

## 4 A Representative Organization?

### Ibero-American Networks in the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations (1922–1939)

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#### **Introduction: Organizing “Intellectual Cooperation” After the First World War**

How to choose the people who will coordinate the restructuring of science at an international level and promote intellectual exchange after the First World War? World-renowned scientists whose popularity will “lead by example”, great academic administrators familiar with institutional issues or diplomats representing the great victorious powers to secure political support? This is the question to be answered by the Secretariat of the League of Nations in the autumn of 1921. The Assembly having endorsed the creation of an International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (ICIC), the task of the Japanese Under Secretary-General Inazo Nitobe is to name the twelve most appropriate personalities.

In the context of a nascent League of Nations whose primary missions are focused on economic issues in a troubled Europe, intellectual issues are not a priority. Yet, and the development of the first true cultural diplomacy strategies in several states during the 1920s proves it, these twelve appointments have an undeniable political character.

The purpose of this article, falling within the framework of our research on the networks of intellectual cooperation (Grandjean 2018), is to conduct a study of the constitution of the ICIC by reversing the focus usually consisting of commenting on the presence of a few famous personalities (Albert Einstein, Marie Skłodowska Curie, Henri Bergson, etc.) to question the nomination process and to highlight the contribution of several Ibero-American representatives. Without proposing an exhaustive inventory of all the publications that describe intellectual cooperation, it is worth noting that most studies either adopt a very institutional approach like Northedge (1953) or Pham (1962) or focus on international issues, as in Laqua (2011b) and Laqua (2011a). It is also not uncommon for the Committee to be mentioned as a cultural actor in the biographies of its members, without always describing its structure and work with precision. Moreover, and because of this vagueness, the Paris perspective is often preferred to the Geneva viewpoint because of the archives of the

International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC), later founded in the French capital to assist the ICIC in its work, and considered the ancestor of UNESCO.<sup>1</sup> With regard to Ibero-American personalities, this sometimes implies a focus on the Spanish writer and diplomat Salvador de Madariaga and his involvement in the Institute.<sup>2</sup> It should also be noted that the various projects of the League concerning intellectual cooperation and their relationship with the Iberic and Latin-American world have already been well studied in Pernet (2007), Dumont (2008), Dumont (2012), Roig-Sanz (2013), Pernet (2014), Dumont (2016) and Roig-Sanz (2016). However, the following pages do not attempt to embrace the question of international cultural relations regarding these countries but to take the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation's microcosm as our object and to question its representativeness.<sup>3</sup> Here, the challenge is to try to understand the appointment mechanism and in particular the notion of "national culture" that is often used to explain the balance between national representatives within the ICIC.

In the following pages, it will be seen that the principle that governs the appointment of these experts has two distinct periods. Foremost, the initial appointment of the first twelve members in 1922 is a kind of test that does not show great diversity. It is only when it comes to replacing resigning members that the Secretariat and the more political bodies of the League attempt to define a systematic renewal method implicitly based on the influence of nations or groups of nations in other instances of the institution.

While we may sometimes seek to explain the genesis of the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation by going back to the internationalist and pacifist movements of the end of the nineteenth century, its creation in the early 1920s has little to do with the great projects of "international universities" or "parliament of intelligences" of the time. At the end of the First World War, the League of Nations is indeed a construction of a new kind that differs very much from the Belle Époque conceptions that saw the flowering of technical congresses and private associations (Grandjean and Van Leeuwen 2019): in this new world order, the Member States centralize their negotiations in a single place that quite bypasses the previous modes of organization. But while the League seeks to embrace all the modalities of a global and peaceful coexistence, it remains an instrument primarily designed to settle economic and political issues. The scientific and intellectual questions are very secondary, and the already tight book-keeping of the institution will never allow assignment of a significant budget to intellectual cooperation.

But in the momentum of the first years, many are the voices that call to think of international cooperation in all its forms and to integrate the intellectual questions. Chaired by Miguel Gastão da Cunha, representative of Brazil, the meeting of the Council of March 1st, 1921, in Paris,

takes note of the report of Quiñones de León on this subject entitled "Organization of intellectual work". In his report, the representative of Spain recalls that even though

the Covenant is silent on the relations of the League to what may be called voluntary associations of private character [. . .], from the general tone of the Covenant we infer that the League should exercise its good offices in the interest of all international undertakings that will contribute to the advancement of good will and mutual understanding among the nations.<sup>4</sup>

This notion of mutual understanding is a fundamental argument in favor of intellectual cooperation, but it is also clear—in the report and subsequent discussions—that the League would prefer that this task continue to be the prerogative of private associations. In the course of the debates, the project of setting up a highly formalized technical organization, like the International Labor Organization, is then gradually revised to prepare the establishment of an advisory committee. On September 8, 1921, the Fifth Commission of the Assembly is finally asked to take a decision on the report by the French senator Léon Bourgeois proposing the creation of the ICIC. On the proposal of the Chilean delegate Manuel Rivas *Vicuña*, the commission asks the Belgian Henri La Fontaine to make a presentation on the question of intellectual work. Co-founder of the Union of International Associations (UIA), this Nobel Peace Prize laureate is well placed to talk about it since he has been fighting for many years with his colleague Paul Otlet for these issues to be taken into consideration (Rayward 2003), (Laqua 2009). Presenting how their Belgian experiments can be a source of inspiration, he expresses "the ardent hope that the League of Nations can build itself on existing foundations",<sup>5</sup> implying that the UIA could become an official satellite of the League.

But rather than prepare for the creation of a very bureaucratic structure in Geneva or the integration of Belgian institutions, the ICIC adopted with Bourgeois's report of autumn 1921 will gradually be stabilized by acquiring a permanent status but keeping its more deliberative rather than executive nature. In fact, the Committee as such has above all the merit of bringing together personalities from various horizons and sending a signal to the world of science and culture. However, it has never had the means to go far beyond this relatively symbolic role since its missions have never been precisely defined and because its small size made it a place whose continuity was very dependent on the personalities that compose it. The name of the Committee itself is also a symbolic element of this indecision. The difficulty of defining precisely what "intellectual cooperation" is can be considered an element that prefigures the future complications when it will come to agreeing on concrete actions to be

carried out under such a label. In an internal note of 1922, Inazo Nitobe thus recalls the terminological wandering of the first years:

In French the term “*Organization 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 Organization (sometimes ‘Coordination’) of Intellectual Work*” was used, and this title was adopted in the earlier documents relating to it. It naturally led to a mistaken idea that the object of the Committee was to start an organization something like the International Labour Office for intellectuals [. . .]. This notion has continued long and spread widely. 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.<sup>6</sup>

He adds that the Secretariat had taken an active role in stabilizing this new nomenclature. In order to avoid misunderstanding and to “better assert the character of the committee”, he admits in this note that he has systematized the use of the term “*intellectual cooperation*” in the Secretariat’s correspondence. However, this term is very strongly marked by the will of some delegates—French in particular—to make this committee a body that deals with educational issues related to the need to build a world of mutual understanding. In fact, the ICIC concentrated on coordinating scientific and cultural exchanges in circles wishing to be associated with its work (all the learned societies and international organizations created before the war did not necessarily look favorably on the centralization induced by the League).

