugee academics. Although the IIIC operated more effectively from 1931, its activities remained within a relatively narrow scope of high-level cultural exchange. The majority of its work consisted of reports and studies written by a small group of experts for an equally small group of intellectuals and international bureaucrats. It was deliberately elitist and did not show much concern for mass problems, even in Europe.[58] In 1934, IIIC director Henri Bonnet deplored the "uncertainty of the future", but he was convinced that international cooperation was actually gaining public support.[59]

Intellectual cooperation was supposed to be "disinterested" in the sense that it did not privilege certain political ideas over others.[60] This created the illusion of technical cooperation being able to settle problems that had fundamentally political roots. In the case of 1930s refugees, it meant that High Commissioner McDonald had "no wish to examine the reasons why these people have left their country".[61] That disinterest would soon become tragic.

2 Appeals for Help and Efforts for Relief: Who asked for help and what did the League do?

From the spring of 1933, the IIIC started receiving appeals from individual refugees as well as refugee organisations, most notably the Geneva Comité international pour le placement des intellectuels réfugiés, the Academic Assistance Council in London, and its American counterpart, the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars. Some asked for financial support or jobs, others wanted the IIIC to press the League of Nations for more humanitarian action. In most cases, IIIC director Bonnet had to disappoint. He promised to spread the word among his network, but given the number of requests he could do nothing else.[62] Instead, private relief organisations took over the work of the League. By April 1934, High Commissioner McDonald had effectively outsourced the registration of displaced German scholars to the Academic Assistance Council.[63]

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[56] Léon Bourgeois, *L'Oeuvre de la Société des Nations* (Paris, 1923), p. 410; Daniel Gorman, *The Emergence of International Society in the 1920s* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 203–8.

[57] ICIC, 'Resolutions concerning the organisation of relief for the intellectuals among the Russian emigrants adopted by the Committee', 1 August 1923, Refugees Mixed Archival Group (Nansen Fonds), R1724/45/29932/13953.

[58] Jan Kolasa, *International Intellectual Cooperation: The League Experience and the Beginnings of UNESCO* (Wroclaw, 1962), pp. 54, 165.

[59] Jean-Jacques Renoliet, *L'UNESCO oubliée: La Société des Nations et la coopération intellectuelle (1919–1946)* (Paris, 1999), pp. 297–301.

[60] International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC), *The State and Economic Life* (Paris, 1934), p. xiii.

[61] Greg Burgess, The League of Nations and the Refugees from Nazi Germany: James G. MacDonald and Hitler's Victims (London, 2016), p. 43 (citing Statement of James G. McDonald, 5 December 1933, C.1612, League of Nations Archives, Geneva).

[62] Henri Bonnet to Walter Adams, 23 September 1933, AG1 IICI-B-IV-44, UNESCO Archives, Paris.

[63] Walter Adams, Circular Letter, 3 April 1934, AG1 IICI-B-IV-44, UNESCO Archives, Paris.

IIIC records show direct interaction with seven individuals seeking help from 1933 to 1937, including the Social Democrat librarian Klaus Berger, the Jewish criminologist Hermann Mannheim, and the botanist Theodor Philipp Haas. As a 'non-Aryan', Haas had been dismissed from his role as a plant taxonomist at the Munich Botanical Museum. He contacted the IIIC in March 1937 seeking employment abroad, but was referred to private relief organisations.[64] In November 1938, he was arrested and sent to Dachau. Released under the condition of leaving the country, he was able to emigrate to the United States in 1940 with the help of the Society of Friends (Quakers) and eventually found a position at the University of the Sciences in Philadelphia. He was grateful for his new life in the United States, but he was deeply saddened by the death of his elderly mother whom he had to leave behind in Munich.[65]

Whereas the IIIC struggled to provide direct assistance, private organisations collected donations and found jobs for refugees. In April 1935, the Comité international pour le placement des intellectuels réfugiés issued a special series of stamps in collaboration with the Luxembourg government—the first international campaign of this kind—to collect funds for refugee professional workers and to raise awareness for their situation.[66] In 1936, the Comité published a collection of essays by famous authors (including Selma Lagerlöf and Thomas Mann) with all proceeds going to charity.[67] Meanwhile the Academic Assistance Council organised charity events, such as a 1933 speech by Albert Einstein at Royal Albert Hall in London in front of an audience of 10,000 people. By March 1936, the Academic Assistance Council had successfully resettled 363 German scholars and an additional 324 were in temporary safety.[68]

3 Disappointments and Failures: What were the underlying problems in the response by the international community?

The number of academic refugees, however, became larger than feared. In addition to 1,300 professors and university teachers who had lost their jobs by November 1934, there were 4,500 emigrés in the liberal professions as well as up to 1,700 students.[69] Neither the High Commissioner nor the bodies for intellectual cooperation were able to cope with these numbers, even as the High Commission's advisor on academic and intellectual refugees, Walter Kotschnig, downplayed the total figure of *all* refugees (academic and otherwise) in July 1935 to 27,500. Kotschnig's calculations rested on "unjustifiable optimism" and a lack of critical awareness, as Greg Burgess has argued.[70] Thus, McDonald's resignation in December 1935 did not come as a surprise, but highlighted some of the more general problems of the League in dealing with the refugee crisis of the 1930s.

