

**From Intellectual Co-operation to International Cultural Exchange:
Japan and China in the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation
of the League of Nations, 1922-1939**

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Abstract

Along with the recent rise of new historical narratives of the League of Nations, growing attention has been paid to the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation (ICIC) as a pioneer international organization for cultural exchange preceding UNESCO. Motivated by the new approach of Transcultural History, this thesis examines the ICIC as an international stage where various actors such as intellectuals, private organizations, governments and the ICIC itself come into conflict over the idea of intellectual co-operation, and it places an emphasis on the ICIC's historical process of transformation. In so doing, the thesis firstly employs the distinction of two cultures: the universality of culture based on Western civilization and the particularity of culture based on national cultures. Secondly, it places a great emphasis on the involvements of non-Western countries in the ICIC's work of intellectual co-operation, particularly Japan and China. Thirdly, it employs the empirical historical method and pursues a multi-archival approach in order to examine the transcultural relationship between the ICIC, Japan and China.

In these respects, this thesis demonstrates the process of the establishment of the ICIC with special reference to the Union des Associations Internationales, stressing that the ICIC began with the universalistic idea of intellectual co-operation based on Western civilization. Turning its focus toward Japan and China, the thesis argues that the primary purpose of Japan's intellectual co-operation was to introduce Japanese culture in the West in close conjunction with the Japanese government, while discussing that China's intellectual co-operation was implemented as part of the governmental policy for its national reconstruction. Returning its attention to the ICIC again, the thesis reveals the ideological shift of the ICIC's idea of intellectual co-operation in the 1930s. In particular, it argues that, confronted with backlashes from Japan and China, the ICIC in the 1930s shifted its emphasis in the idea of intellectual co-operation from the universality of culture based on Western civilization to the particularity of culture based on national cultures.

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Notes on Japanese and Chinese Names

Japanese and Chinese names are rendered according to local custom – family name before given name. Most Chinese personal and place-names are Romanized according to the Pinyin system, except a few that are readily recognizable in the West in earlier Romanized forms.

Notes on Sources and Abbreviations

Sources in Japanese are Romanized and Sources in Chinese are rendered in the Pinyin transliteration. For documents of the League of Nations Archives, the UNESCO Archives and the Mundaneum, the call number for the appropriate box, file or microfilm is specified in each citation.

Abbreviations:

GM	Gilbert Murray Papers
JFMA	Japanese Foreign Ministry Archives
KBSC	Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai Collection
LNA	League of Nations Archives
MUN	Mundaneum
UNESCO	UNESCO Archives

THE SECRETARY. I didn't do it. It was done by the Committee for Intellectual Co-operation.

SIR O. The What ??? I never heard of such a body.

THE SECRETARY. Neither did I until this business was sprung on me. Nobody ever heard it. But I find now that it is part of the League, and that its members are tremendous swells with European reputations. They've all published translations from the Greek or discovered new planets or something of that sort.

SIR O. Ah Yes: outside politics: I see.

Bernard Shaw, *Geneva: Another Political Extravaganza*

Introduction

On the eve of the outbreak of World War II in 1939, Gilbert Murray, a prominent scholar of Greek literature at Oxford and one of the representative internationalists in interwar Britain, looked back on his long-held commitment to the League of Nations and articulated:

I could speak much of the work of that committee, of which I have been President for the last eight years, baffled and hampered always by lack of support, but steadily improving the relations between different nations in unobtrusive ways by discussions between savants and writers, by agreements affecting the cinema and the broadcasting services, by continual work at education. This Committee was entrusted by the Assembly in the years 1924 and 1926 with the duty of seeing that in the territories of all members of the League young people were taught something of ‘the work and aims of the League of Nations’, and also made to realize ‘that international co-operation is the normal method’ of a good world government. It was done in England, it was done in France; for a short time under the Socialist Minister of Education, Dr. Becker, it was begun in Prussia. If my colleagues and I could have persuaded the great Governments to take a real interest in this project and see to the carrying out of similar schemes of education throughout Europe, such a step might probably have gone far forwards preventing the rise of Hitler and saving the peace of the world¹.

Together with E. H Carr’s harsh criticism of ‘idealists’ directing their dreams of world peace to the League, it was evident at this moment of growing darkness across Europe and Asia that the international system of the League of Nations had already failed². In the end, the League failed to prevent not only Hitler’s *Drittes Reich* but also the Japanese establishment of its puppet-state

¹ Gilbert Murray, “A League of Nations: The First Experiment (1939)”, *From the League to U.N.*, London: Oxford University Press, 1948, pp. 82-83.

² E. H. Carr, *The Twenty Years’ Crisis*, New York: Palgrave, 2001.

‘Manchukuo’ in 1932 as well as the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935. In these circumstances, Murray’s statement as one of the most enthusiastic advocates of the League is shot through with his feelings of disappointment and pain. Particularly, he expresses deep remorse for ‘that committee’, which is the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation (ICIC) of the League of Nations. Since its establishment in 1922 as a consultative body to the Council of the League and later one of its technical organizations, the ICIC had carried out various projects in the name of intellectual co-operation including educational activities, as Murray mentions. Although he still entertained hopes about the potential of the work of the ICIC, in the aftermath of their failures and subsequent dissolutions, both the League of Nations and the ICIC were largely forgotten for a long time after the war³.

In recent years, however, growing attention has been paid to the ICIC in historical studies, particularly in the field of international history⁴. In a broader sense, research interest in the ICIC has grown in the context of the rise of new historical narratives of the League of Nations⁵. It is particularly significant that, while accepting as a given the political failure of the League’s

³ Nonetheless, it should be noted that in the early postwar period it was mainly former officials who devoted themselves to historical research on the League of Nations as well as the ICIC. For the League of Nations, see F. P. Walters, *A History of the League of Nations*, London: Oxford University Press, 1960; Gilbert Murray, *From the League to U.N.* For the ICIC, see Jean-Jacques Mayoux, *L’Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle 1925-1946*, Paris: Institut international de coopération intellectuelle, n.d; Henri Bonnet, “La Société des Nations et la Coopération Intellectuelle”, *Cahiers d’Histoire Mondiale*, Vol. 5, 1966, pp. 198-209.

⁴ Akira Iriye, *Cultural Internationalisms and World Order*, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997, pp. 63-66; Akira Iriye, *Global Community: The Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002, pp. 21-22; Julie Reeves, *Culture and International Relations: Narratives, Natives and Tourists*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2004, p. 48; Daniel Laqua, “Transnational Intellectual Co-operation, the League of Nations, and the Problem of Order”, *Journal of Global History*, Vol. 6, 2011, pp. 223-247.

⁵ Susan Pedersen, “Back to the League of Nations: Review Essay”, *American Historical Review*, Vol. 112, No. 2, 2007, pp. 1091-1117; Sunil Amrith and Glenda Sluga, “Hew Histories of the United Nations”, *Journal of World History*, Vol. 19, No. 3, 2008, pp. 251-274; Patricia Clavin, “Time, Manner, Place: Writing Modern European History in Global, Transnational and International Contexts”, *European History Quarterly*, Vol. 40, No. 4, 2010, pp. 624-640.

international system to maintain peace, recent historical studies give considerable attention to non-political and technical functions of the League in economic, social and cultural areas, which were taken over by the United Nations in the postwar period⁶. In so doing, it is a common feature among recent scholarship that the League of Nations is no longer regarded as a mere international or intergovernmental organization subject to power politics among nation-states but as an autonomous actor of transnational character in world politics⁷. As such, the ICIC has also been ‘rediscovered’ as a pioneering international organization for cultural exchange preceding the birth of UNESCO, sometimes referred to as ‘the forgotten UNESCO’⁸.

Among these studies, Akira Iriye’s works are one of the most influential driving forces for the historical reexamination of the League of Nations as well as the ICIC⁹. In particular, Iriye provides a new historical perspective on ‘cultural internationalism’ from his long-held interest in the history of international relations from a cultural point of view¹⁰. According to Iriye, ‘cultural internationalism’ is simply defined as ‘the fostering of international co-operation

⁶ Patricia Clavin, *Securing the World Economy: The Reinvention of the League of Nations 1920-1946*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013; Iris Borowy, *Coming to Terms with World Health: The League of Nations Health Organisation 1921-1946*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2009; Jasmien Van Deale, Magaly Rodriguez garcia, Geert Van Goethem, Marchel van der Linden eds, *ILO Histories: Essays on the International Labour Organisation and its Impact on the World during the Twentieth Century*, Bern: Peter Lang, 2010.

⁷ Iriye, *Global Community*; Patricia Clavin, “Defining Transnationalism”, *Contemporary European History*, Vol. 14, No. 4, 2005, pp. 421-439; Patricia Clavin and Jens-Wilhelm Wessels, “Transnationalism and the League of Nations: Understanding the Work of Its Economic and Financial Organisation”, *Contemporary European History*, Vol. 14, No. 1, 2005, pp. 465-492.

⁸ Jean-Jacques Renoliet, *L’UNESCO oubliée: La Société des Nations et la coopération intellectuelle (1919-1946)*, Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1999.

⁹ In fact, most of the above-mentioned studies on the ICIC refer to Iriye’s works, particularly his *Cultural Internationalism and World Order*. For example, see Reeves, *Culture and International Relations*, pp. 41-42.

¹⁰ His earlier works also pay much attention to cultural factors such as ideas and thoughts rather than physical powers like military force in his historical narrative of international relations. Akira Iriye, *After Imperialism: The Search for a New Order in the Far East, 1921-1931*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965; Akira Iriye, *Power and Culture: The Japanese-American War, 1941-1945*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981; Akira Iriye, “The Internationalization of History”, *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 94, No. 1, 1989, pp. 1-10; Akira Iriye, “Culture”, *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 77, No. 1, 1990, pp. 99-107.

through cultural activities across national boundaries¹¹. In view of this, he characterizes the ICIC as one of the representative international organizations promoting ‘cultural internationalism’ in the interwar period¹². In view of the fact that no historian has analyzed the ICIC in such a broad historical perspective before Iriye, special emphasis should be laid on his characterization of the ICIC from the point of view of ‘cultural internationalism’.