### **The Appointment of the First Committee: Priority to Personalities Over Nationality**

Beginning the designation process in December 1921, Inazo Nitobe writes to the Secretary General Eric Drummond that “the committee should be as small as possible, for economic reasons and efficiency”.<sup>7</sup> He recommends that it should be composed of only seven or eight members, while the resolution allows the appointment of twelve experts. In the same note, he finds “highly desirable that an American and a German be invited”, if possible directly by the Council as a mark of good will towards these two nations, which have not joined the League. Very concretely, he envisages the participation of personalities from the following countries: Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, Colombia, India and Norway, and why not also Spain, Czechoslovakia and Austria. The under-secretary general

specifies that the representative of Norway could be a woman, indicating that he already thinks about the candidature of the zoologist Kristine Bonnevie, member of her national delegation to the League. It is obvious that the selection of certain other countries in this list is also due to informal and convincing applications (Colombia, India, Norway or Czechoslovakia aren't prominent members during the first years of the League).

On the morning of January 14, 1922, the twelfth meeting of the sixteenth session of the Council is not yet ready to make the appointments as initially planned,<sup>8</sup> but Nitobe has already started to put names on a list that remains confidential.<sup>9</sup> This list will increase in the following months: at the end of March, no less than fifty-eight names are communicated to the Council<sup>10</sup> (they are followed by a dozen other late proposals). Since this list serves as a basis not only for the composition of the ICIC of 1922 (it already contains most of the members who will actually be appointed) but will also later be a pool of candidates, it is worthwhile to look at the representation of Ibero-American personalities within it.

Among them are Cecilio Báez, Paraguayan professor of international law and Rector of the University of Asunción; the former Portuguese Prime Minister Afonso Costa, director of the Faculty of law at the University of Lisbon; the Ambassador of Colombia in Bern, Francisco-José Urrutia Olano, who will then sit at the Permanent Court of International Justice; or the Brazilian law professor Francisco José de Oliveira Viana. But not all of them are lawyers, as there are also representatives of the sciences, like the Spanish professor of histology Santiago Ramón y Cajal, also president of the *Junta para Ampliación de Estudio*; the engineer Leonardo Torres y Quevedo, director of the *Electrico-Mecanico* laboratory of Madrid, the former director of the *Museo Nacional* of Buenos Aires and the Argentinian *Consejo de Educacion* Angel Gallardo or the Brazilian Aloysio de Castro, director of the faculty of medicine of the University of Rio de Janeiro. On the humanities side, Uruguayan Carlos Vaz Ferreira, philosophy lecturer at the University of Montevideo, and Spanish philology professor Ramón Menéndez Pidal are also listed.

Despite this inventory, Spanish-speaking and Portuguese-speaking personalities are largely underrepresented among the candidates. They represent only 14% of the list, while the founding members of the League of Nations have seventeen Iberian and Latin American countries out of forty-two (40%).<sup>11</sup> However, at this point, it appears that if everyone within the Secretariat agrees to consider that personal skills of a candidate qualify him more than his nationality, the wish to select leading scientists is quickly overtaken by the very empirical constitution of this list. Even if Léon Bourgeois declares a few months later, at the award ceremony of his Nobel Peace Prize, that the ICIC is "a Committee composed of the most eminent scientists, the widest and highest intelligences" (Haberman 1972), the composition of the ICIC is mainly the product of a bargain between the diplomats seating in the Council of the League.

Moreover, as the definition of the ICIC is not clear for everyone in these early years, the profiles are extremely diverse. Then, the status of their applications is quite variable: if some names are proposals or suggestions from third parties that do not engage the person concerned, others are formalized applications, as this is the case for the French philosopher Henri Bergson, who explicitly gives his approval to his Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Renoliet 1999, 23). But even if all the personalities that appear on this document are not mentioned for the same reasons, some having been registered following the prospects of the Secretariat and others because they are parachuted by governments that see there a good opportunity to take part of the decisions on this matter, this list is a fundamental tool for Inazo Nitobe. A detailed analysis of these profiles shows that beyond the twelve scientists appointed in 1922, at least thirteen others will participate in the work of the Committee, of which eight will do so very directly as members or substitutes (Grandjean 2018, 539–541). This list, even imperfect, is therefore a reservoir, a resource that will be mobilized by the Secretariat for several years.

But while the very unequal representation of nations in this list might suggest that the future ICIC itself will be composed in the same way, it must not be forgotten that the implicit rule of national quotas (one representative per country) could, on the contrary, prejudice countries with a large number of candidates competing with each other. We can therefore see this list as a testimony to the interest of nations in intellectual cooperation, more than an estimate of their immediate influence on the appointment decision. The low proportion of Ibero-American candidates therefore seems to reflect above all the moderate interest of intellectual cooperation (or its centralization by the League) in these circles. It also indicates that nationals of these countries have generally fewer relays in Geneva and within the League than some of their colleagues. In the end, the wide variety of backgrounds and the international reputation of a small number of the candidates facilitate the decision of the Council, as Nitobe recalls some months after the appointment: “As the list contained names very well-known in each country, there was little difficulty in the Council making a choice”.<sup>12</sup>

On May 15th, 1922, the Council holds at Geneva the seventh meeting of its eighteenth session under the presidency of Quiñones de León and adopts a new report by Léon Bourgeois.<sup>13</sup> In the wake, eleven people are appointed to sit in the new ICIC, the Council keeping the possibility to appoint a twelfth thereafter, in order to have some time to evaluate a North American candidacy.<sup>14</sup> Among the Ibero-American candidates, Aloysio de Castro and Leonardo Torres y Quevedo have been selected. The Brazilian and the Spanish will sit at the same table as the French-Polish chemist Marie Skłodowska Curie, the Belgian Minister Jules Desrêe, the German physicist Albert Einstein, the Italian senator Francesco Ruffini, the British philologist Gilbert Murray, the Swiss professor of

literature Gonzague de Reynold, the Norwegian zoologist Kristine Bonnevie, the Indian economist Debendra Nath Bannerjea and of course the French Henri Bergson, who will become a few months later the first president of the Committee.

The American astronomer George Ellery Hale is finally appointed, after having initially refused for health reasons.<sup>15</sup> But it is his compatriot Robert Andrew Millikan, who already assists him during the first session of the ICIC, who will definitively take his place at the autumn 1922.<sup>16</sup> The nomination of the other representative of a non-member nation is also not without difficulties: Albert Einstein, after agreeing on May 30,<sup>17</sup> announces on July 4 that he is reconsidering his decision.<sup>18</sup> Panic seizes the Secretariat, as the officers rely on a personality like the German scientist to guarantee a certain visibility to the Committee. On Bergson's advice, the under-secretary general, Bernardo Attolico, writes to Einstein to urge him to reconsider his judgment, which will surely cause "a deep disappointment" to the members and the public.<sup>19</sup> A few days and telegrams later, it becomes clear that Einstein gave up because "the assassination of the minister [Walther] Rathenau, of which he was a personal friend, saddens him so much that he prefers to refrain now from any political action".<sup>20</sup> Fortunately, on July 28, a telegram from the director of the League of Nations Information Section Pierre Comert inform the Secretariat that "our friend withdraws his resignation and promises full cooperation [. . .]".<sup>21</sup> The German physicist will use his right to withdraw from the ICIC again a few years later, before returning once more (Wonsch 2004).