One immediate problem was how to prevent Germany from obstructing the League's work, since it was still a member until October 1933 and denied the very existence of a refugee problem. The solution was to formulate the refugee question as a technical problem and to formally separate the High Commission from the League—it was located first in Lausanne and, from October 1934, in London, improving collaboration with the Academic Assistance Council but weakening the High Commission's ties to the governments represented in Geneva.

The IIIC was in a similar position in Paris. Like the High Commission, it depended on private organisations (and the French government) for funding, and it was unable to carry out much substantial work itself. IIIC director Bonnet had to turn down several job applications from refugee academics. He was fortunate to save his German staff member Margarethe Rothbarth until she fled to Switzerland in 1939. Both the IIIC

[64] Theodor Philipp Haas to Henri Bonnet, 4 March 1937; and J. Belime to Dr. Haas (München), 6 March 1937, AG1 IICI-B-IV-44, UNESCO Archives, Paris.

[65] Theodor Philipp Haas to Lilly Kriesch, 29 July 1946, Box 1, Folder 5, Theodor Philipp Haas Papers, Hunt Institute Archives, Collection no. 212.

[66] Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, Leaflet, April 1935, C1607/504/06

[67] Comité International pour le Placement des Intellectuels Réfugiés, *Dichter Helfen* (Zurich, 1936).

[68] William Beveridge, *A Defence of Free Learning* (Oxford, 1959), pp. 9, 25.

[69] Haut-Commissariat pour les réfugiés (Israélites et autres) provenant d'Allemagne, Troisième Session du Conseil d'Administration, 1–2 November 1934, 20 A 19923/18812, League of Nations Archives, Geneva.

[70] Greg Burgess, *The League of Nations and the Refugees from Nazi Germany: James G. MacDonald and Hitler's Victims* (London, 2016), p. 146.

and the High Commission underestimated the political nature of international cooperation and humanitarian relief. Academic refugees were not, as McDonald had originally thought in 1933, "a purely technical problem".[71]

Yet, the most fundamental difficulty in providing effective help to refugee academics was the lack of support from national governments, both financially and in terms of accepting refugees to enter their countries and labour markets. In fact, aid itself became part of national culture, as Isabella Löhr has shown.[72] Without funds and authority, however, the League's bodies were unable to offer any hands-on assistance for the resettlement of academic refugees, and could do little more than keeping an eye on international developments and liaising between the various organisations.

[71] Greg Burgess, The League of Nations and the Refugees from Nazi Germany: James G. MacDonald and Hitler's Victims (London, 2016), p. 43 (citing Statement of James G. McDonald, 5 December 1933, C.1612, League of Nations Archives, Geneva).

[72] Isabella Löhr, 'Solidarity and the Academic Community', *Journal of Modern European History* 12:2 (2014), p. 232.

Laura Dreyfus-Barney (1897-1974), the International Council of Women and International Intellectual Cooperation at Paris, Geneva, and Rome

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https://intellectualcooperation.org/goodman-2022

During the International Council of Women's (ICW) 1927 congress Alfred Zimmern, deputy director of the Paris Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC), addressed an open meeting on "The Work of the League of Nations for Intellectual Co-operation and How the International Council of Women and its National Councils Might Cooperate with the League's Work for Intellectual Co-operation" (ICW 1927). His talk was chaired by Laura Dreyfus-Barney, a wealthy American domiciled in Paris, who was the ICW liaison officer with the IIIC (from 1925) and an expert member of the League's Sub-committee of Experts to Make the League known to Young People. Dreyfus Barney convened the ICW Cinema Sub-committee (1926-46) and from 1930 was ICW Liaison officer at the International Institute of Educational Cinematography (IIEC) in Rome. She was vice-president (1925-35), then president (1935-47), of the ICW Peace and Disarmament Committee and vice-chair of the Peace and Disarmament Committee of the Women's International Organisations. After WW2 she was ICW liaison officer with the United Nations until 1970 (Goodman, 2018).

Dreyfus-Barney was a prominent follower of the Bahá'í Faith, which originated in Iran in the 1840s. From 1900 she spent two years in the household of the exiled Bahá'í leader 'Abdul'Bahá in the prison city of Akka', where she studied the Bahá'í faith and became fluent in Persian. Prior to 1922 she travelled as a Bahá'í emissary to Palestine, Persia, the Caucasus, Russian Turkistan, Azerbijan, Egypt, Turkey, China, Indochina, Korea and India (Khademi 2013). Her activities in the ICW around intellectual co-operation and her support of the Bahá'í Faith illustrate what Massey (2005, 141) terms a "meeting of histories", albeit with tensions.