At the same time, however, it should be noted that Iriye’s argument on ‘cultural internationalism’ has two main theoretical problems. The first problem emerges from his understanding of internationalism. He defines internationalism as ‘an idea, a movement, or an institution that seeks to reformulate the nature of relations among nations through cross-national cooperation and interchange¹³’. Focusing on border crossing and transnational cooperative efforts by different peoples and organizations for world peace, Iriye regards internationalism as opposed to nationalism and characterizes the history of international relations since the nineteenth century as the dichotomy between these two conflicting ideas¹⁴. However, his understanding of internationalism is too simple and even ahistorical, as recent historical studies claim that internationalism has been entangled and intertwined with nationalism in modern history just as the national and international share the concept of nation as a common core¹⁵. For

¹¹ Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order*, p. 3.

¹² Ibid, pp. 65-66.

¹³ Ibid, p. 3.

¹⁴ Ibid, pp. 15-17.

¹⁵ Glenda Sluga, *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013; Martin Geyer and Johannes Poulmann eds., *The Mechanics of Internationalism: Culture, Society, and Politics from the 1840s to the First World War*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001; Kjell Goldmann, *The Logic of Internationalism: coercion and accommodation*, London: Routledge, 1994. In addition, given the fact that the colonial empires existed and played a leading role in international relations in the twentieth century, it is arguable that imperialism also shares the same historical background with internationalism. See David Long and Brian C. Schmidt eds., *Imperialism and Internationalism in the Discipline of International Relations*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005.

this reason, instead of viewing the ICIC only as an organization of internationalist nature overcoming negative effects of nationalism that Iriye emphasizes, it is imperative to reconsider the historical origin and development of the ICIC in entanglements and mutual interactions between internationalism and nationalism.

Secondly, Iriye's understanding of 'culture' is also problematic. He adopts the generally accepted definition of culture as 'structures of meaning' but almost always adds the adjective of a name of a nation, like Japanese culture, Chinese culture, American culture and so forth¹⁶. Furthermore, while he emphasizes 'cultural activities across national boundaries', Iriye has little interest in the diversity within a national culture and the acculturation caused by such cross-national interactions. After all, it is clear that he regards a national culture as a self-evident entity and lacks a dynamic perspective that a culture, whether national or anything else, can be transformed¹⁷.

At the same time, in light of recent debates on the concept of culture, it can be said that his notion of culture is outdated and useless as an analytical concept¹⁸. For example, according to German philosopher Wolfgang Welsch, 'culture' can be classified into three concepts: 'single cultures', 'interculturality' and 'transculturality'¹⁹. First, the concept of single cultures that has traditionally been the most influential idea is characterized by three main elements: social

¹⁶ Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order*, p. 3.

¹⁷ The process of cultural change, called acculturation, has been one of the most studied subjects in the field of anthropology. For representative works introducing the point of view of acculturation to historiography, see Benjamin I. Schwartz, *In Search of Wealth and Power: Yan Fu and the West*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964, Kenichiro Hirano, "The Japanese in Manchuria, 1906-1931: a study of the historical background of Manchukuo", Ph. D. Thesis, Harvard University, 1983.

¹⁸ For recent studies on the concept of culture, see Adam Kuper, *Culture: The Anthropologists' Account*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000.

¹⁹ Wolfgang Welsch, "Transculturality: the Puzzling Form of Cultures", Mike Featherstone and Scott Lash ed., *Spaces of Culture: City, Nation, World*, London: Sage, 1999, pp. 194-213.

homogenization, ethnic consolidation and intercultural delimitation. In other words, this concept is unificatory, folk-bound and separatory. Refusing this traditional idea of culture on the grounds of its descriptive uselessness and normative danger, Welsch argues that '[w]hat is called for today is a departure from this concept and to think of cultures beyond the contraposition of ownness and foreignness²⁰'. Likewise, Welsch criticizes the concept of 'interculturality', referring to its synonymous term 'multiculturalism'. He argues that the concept of 'interculturality' has a deficiency to the extent that it adheres tenaciously to the premises of the traditional conception of single cultures and it proceeds from a conception of cultures as islands or spheres. As with the concept of 'interculturality', the concept of 'multiculturalism' ultimately remains caught in the web of the traditional understanding of culture; it proceeds from the existence of clearly distinguished homogeneous cultures. Therefore, the concept of 'multiculturalism' implies and affirms the traditional conception of cultures as autonomous spheres, and in fact that is precisely what emerges in present-day phenomena of separation and ghettoization. Thus, Welsch states:

Cultures de facto no longer have the insinuated form of homogeneity and separateness. They have instead assumed a new form, which is to be called transcultural insofar that it passes through classical cultural boundaries. Cultural conditions today are largely characterized by mixes and permeations²¹.

In this way, Welsch regards the concept of 'transculturality' as the most appropriate

²⁰ Ibid, p. 196.

²¹ Ibid, p. 198.

epistemological framework of cultural phenomena in the present world, characterizing it by the inner differentiation and the complexity of modern cultures, cultures' external networking and hybridization. Thus, according to Welsch's theoretical account, Iriye's 'cultural internationalism' falls into 'interculturality' inasmuch as Iriye retains the traditional conception of single national cultures.

While Iriye's contribution to the reexamination and reinterpretation of the significance of the ICIC should not be overlooked, Welsch's criticism of the uncritical use of the concept of "culture" offers an important caution for analyzing how the ICIC intersected with and emerged from the domestic, national, regional, and international dynamics at the time. In this way, the ICIC should be examined from a new historical perspective, rather than through the lens of Iriye's 'cultural internationalism' that is still preoccupied with narratives of national histories based on the idea of single and unchanging national cultures. In this regard, Welsch's concept of 'transculturality' seems persuasive in light of the globalized and complicated cultural situation of the present world. Because of its abstractness, however, his concept of 'transculturality' needs to be historicized before employing it as a historical perspective for examining the ICIC.

For this purpose, this thesis lays special emphasis on a new historical enterprise that has been recently launched in Germany, 'Transcultural History'. With respect to its research agenda, Madeleine Herren, one of the promoters of 'Transcultural History', states:

At a glance, transcultural history introduces a global view of the past by focusing on processes of border crossing. Instead of attaching the past to clearly defined entities such as eras,

territories, nations, classes, or states, transcultural history focuses on incompatibilities, tensions, and disputes which develop whenever people, objects, concepts, or ideas transgress the ruling orders of their respective time²².

It should be noted that 'Transcultural History' focuses on the process of border crossing rather than on relations between clearly defined entities such as nation-states in cultural activities across national boundaries, as is the case with Iriye's 'cultural internationalism'. In this way, 'Transcultural History' can bring into view not a consistency but a dynamic historical transformation of people, objects, concepts or ideas.

Herren also indicates a range of transcultural issues that have tended to be neglected in historical research for the time period between 1850 and 1939:

1. Events and practices intended to introduce self-representation on a global stage (official, semi-official and non-official international conferences, transborder expeditions, markets and fairs including World's Fairs and universal exhibitions, presentations of universal knowledge in different forms e.g. encyclopedias, museums).
2. Shifting objects of contested origin (spoils of war), or those valued for their foreign character, forms of standardisation (Esperanto, road signs, pictograms).
3. Institutions and movements with opportunities for global membership (international organisations, transnational secular and religious communities), and/or global topics (globally spreading diseases, pollution, protection of nature, anarchism, terrorism).
4. Border crossing information and its financing; the question of transgression costs (multilateral treaties on exchange of publications, organisation of and access to global bibliographies).
5. Places and spaces with extraterritorial and international character (including international settlements, ports, postal offices, sanitary stations, the seven seas, the air and foreign

²² Madeleine Herren, Martin Rüesch, Christiane Sibille, *Transcultural History: Theories, Methods, Sources*, Berlin: Springer, 2012, p. 6.

cemeteries).

6. People living transboundary lives under different labels (cosmopolitans, internationalists, international civil servants, migrants, pirates, proselytes, impostors).

As an international organization for cultural exchange that had existed during the period of the interwar years, the ICIC includes most of these transcultural issues. Particularly considering the fact that different actors such as individual intellectuals, private organizations and governments came into play in the ICIC with various ideas, principles, intentions and practices, this approach of ‘Transcultural History’ undoubtedly can contribute to a new historical perspective on the ICIC.

Motivated by this new approach as well as this new moment in the reappraisal of the ICIC, this thesis examines the ICIC from the perspective of ‘Transcultural History’. In so doing, it firstly gives great attention to the ideological transformation of intellectual co-operation in the course of the ICIC’s activities. This is partly because much has been written about the ICIC in terms of its organization and administration, without little consideration for its fundamental principles²³. Even in the case of studies that pay certain attention to its ideological aspect, most assume intellectual co-operation as an inherently positive idea for world peace by means of international understanding, although in fact intellectual co-operation was initially a completely new idea for the League of Nations, and the ICIC had continuously transformed its fundamental principles during the period of its activity from 1922 to 1939²⁴. Therefore, this thesis

²³ For example, see Renoliet, *L’UNESCO oubliée*; Stanley William Pycior, “The Most Ineffectual Enterprise: International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations, 1922-1931”, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 1978.

²⁴ Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order*; Iriye, *Global Communities*; F.S. Northedge, “International Intellectual Co-operation within the League of Nations: Its conceptual basis and lessons for

approaches the ICIC as an international stage where various actors such as intellectuals, private organizations, governments and the ICIC itself come into conflict over the idea of intellectual co-operation, and it places an emphasis on the ICIC's historical process of transformation²⁵.

With special reference to the examination of ideological shifts in the notion of intellectual co-operation in the ICIC, this thesis employs the distinction of two cultures: the universality of culture and the particularity of culture. This distinction comes from the usage of Charles P. Snow, who invoked the concept to argue about the epistemological disjuncture between scholars in natural science and humanities²⁶. However, this distinction also draws deeply from two views on intellectual co-operation in the interwar period. From the perspective of Conceptual History (*Begriffsgeschichte*), the interwar period was a transitional period when the term 'civilization' came to be used in the plural form in the aftermath of growing suspicions of the universality of Western civilization while the term 'culture' became more commonly used²⁷. As a result, the terms for different 'civilizations' such as 'Chinese civilization', 'Indian civilization' or even 'Asian civilization' emerged, while the meaning of universal Western

the present", Ph.D. Dissertation, University of London, 1953; Jan Kolasa, *International Intellectual Co-operation (The League Experience and the Beginnings of UNESCO)*, Wrocław: Travaux de la Société des Science et des Lettres de Wrocław, 1962.