### **The Formalization of the Renewal Mechanism and the Notion of "Culture": A Challenge for Small Nations**

The principle of a committee standing above political stakes and bringing together experts selected for their own personal scientific achievements, in order to pursue the ceaseless quest for a body where all cultures, nationalities, disciplines and academic organizations are represented, is one of the greatest paradoxes of the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation. Immediately, Nitobe recognizes that this intention does not resist the international functioning of the great machine that is the League of Nations: "In the nomination of members, nationality was to be ignored in principle, and only the personal merits of individual candidates were to count. Such an ideal principle of appointment was hard to follow".<sup>22</sup>

And this tension is not only a transfer of the global issues that are being expressed in the Assembly or a consequence of the complex representativeness of the secretariat (Dykman 2015)(Gram-Skjoldager and Ikonou 2017), but it takes a particular form within the framework of the Section of International Bureaux since relatively different conceptions

of the notion of “intellectual cooperation” exist according to whether one has a French, Belgian, Scandinavian or Anglo-Saxon view (Saikawa 2014). In the fall of 1923, the ICIC, aware of this problem, tries to clarify its own representativity principle: “it is desirable [. . .] for the Committee to include, as far as possible, representatives of the principal branches of intellectual activity and at the same time representatives, not of nationalities, but of the principal cultural groups.”<sup>23</sup> While this notion of “culture” or “cultural group” may seem obscure or very reductive today, it is perfectly in tune with the context of the League of Nations at the time. Already in the 1920s, but even more after the Second World War, the institution (and the ICIC with it) is often analyzed as a place of opposition between Latin and Germanic (or Anglo-Saxon) cultures.<sup>24</sup> Intellectual cooperation is also often considered to be monopolized by the Latins, and in particular by France since the creation of the IIIC in Paris in 1926. However, even if the Committee does have a majority of representatives of the very large Latin cultural group during the 1920s, this trend subsequently diminished in the 1930s (Grandjean 2018, 295). And to use this criterion implies that there is some kind of unity among the nations concerned, which is anything but obvious. Moreover, hiding behind these so-called “cultural groups” to justify the composition of the ICIC is hard to defend since three-quarters of its first members come from Western Europe. With the exception of a Brazilian, an American and an Indian (Bannerjea works, however, in Germany), all the personalities summoned in 1922 come from a region that represents only a small proportion of the world’s population. This distribution is not surprising compared to the main centers of scientific activity of the early twentieth century; it reflects the lack of diversity of the members of the Council.

Less than a year after the appointment of the Committee, the question of representation becomes an internal policy issue since the Assembly of the League is seized by “legitimate requests formulated by the Romanian, Serbian-Croat-Slovene and Czechoslovakian, Spanish-speaking Americans, Asians, as well as Irish and Finno-Ugric delegates”,<sup>25</sup> questioning the diversity of the ICIC and proposing to include representatives of nations or groups concerned. The intense debates of the Fifth Commission of the Assembly on this subject do not lead to concrete measures—integrating the representatives of all the States wishing to participate is not realistic—but shows the growing interest of nations hitherto neglected.<sup>26</sup> Yet this concern for cultural diversity and its expression at the Assembly is complex. Indeed, these delegates offer the representatives of the “old nations”<sup>27</sup> an argument that could be turned against them since they have spontaneously gathered together by region or language group to submit their resolution. *De facto*, one could consider that if a “Spanish-speaking American” personality sits in the ICIC, more than a half of the continent could be considered represented if it is agreed that it forms a single “cultural group”.

An increase in the number of members seems anyway inevitable to allow better representation, to organize rotations within these more or less defined groups. This extension is already perceived as a victory. In an exalted speech, the Romanian writer Elena Văcărescu welcomes this decision while positioning herself as the spokesperson of South America, Asia and Eastern Europe. She is joined by the Venezuelan delegate, the historian and diplomat Caracciolo Parra-Perez, who recalls "the growing interest that several [Spanish-speaking American] countries have for the development of intellectual relations between peoples".<sup>28</sup> As the discussion continues, the Portuguese delegate João Pinheiro Chagas, diplomat and journalist, puts more particularly the emphasis on the principle of representation and confesses bitterly "to be a little surprised to have to note that the question of whether a State has a culture enabling it to be included in an intellectual committee depends on a more or less benevolent judgment of the Council".<sup>29</sup>

However, increasing the representativeness of the Committee without jeopardizing its fragile budget is a project made all the more difficult as travel is a cost item proportional to the remoteness of the countries concerned. And they are naturally far away since the main countries of Western Europe are already represented in the ICIC. This budgetary issue is of great concern to the Secretariat, and several extra-European appointments will be discussed in financial terms. The discussion concerning the integration of a Chinese representative in 1926 is a good example: "the nomination of a Chinese member in the ICIC would be possible if the Chinese government refrained from inciting other countries to make the same demands at the Assembly".<sup>30</sup> For some time, therefore, the lack of representativeness is reduced by the appointment of "correspondents", who attend the meetings without being paid by the League.

But that same summer 1924, the ICIC already gathers fourteen members. It turns out that the unexpected return of Albert Einstein, whose seat has meanwhile been assigned to his former Dutch professor Hendrik Lorentz, pushes the Council to reintegrate him without waiting for the departure of another member. Inspired by this example, the delegate of Uruguay asks the Council to appoint a representative of the Spanish-speaking American nations (Brazil and Spain are already represented): on June 16, Leopoldo Lugones, editor of *La Nación* (Buenos Aires) and professor of aesthetics at the National University of La Plata, is appointed by the Council, bringing to three the number of Ibero-American personalities (see Figure 4.1).

Gradually, this very subjective functioning is adopted, and the first renewals show that it becomes obvious that the Council tries to maintain a certain balance: when a member resigns, he is replaced by a national of the same country or of a neighboring country. This is the case when preparing the succession of Torres y Quevedo in 1926: the Spanish ambassador Quiñones de León takes the lead and insists on being replaced by