Dreyfus-Barney publicised intellectual cooperation in the ICW *Bulletin*, noting that it aimed "to free the mind from prejudice, hostility and ignorance, and to fortify it through co-operation and wider knowledge of human relationships" in order "to abolish antagonistic feeling", and "to create … "mutual understanding by safeguarding the school, the book the press, the radio, the cinematograph and all public platforms from pernicious influences working against Peace" (Dreyfus-Barney 1933, 5-6). She proposed a resolution to the ICW's 1927 conference (originating in a meeting of the League's Liaison Committee of Major International Associations) that to enable the child to strike root in its "natural setting of family and homeland … the child, as the citizen of tomorrow, was to learn that it would have to fulfil … its obligations to its family, companions, village, town or city and country" and was to be taught that solidarity should not be confined within national boundaries: "for there exists between peoples as between the various members of any one society a community of rights and duties as well as an actual and ever-increasing interdependence". The resolution noted that civilisation was "the common world of all people, including those who in the course of centuries have been the most bitter enemies; and that notwithstanding inevitable differences it is out of the fact of this common heritage and the desire to preserve and to develop it, that the League of Nations was born" (ICW 1927, 14-15).

This resolution resonated with Bahá'í beliefs about the earth as a single homeland and one household. Bahá'ís situate all human societies, cultures and nations as interdependent in a global common system that renders national borders and boundaries artificial, arbitrary distinctions (Saiedi 2013, 68). This view is grounded in a pluralistic theology that incorporates a series of divine teachers, including Muhammad, Buddha and Jesus, who are seen as emanating from one source. This pluralistic theology supports a vision of unity in diversity (Smith 1996, Stockman 2013) through metaphors like humanity as a flower garden made

beautiful by its diversity of colour and form. What Bahá'ís term "the greater peace" represents a new world order that will result from a spiritualisation of the world and connects peace and notions of global civilisation (Stockman 2013, 61).

Bahá'ís view collective security as an element of what they term "the lesser peace" and positioned the League as a progressive but insufficient mechanism to bring about world peace (Goodman 2020). The individualist underpinnings of the ICW/Liaison Committee resolution illustrates some of the shortcomings for Bahá'ís of intellectual cooperation. The resolution suggests interdependence but places the self at the centre of concentric circles that span outwards as the child, as citizen of tomorrow, learns to fulfil obligations to family, companions, village, town or city and country. It is underpinned by a cultural-cognitive model of the enlargement and enrichment of a self that following Papastephanou (2015) is a Western mode of maintaining the coherence of a modern self, via a successful negotiation of distance between self and other in which the self is the centre of attention and primary beneficiary.

Bahá'ís reject party politics and work towards a new world order through cooperative methods geared to bring about change via consensus. Dreyfus-Barney's role in the establishment of the Liaison Committee illustrates this stance. The Liaison Committee was founded after a 1924 resolution of the fifth assembly of the League. It operated as an umbrella committee to co-ordinate international non-governmental associations concerned with education in international understanding and world peace (Hermon 1987, Fuchs 2007). Dreyfus-Barney's correspondence with Marie Butts (general secretary of the International Bureau of Education) illustrates that she sought a mechanism to enable the major international associations to study questions aimed at fostering global agreement among the younger generation. Networking was central to Dreyfus-Barney's approach to change via consensus and she discussed her proposal with Inazō Nitobé, Sorin Oprescu, Princess Radziwill, Lady Aberdeen and Julien Luchaire. It was decided with Luchaire that Dreyfus-Barney would send a letter in the name of the ICW inviting certain organisations to study how the new committee would be formed (Dreyfus-Barney 1934).

Dreyfus-Barney articulated this co-operative approach to consensus-building in her address to the Institute of World Affairs meeting in California in 1932. Here, she outlined the mechanisms of intellectual cooperation and the "field of work for moral disarmament", telling delegates that it was necessary to adapt methods to a new world order, "where everything is inter-dependent" and where understanding was imperative between nations, races and classes". In a situation where countries and continents were "knitted together this new world order was to be worked out in consultation and by good will" (Dreyfus-Barney 1932).

In America Dreyfus-Barney also pursued her interest in educational cinematography. In 1931 she had organised an ICW cinematography conference at the IIEC which involved delegates from China, Persia, Indochina, South America and Europe. At the IIEC's 1934 cinematography conference, she represented a number of organisations, including the ICW, the Liaison Committee, and the International Commission on the Educational and Social Use of the Film, of which she was treasurer. This Commission, established after the IIIC's 1926 International Motion Picture Conference, met at the IIIC. When preparing the IIEC's 1934 congress, IIEC director, Lucien de Feo drew on Dreyfus-Barney's first-hand knowledge gleaned while travelling prior to 1922. She spent a month prior to the congress working on film and "people from different races and cultures", a strand of the conference programme that de Feo (1933) considered might prove sensitive.