²⁵ For this reason, this thesis assumes that the ICIC represents the idea of intellectual co-operation in the Organization of Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations. From the organizational and administrative viewpoint, it should be noted that there were also the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation at Paris (IIIC) and the International Institute of Educational Cinematography at Rome in addition to the ICIC in the Organization of Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations. However, there is no doubt that the ICIC functioned as the decision-making body and it can be regarded as a focal point of the ideological formation and development of intellectual co-operation. For details about the IIIC, see Renoliet, *L'UNESCO oubliée*. For the International Institute of Educational Cinematography, see Christel Taillibert, *L'Institut International du cinématographe éducatif: Regards sur le rôle du cinéma éducatif dans la politique internationale du fascisme italien*, Paris: L'Harmattan, 1999.

²⁶ Charles Percy Snow, *Two Cultures*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993. John Toye and Richard Toye has recently examined the ideological origins of UNESCO from the point of view of Snow's 'Two Cultures': John Toye and Richard Toye, "One World, Two Cultures? Alfred Zimmern, Julian Haxley, and the Ideological Origins of UNESCO", *History*, Vol. 95, Issue 319, 2010, pp. 308-331.

²⁷ Bruce Mazlish, *Civilization and Its Contents*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004, pp. 91-111.

civilization penetrated into the concept of culture such as in the form of ‘Western culture’²⁸. In these circumstances, the ICIC embraced two opposing views of culture in its idea of intellectual co-operation: 1) the universality of culture based on Western civilization, and 2) the particularity of culture based on national cultures. These two views of culture caused a tension in the transformation of the idea of intellectual co-operation in the ICIC.

Secondly, this thesis places a great emphasis on the involvements of non-Western countries in the ICIC’s work of intellectual co-operation, particularly Japan and China. This is not only because Japan and China were two of the most ardent advocates for the ICIC, but also because they respectively criticized the fundamental principles of the early ICIC and contributed to the ideological transformation of intellectual co-operation in the organization²⁹. As discussed in the following chapters, Japan and China revolted against the ICIC’s premise of the universality of Western civilization by emphasizing the significance of each national culture, and thus contributed to the growing tension between the diverging viewpoints of the universality or particularity of culture within the ICIC. Moreover, implementing each project for intellectual co-operation under the strong influence of their respective governments, Japan and China brought another tension to the ICIC, which had initially attached a high value to intellectuals unrelated to their governments: a tension between individual intellectuals and governments in

²⁸ Prasenjit Duara, “The Discourse of Civilization and Pan-Asianism”, *Journal of World History*, Vol. 12, No. 1, pp. 99-130.

²⁹ For relations between the ICIC and Japan, see Shinohara Hatsue, *Kokusai Renmei* (League of Nations), Chuko Shinsho, 2010; Unno Yoshiro, *Kokusai Renmei to Nihon* (League of Nations and Japan), Harashobo, 1972; Sato Naotake, *Kokusai Renmei ni okeru Nihon* (Japan in the League of Nations), Kashima Kenkyujo Shupankai, 1972. For relations between the ICIC and China, see Pham-Thi-Tu, *La Coopération Intellectuelle sous la Société des Nations*, Genève: Librairie E. Droz, 1962; L. K. Quan, *China’s Relations with the League of Nations*, Hong Kong: The Asiatic Litho. Printing Press, 1939; Zhang Li, *Guoji Hezuo zai Zhongguo* (International Co-operation in China), Taipei: Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 1999.

the work of intellectual co-operation. Thus, demonstrating a more complex and entangled view of the ICIC by examining it from a non-Western point of view, this thesis hopes to contribute to the development of diversified narratives in ‘Transcultural History’.

Thirdly and finally, this thesis employs the empirical historical method and pursues a multi-archival approach in order to examine the relationship between the ICIC, Japan and China. The descriptions in this thesis are based on intensive archival research at various places including Geneva, Paris, Mons, Oxford, Tokyo, Taipei and Nanjing. This thesis also typifies a transcultural process in the way that it illuminates an image of the ICIC on the basis of a variety of documents with different linguistic, political, social and cultural backgrounds. In doing so, it also hopes to go beyond narratives of national histories.

For these purposes, the following chapters deal with the ideological transformation of intellectual co-operation in the ICIC from the point of view of Japan and China. Chapter I describes the ideological origins of the ICIC with special reference to the *Union des Associations Internationales*. Demonstrating the process of the establishment of the ICIC, it stresses that the ICIC began with the universalistic idea of intellectual co-operation based on Western civilization. Turning its focus toward Japan, Chapter II examines Japan’s intellectual co-operation. Through scrutinizing the establishment of the Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and its projects for intellectual co-operation, it demonstrates that the primary purpose of Japan’s intellectual co-operation was to introduce Japanese culture in the West in close conjunction with the Japanese government. Chapter III, in turn, discusses China’s intellectual co-operation. It argues that China’s intellectual co-operation was implemented as

part of the governmental policy for its national reconstruction. Returning its attention to the ICIC again, Chapter IV reveals the ideological shift of the ICIC's idea of intellectual co-operation in the 1930s. In particular, it argues that, confronted with backlashes from Japan and China, the ICIC in the 1930s shifted its emphasis in the idea of intellectual co-operation from the universality of culture based on Western civilization to the particularity of culture based on national cultures. Finally, the thesis concludes with some implications of the ideological shift in the ICIC's idea of intellectual co-operation to its successor, UNESCO.

Chapter I

Establishing the ICIC in the League of Nations in the Early 1920s

1. The UAI and *coopération intellectuelle*

The idea of intellectual co-operation derived from the *Union des Associations Internationales* (UAI), which was founded in Brussels in 1907 as a central bureau of international associations, led by two Belgian internationalists, Henri La Fontaine and Paul Otlet¹. As early as during World War I, La Fontaine and Otlet, serving as the Secretary-Generals of the UAI, formulated their plans of establishing a universal international organization that came to be realized as the League of Nations after the war². In their scheme of the League of Nations, it was *coopération*

¹ For the details about the UAI, see Georges Patrick Speeckaert, “A Glance at Sixty Years of Activity (1910-1970) of the Union of International Associations”, in Union of International Associations ed., *Sixtieth Anniversary, Union of International Associations, 1910-1970, Past, Present, Future*, Brussels: UAI Publication, 1970, pp. 19-52. On the thoughts of Henri La Fontaine and Paul Otlet, see Daniel Laqua, “Transnational Endeavours and the 'Totality of Knowledge': Paul Otlet and Henri La Fontaine as 'Integral Internationalists' in *Fin-De-Siècle Europe*”, in Grace Brockington ed., *Internationalism and the Arts in Britain and Europe at the Fin De Siècle*, Bern: Peter Lang, 2009, pp. 247-271; Hervé Hasquin *et al.*, *Henri La Fontaine, Prix Nobel de la paix, Tracé(s) d'une vie*, Mons: Mundaneum, 2002 ; Jacques Gillen *et al.*, *Paul Otlet, fondateur du Mundaneum (1868-1944), Architecte du savoir, artisan de paix*, Brussels: Les Impressions nouvelles, 2010 ; Françoise Levie, *L'Homme qui voulait classer le monde, Paul Otlet et le Mundaneum*, Brussels: Les Impressions nouvelles, 2006 ; W. Boyd Rayward, “Knowledge Organization and a New World Polity: The Rise and Fall and Rise of the Ideas of Paul Otlet”, *Transnational Association*, Vol. 1-2 (2003), pp.4-15; W. Boyd Rayward, *The Universe of Information: The Work of Paul Otlet for Documentation and International Organisation*, Moscow: All-Union Institute for Scientific and Technical Information, 1975.

² Henri La Fontaine, *The Great Solution: Magnissima Charta, Essay on Evolutionary and Constructive Pacifism*, Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1916; Paul Otlet, *Les Problème internationaux et la guerre*, Geneva: Librairie Kundig, 1916 ; Paul Otlet, *Constitution mondiale de la Société des Nations: Le Nouveau Droit des Gens*, Geneva: Edition Atar S.A., 1917. The Anglo-Saxon-centric narrative on the League of Nations tends to ignore the significant role of La Fontaine and Otlet in its formation, particularly their conceptualization of internationalism on which the League of Nations was based. For the importance of Belgian internationalism including La Fontaine and Otlet before World War I, see Madeleine Herren, “Governmental Internationalism and the Beginning of a New World Order in the Late Nineteenth Century”, in Martin Geyer and Johannes Paulmann eds., *The Mechanics of Internationalism*, London: Oxford University Press, pp. 121-144; Madeleine Herren, *Hintertüren zur Macht:*

intellectuelle that La Fontaine and Otlet envisaged as one of the most promising projects that the League should implement.

The UAI led by La Fontaine and Otlet, while developing and propagating the idea of intellectual co-operation, urged the Paris Peace Conference to discuss the establishment of an organization for the work of intellectual co-operation. In fact, on the sidelines of the opening of the Peace Conference in January 1919, the UAI delegates held a meeting in Paris and adopted a memorandum addressed to the Peace Conference, *La Charte des Intérêts Intellectuels et Moraux* (Charter of Intellectual and Moral Interests)³. The memorandum insisted that an international council for intellectual and moral interests should be established to act as an organ of the League of Nations, and it made various suggestions such as protecting intellectual culture, maintaining international scientific institutions, sponsoring and encouraging international associations for intellectual and moral interests, establishing a universal system of scientific and technical standards, choosing an international auxiliary language, and internationalizing education⁴. At the Peace Conference on 24 March 1919, the Belgian delegate Paul Hymans propounded a proposal of creating an international commission of intellectual relations based on the UAI's memorandum; however, his efforts resulted in failure⁵.

Shortly afterwards, on 21 May 1919, La Fontaine and Otlet sent a letter on behalf of the UAI

Internationalismus und modernisierungsorientierte Außenpolitik in Belgien, der Schweiz und den USA, 1865-1914, Munich: Oldenbourg, 2000.