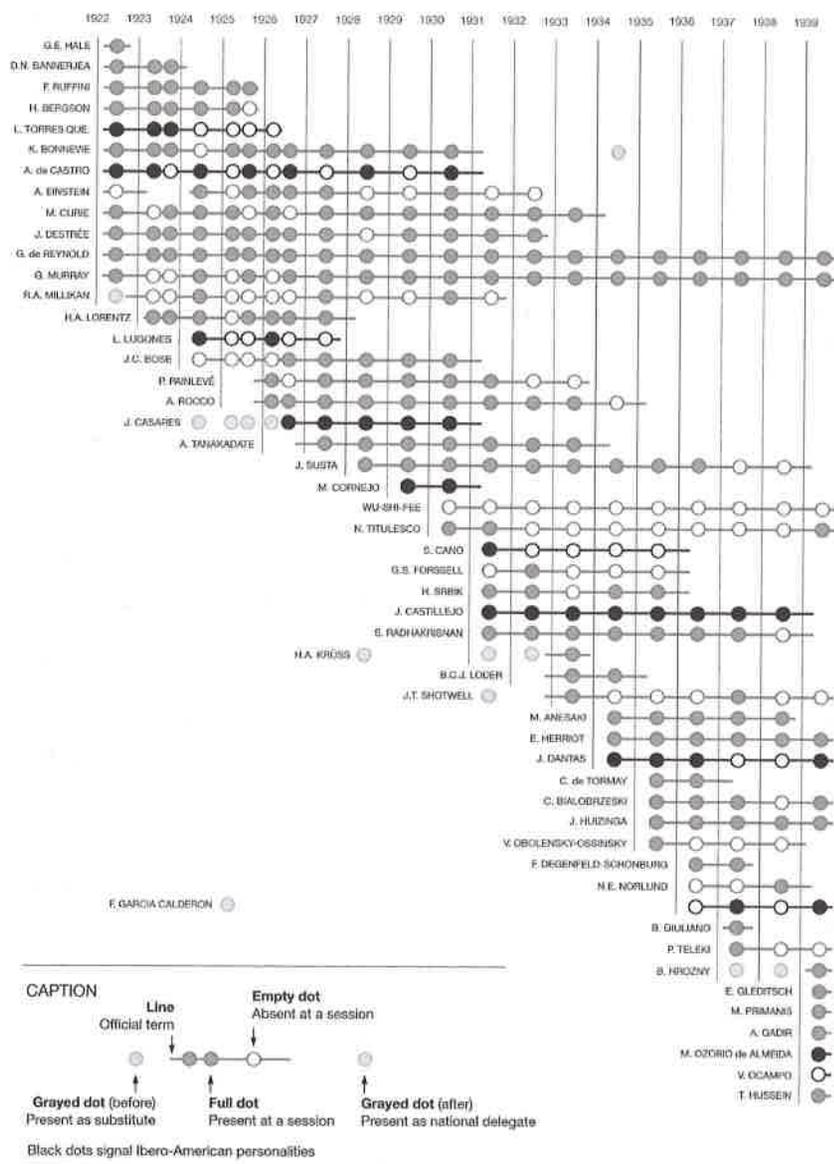


Figure 4.1 Composition of the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation Between 1922 and 1939, Highlighting the Ibero-American Personalities (Black).

someone who will bring “the reflection of the Spanish intellectuality”<sup>31</sup> to the ICIC. This episode is interesting for two reasons: first, it explicitly shows that the cultural criterion, whether for the representation of “Spanish-speaking American nations”, or “Spanish intellectuality”, is

fully integrated by the diplomats who renew members. Second, it highlights the existence of a two-tier system between nations having a fixed seat and those that share one: the inflexibility of the main European powers forces the ICIC to grow rather than replace from time to time a French, British, Italian, German or Spanish representative with a personality from a less involved country.

All this contributes to the establishment of a certain “rhythm” for the Committee that leaves its temporary status in the summer of 1926 to become a permanent body of the League of Nations.<sup>32</sup> With this stabilization, the term of office is officially fixed at five years (it was not fixed as long as the Committee was temporary).<sup>33</sup>

The ICIC is increased a few months later to fifteen members, integrating the Japanese physicist Aikitu Tanakadate, emeritus of the University of Tokyo (nominated in December 1926 but seated for the first time at the next session in July 1927).<sup>34</sup> Viscount Ishii, Japanese representative in the Council, explicitly stipulates on this occasion that this candidature is justified by the withdrawal of Inazo Nitobe from his position of director of the Section.<sup>35</sup> This new increase, forced by an influential member of the Council, is the last one to proceed in such an unexpected way: at the beginning of the 1930s, the Committee profoundly reforms its organization as well as that of the Paris Institute. Enacted on September 9, 1930, on the basis of a recommendation of the twelfth session of the ICIC,<sup>36</sup> a new system states that one-third of the Committee must be replaced each year. This *de facto* reduces the term of office of the members to three years and forces many long-standing members to leave. The number of members is increased to eighteen in 1934, a figure that will now vary only in 1937 to reach nineteen members. Figure 4.1 makes the acceleration of the renewal of the ICIC very visible since 1931: the increase in the number of new arrivals generally varies between three and six per year, whereas it was instead between one and two during the 1920s. This visualization of the mandates’ duration also makes visible the generally stable representation of Ibero-American members (in black on Figure 4.1, see also Figure 4.2). It also shows that the year 1930 is a real turning point in terms of the representation of the concerned countries. Indeed, while the 1920s still see two or three terms overlap, the arrival of the Columbian journalist and ambassador Baldomero Sanín Cano and the Spanish law professor José Castillejo in 1931 happens as all their Ibero-American colleagues leave, creating a steep transition for this “cultural group”.

While the Brazilian Aloysio de Castro demonstrates a long-standing commitment to the ICIC, since he remains there for the entire decade, his early Spanish colleague Leonardo Torres y Quevedo is replaced in 1926 by Júlio Casares, a journalist and lexicographer who is a member of the Spanish delegation to the League and had already replaced him during the last three years. The third seat created for the Spanish-speaking Americans in 1924 is filled again after the departure of the Argentinian Leopoldo Lugones by the Peruvian senator and professor of sociology

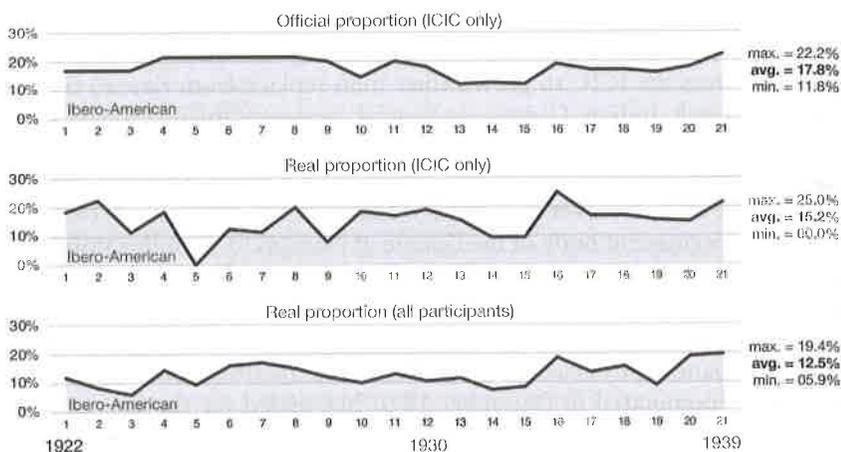


Figure 4.2 Comparison Between a) the Proportion of Ibero-American Members Officially Appointed; b) the Proportion of Them Really Attending the Sessions (Without Substitutes); c) the Proportion of All Ibero-Americans Attending the Sessions Among All Participants (Members, Substitutes, Delegates, Secretaries, etc.).

Mariano Cornejo Zenteno in 1929. But the latter remains only two years in the Committee. With Castillejo replacing Casares, the Spanish delegation is still present after the turn of 1930, while Cornejo's South American seat moves from Peru to Colombia. But it will be necessary to wait for the appointment of the president of the Portuguese Academy Júlio Dantas in 1934 for the Portuguese language to once again be represented at the ICIC. Rarely present, Sanín Cano is replaced in 1936, and his seat returns to Peru with the appointment of the writer and diplomat Francisco García Calderón Rey. The very last session of the Committee, finally, sees the appointment of the Brazilian Miguel Ozório de Almeida and the Argentinian Victoria Ocampo. The first will therefore sit only once, while the second is not even present in Geneva in 1939.