Dreyfus-Barney's 1934 congress paper, published in the *International Review of Educational Cinematography* (Dreyfus-Barney 1935) urged the greatest care in the choice of films for export, particularly when considering "the mental characteristics of Oriental peoples and peoples of the Far East, who have lively imaginations and great sensibility" (ibid., 255). Such comments resonate with a Bahá'í vision of unity in diversity, but also with 1930s views around how empires incorporated diverse peoples into the polity by viewing them as "different" (Kallaway and Swartz 2016). Referring to her travels prior to 1922 she describes film as a "real problem when one turns to the colored races" and notes, "It was already possible to see the prodigious effect of the cinema on the population and I began to worry that the white race in its role as forerunner were letting there many hazardous, disconcerting and destructive things" ((Dreyfus-Barney 1935, 256). The white race as "forerunner" plugs into racialized configurations but also links to Bahá'í views that removing prejudice between peoples was a white responsibility (Anon 1910).

While Bahá'ís viewed the League as a progressive but insufficient mechanism to bring about world peace, their rejection of partisan politics led Bahá'ís like Dreyfus-Barney to support educational initiatives and civil society organisations and to promote intellectual cooperation in order to move towards the "greater peace" via co-operative, consensual means. Her League-(and later UN-) related activities, her activities in the ICW and her Bahá'í activities were two sides of the same coin (Dreyfus-Barney 1948). Her activities in pursuit of intellectual co-operation intertwined elements that were personal, organisational and transnational. Their threads resonated with Bahá'í beliefs but also plugged into configurations in tension that circulated around individualism and race.

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A Global and Gender Perspective to the Historiography of Intellectual Cooperation

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The project of narrating the global past does not engage in an encyclopedic claim, nor it represents an extension of national histories (Middell and Naumann 2010, Berg 2013) or a homogenization of fields. Instead, the discipline of global history is concerned with interactions, processes of exchange and cultural differences in various locations, but also over time. In that respect, global history has developed in the last two decades as an approach that connects multiple disciplines and their historiographies, and promotes exciting, but challenging methodological debates about how a global history of economic, social, political, cultural or intellectual processes should be written. Indeed, many scholars work now in large-scale contexts and in the relations between nation-state building, regionalization, and globalization. However, global approaches often reduce intercultural entanglements to networks involving Europe or the Western world, and literature on intellectual cooperation and their organizations is still too Eurocentric and reproduces the idea of national organizations and binary exchanges. In that respect, the study of institutions, including those specialized in intellectual cooperation and cultural diplomacy, has kindled the interest of a great number of researchers working in the field of history of international relations and international cultural relations (Iriye 1997). However, literature on cultural international organizations has privileged the narrative of their historical development (Laqua 2011; Laqua, Van Acker and Verbruggen 2018), and it has also retained the role of major figures or cultural mediators (Roig-Sanz and Meylaerts 2018) in relevant centers and channels of cultural production (Paris, London, New York), but it has left aside the role of the so-called peripheries (for example, Latin America), non-state capitals (Barcelona), and apparently secondary actors in cultural relations, intellectual cooperation and cultural diplomacy. Likewise, multiple studies on cultural diplomacy and soft power have historically focused on unilateral actions and bilateral cultural agreements (Haigh 1974; Northedge 1953, 1986), but multilateral circuits have been overshadowed, (Renoliet 1999; Pernet 2007; Dumont 2008; Pita 2017; Grandjean and Van Leeuwen 2018).

In that respect, this paper aims at shedding light into cultural international organizations in the so-called peripheries by placing mobility and networks at the centre of this research and giving a voice to actors and cultural mediators that are little known or have gone into oblivion by mainstream literature, many women among them. Indeed, we are aware that many of these women played a key role in these organizations and developed pioneering positions that had a lasting effect. Within this framework, I aim to discuss the intersections between gender and global history (Rotger, Roig-Sanz and Puxán 2019) applied to the historiography of intellectual cooperation by proposing: 1) an interdisciplinary theoretical framework at the crossroads of gender, global literary studies (Roig-Sanz and Rotger 2022, forth.) and international cultural relations, that put culture at the chore of international relations and exchanges within a decentred perspective, both geographically and thematically (Carbó-Catalan and Roig-Sanz, forth.), and 2) a a brief analysis of some Latin American women who played a key role in the international networks woven around the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation and the National Committees as a way to visibilize their work and international exposure.

In the case of the IICI, women were absent from cultural or political processes, or they often occupied peripheral positions, as reflected by the gender imbalance in the League's institutions on intellectual cooperation, with women representing 8'4 %, men 80'4% and a remaining 11'3% for which data is not available (Grandjean 2018, 65). Thus, we lack a clear understanding of their public and mediating role beyond national borders and we have yet to examine how Latin American women contributed to women's shifting roles in the modern world through their work as diplomats and poets (the Chilean Gabriela Mistral, in the League of Nations and the IICI), diplomats and pedagogs (the Mexican Palma García or the Chilean Amanda Labarca), or, on a different level, as editors (the Argentinean Victoria Ocampo), or cultural

animators (the Argentinean Elena Sansinea de Elizalde). Thus, this paper would like to break gender stereotypes and explore how these Latin American women joined forces on a transatlantic scale through their professional and personal networks and their various travels and stays abroad, showing how they not only contributed to the building of Latin American modernity, but also to a modern treatment of gender issues.