³ L'Union des Associations Internationales, *La Charte des Intérêts Intellectuels & Moraux: Mémoire adressé à MM. les Délégués de la Conférence de la Paix, à Paris*, Bruxelles, 1919.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ David Hunter Miller, *The Drafting of the Covenant*, Vol. 1, New York: G.P. Putnum's Sons, 1928, pp. 349-350. By this fact, Paul Hymans is said to be 'the first to present intellectual co-operation as an important factor in the work to be accomplished by the League of Nations' (Georges Patrick Speeckaert, "A Glance at Sixty Years of Activity (1910-1970) of the Union of International Associations", p. 30).

to Eric Drummond, the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, asking for the establishment of a collaborative relationship between the UAI and the League, as well as urging a representative of the Secretariat to visit Brussels⁶. At the same time, Otlet published a pamphlet that unveiled his idea of the 'World Intellectual Centre' for the League of Nations⁷. In this pamphlet, Otlet begins with an explanation of the intention behind his conception of the world intellectual center, arguing that a new era is beginning for humanity in the wake of the Great War. He subsequently insists that the new political, economic and intellectual structure on the basis of the League of Nations should form the foundation of a civilization of the future, a civilization that should be universal, humanitarian and worldwide⁸. He thereby argues that in order to organize the intelligence for this challenge, it is necessary to build a world center, an intellectual center of ideas, work, methods, exchanges and publicity as well as a physical center of collections, institutions and people⁹. This world center would not only ensure the continuity of international co-operation but also create the atmosphere of impartiality and sympathy necessary for producing the ideas and initiatives with universal potential. To this end, Otlet confidently states that the UAI, which has been working towards intellectual co-operation such as by facilitating scientific research, preserving and disseminating the achievements, and teaching and putting these achievements into practice as an intermediary between various international associations, must be the most qualified organization to be the world intellectual

⁶ From the UAI to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, 21 May 1919, LNA: R1568.

⁷ Paul Otlet, *Centre Intellectuel Mondial au service de la Société des Nations*, Brussels: Union des Associations Internationales, 1919.

⁸ *Ibid*, p. 5.

⁹ *Ibid*, p. 5.

center¹⁰. In the conclusion, Otlet articulates his image of a world intellectual center clearly:

To establish the permanent links between various institutions that we have enumerated, it is necessary to have a superior body that materializes somehow the aspirations of humanity toward a common intellectual life. Its composition should be elective and all major international bodies must be represented. Active as a true Parliament of the affairs of intelligence, its mission is to provide a continuing impetus to the movement of the general spirit and to persistently harmonize the activities of individual institution. It should have the authority and the financial means to create, organize and control in the sphere of its mission¹¹.

Obviously, faced with the aftermath of the Great War and the foundation of the League of Nations as the first international organization of a universal nature in human history, Otlet's primary concern was to maintain world peace after the war. Thus, his project of a world intellectual center and its ideological basis, his idea of intellectual co-operation, were primarily aimed at cultivating universal characteristics of humanity, or 'civilisation' to use his favorite term, which he saw as necessary for maintaining peace. Through sharing this universalistic understanding of intellectual co-operation with the Secretariat of the League of Nations, it came to be a principal ideological pillar of establishing the ICIC¹².

At this point, however, most of the members of the Secretariat knew very little about the UAI itself. As positive assessments of its founders and the enterprise were increasingly made from

¹⁰ Ibid, pp. 6-8, p. 25.

¹¹ Ibid, p. 24.

¹² Not to mention this pamphlet, La Fontaine and Otlet never failed to send their publications to the Secretariat (From the Secretary-General to P. Otlet, 30 Jul. 1919, LNA: R1568).

various quarters, the League decided to embark on collaboration with the UAI¹³. As a result, in response to the invitation from the UAI, the Secretariat sent Nitobe Inazo, an Under Secretary-General in charge of the International Bureaux, as its representative to Brussels¹⁴.

Nitobe visited the UAI at the end of August 1919 to ‘make the acquaintance of MM. La Fontaine and Otlet¹⁵’. Observing the enterprise undertaken by the UAI and its members of international associations, Nitobe became aware that ‘the movement of closer federation and better organization is specially encouraged by the union, and its efforts in this direction are undoubtedly valuable¹⁶’. Particularly, he found one of the greatest potentials of the UAI in its publication *La Vie Internationale*, which included not only a detailed list of existing international governmental organizations and private international associations but also a

¹³ From P. J. Noel-Baker to F. P. Walters, 27 May 1919, LNA: R1568; From R. Fosdick to E. Drummond, 10 July. 1919, LNA: R1568; Memorandum by G.S.F.C. Kaeckenbeeck, 12 Aug. 1919, LNA: R1568.

¹⁴ He was accompanied by other members of the Secretariat, E.M.H. Lloyd of the Economic Section and G.S.F.C. Kaeckenbeeck of the Legal Section (From the Secretary-General to P. Otlet, 13 Aug. 1919, LNA: R1568). Nitobe Inazo (1862-1933), a Japanese educator and politician, is one of the key figures in the history of the ICIC, particularly in the process of its establishment. In fact, as an Under Secretary General in charge, he was committee to the conceptualization and organization of intellectual co-operation in the League of Nations and later served as a secretary-general of the ICIC until his resignation from the League in 1926. As Gilbert Murray, also one of the significant persons in the ICIC and its chairman from 1928 to 1939, remembered him as one of the most memorable figures in the ICIC along with Albert Einstein, Marie Curie and Hendrik Lorentz, Nitobe held a prestigious position in the ICIC as well as the League of Nations (Jean Smith, “The Committee for Intellectual Co-operation in Gilbert Murray’s Papers”, Jean Smith and Arnold Toynbee eds., *Gilbert Murray: An Unfinished Autobiography*, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1960, pp. 200-201). For biographical studies about Nitobe, see John F. Howes ed., *Nitobe Inazo: Japan’s Bridge across the Pacific*, Boulder: Westview Press, 1995; George Masaaki Oshiro, “Internationalist in prewar Japan: Nitobe Inazo, 1862-1933”, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of British Columbia, 1985; Ota Yuzo, *Taiheiyō no Hashi toshiteno Nitobe Inazo* (Nitobe Inazo as a Bridge across the Pacific), Tokyo: Misuzu Shobo, 1986. Particularly, for his involvement in the ICIC, see Nicolas Lanza, “Inazo Nitobe au Secrétariat de la Société des Nations: entre patriotisme japonais et ‘esprit de Genève’ (1919-1926)”, *Mémoire de Licence en Histoire contemporaine, Université de Genève, Faculté des Lettres*, 2003.

¹⁵ “Report by Dr. Nitobe and Mr. E.M.H. Lloyd on visit to Brussels and The Hague, August-September, 1919”, 11 Sep. 1919, LNA: S401.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

collection of all the resolutions passed by such international associations and conferences¹⁷. Likewise, coming in contact with the personalities of La Fontaine and Otlet for the first time, Nitobe highly evaluated them as ‘enthusiasts in the cause of Internationalism’ and ‘enthusiasts for scientific universality and international co-operation¹⁸’. Meanwhile, La Fontaine and Otlet put forward to Nitobe two proposals: securing the legal status of private international associations as well as founding an international university by the League of Nations¹⁹. In response to these suggestions, Nitobe concluded firstly that a special committee should be formed to consider and formulate the general principles according to which recognition should be given to private international associations, and secondly that the League should provide some sort of subvention to the projects of the UAI, particularly the publication of *La Vie Internationale*²⁰. It is thus arguable that Nitobe held a favorable view of the projects initiated by La Fontaine and Otlet from his first visit to the UAI.

After giving Nitobe a gracious reception in Brussels, La Fontaine and Otlet sent to the Secretary-General of the League a memorandum including a nine-point demand from the UAI to the League of Nations. One of the demands in this memorandum clearly proclaimed that a world intellectual center should be integrated under the League of Nations at the initiative of the

¹⁷ *La Vie Internationale, Revue Mensuelle des Idées, des Faits et des Organismes Internationaux, 1912*, Tome Ier, Brussels: Office Central des Associations Internationale, 1912. In view of the interruption of the publication due to the insufficiency of staff and money, Nitobe made a suggestion at a directors’ meeting of the Secretariat to ask the Council to advance funds for this project (“Meeting held in the Secretary General’s room on Wednesday, September 3rd, at 3.30 p.m.”, 3 Sep. 1919, LNA: R1569).

¹⁸ “Report by Dr. Nitobe and Mr. E.M.H. Lloyd on visit to Brussels and The Hague, August-September, 1919”. Furthermore, in Nitobe’s memoirs on his years in Geneva, both La Fontaine and Otlet are often referred to as ‘a man ahead of his time’ and ‘a true internationalist’. See Nitobe Inazo, *Tōzai Aifurete* (East meets West), Tokyo: Jitsugyo no Nihonsha, 1928, pp. 394-397. Nitobe Inazo, *Ijin Gunzō* (Great Men), Tokyo: Jitsugyo no Nihonsha, 1931, pp. 106-108.

¹⁹ “Report by Dr. Nitobe and Mr. E.M.H. Lloyd on visit to Brussels and The Hague, August-September, 1919”.

²⁰ Ibid.

UAI²¹. On 22 September 1919, Nitobe had a private talk with the Secretary-General about this UAI's demands. They agreed that the Secretary-General would shortly suggest to the Council of the League that certain definite sums of monies should be given as grants to some specified associations for conducting work of value to the League, and that the demands of the UAI required further consideration and elucidation through close communication between Nitobe and the Union²². Along this line, Nitobe started to build closer and more cooperative relations with the UAI, one of which was the publication of the list of international associations by the League, which was based on the UAI's *Annuaire de la Vie Internationale 1910-1911*²³.

At this time, it is noteworthy that the Secretariat discussed whether to place all of the existing international bureaus including the UAI under the direction of the League on the grounds of Article 24 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. Indeed, Nitobe, as a Director in charge, solicited the views of relevant people and organizations²⁴. However, Nitobe was inclined to leave the UAI out of subordination to the League, so that it could independently function as a "bridge" between the League and all private international associations²⁵. La Fontaine and Otlet shared the same perception of the relationship between the League and the UAI, though they

²¹ Union des Associations Internationales, "Mémorandum des Réunions qui ont eu lieu à Bruxelles, les 25, 26 et 27 aout 1919, entre les délégué de la Société des Nations et les secrétaires généraux de l'Union des associations internationales", 12 Sep. 1919, LNA: R1005.