### Compared to Official Balance, a Weaker Ibero-American Real Presence

To list the members of the ICIC is a duty for most of the researchers who have attempted to describe the Committee without limiting themselves to the initial composition of 1922. Thus, if Bekri (1990, 245–48) and Löhr (2010, 286–88) reproduce the list established by Pham (1962) without modifying it, probably on the basis of Council documents, Renoliet (1999, 184–185) draws up a table whose data are more faithful to the documents of the Committee. But it is limited to mention the officially

appointed members. Based on the minutes of the twenty-one sessions, which accurately describe participants' attendance and absences, Figure 4.1 confronts this data with a reality that quick statistical studies do not generally take into account: the repeated absence of some members considerably modifies the balance and almost nullifies the conclusion based on the official presence of the experts. As trying to understand the composition of the ICIC also means highlighting the "minor" participants of these sessions (the many substitutes, secretaries, delegates of national commissions or other institutions), taking the attendance rate into account gives very useful quantitative information to qualify the investment of each one, if not in the global work of intellectual cooperation, at least in these annual sessions that can be considered the backbone.

To sit for many years does not always mean to be actually present during the sessions: among the twelve personalities who benefit from a mandate covering ten sessions or more, only five concretely participate at least ten times. In terms of actual attendance, there is indeed a two-speed Committee, between the members who attend almost all the sessions for which they are elected and those who are absent most of the time. Among the first absentees, Albert Einstein is particularly exemplary since—if we exclude the two sessions of 1923 consecutive to his temporary resignation—he takes part only in one out of two sessions until his definitive resignation in 1932. It is, however, George Hale's substitute, Robert A. Millikan, who appears to be the most absent during the first decade of the ICIC since he only attended a quarter of the sessions. The representation of the United States of America is all the more diminished in the Committee, as the compatriot replacing Millikan in 1933, the professor of history at Columbia University James T. Shotwell, is no more assiduous since he only attends two sessions out of seven until 1939. Is this the sign of a lack of interest or material and temporal constraints? While it is true that it is easier for the Swiss Gonzague de Reynold to attend sessions in Geneva or Paris than for a South American or Asian scientist, our analysis shows no conclusive correlation between distance and absenteeism (personalities living in India or Japan are very present, for instance). This observation should remind us that the nationality of a scientific or diplomatic personality participating in the works of the League of Nations is only a very vague indicator of the real distance they travel to join the sessions: many of them are attached to European universities or an embassy near Geneva.

Unlike those who are rarely present, others are active participants, such as the philologist Júlio Casares (Madrid) who, because he is part of the Spanish diplomatic delegation to the League, replaces his fellow Leonardo Torres y Quevedo four times before sitting himself for the next five sessions, without any absence.

Overall, the increase in the number of members, from a minimum of twelve to a maximum of nineteen, does not change the total attendance

rate at ICIC sessions. It usually varies between 60% and 80%, with two occurrences below the 50% mark: the fifth session, “convened fairly quickly”<sup>37</sup> in May 1925, where only six out of fourteen members are present, and the twentieth session in July 1938, where seven out of seventeen members actually sit. On this occasion, president Gilbert Murray wonders if he shouldn’t rejoice in this situation “since it allows the Committee to enter into relations with other remarkable personalities who replace them”.<sup>38</sup>

And in terms of absenteeism, how are Ibero-American members performing? Here, taking these nationalities as a category only makes sense in a study of their international networks and in relation to the assumption that they represent a “cultural group” in the sense of the 1920s. It is therefore not a question of comparing their representation to that of other national or groups (since the coherence of the Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking group is very relative, and defining these other groups is also ambiguous) but rather of comparing its evolution in time. The first of the curves of Figure 4.2 indicates, session after session, the proportion of these personalities appointed to the ICIC. This is a theoretical value that tells us about the official balance and the place left to the representation of Ibero-American nations. If the evolution is relatively stable over time (between two and three representatives, exceptionally four in 1939), there is an obvious disparity between the nations since Spain is systematically represented in the Committee from 1922 to 1938. The remaining one or two seats go to representatives of Latin America until the appointment of the Portuguese Júlio Dantas in 1934 (during the next five years, the Iberians are more numerous than the Latin Americans). In fact, Spanish-speaking experts are still largely in the majority even though there are officially only three sessions without Portuguese-speaking experts (the latter having a higher rate of absenteeism).

The second curve of Figure 4.2 completes the first one since it takes the absences into account, in proportion to the real presence of all ICIC official members. As a result, on rare occasions (the second and sixteenth sessions, in particular) the actual proportion of Ibero-Americans exceeds the theoretical proportion due to the absence of many other members of the Committee. But, on average, these representatives are less present in person than their colleagues. The graphs also state that at the fifth session (1925), no Ibero-American experts were present.

The third curve of Figure 4.2 covers all the people attending the Committee’s sessions, including substitutes, international civil servants and invited experts of diplomats. If their presence is significant enough in the second half of the 1930s, it is clear that Ibero-American are very largely underrepresented, especially among the auxiliary actors that will be the focus of the following paragraphs.

## Beyond the Official Members, a Multitude of Other Participants

In the shadow of scientific and political figures, whose brilliance is never forgotten in the written history of the institution, hides a population at least three times more numerous: the substitutes, secretaries and delegates from third-party institutions. And their importance is all the more crucial for the ICIC, as they—in addition to ensuring the link with the other bodies of the League of Nations and beyond—are sometimes the guarantors of the continuity of the work and spirit of intellectual cooperation. These personalities are anything but “secondary characters”.

Even if their names are rarely recalled in this context, it is of course among the international civil servants of the Secretariat of the League that we find the individuals who concretely “make” the intellectual cooperation on a daily basis, a statement corroborated by a systematic analysis of the archives of the Committee (Grandjean 2017, 389–390). To these members of the Secretariat are added representatives of the International Labor Office, experts convened to deal with technical questions or the direction of the Paris IIIC after its creation. But if we concentrate on Spanish and Portuguese-speaking personalities, who are not widely represented among these categories of international civil servants, two main groups emerge. In the first place, the substitutes are the most important group since the absence of certain members makes it necessary to ask many colleagues or diplomats to serve temporarily. Then there are the delegates of the “national committees” of intellectual cooperation (NCICs), structures created by the national academies or universities in the most active countries at the request of the ICIC. They serve as local relays and, from time to time and especially from 1933, are solicited by the League and invited to participate in the plenary sessions. It often happens that the most prominent personalities of these national committees are also those that the titular members choose to replace them.