By discussing this geographic area from a global perspective and in its intersection with gender, I intend to make a step forward in the effort that has been carried on during the last years to decenter the IICI's historiography from a geographic (Pita González 2014; Dumont 2018; Herrera León and Wehrli 2019; Saikawa 2014; Pernet 2015; Roig-Sanz 2013; Roig-Sanz and Subirana 2020) and a thematic standpoint (Löhr 2011; Pita González 2014 and 2019), thus contributing to avoid, in the historiographic domain, the reproduction of the symbolic violence undergone by women (Goodman 2012). Based on the assumption that the IICI contributed to institutionalize a specific definition of the international intellectual space by offering shared models and practices and by promoting concurrence between countries (Sapiro 2009), I aim at discussing the double peripheral character of Latin American women, as was the case of the above-mentioned Gabriela Mistral and Palma Guillén. This will allow me to challenge membership at the IICI and explore forms of inclusion, exclusion and agency.

In short, the idea of network and connectivity through cultural exchanges and the emphasis on the relational, rather than on isolated prefixed categories, fosters a reassessment of cultural contact and circulation phenomena, shedding light into unknown aspects of the past. On the other hand, the relevance of gender in many fields and, specifically, in intellectual cooperation, has not been sufficiently addressed. In that respect, a global and decentered perspective to intellectual history has enormous potential, as it allows us to apply a relational and data-driven approach and study global processes and global connections both in the present and in the past, as well as from an interdisciplinary and gender perspective.

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Women in International Cooperation during the Interwar Period: the case of Mexican Palma Guillén

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This paper explores the trajectory of Mexican educator and diplomat Palma Guillén (1898-1975) in different organisations focussed on international cooperation during the interwar period. As an educator, Guillén worked at the Ministry of Public Education, the pillar for the establishment of the post-revolutionary educative and cultural project in Mexico which aimed to expand the access to education and generate national identity. She also taught at the National High School and the National University. Besides, from 1926 to 1928, Guillén cooperated with the activities of the Literature Section at the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation in Paris. Later, from 1930 to 1932, she worked in the Mexican Delegation at the International Institute of Educational Cinematography in Rome. In 1935 Guillén joined the Mexican Foreign Service, she represented Mexico as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Colombia from 1935 to 1936 and in Denmark from 1936 to 1937. Finally, as a diplomat, from 1938 to 1941, Guillén was Technical Advisor at the Mexican Delegation in the League of Nations and was asked to cover topics of social assistance and international cooperation. By working in these organisations, Guillén was able to establish a dialogue between education, culture and politics, and also to promote a positive image of the Mexican educative and cultural postrevolutionary project in the international arena.

Just as other women from the Americas and Europe, Guillén is part of a history that is currently being written: the history of women in international politics (Delaunay and Denéchère 2006, McCarthy 2014, Sluga and James 2015, Aggestam and Towns 2018). After the Great War, some countries in the Americas and Europe opened foreign services for women to become part of diplomatic and consular activities. This led to the presence of women in Foreign Offices, Ambassies, Legations and Consulates. Furthermore, some women worked as part of national delegations at international organisations such as the League of Nations in Geneva (Switzerland), the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation in Paris (France), the International Institute of Educative Cinematography (Italy) and Inter-American conferences in the Americas. Such was the case of Chilean diplomat, poet and educator Gabriela Mistral who represented her country in consulates in Spain and Portugal and worked at the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation in Paris and at the International Institute of Educational Cinematography in Rome during the interwar period (Horan 2009, Wilkins 2015). Another example, Russian politician, feminist and diplomat Alexandra Kollontai, who represented the Soviet Union in Norway, Mexico and Sweden during the interwar period and the second world war, and also participated in the Soviet Union's delegation in Geneva during the 1930s (Ortiz Peralta 2017). In different moments and cities, Guillén worked next to Mistral and Kollontai in these international organisations. Hence, the case of Guillén needs to be explored in connection with other women diplomats to understand the role of women in international organisations and in international relations during the interwar period.

It is important to answer the following questions: Which were the conditions that made it possible for women to participate in international organisations during the interwar period? Which were the conditions that led to Guillén to take part in Mexican multilateral activities? Did women face challenges to exercise activities in multilateral spaces and did Guillén face them as well? Which were the topics women focussed on in international cooperation and what was the role of Guillén in them?