²² Nitobe's Minute, 24 Sep. 1919, LNA: R1005.

²³ League of Nations, *List of International Unions, Associations, Institutions, Commissions, Bureaux, &c.*, 1919.

²⁴ For example, he consulted Sir Arthur Schuster about the International Research Council and Admiral Sir John Parry about the International Hydrographic Association. Of course, the attitudes toward the League's supervision varied by organization. While the former was opposed to the League's interference, the latter was anxious to come under the League. (Nitobe's Note, 2 Oct. 1919, LNA: R1006. "Minute of a Meeting held in the Secretary General's Room, at 3.30 p.m. on Wednesday, 15th October 1919", LNA: R1569).

²⁵ Nitobe's Minute, 5 Nov. 1919, LNA: R1005. From I. Nitobe to H. La Fontaine and P. Otlet, 13 Nov. 1919, LNA: R1005.

still desired to establish intimate relations with the League more than anything else²⁶. This controversy over the relationship between the League and the UAI returned to the fore later when the establishment of the ICIC began to be discussed.

In the following year, 1920, the League launched its first financial assistance for the work of the UAI by offering a subsidy for the reprint of its publication, *Code des résolutions et vœux des associations internationales*²⁷. The League's primary interest in the UAI was its remarkable capacity to gather and hold information about international associations in the world. Therefore, through its subvention for reprinting *Code des Vœux*, it can be thought that the League intended to acquire and use the UAI's accumulated knowledge about international society. As early as in May 1920, six months after the official opening of the League of Nations in January, Nitobe delivered to the UAI a message about the possibility to provide a subsidy of £1,500 for reprinting *Code des Vœux*²⁸. In implementing this assistance, the League decided to dispatch a member of the Financial Section, F. de Morpurgo, to look into the details of the financial status of the UAI and to see if the grant was used for this purpose. The mission was also designed to gain a general idea of the work of the UAI as well as to investigate the activities of other international organizations in Brussels²⁹.

After visiting Brussels, Morpurgo submitted to the Secretariat two detailed reports, "General

²⁶ From P. Otlet to I. Nitobe, 20 Nov. 1919, LNA: R1005.

²⁷ Central Office of International Associations ed., *Code des résolutions et vœux des associations internationales*, Brussels: Office central des institutions internationales, 1910. "*Code des vœux*", for short, was published in 1910 as a comprehensive list of resolutions and requests adopted by various international institutions and conferences, but it had been out of print owing to the Great War and its aftermath.

²⁸ From I. Nitobe to H. La Fontaine and P. Otlet, 1 May 1920, LNA: R1005.

²⁹ From I. Nitobe to the Secretary-General, 17 May 1920, LNA: R1005; From I. Nitobe to H. La Fontaine, 19 May 1920, LNA: R1005.

Report on the ‘*Centre International*’” and “Report on Finance of the ‘Union des Associations Internationales’ etc.”³⁰. In the former report, Morpurgo praised the continuing efforts by La Fontaine and Otlet and generalized the fundamental principles of the UAI, stating that “[t]heir final aim, their ideal, appears to have been the promotion of universal peace by laying the basis for a better understanding between individuals belonging to various nations³¹’. For this purpose, as Morpurgo describes, the UAI could assume a critical role in collecting information and materials for the League of Nations as well as in promoting genuine comprehension of the League’s proper object and action among people. The report notes that this double objective can be attained a) by the early meeting of a World Congress of International Associations, and b) by the creation of a permanent *Centre Intellectual International* in Brussels³². This universalistic account of the ideal of the UAI was much the same as Nitobe recognized. On the other hand, the latter report denotes financial difficulties of the UAI, indicating that ‘it cannot be said that from a strictly financial point of view their organization at present gives adequate guarantees to the prospective lenders³³’. Recommending the UAI to draw up a proper balance sheet and go back to its pre-war system of keeping detailed accounts, Morpurgo concludes that ‘only in that case, and subject to periodical audits, could any further financial assistance from the League of Nations be recommended³⁴’. While thus recognizing serious financial problems of the UAI, the League determined to provide further financial support for the UAI’s projects, particularly its plan for an International University, with the view that realizing its universal ideal would

³⁰ From de Morpurgo to Herbert Ames, 31 May, LNA: R1005.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

contribute, in turn, to the purposes and principles of the League of Nations. This shows the League's great confidence at this point in La Fontaine and Otlet's efforts for universal peace³⁵.

The project of founding an international university was also advocated by the UAI as part of its main concern of establishing a world intellectual center in connection with the League of Nations³⁶. In doing so, at the League of Nations Associations Conference in Brussels on 5 December 1919, the UAI delegates succeeded in passing its resolution that a new world organization should encourage and direct initiatives in science and education. The resolution contained specific requests to the League, including a request that aimed at creating an international university³⁷. Furthermore, scheduled to inaugurate the university in parallel with the Third Congress of International Associations in September 1920, the UAI demonstrated a concrete image of the projected International University. Firstly, the main aim was defined in the following way: 'The International University is designed to unite universities and international associations in one single movement of higher education and universal high culture³⁸'. To this end, students were expected to study international and comparative aspects of major issues under the guidance of famous professors, taking well-organized courses about general studies, comparative national studies, the study of international affairs, and the language and literature of various countries³⁹. The UAI also asked the League of Nations to appoint a member of the Secretariat to give a course of lectures on the League, its doctrine, and the

³⁵ Reading Morpurgo's reports, Nitobe asserted that 'I have absolute confidence – based on what I have seen and heard of them – in the two gentlemen, Senator La Fontaine and M. Otlet' (From I. Nitobe to the Secretary-General and H. Ames, May 31 1920, LNA: R1005).

³⁶ Paul Otlet, *Sur la Création d'une Université Internationale, Rapport présenté à l'Union des Associations Internationales*, Brussels: Union des Associations Internationales, Feb. 1920, p. 2.

³⁷ Ibid, p. 2.

³⁸ "L'Université Internationale, Notice et Programme", p. 1, p. 25, May 1920, LNA: R1008.

³⁹ Ibid, pp. 1-8.

progress made⁴⁰.

The League of Nations also gave considerable attention to the UAI's International University. Nitobe was immediately interested and found the idea worthy of consideration, and he suggested choosing someone from the Secretariat to be sent to give a lecture at the University⁴¹. Moreover, through collecting and summarizing information about the International University during his visit to Brussels in June 1920, Nitobe prepared a report on the prospects of the University and the way the League should approach it. In the report, while thinking of the UAI's idea of setting up an international university as a premature but novel scheme, Nitobe proposed that the League should not only send one of its member to the university as a lecturer but it should also consider granting some sort of patronage to it⁴². Nitobe's use of the word 'patronage' did not necessarily imply that the League should immediately launch financial assistance for the International University, but rather it denoted different means to encourage the project, such as by offering 'moral support'⁴³. Thus, the memorandum by the Secretary-General, which left the decision to the Council of the League, modestly suggested that the Council should take further responsibility than that of merely expressing its great appreciation, interest, and sympathy regarding the UAI's scheme, and it suggested as well as that the Council might also instruct the Secretariat to give all the assistance in its power toward the realization of the high aims of the university⁴⁴.

⁴⁰ From Morpurgo to I. Nitobe, 3 Jun. 1920, LNA: R1005.

⁴¹ Nitobe's Minute, 4 Jun. 1920, LNA: R1008.

⁴² Inazo Nitobe, "Report on International University", 17 Jun. 1920, LNA: R1008.

⁴³ From I. Nitobe to the Secretary-General, 21 Jun. 1920, LNA: R1008.

⁴⁴ League of Nations, "The Proposed University to be formed by the Union of International Associations, Brussels, Memorandum by the Secretary-General", distributed to the Council and Secretariat, 13 Jul. 1920, LNA: R1008.

As a result, at the meeting of the Council on 3 August 1920, the French rapporteur, Léon Bourgeois, not only agreed to the suggestions in the memorandum by the Secretary-General but also submitted a draft resolution for the official £1,500 subsidy to the publication of *Code des Voeux*⁴⁵. The Council, while reserving the question of formal patronage at the early stage of forming the university, nonetheless adopted the resolution about the subsidy of the publication and expressed its sympathetic interest and its wish for the success of the work of the university⁴⁶. Additionally, the Secretariat of the League decided to send Nitobe as a lecturer to the First Session of the International University⁴⁷. On 13 and 14 September 1920, Nitobe gave a lecture about activities of the League at the university, entitled ‘What the League of Nations has done and is doing’⁴⁸. In this way, it is obvious that the relationship between the League of Nations and the UAI was increasingly strengthened⁴⁹.

However, in terms of a plan for organizing the work of intellectual co-operation, the UAI was actually beaten to the punch by a French organization. On 8 July 1920, the French Association for the League of Nations submitted to the League a proposal adopted by the meeting of the association on 21 June 1920, titled ‘Institution of an International Bureau for Intellectual

⁴⁵ League of Nations, “Proposal by the Union of International Associations for the Establishment of an University and Request by the Union for a Subvention of £1,500 Sterling, Report presented by the French Representative, Monsieur Leon Bourgeois, and adopted by the Council of the League of Nations, at its Meeting at San Sebastian on August 3rd., 1920”, 3 Aug. 1920, LNA: R1008.

⁴⁶ From E. Drummond to H. La Fontaine and P. Otlet, 14 Aug. 1920, LNA: R1008.

⁴⁷ From I. Nitobe to the Secretary-General, 18 Aug. 1920, LNA: R1008; From I. Nitobe to P. Otlet, 21 Aug. 1920, MUN: Mundapaix 18.

⁴⁸ “What the League of Nations has done and is doing, Lecture by Inazo Nitobe at the International University Brussels, 13th and 14th September, 1920”, MUN: Mundapaix 18.