The Venezuelan diplomat Alberto Zérega Fombona, professor in Caracas and Paris, is the first to replace an Ibero-American member of the Committee when he participates as Castro’s substitute in 1923. He’s followed by the Uruguayan writer Juan Antonio Buero, delegate to the PanAmerican conference in Santiago de Chile in 1923 and senator, who replaces Lugones in 1925. Replacing Castro in 1926, the Brazilian diplomat Elizeu de Montarroyos will also participate to the works of the ICIC in 1934 and 1938 as a delegate from the Brazilian NCIC. The same year, Lugones is replaced by the Argentinian vice-consul in Geneva Alejandro Unsain and the next year by the Ecuadorian writer and ambassador in Paris Gonzalo Zaldumbide, who will come back twice in 1934 and 1935 as a delegate from his state. In 1927, the Brazilian senator and engineer Paulo de Frontin, director of the Polytechnic school of Rio de Janeiro, sits as substitutes for Castro. This latter is replaced two years later by

the Brazilian physician and writer Júlio Afrânio Peixoto, member of the Brazilian Academy and Parliament, professor at the University of Rio de Janeiro and member of the Brazilian NCIC.

The arrival of Baldomero Sanín Cano in 1931 is synonymous with many replacements since he only personally attends one in five sessions. The Columbian writer Antonio José Restrepo acts as his substitute in 1932, followed by the pedagogue Agustín Nieto Caballero in 1934 and the Chilean delegate to the Assembly and writer Manuel Rivas Vicuña in 1935. During the last years of the ICIC's work, García Calderón is also replaced by the plenipotentiary secretary in Switzerland Víctor Andrés Belaúnde (1936); Dantas by the Portuguese writer Virgínia de Castro e Almeida, member of her country's delegation to the League (1937–1938) and Ocampo by the Argentinian delegate Carlos Alberto Pardo, already present the year before as an external expert (1938–1939). A significant proportion of these personalities are also members of their national committees, but we note that some individuals also participate directly as representatives of their NCIC. In 1934, this is the case of the Mexican senator Pedro de Alba, assistant director of the Union of American Republics (Pan American Union) and delegate to the Assembly. And, in 1938, the Chilean NCIC is represented by the law professor Francisco Walker Linares, correspondent of the Information Section and delegate.

But to understand the implication of these apparently peripheral personalities in the work of the ICIC, such a list is not sufficient since it does not reflect the context in which they participate in the sessions. This is why a structural analysis (Grandjean 2014) is necessary to bring out information that not only describes the mere presence of an individual at one or more sessions of the Committee but also allows us to show the relations that are woven together when two are attending the same sessions. Figure 4.3 visualizes these co-presence relationships as a network of the 212 individuals who took part in at least one of the twenty-one sessions of the ICIC.

In this network diagram, two people are connected by an edge if they participate in the same session. The size of the edge is directly proportional to the number of co-presences of the two individuals connected. For example, Aloysio de Castro is connected by an edge more than twice as thick to Júlio Casares as to Leonardo Torres y Quevedo since he sits five times with the first and only twice with the second. If this data visualization concerned only the members of the Committee, the network would be perfectly redundant with Figure 4.1 since this information is already contained in the attendance list. However, this network is now based on a complete inventory of those who participated in the sessions,<sup>39</sup> highlighting the very large proportion of non-ICIC members and their sometimes much more central position than some regular members often absent. Note also that the size of the nodes is proportional to the number of sessions the individuals attended. We remark the presence of

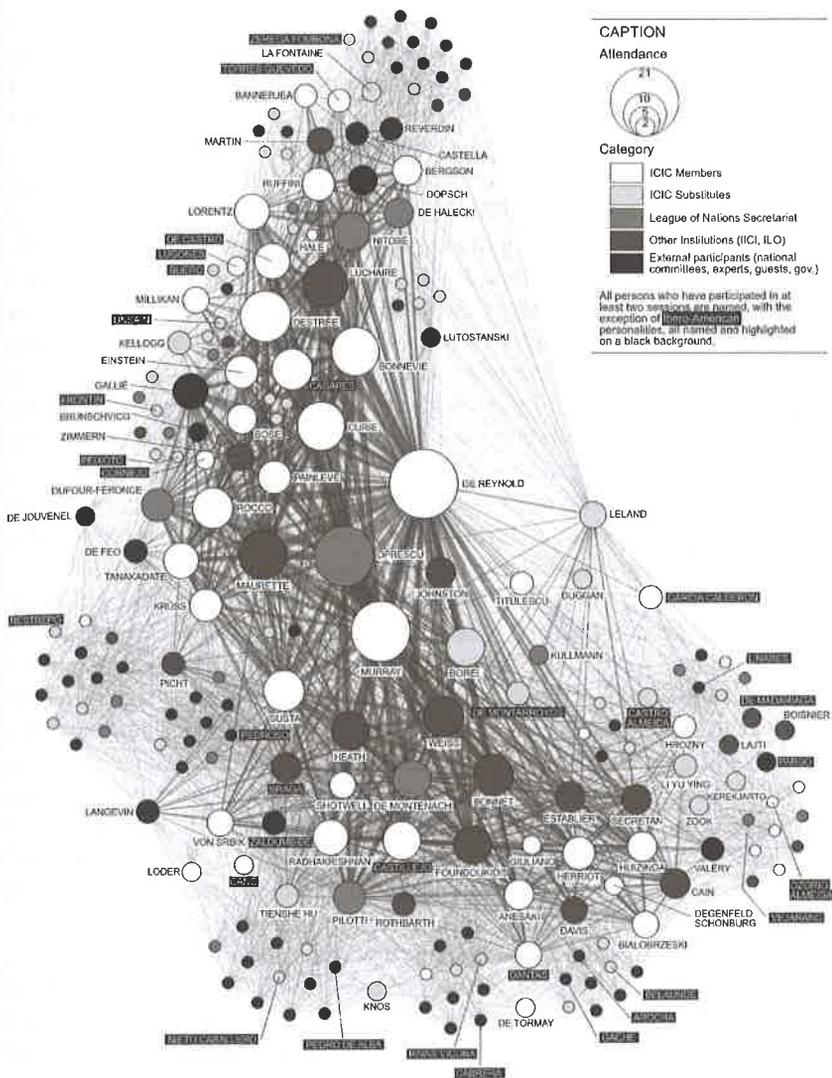


Figure 4.3 Network of the 212 Participants in ICIC Meetings Between 1922 and 1939.

a myriad of poorly connected people in the margins: more than half of the people who participated attended only one session (58%). And while the majority of them are delegates of national committees or occasional substitutes, there are still about ten ICIC members among them.

The structure of the network naturally depends very much on the temporality of the Committee: as most members, experts or secretaries

usually sit during one to five years, the neighborhood of an individual is logically composed of people who participated in the activity of the ICIC during the same period as he. At the top, we find the main members of the first Committee of 1922, around their first president Henri Bergson and under-secretary general Inazo Nitobe. This group is densely connected with the region of the graph containing more central characters, Jules Destrée, Kristine Bonnevie, Júlio Casares and Marie Skłodowska-Curie in the first place, who will all remain in the Committee until 1930 (and after the departure of the first two presidents). The separation with the newcomers of 1931, including, for example, the philosopher and future Indian Prime minister Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan or José Castillejo, is quite clear: it is Gonzague de Reynold, Gilbert Murray and the former Czech minister and history professor Joseph Susta (the latter entered in 1928 and thus met a good part of the original members) who are acting as an interface between the former ICIC, above, and the new one at the bottom.