While there has been attention put to Guillén's role as a diplomat in Colombia and Denmark (Huck 1999, Adame 2017, Pompa Alcalá 2019), only Alexandra Pita Gonzalez (2014, 2019, 2021) has explored Guillén's contributions to Mexican international cooperation in multilateral organisations and her connection with Mistral. This paper aims to contribute to this bibliography. Based on primary sources from the Historical Archive of the Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs as well as the Archive of the League of Nations, this

paper will reconstruct Palma Guillén's career in international organisations focussed on international cooperation during the interwar period. With the use of secondary sources, her case will be connected to that of other women diplomats in international cooperation. The analysis considers the Gender Turn in Diplomacy and New Diplomatic History, approaches that invite us to consider women in international relations as well as institutions, norms and practices of diplomacy (Towns 2017, Aggestam and Towns, 2019).

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Translation activities in the Organization of Intellectual Cooperation

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Today, we have at our disposal several works that have been crucial to rescue the Organization of Intellectual Cooperation (OIC), and the different bodies that composed it, from the oblivion they had fallen into (Iriye 1997; Renoliet 1999; Grandjean 2018). Other contributions have also laid the groundwork for a geographically decentered historiography (Herrera León 2008; 2020; Pernet 2015; Dumont 2008; 2018; Pita González 2014; 2019; Saikawa 2014, to name just a few examples). From a thematic standpoint, the global scope and the complex structure of the institutions included in the OIC entail several methodological challenges that justify its constitutive bodies being generally approached from specific disciplines. Most research available emerges from the perspective of the history of international relations, with the discipline dictating the research questions and objects of study. However, given that the institutions specialized in intellectual cooperation engaged in a variety of fields, from museology to cinema, and from education to literature, different disciplinary or interdisciplinary approaches would in turn further contribute to generate "multiple 'decentered' histories" (Biltoft 2020) of the Organization of Intellectual Cooperation and to shed light on the latter's historical contributions in different fields of activity.

This paper seeks to address this gap by examining the activities the OIC deployed in the field of translation. While we have at our disposal partial accounts of some of the activities promoted in this domain (Banoun and Poulin 2019, 47-52 for the *Index Translationum*; Pita González 2019 for the Ibero-American Collection; Millet 2014 for the Japanese Collection), a systematic study that analyses them relationally is still lacking. Thus, I draw on material from the archive of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (hosted by UNESCO Archive, Paris) and from the archive of International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (UN Archive, Geneva), to discuss the translation activities these bodies promoted, while also reconstructing the processes, opinions and beliefs that shaped them. Indeed, the projects that were proposed but never implemented, from the foundation of an international office of translation to the creation of translation awards, will also be discussed in light of a variety of factors, including the economic framework, the type of agency the ICIC and the IIIC pursued, their hierarchies, rivalries and procedures of decision-making.

This thematic approach will also bring to the forefront a number of actors from a diversity of countries and institutions that intervened in translation activities in different ways. I will use network analysis to reconstruct the networks woven by such actors and pay special attention to some figures whose involvement in translation activities confers them different forms of centrality. This includes members of the bodies mentioned above, such as Chilean diplomat and poet Gabriela Mistral, and Franco-Brazilian writer and journalist Dominique Braga, but also external collaborators like French translator Valery Larbaud.

Considering the different research areas of scholars sharing an interest in intellectual cooperation, this contribution will adopt an interdisciplinary perspective and will offer insights that may be relevant for different fields, including translation and global literary studies, international cultural relations and global history. The OIC's translation activities will be approached as the canary in the coal mine, that is, as an indicator of broader pervasive phenomena. Indeed, as stated by Phillips and Reus-Smith "international institutions do not neutralize culture, they organize it" (2020, 23). In the ways translation activities were undertaken (that is, in the decisions, views and beliefs that determined them, the actors involved, the funding, the directionality of translation flows, and so on), we found crystallized several aspects that have to do with broader linguistic and cultural policies, and with the political and social context of the interwar period.

For example, translation offers fertile ground to unpack the expression "mutual understanding", often used to refer to the OIC's aim. But what does it mean to mutually understand each other? What does it take? Indeed, translation *can* facilitate mutual understanding in a very literal, real and practical way. However, scholarship on representations, narratives and metaphors of translation (Hermans 2002; Baker 2006; St. André 2010) has warned us against simplistic, excessively optimistic or romanticized accounts of this activity. Instead, translation boasts a secular history of entanglements with politics, policy and power (Tymoczko and Gentzler 2002; D'hulst, O'Sullivan, and Schreiber 2016). The OIC's translation activities will show the ways disinterested cooperative projects overlap with self-interested goals and strategies, thus contributing to problematize the relationship between cooperation and diplomacy.

Some of the questions I will seek to answer include: How does the analysis of the OIC's translation activities confirm or nuance our previous views on the institutions that compose it? How do the sometimes-conflicting interests present within the OIC interplay in the domain of translation? Was translation the object of specific reflection in the internationalist mindset? What is the role and potential of translation in international politics? What was the role of the OIC in the history of translation, that is, in the emergence of translation as a specialized activity, in the evolution of its social recognition and professionalization?