⁴⁹ It must be noted, however, that even within the Secretariat of the League there was some criticism against such a patronage to the UAI. For example, Robert Haas, a member of the Communications and Transit Section, had a suspicion that the League was going to give a grant for general purposes without any conditions in approval of the work of the UAI (From Robert Haas to E. Drummond, 21 Jun. 1920, LNA: R1005. From I. Nitobe to the Secretary-General, 12 Jul. 1920, LNA: R1005). Nonetheless, it was by the resolution of the Council in August 1920 that the League officially stated, as a consensus, that it was willing to work in close cooperation with the UAI through various forms of assistance to it.

Intercourse and Education'⁵⁰. In the preamble, the proposal describes the motive for creating an international institution for intellectual intercourse and education, asserting that:

A more intimate and active interchange of ideas, impressions, scientific discoveries, moral improvements and literary and scientific publications; a wider diffusion of languages; an increased frequency of missions and congresses and international intercourse of every kind – these developments will give to the work of the League of Nations the soundest guarantees of permanency and power⁵¹.

In this regard, it recommended that the League should set up a 'Permanent Organization for the Promotion of International Understanding and Collaboration in Educational Questions and in Science, Literature and Art'. Moreover, it provided a draft constitution for the concrete design of institutional arrangements. First, the permanent organization was thought to consist of two bodies, a general conference of representatives of the members and an international office for education, science, literature and art. The international office, which was to be established in Paris, was to be placed under the control of the general conference as a governing body, consisting of as many persons as there were national members of the League. These representatives were to be nominated by each government concerned. Second, the functions of the international office were to include: 'the collection and distribution of information on all subjects relating to the intellectual work of the various nations', 'the organisation and supervision of the organisations and institutions... connected with the Office', 'the study of all

⁵⁰ League of Nations, "Institution of an International Bureau for Intellectual Intercourse and Education, Letter, dated 8th July, 1920, from the President of the Executive Committee of the French Association for the League of Nations", LNA: R1028.

⁵¹ Ibid.

questions concerning the progress of Science, Literature and Art and of Education by means of international collaboration and, particularly, the examination of subjects which it is proposed to bring before the Conference with a view to the conclusion of international conventions', and 'the conduct of such special investigations as may be ordered by the Conference'. For these purposes, the office was conceived as having three departments: the 'Office for Educational Questions', the 'Office for Scientific Research', and the 'Office for Literature and Works of Art'⁵².

Nitobe's impression of this French proposal was that 'at present I am afraid it is premature'⁵³. He admits that 'more than one scheme of a similar nature has been submitted, but none as so comprehensive nor with such an array of names as this' as well as that 'nobody will deny the fundamental truth of the proposition that the "community of ideas and sentiments, intimacy through arts and science are the surest guarantee of the League of Nations"'. However, at the same time, Nitobe asked himself: 'Has not the League of Nations enough on hand to perform the duties explicitly required of it by the Covenant, without having a new task imposed on it?' and further, 'I do not doubt the power of the League to inaugurate any kind of work without being bound by the latter of the Covenant, if the world's opinion is ready for an instrument like this?' Thus, in light of the Covenant that lacked a clause on the League's activity of this kind as well as of the general atmosphere that was not yet prepared for creating such an international organization, Nitobe suggested that the first step should be a convocation of international conferences on the subject, both official and voluntary, instead of the initiative of the League of

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ From I. Nitobe to the Secretary-General, 15 Jul. 1920, LNA: R1028.

Nations⁵⁴.

The French proposal also provoked a strong reaction from the UAI, which rushed to hold the leading position in the discussion of establishing an international organization for intellectual co-operation. This is not only because the French plan was more comprehensive and detailed than that of the UAI, but more importantly because the basic characteristic of the French proposal was inherently incompatible with the UAI's leitmotif of intellectual co-operation. In addition to reservations regarding the planned site of the office in Paris, the UAI particularly stood against the state-centric view that the international office should be under the direction of the general conference whose representatives shall be nominated by each government. By contrast, from its character as a private international association, the UAI's scheme put primary emphasis on voluntary initiatives by various individuals and private organizations to facilitate international intellectual intercourse. For this reason, the UAI, aiming at the First Session of the Assembly of the League of Nations set for November 1920, took the active steps of various propaganda efforts and intense lobbying to key figures in the League of Nations in order to promulgate its idea of intellectual co-operation in the Secretariat as well as among the members of the League.

The UAI started with compiling its demands to the League of Nations at the Third World Congress of International Associations in September 1920⁵⁵. Particularly, a plan for an organization of intellectual activity to be implemented in co-operation with the League was the centrepiece among the demands, and the UAI prepared a special report on its scheme of creating

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ "Rapport de l'Union des Associations Internationales, transmettant à la Société des Nations les Voeux du Congrès des Associations Internationales", Oct. 1920, LNA: R1005.

the organization⁵⁶. Based on the efforts and experience of the UAI, it stipulates the areas of activities by the projected organization:

- 1) *Scientific Research*. Collaboration between scholars from different countries on the basis of coordinated programs. International laboratories, experimental stations, scientific exploration and expeditions, research directed toward industrial and social applications.
- 2) *Education*. International University. Development of academic relations. Facilities to secure these. Dissemination through education of ideas relating to the conditions of the international community and to the League of Nations.
- 3) *Standardization*. Universal systems of weights and measures. Standardization, terminology, nomenclature.
- 4) *Documentation and Publication*. Universal Bibliographical Index. International Library. Exchanges; International loans. Basic Publication prepared cooperatively and with shared costs. Smooth circulation of books and periodicals.
- 5) *Collection*. International Protection of works of art and works valuable for the history of mankind. Reproduction of rare documents. Copies and casts. International Museum.
- 6) *Relations*. Development of specialized international associations and international scientific conferences.
- 7) *Protection of Intellectuals*. International rights of and incentive for scholars, artists, men of letters and educators⁵⁷.

This report reveals how the UAI's idea of intellectual co-operation was put into a more concrete shape than ever before. More importantly, for the purpose of arguing against the state-centric view of intellectual cooperation proposed by the French Association of the League of Nations, this report underlines various agendas that the UAI and other international associations have

⁵⁶ "Rapport sur L'Organisation des intérêts intellectuels au sein de la Société des Nations", annexed to "Rapport de l'Union des Associations Internationales, transmettant à la Société des Nations les Voeux du Congrès des Associations Internationales", Oct. 1920, LNA: R1005.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

been pursuing and undertaking for a long time. In this regard, the report concludes by insisting that:

It is desirable that international institutions grouped into a centre by the Union of International Associations and installed by the *Palais Mondial* in Brussels are consolidated and developed by the new organization. They are the backbone of important intellectual implementation. In terms of which forms of development to seek, some should receive simple patronage and aid (International University), others should be raised in international scientific offices (Service de Documentation). But all the active involvement of the Union and that of the associations that constitute it shall remain to be established (Loosely connected organization). It is indeed important that the Union continues its role as a free federation of associations for intellectual purpose and coexists in the same way with the new organization, as the International Federation of Workers' Unions coexists with the Conference and the International Labour Office. On the other hand, the works undertaken and the institutions grouped are a utility that is becoming greater for the administrative and governmental action of various countries. A similar utility grows more and more for the League of Nations itself in proportion as its activities and services extend. The same utility justifies not giving up by its own strength the work that has reached the extreme limit of non-official possibilities⁵⁸.

In this way, while seeking for a collaborative relationship with the League of Nations in the work of intellectual co-operation, the UAI stood in opposition to replacing its enterprise with a government project and intended to ensure the independence and initiatives of the UAI as well as of other international associations for intellectual activity.

This report led to an even more concrete proposition by the UAI for establishing an organization for intellectual co-operation. A booklet titled "Sur l'Organisation Internationale du

⁵⁸ Ibid.

Travail Intellectuel: A créer au sein de la Société des Nations”, published in November 1920 with the intention of circulating it in the First Session of the Assembly of the League of Nations, gives the most detailed descriptions about the chief motive, the fundamental principles and the basic constitution of an organization for intellectual work that the UAI had been calling on the League to establish⁵⁹. Clarifying the rationale for this proposition, the UAI repeats its universalistic view on the existing circumstances of knowledge and intellectuals:

Knowledge is no longer a matter of pure speculation of simple intellectual curiosity which can be left to its experts alone. It is a great social force to be used for the benefit of the whole community, a major factor in the maintenance and development of Universal Civilization⁶⁰.

Though intellectual interests have spontaneously grouped themselves together beyond national frontiers into many specialized international associations, the outcome of which is the establishment of the Union of International Associations, their actions still remain limited to merely drafts or rough sketches⁶¹. Therefore, by creating permanent international offices supported by the League of Nations and directed by the Councils in which both the various countries and the various disciplines involved are represented, it is necessary to have an international system of regulation and the possibility of certain measures being imposed through

⁵⁹ L'Union des Associations Internationales, *Sur l'Organisation Internationale du Travail Intellectuel: A créer au sein de la Société des Nations*, Brussels, Nov. 1920. For an English translation of this text, see “On the Organisation of Intellectual Work within the League of Nations: Report and Resolution presented by the Union of International Associations”, W. Boyd Rayward transl. and ed., *International Organisation and Dissemination of Knowledge: Selected Essays of Paul Otlet*, Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1990, pp. 157-172. Citations here are taken from Rayward’s translation.

⁶⁰ “On the Organisation of Intellectual Work within the League of Nations: Report and Resolution presented by the Union of International Associations”, p. 158.

⁶¹ Ibid, p. 158.

action of the League⁶². It is also defined that the new organization to be created for intellectual interests should have the widest possible scope⁶³.

In this booklet, the UAI also provides a full picture of such an organization as well as a clear road map toward its foundation by the League of Nations. According to the plan, firstly, a preparatory conference called by the League of Nations would have the task of drawing up the draft constitution of the new organization⁶⁴. This preparatory conference would then lead to a General Conference, whose objective is to have a discussion, on the basis of reports and studies, to give advice and direction to the League of Nations for the protection, administration and development of intellectual interests. Half of the members of the general conference were to be designated by each country and representing governments, independent bodies, associations of an intellectual nature and members of the teaching profession, and the other half were to be designated by intellectual associations recognized and organized for this purpose into a college with special sections⁶⁵. Compared with the French scheme, it is obvious that the UAI's project, while anticipating to some extent the involvement of governments, puts primary emphasis on voluntary and non-governmental initiatives in the field of intellectual activity. Secondly, it was envisaged that the organizations would have a permanent secretariat as a subordinate body of the general conference, whose objectives include the preparation of the conference's work, the execution of its decisions, the permanent representation of intellectual interests, and relations

⁶² Ibid, p. 159.