This comprehensive approach also highlights several Spanish or Portuguese-speaking personalities who do not attend sessions as substitutes or delegates of a NCIC. Taking part in five sessions between 1931–1934 and in 1939, the Franco-Brazilian journalist and writer Dominique Braga is more present at ICIC meetings than many official members! His position of technical advisor on literary questions at the Parisian IIC (Dumont 2008, 105–146) makes him one of the most active representatives of the Portuguese language in the circles of intellectual cooperation. But several Spanish personalities are also part of the occasional participants. This is the case of the professor of law and delegate to the League Manuel Martínez Pedroso, who attends the meeting of 1933 on behalf of the Committee on moral disarmament. In 1935, Blas Cabrera represents the Council of scientific unions, followed by Salvador de Madariaga in 1938 and 1939 on behalf of the International Museums Office (dependent on IIC), and Felix Vejarano serving as a member of the secretariat of the International Bureaux Section of the League in 1939 as well. With regard to other nationalities, we note the presence of the permanent Venezuelan delegate Manuel Arocha in 1936 and the Argentinian writer and diplomat Roberto Gache the same year.

But whatever the reason for their involvement, Ibero-American personalities rarely occupy central positions. Representing 15% of the total number of individuals having attended an ICIC session, few can boast of having sat with a significant number of colleagues. This is, for example, the case of Casares or Castro, but also of people like Montarroyos or Zaldumbide who, because they each participated in three sessions of the Committee, far exceed regular members such as Lugones, Cornejo or Sanín Cano. García Calderón's situation is structurally interesting because having a big gap between his first participation (replacing Lugones in 1925) and his last (official Peruvian member in 1939), he collects a network of

very distant relations. His place in the graph is therefore similar to that of the American historian Waldo Leland, who replaces Robert A. Millikan in 1923 to return only in 1935, 1937 and 1938 to replace the political scientist James T. Shotwell.

### **Conclusion: The Late Rise of the Latin American Countries**

The active and long-term involvement of experts such as Aloysio de Castro, Júlio Casares or José Castillejo, however, does not allow us to conclude that the Ibero-American world has been globally represented in a satisfactory way in the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation. If, in terms of numbers, Spanish-speaking and Portuguese-speaking personalities often match the Italian, Asian or Scandinavian representatives, they never occupy official positions (presidency, vice-presidency, responsibility for a sub-committee) and are rarely among those who actively participate in the sessions and structure the debates, unlike the French and English, who are constantly overrepresented and greatly benefit from their popularity as leading scientific and political figures.

But the under-representation of Ibero-American experts in the ICIC is counterbalanced by a third period, which follows the two distinct moments that we have described in these pages (the setting up and then the enlargement of the Committee): the post-League of Nations period. While the League suffers from its repeated diplomatic failures in the course of the 1930s, the actors of intellectual cooperation gradually seek to preserve their achievements, in particular by conferring to the Parisian IIC an increased autonomy that would allow it to continue its activity if the states all withdrew from Geneva. In July 1937, a large meeting of National Committees, ICIC and IIC directors therefore validates “the study of an intergovernmental agreement [. . .] whose purpose would be to offer other governments interested in intellectual cooperation the possibility of associating themselves with the commitments made by the French Government”.<sup>40</sup> Clearly, it is therefore a question of bypassing the League of Nations, still the place where the States are supposed to meet, so that they sign without its intermediary an international act guaranteeing an independent financing of the IIC. Elizeu Montarroyos, who is close to the ICIC since he participated in three sessions and is the Brazilian delegate to the IIC, proclaims during this meeting that “it is [. . .] a marriage, a union of Intellectual cooperation with the Governments”.<sup>41</sup> Despite the appearance of a “coup from the base against the Secretariat” (Renoliet 1999), the Assembly of the League validates this proposal and therefore convenes a diplomatic conference to be held the following year at the Quai d’Orsay in Paris.

In December, forty-five nations take part in the diplomatic conference by delegating a plenipotentiary,<sup>42</sup> but the composition of this new coalition is very different from the balance that prevailed in the ICIC. Western

Europe only represents a quarter of the participants (whereas in the same year it holds more than 40% of the seats in the ICIC). The largest contingent of this diplomatic conference comes from Latin America (one-third), despite—and perhaps in reaction to?—the very low representation of this continent in the ICIC (6% in 1938). With Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Haiti, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela, this Latin American delegation shows an increase in the diversity of actors interested in intellectual cooperation at a time where several major European powers are divesting themselves (note that Spain and Portugal are present at the diplomatic conference). And, for the first time, a Latin American has an official responsibility: the Peruvian Francisco García-Calderón is one of the four vice-presidents of the conference.<sup>43</sup>

On December 3rd, 1938, less than half of the States signed the Act. Among the twenty-one nations ready to rebuild the IIC, France is finally the only major Western power to carry the project, alongside China, Spain, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Portugal, Egypt, Poland Romania, Monaco and ten Latin American States: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela. And yet they must ratify the act, a procedure whose duration varies greatly from one State to another. On May 1st, 1939, thirty-seven states signed the act, but eleven of them—including Portugal and Mexico—actually ratified it. The international act thus officially enters into force on January 31, 1940, and is then promulgated by the French government a month later. But the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation is no longer active, most of the meetings having been postponed, and will be closed on June 9, a few days before the German troops enter Paris.

Less affected by the Second World War, Latin America will be a fertile ground for many initiatives inspired by the activities of the ICIC and the IIC, such as the repeated plans to create an Inter-American Office or Institute, in discussion since 1929<sup>44</sup> and about to materialize in 1943 in La Havana.<sup>45</sup> The “Pan-American Conference of Intellectual and Cultural Cooperation” is organized in the same city in November 1941 (Pernet 2014, 349–354), and IIC Director Henri Bonnet participates, having left Paris for the United States.<sup>46</sup> This third period, which sees the legacy of the ICIC and its Institute springing again momentarily in Latin America, outside the institutions of global (European) governance, suggests that the political bickering of the old European nations within the League—and especially France’s flagrant seizure of intellectual cooperation—were all obstacles to the development of a genuine grassroots movement, where intellectuals can organize themselves and for themselves.

## Notes

1. This institute was inaugurated in Paris in 1926 and completed the Geneva Committee. Due to its large size, it quickly becomes a key element, although