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Three Approaches to Transnational Intellectual Cooperation: The Entente Committee of the Royal Society of Literature, International PEN, and the Co-ordinating Committee of the Major International Associations, 1916–1939

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The International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation was both preceded and supported by a diverse range of transnational non-governmental efforts towards international intellectual cooperation. This paper explores three approaches to transnational intellectual cooperation through three case studies, delineating and comparing their origins, structures, methods, and trajectories in the period from the First World War to the Second.

The first case study – the Entente Committee established by the Royal Society of Literature in 1916 – was a significant forerunner of the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation. Founded in the context of the First World War and supported by the British government, the Royal Society of Literature's Entente Committee aimed to work with other associations in Britain and abroad with a view to promoting an "intellectual entente" as a basis for lasting mutual understanding and peace following the conclusion of the conflict. It is an example of a nationally-oriented approach to intellectual cooperation, spearheaded by an association located in a single country forging horizontal linkages with similar societies in other countries. Dependent on the national political opportunities provided by the British government, the Entente Committee's efforts were anticipated to be superseded by those of the League of Nations following the conclusion of the conflict. Although an impressive and pioneering effort while it lasted, the Entente Committee did not prove to be an enduring approach to private international intellectual cooperation.

The second case study – the Co-ordinating Committee of the Major International Associations – was established in 1925 in response to the 1924 League of Nations Assembly's call for coordinated efforts to establish intellectual cooperation as the "normal method of conducting the affairs of the world," which the League Secretariat explored not only with governments but also with private international associations. The Co-ordinating Committee emphasised close relations with the International International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, where it established its secretariat. The Co-ordinating Committee is an example of an internationally-oriented approach to intellectual cooperation, responding to the opportunities provided by the League of Nations and the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, and aiming to co-ordinate the intellectual cooperation efforts of a diverse set of private international associations with educational and peace promotion objectives. It advanced a wide range of youth education activities, but its trajectory was constrained by those of the international organizations that it aimed to support. Impressive on account of its diverse international membership, and more enduring than the nationally-oriented efforts of the Royal Society of Literature, the Co-ordinating Committee's work did not persist into the post-Second World War era.

The third case study – International PEN – was much more independent of governmental and intergovernmental political opportunities. International PEN was conceived in London in 1921 to bring together writers around the world in friendship and hospitality, and it was to develop an expansive agenda for free expression and intellectual entente. Its first President, John Galsworthy, hoped that International PEN would serve as a "League of Nations for Men and Women of Letters" and through its membership of writers function as "the one disinterested link between peoples". It is an example of an extra-national approach to intellectual cooperation in that it was conceived from the outset as a transnational association

independent of governmental and intergovernmental interests, uniting the work of participating PEN clubs around the world. Unlike the Royal Society of Literature's Entente Committee it did not depend on government support, and unlike the Co-ordinating Committee of the Major International Associations, it did not rely on an international organization for its secretariat. Its work for free expression and intellectual cooperation expanded over the course of the period between the two World Wars, and International PEN remains a leading international centre for intellectual cooperation today.

This paper delineates each of these three cases of private international intellectual cooperation in turn, drawing on archival research in repositories including the archives of the Royal Society of Literature, UNESCO, the League of Nations, and International PEN, as well as the private papers of leading figures in the three cases. The cases are used to elucidate three approaches to transnational intellectual cooperation: nationally-oriented, internationally-oriented, and extra-nationally oriented. A qualitative comparative analysis is made of their respective origins, aims, structures, methods and trajectories. Whereas the nationally-oriented approach of the Royal Society of Literature and the internationally-oriented approach of the Co-ordinating Committee of the Major International Associations were to be heavily dependent on the political opportunities provided by national governments and international organizations respectively, the extra-national approach of International PEN was to be more enduring.

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Access to this bibliography is public and does not require to have a Zotero account. Zotero users can subscribe to the "Intellectual Cooperation" group[74] to have access to these references at any time in their own account.

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Conference program

All times are in Geneva time (Central European Summer Time, UTC+2)

Thursday May 12 2022

09:00	**WELCOME SESSION**	
	Francesco Pisano and Blandine Blukacz-Louisfert	Welcome
	Martin Grandjean	Introduction to the Conference
09:45	**SESSION 1**	**Intellectual Cooperation in the Diplomatic Field** (chair: Ludovic Tournès)
	Charlotte Faucher	European cultural diplomacies and the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (ICIC)
	Marilena Papadaki	N. Politis (1872-1942), a "governments' intellectual': the promotion of the idea of intellectual cooperation as a basis for world peace
	Pelle Van Dijk	Mobilising international public opinion: Moral disarmament as the public diplomacy of the League of Nations
10:45	Coffee pause	
11:15	**SESSION 2**	**Foundations of Intellectual Cooperation** (chair: Daniel Laqua)
	Jonathan Voges	In the engine room of intellectual cooperation. A prosographic approach to the civil servants of the Institut international de coopération intellectuelle in Paris
	Ilaria Scaglia	A League of Minds with a Heart: Intellectual Cooperation and Emotions in the Interwar Period and Beyond
	Gabriel Galvez-Behar	Intellectual Cooperation and the Institutionalization of Scientific Research
12:15	Lunch	