⁶³ The activity item listed here is the same as the UAI suggested in the previous report, "Rapport sur L'Organisation des intérêts intellectuels au sein de la Société des Nations": scientific research, education, standardization, documentation and publications, collections, relations, and protection of intellectuals.

⁶⁴ "On the Organisation of Intellectual Work within the League of Nations: Report and Resolution presented by the Union of International Associations", p. 159.

⁶⁵ Ibid, p. 160.

with non-governmental international associations and scientific congresses⁶⁶. The composition of the secretariat was to be managed by a council nominated by the conference and the secretariat itself was to appoint one or more directors assisted by the necessary staff. In addition, the method of work of the secretariat is defined as a) cooperation with international scientific institutions either in existence or to be created, institutions organized into autonomous bodies with or without the cooperation of the non-governmental international associations, as well as b) the organizations of departments or sections as part of the Secretariat⁶⁷. Again, in view of its emphasis on the predominant role of international non-governmental organizations, the UAI's scheme can be characterized by its unique understanding that the organization for intellectual co-operation should contribute not to governmental or national interests but to universal values such as advancing human knowledge and promoting universal civilization.

In so doing, confronted with the impending opening of the first Assembly of the League of Nations in November 1920, La Fontaine and Otlet mounted an aggressive campaign to put their scheme in practice through lobbying in and around the League. For example, in a letter to Nitobe on 12 November 1920, Otlet asserted that the intellectual sphere, as with the political, judicial and economic ones, should be included in the mandates of the League of Nations⁶⁸. At the same time, at the invitation of the UAI, Eric Drummond, the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, went to Brussels to visit the headquarters of the UAI, the *Palais Mondial*⁶⁹.

In addition, Otlet also approached some influential politicians including the president of the

⁶⁶ Ibid, p. 160.

⁶⁷ Ibid, p. 160.

⁶⁸ From P. Otlet to I. Nitobe, "L'Organisation donnée aux Attributions de la Société des Nations justifie son Intervention en faveur des Intérêts intellectuels", 12 Nov. 1920, LNA: R1005.

⁶⁹ From Howard (Drummond's private secretary) to H. La Fontaine, 26 October 1920, MUN: Mundapaix NC 7; From P. Otlet to I. Nitobe, 13 Nov. 1920, LNA: R1005.

Assembly, underlining the importance of the UAI's demand for establishing an organization of intellectual co-operation as well as lobbying for discussion of these demands in the Assembly⁷⁰. Through these efforts, it seems that Otlet felt that he had received a good response and had considerable hope for success⁷¹.

As a result, at the First Session of the Assembly of the League of Nations, the problem of intellectual work came to be widely discussed. During a plenary meeting of the first Assembly, a motion for an international organization of intellectual labor was proposed by the representatives of Belgium, Romania and Italy⁷². This motion, the first public statement on the establishment of an organization for intellectual activity in the League of Nations, advises that:

The Assembly of the League of Nations, approving the assistance which the Council has given to works having for their object the development of international co-operation in the domain of intellectual activity, and especially the moral and material support given to the Union of International Associations on the occasion of the Inaugural Session of the International University and of the publication of the List of Recommendations and Resolutions of the International Congresses.

Recommends that the Council should continue its efforts in this direction, and should associate itself as closely as possible with all methods tending to bring about the international organisation of intellectual work.

The Assembly further invites the Council to regard favourably the efforts which are already in progress to this end, to place them under its august protection if it be possible, and to present to the Assembly during its next session a detailed report on the educational influence which it is

⁷⁰ From P. Otlet to Arthur Balfour, 22 Nov. 1920, MUN: PO 34; From P. Otlet to the President of the Assembly, 23 Nov. 1920, MUN: UAI. It was a distinctive advantage of the UAI that the presidency of the First Session of the Assembly had been decided to be held by a Belgian representative, Paul Hymans.

⁷¹ In his letter to Nitobe, Otlet states with a determined tone: 'So far the impression held from a distance is very good. It is true that the time is critical "to be or not to be". Or the League of Nations will do great things or it will disappear in turmoil.' (From P. Otlet to I. Nitobe, 23 Nov. 1920, LNA: R1005).

⁷² The motion was signed by P. Poulet (Belgium), Demetre Negulesco (Romania) and Maggiorino Ferraris (Italy).

their duty to exert with a view to developing a liberal spirit of good-will and world-wide cooperation, and to report on the advisability of giving them shape in a technical organisation attached to the League of Nations⁷³.

As stated here, this motion accords with the UAI's scheme, with emphasis on the past efforts of the UAI to develop international co-operation in the domain of intellectual activity. In this regard, it is presumable that this motion was proposed mainly by the Belgian representative at the request of the UAI. The plenary meeting, accepting and approving the motion, referred it to the Second Committee of the Assembly for further consideration. The Second Committee came to the decision to appoint La Fontaine as a rapporteur to submitting a resolution on an international organization of intellectual work to the plenary meeting of the Assembly⁷⁴.

Finally, at the last plenary meeting of the First Assembly on 18 December 1920, La Fontaine, reading his report, delivered his long-awaited speech on the necessity to establish an international organization of intellectual work under the auspices of the League of Nations. In his report, La Fontaine first looks back on the accumulated efforts of various international associations in the sphere of intellectual activity and emphasizes the accomplishments of the UAI:

By its publication and by the International University, the Union of International Associations is endeavouring to create an international spirit, not inspired by sentiment, but founded on the tangible realities of a life which is becoming more and more internationalised. All intellectual labour must be directed into this channel and must be the result of an immense systematic effort

⁷³ League of Nations, *The Records of the First Assembly, Plenary Meetings (Meeting held from the 15th of November to the 18th of December 1920)*, Geneva, 1920, p. 501.

⁷⁴ League of Nations, *The Records of the First Assembly, Meetings of the Committees*, I, Geneva, 1920, pp. 167-168. La Fontaine, in the capacity of a Belgian senator, was attending the First Session of the Assembly as one of the Belgian delegates.

and a continuous and intensive collaboration of the thinkers of the world. It is toward this disinterested co-operation that the endeavours of our contemporaries must be directed if the League of Nations is to triumph⁷⁵.

This is not only the primary goal of the UAI but also the rationale for the need to create an organization for intellectual work by the League of Nations. In other words, it is evident that the ideological basis of the organization, the idea of intellectual co-operation, evolved from the universalistic scheme the UAI had advocated even before the Paris Peace Conference. In fact, his report calls on the Assembly to adopt the resolution based on the motion by the three representatives, insisting that ‘the League of Nations should show its sympathy with the efforts already made and should express its desire that an important place should be reserved within the League for the activity which tends to promote human unity in the higher sphere of Thought⁷⁶’. In the conclusion of his speech, La Fontaine enthusiastically appeals to the audience for taking part in the endeavor to achieve the ultimate goals of the human race:

A happy circumstance has compelled us to make our last task to consider a factor which is the noblest, highest, most disinterested and most powerful in the evolution of mankind – human mind. You are paying your final tribute to the human mind, which has led mankind from barbarism and shown him the way to peace. Nothing which makes for the glory of civilisation could have been accomplished except through the mind. It is the task of the League of Nations to find the best and the most perfect, the most harmonious and the most speedy, methods by which that mind can act⁷⁷.

⁷⁵ League of Nations, “Organisation of Intellectual Labour, Report by the 2nd Committee to the Assembly, Rapporteur: M.H. La Fontaine”, 18 Dec. 1920, LNA: R1005.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ League of Nations, *The Records of the First Assembly, Plenary Meetings (Meeting held from the 15th of November to the 18th of December 1920)*, p. 755.

La Fontaine, from this idealistic point of view, thus confers a high ideal for mankind to this organization, which seems as if it embodied and represented the ideas and spirit of the League of Nations itself.

However, the recommendation that La Fontaine proposed faced opposition by a British delegate, G.N. Barnes. Barnes argued that in light of the fact that the International Labor Office was already at work, setting up an additional organization for intellectual labor would lead to strengthening and perpetuating the distinction between manual and intellectual labor. He argued therefore that the International Labor Office should be in charge of giving assistance to intellectual labor as well⁷⁸. In response to Barnes, La Fontaine explained the different difficulties and needs of manual and intellectual labor while also justifying the universal nature of the organization for intellectual labor, asserting that ‘the aim of the institution that we desire to see in existence under the auspices of the League of Nations is to give more force and more power to human thought⁷⁹’. As a result, the British opposition could not obtain broad support from other representatives, and La Fontaine’s recommended resolution was adopted⁸⁰.

In this way, after its long and enthusiastic effort, the UAI finally succeeded in opening up the eyes of the League of Nations to the significance of organizing international intellectual co-operation⁸¹. With this important step, on the basis of the resolution of the First Assembly the League of Nations moved to consider concrete action toward establishing an organization for

⁷⁸ Ibid, p. 756.

⁷⁹ Ibid, p. 757.

⁸⁰ The words of the resolution finally adopted are the same as the ones of the motion initially made.

⁸¹ In the letter to Otlet after the Assembly, Nitobe remarked: ‘Now that the Assembly is over and that we see some light with regard to your work... All I wish to say is that the organisation of intellectual labour is in prospect. We will do our best to put the proposal in effect’ (From I. Nitobe to P. Otlet, 22 Dec. 1920, LNA: R1005).

intellectual labor by preparing the requested two reports: ‘a report on the educational influence which it is their duty to exert with a view to developing a liberal spirit of good-will and world-wide co-operation’ and a report ‘on the advisability of giving them shape in a technical organisation attached to the League of Nations’. There is no doubt that this was a great achievement for the UAI. But, at the same time, it was a watershed between the complementary relationship between the UAI and the League. In other words, though the UAI continued to encourage the League to put its scheme into practice on many occasions thereafter, the League, by and large, came to advance on its own the consideration and preparation of setting up an organization for intellectual co-operation. The role of the UAI came to an end when its ideal became embedded in the League of Nations. In this sense, it can be said that the UAI functioned as a ‘vanishing mediator’ in the process leading to the foundation of the ICIC.