- the ICIC retains the leadership of what is known since the early 1930s as the “Organization for Intellectual Cooperation” (OIC). This Parisian focal point is particularly strong in Renoliet (1999).
2. See IICI (1933) Note that two of the letters by Paul Valéry and Salvador de Madariaga from this volume have recently been reissued (Valéry and Madariaga 2016).
  3. To this end, we make special use of the League of Nations archives (United Nations Office at Geneva), abbreviated LNA. About these collections, see Habermann-Box (2014). It should be noted, as a complement, that Louis (2016) conducted a historical study of the representativeness of the International Labor Organization.
  4. Quiñones de León J., “Organisation du travail intellectuel”, *Journal officiel de la Société des Nations*, vol. 2 no. 2, March/April 1921, p. 177.
  5. Actes de la deuxième Assemblée de la Société des Nations, Genève 1921, Commissions (II), p. 333.
  6. “Observations on the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation”, Inazo Nitobe, August 18, 1922, LNA 14297/22652, p. 1.
  7. Note from Inazo Nitobe to the General Secretary, 22.12.1921, p. 1, LNA 13/14297/18183.
  8. “Appointment of a Committee for the Consideration of Questions of Intellectual Co-Operation”, Report presented by Hanotaux and adopted by the Council on January 14, 1922, published as an annex (310) to the *Journal officiel de la Société des Nations*, vol. 3 no. 2, February 1922, pp. 174–175.
  9. “Candidats recommandés par des associations pour les fonctions de membres de la commission de coopération intellectuelle”, January 12, 1922, LNA 13/14297/18183.
  10. “Liste des noms proposés pour la commission pour la coopération intellectuelle”, March 1922, LNA 13/14297/19608.
  11. Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil (–1926), Chile (–1938), Colombia, Cuba, Spain (–1939), Guatemala (–1936), Honduras (–1936), Nicaragua (–1936), Panama, Paraguay (–1935), Peru (–1939), Portugal, Salvador (–1937), Uruguay, Venezuela (–1938). With these first countries, four new one will join the League: Costa Rica (1920–1925), the Dominican Republic (1924), Mexico (1931), Ecuador (1934). In total, they represent 33% of the sixty-three countries that have once been members of the League.
  12. “Observations on the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation”, Memorandum by Inazo Nitobe, August 18, 1922, LNA 13/14297/22652, p. 4.
  13. “Nomination of a Committee on Intellectual Co-Operation”, Report presented by Léon Bourgeois and adopted by the Council on May 15 1922, published as an annex (354) to the *Journal officiel de la Société des Nations*, vol. 3 no. 6, June 1922, pp. 679–680.
  14. “Appointment of a Committee to Examine Questions Concerning Intellectual Co-Operation”, *Journal officiel de la Société des Nations*, vol. 3 no. 6, June 1922, pp. 535–536.
  15. Telegram from Hale to the Secretary General, May 22 1922, LNA 13/14297/21013.
  16. Letter from Millikan to Drummond, October 13, 1922, LNA 13/14297/21013.
  17. Letter from Einstein to the Secretary General, May 30, 1922, LNA 13C/14297/20823.
  18. Letter from Einstein to the Secretary General, July 4, 1922, LNA 13C/14297/20823.
  19. Letter from Attolico to Einstein, July 12, 1922, LNA 13C/14297/20823.
  20. Dispatch, July 21, 1922, LNA 13C/14297/20823.
  21. Telegram from Comert to Attolico, July 28, 1922, LNA 13C/14297/20823.

22. "Observations on the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation", Memorandum by Inazo Nitobe, August 18, 1922, LNA 13/14297/22652, p. 3.
23. "Vœux adoptés par la commission", December 8, 1923, LNA 13C/14297/32690.
24. Pham (1962, 29) is devoting considerable development to it, partly taken up by Renoliet.
25. Resolution 1 from report Bardoux at the 4th Assembly of the League, 16th plenary meeting, September 27, 1923, *Actes de la quatrième Assemblée au Journal officiel* (supplément spécial n°13), p. 109.
26. Minutes of the Fifth Commission, 8th meeting (September 17, 1923) and 13th meeting (September 22, 1923), *Actes de la quatrième Assemblée au Journal officiel* (supplément spécial n°18), pp. 34–38, 53–57.
27. Report of the Fifth Commission (Bardoux) to the 4th Assembly of the League, 15th plenary meeting, September 27, 1923, *Actes de la quatrième Assemblée au Journal officiel* (supplément spécial n°13), p. 102.
28. 15th Plenary session of the 4th Assembly of the League, September 27m 1923, *Actes de la quatrième Assemblée au Journal officiel* (supplément spécial n°13), p. 104.
29. 16th Plenary session of the 4th Assembly of the League, September 27, 1923, *Actes de la quatrième Assemblée au Journal officiel* (supplément spécial n°13), p. 107.
30. Letter from Drummond to Opreescu, August 30 1926 (Saikawa 2014, 153).
31. Letter from Quiñones de León to the General Secretary, May 14 1926, reproduced in a note to the Council, June 1, 1926, LNA 13C/14297/51451, p. 1.
32. "Regulations Defining the Duties of the Secretariat of the Committee on Intellectual Co-Operation", Appendix VI of the report of the 8th session of the ICIC, published as an annex (898a) to the *Journal officiel de la Société des Nations*, 7<sup>e</sup> année no. 10 October 1926, p. 1305.
33. *Journal officiel de la Société des Nations*, 7<sup>e</sup> année no. 7 July 1926, 14<sup>e</sup> session du Conseil, 3<sup>e</sup> séance (June 9, 1926), p. 869.
34. "Appointment of a Japanese Member on the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation", *Journal officiel de la Société des Nations*, 8<sup>e</sup> année no. 2, February 1927, 43<sup>e</sup> session du Conseil, 2<sup>e</sup> séance (December 7, 1926), p. 129.
35. Letter from Ishii to the General secretary, reproduced as an annex to the *Journal officiel de la Société des Nations*, 8<sup>e</sup> année no. 2 février 1927, 43<sup>e</sup> session du Conseil, 2<sup>e</sup> séance (December 7, 1926), p. 217.
36. *Journal officiel de la Société des Nations*, 11<sup>e</sup> année no. 11 novembre 1930, 60<sup>e</sup> session du Conseil, 2<sup>e</sup> séance (September 9, 1930), p. 1306. The recommendations and reports of the ICIC are in the annex 1230, p. 1374.
37. CICI, *Procès-verbal de la cinquième session*, May 11–14, 1925, C. 286. M. 104. 1925. XII, p. 4.
38. CICI, *Procès-verbal de la vingtième session*, July 11–16, 1938, p. 2.
39. These data are taken from the attendance lists published in the introduction to the ICIC minutes. They do not include all the people actually present in the room but only the individuals who have an official reason to participate (not the public and possible journalists, for example). The list is completed with the names of any person speaking in the minutes if he's not officially mentioned in the first pages (these omissions are very rare).
40. "Rapport général: résolutions et vœux", appendix to the "Actes de la deuxième conférence générale des commissions nationales de coopération intellectuelle", Paris, July 5–9, 1937, document C.530.M.369.1937.XII, LNA 5B/14390/32496, p. 88.

41. "Procès-verbaux des séances de la Conférence diplomatique concernant la coopération intellectuelle", Paris, 4th plenary meeting, December 2, 1938, LNA 5B/33863/35946, p. 68.
42. "Communication du Gouvernement Français au sujet de l'Acte international concernant la Coopération intellectuelle", communicated to the Council, January 14, 1939, LNA 5B/33863/36476, p. 1.
43. "Procès-verbaux des séances de la Conférence diplomatique concernant la coopération intellectuelle", Paris, 1st plenary meeting, November 30, 1938, LNA 5B/33863/35946, p. 9.
44. CICI, *Procès-verbal de la onzième session, première séance*, July 22, 1929, LNA C.342.M.121.1929.XII, pp. 13–14.
45. "Pour une collaboration intellectuelle", dispatch from the Swiss Telegraphic Agency, October 22, 1943, LNA 5B/318/41160. See also (Dumont 2008).
46. Letter from Anker to Rosenborg, June 23, 1942, LNA 5B/318/41160.

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