13:30	**SESSION 3**	**Central and Eastern Europe, Fertile Ground for Intellectual Cooperation** (chair: Sandrine Kott)
	Johannes Feichtinger	Central Europe and The Making of Intellectual Cooperation
	Anastassiya Schacht	Scholars amidst borders: Soviet representation to the League's Committee on Intellectual Cooperation as an attempt of cross-ideological cooperation in the interwar Europe
	Monika Šipelytė	Gabrielle Radziwill: the story of Eastern European princess at the service of Intellectual Cooperation
14:30	Coffee pause	
15:00	**SESSION 4**	**Arts and Culture at the League of Nations** (chair: Diana Roig Sanz)
	Camila Gatica Mizala	'Le film, éducateur universel". The reception of the International Educational Cinematographic Institute in Chile
	Annamaria Ducci	The League of Nations and Cultural Heritage. For an intellectual history of a notion
	Christiane Sibille	« Les relations internationales au point de vue musical » – Music and Intellectual Cooperation
16:00	Pause	
16:30	**SESSION 5**	**Latin American intellectual cooperation** (chair: Martin Grandjean)
	Leandro Lacquaniti	The Argentine Commission for Intellectual Cooperation. The itinerary of a cultural diplomacy agency of the Argentine State (1936-1948)
	Nelva Mildred Hernandez Sosa and Alexandra Pita Gonzalez	Mexico and the Permanent International Studies Conference. The Sense of the International, 1928-1939
17:10	End of the first day	

Friday May 13 2022

09:00	**OPENING SESSION**	
	Martin Grandjean	Welcome
	Blandine Blukacz-Louisfert and Adama Pam	The archives of intellectual cooperation
09:45	**SESSION 6**	**Asia and Intellectual Cooperation: a Long-Distance Relationship** (chair: Harumi Goto-Shibata)
	Arnab Dutta	Towards the Invention of a Common Language of Science: The League of Nations' Committee for Intellectual Cooperation and the Colonial Question in British India
	Takashi Saikawa	Nationalism and Internationalism in Intellectual Co-operation: Aikitsu Tanakadate and the Romanization of Japanese Language
	Jennifer Chang	Beyond Representation: The Bibliothèque Sino-Internationale and the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, 1933-1939
10:45	Coffee pause	
11:15	**SESSION 7**	**The League of Nations and Educational Issues** (chair: Corinne Pernet)
	Emeline Brylinski and Rita Hofstetter	Education and childhood, a coveted field. The International Bureau of Education, an intergovernmental body seized in its relational network
	Kaiyi Li	Teaching about the League of Nations: An attempt of cultivating international consensus during the interwar period
	Xavier Riondet	How to guide and justify the work of the Intellectual Cooperation on textbooks? About the constitution and the action of the Committee of Experts de 1931
12:15	Lunch	

13:30	**SESSION 8**	**Intellectual Cooperation Facing Political Challenges in Western Europe** (chair: Sacha Zala)
	Tomás Irish	'The League Committee of Intellectual Cooperation […] has never attracted much sympathy in Great Britain': Britain and Intellectual Co-operation in the Interwar Period
	Benjamin Martin	Fascist Cultural Internationalism? Intellectual Cooperation in Mussolini's Italy, 1925-1937
	Jan Stöckmann	Academic Refugees and Intellectual Cooperation at the League of Nations
14:30	Coffee pause	
15:00	**SESSION 9**	**The Central Role of Women in Intellectual Cooperation** (chair: Tomás Irish)
	Joyce Goodman	Laura Dreyfus-Barney (1897-1974), the International Council of Women and International Intellectual Cooperation at Paris, Geneva, and Rome
	Diana Roig Sanz	A Global and Gender Perspective to the Historiography of Intellectual Cooperation
	Itzel Toledo Garcia	Women in International Cooperation during the Interwar Period: the case of Mexican Palma Guillén
16:00	Pause	
16:30	**SESSION 10**	**Literary questions at the League of Nations** (chair: Alexandra Pita Gonzalez)
	Elisabet Carbo-Catalan	Translation activities in the Organization of Intellectual Cooperation
	Thomas Davies	Three Approaches to Transnational Intellectual Cooperation: The Entente Committee of the Royal Society of Literature, International PEN, and the Co-ordinating Committee of the Major International Associations, 1916-1939
17:10	**CLOSING SESSION**	
	Organizers	Conclusion

Credits

Organizers

Blandine Blukacz-Louisfert, United Nations Library and Archives Geneva, Switzerland

Dr. **Martin Grandjean**, Swiss National Science Foundation / University of Lausanne, Switzerland

Pierre-Etienne Bourneuf, United Nations Library and Archives Geneva, Switzerland

Hermine Diebolt, United Nations Library and Archives Geneva, Switzerland

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Scientific Committee

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Jens Boel, Independent, formerly UNESCO Archives and Library, France

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