2. Organizing Intellectual Co-operation in the League of Nations

As is shown, though the Secretariat of the League and Nitobe in particular held a generally sympathetic view toward the UAI’s scheme of organizing the intellectual work by the League of Nations, the Secretariat doubted that the scheme could be carried into effect immediately. The observation of the Secretariat on the resolution adopted by the First Assembly was that the project of creating a new organization for intellectual labor, though desirable, seemed premature to be realized, firstly because it was doubtful that many nations were willing to see their literary

and artistic activities more or less directed by a central organization, and secondly because the Assembly no doubt would oppose the creation of a new and extensive technical body⁸². At the same time, though it was implied that the resolution tended to make the UAI an official body of the League of Nations, the Secretariat thought that there would be objections not only from the financial point of view but also from the point of view of the UAI's inherent nature as a voluntary union as well as a federation of private associations. In other words, the Secretariat, recognizing the value of the UAI in its capacity to freely develop and adapt to the needs of public opinion resulting from its character as a voluntary organization, hesitated to incorporate it into the League of Nations as an official and intergovernmental organization. Thus, considering these two key questions of whether the UAI would cease to be useful as a private institution and whether member states of the League were prepared to work more closely in the intellectual domain, the Secretariat concluded that 'it would be premature until we can answer affirmatively to these questions, to establish a new organization of intellectual work by creating a new institution, or by adopting an institution already existing⁸³'.

By contrast, energized by the resolution of the First Assembly, the UAI came to have high expectations for its initiative in the discussion of forming intellectual work in the League of Nations and for the early establishment of the organization. In fact, shortly after the Assembly, the UAI suggested with confidence that the League and the UAI should jointly take the initiative to prepare a preliminary draft of an international convention for an organization of

⁸² Société des Nations, "Organisation du Travail Intellectuel, Mémorandum du Secrétaire Général", Geneva, 26 Jan. 1921, LNA: R1005.

⁸³ Ibid.

intellectual work⁸⁴. The UAI also expected that the preliminary draft would be discussed at the next Council set for February 1921 and the Council would decide to convene an international conference in April of that year to deliberate on the project. As such, the UAI concentrated its expectations on the next session of the Council of the League⁸⁵. Responding to the UAI's optimistic outlook, Nitobe repeatedly expostulated with La Fontaine and Otlet, explaining that though the League recognized the UAI's scheme as the best one among similar projects and hoped to see the proposal put into effect, the scheme would still face strong objections as with the resistance from the British delegate at the First Assembly. Nitobe noted therefore that 'all that I wish to say is that our ideals are not easy to realisation within very visible times; and all that we can do in the meantime is to "learn to labor and to wait"⁸⁶. Despite Nitobe's advice, however, La Fontaine and Otlet remained confident about the prospect of their proposal, on the ground that loud applause for La Fontaine's speech at the First Assembly showed the unanimous wish of the delegates for the creation of a technical organization for intellectual work, as well as their conviction that nations would not deny intellectual resources which enabled civilization to progress, even if setting up such an organization became expensive⁸⁷. Thus, from around this time a perception gap emerged between the UAI and the League, and it grew wider and wider thereafter.

Indeed, as Nitobe predicted, the Council remained undecided about establishing an organization of intellectual work under the auspices of the League of Nations. At the meeting of

⁸⁴ From H. La Fontaine and P. Otle to E. Drummond, 7 Feb. 1921, LNA: R1005.

⁸⁵ From H. La Fontaine and P. Otlet to I. Nitobe, 8 Feb. 1921, LNA: R1005.

⁸⁶ From I. Nitobe to H. La Fontaine and P. Otlet, 11 Feb. 1921, LNA: R1005. From I. Nitobe to H. La Fontaine, 16 Feb. 1921, LNA: R1005.

⁸⁷ From H. La Fontaine to I. Nitobe, 14 Feb. 1921, LNA: R1005.

the Council on 1 March 1921, a Spanish representative, Quiñones de León, reported about how to deal with the resolution of the first Assembly on this problem. Demonstrating the measures that the League could take such as making the existing UAI into an organization like other technical organizations or creating an entirely new organization, Quiñones de León, as with Nitobe, argued that whichever way was adopted the plan was confronted with two serious difficulties: a lack of preparation on the part of the various nations for this project, and the financial problem of how to fund it⁸⁸. Thus, with the UAI in mind, he concluded that ‘[i]t is of opinion that under the present world conditions, intellectual co-operation can best be advanced by means of voluntary efforts, and, further, that the League can for the present do better service to the cause by helping such voluntary exertions than by attempting to organise intellectual labour⁸⁹’. In the subsequent discussion, a French representative, Léon Bourgeois, remarked that in intellectual work there was neither employer nor workman and therefore there would be no question of government intervention, but that one question which the League could examine forthwith was to establish an office of education, whose task would be to educate public opinion in the ideals of international co-operation which the League of Nations was upholding⁹⁰. In addition, a Belgian representative, Paul Hymans, laid a recommendation from the UAI that the League of Nations should summon an international conference with the object of organizing

⁸⁸ “Organisation of Intellectual labour, report by M. Quiñones de León, Representative of Spain, adopted by the Council on March 1st, 1921”, League of Nations, *Official Journal*, 2nd Year No.2, March-April, 1921, p. 178.

⁸⁹ Ibid, p. 178.

⁹⁰ Bourgeois also stated that this office of education had been proposed by the League of Nations Union and other associations. League of Nations, “Minutes of the Twelfth Session of the Council of the League of Nations, held in the Palais du Petit Luxembourg, from Monday, February 21st to Friday, March 4th 1921”, pp. 27-28.

intellectual work⁹¹. As a result, without a deep discussion, the Council adopted the modified report of Quiñones de León with the statements by Bourgeois and Hymans.

Shortly after the session of the Council, Nitobe, convinced that this Council's decision would provoke the disappointment and frustration of the UAI, communicated to La Fontaine and Otlet that he was also 'very much disappointed' with the result⁹². Nonetheless, given the recognition and sympathy already shown by the Council as well as the Assembly for the work of the UAI, Nitobe encouraged La Fontaine and Otlet to continue the efforts to create an organization for intellectual work, saying 'the seeds thus sowed are not destined to die' and 'you will have to wait perhaps three or four years longer for realisation, and in the meantime let us do everything in our power to make the idea more generally known⁹³'. However, both the Council's decision and Nitobe's explanation left La Fontaine and Otlet in dismay. Their disappointment was even greater because the UAI had laid the groundwork before the Council by lobbying some of its members to support the UAI's scheme to establish an organization for intellectual work under the League of Nations⁹⁴. Accusing the Council's decision of the serious fault of not taking a more practical attitude with respect to intellectual work, La Fontaine once again attempted to reinforce the relationship between the UAI and the League by making several suggestions to assist the enterprise of the UAI, including the League's close collaboration with the International University, its support to the International Institute of Bibliography and a

⁹¹ Ibid, p. 28.

⁹² From I. Nitobe to H. La Fontaine and P. Otlet, 2 Mar. 1921, MUN: Mundapaix NC7.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ La Fontaine sent confidential letters to Paul Hymans, Gastão da Cunha (Brazil, President of the Council), Léon Bourgeois, and Wellington Koo (China). It even came as a surprise for La Fontaine that Hymans had only mentioned the UAI's proposition but not developed the argument at the Council. From H. La Fontaine to I. Nitobe, 18 Mar. 1921, LNA: R1005.

conference of government representatives to discuss documentation and bibliography, its financial assistance to the UAI, and sending a member of the Secretariat as a lecturer to the International University⁹⁵. To these suggestions, Nitobe again admitted with sympathy that ‘the attitude of the Council to the Assembly Resolution on the Organisation of Intellectual Labour has been a great blow the Union of International Associations’, but further replied that the League was to support the UAI in any possible way except for financial help⁹⁶.

Faced with this equivocal attitude of the League toward the creation of an organization for intellectual work, the UAI intended to bring irresistible pressure on the League from the outside by holding an international congress on intellectual activity, whose resolution as an international consensus enabled the UAI to present to the League its scheme as a *fait accompli*. Based on the resolution of the First Assembly as well as its scheme already demonstrated in “Sur l’Organisation Internationale du Travail Intellectuel: A créer au sein de la Société des Nations” in 1920, the congress was planned to be held in Brussels to discuss the organization of intellectual work at the initiative of the UAI under the League’s auspices, consisting of half of the members appointed by governments and the other half by international associations, with some individuals invited personally⁹⁷. The draft agendas to be discussed in the congress that was set for August 1921 were as follows:

1. Examination of the conditions to the intelligence of intellectual workers in the new society.

⁹⁵ Ibid. From H. La Fontaine and P. Otlet to the Secretary-General, 16 Mar. 1921, LNA: R1005.

⁹⁶ Nitobe’s Minute, 22 Mar. 1921, LNA: R1005. From I. Nitobe to H. La Fontaine and P. Otlet, 6 Apr. 1921, LNA: R1005.

⁹⁷ Société des Nations, “Conférence pour l’Organisation Internationale du Travail Intellectuel, Brussels”, April 1921, MUN: HLF200. In spite of the author’s name indicated, this pamphlet was prepared and published by the UAI.

2. Protection of professional interests, corporate and private, in the domain of spiritual works.
3. Problems of the printing press.
4. Establishing an action plan.
5. Study of the problems of the League of Nations.
6. Place to be made in the League of Nations for intellectuals as was already made for manual laborers and to the finance⁹⁸.

Once again, the main purpose of this congress was to study the conditions under which it would be appropriate to establish an institute for intellectual and scientific work which would be similar to that already working effectively for manual work⁹⁹. For this purpose, the UAI also invited the Secretary-General as a representative of the League of Nations to this congress¹⁰⁰.

As a result, the international congress on intellectual activities took place in Brussels from 20 to 22 August 1921. As planned by the UAI, the congress adopted a resolution that ‘the League of Nations should give its consideration to the practical accomplishments already recorded, and transform them into a technical organization similar to those it has set up for Labour and Health, and the operation of which is illustrated in the project prepared by the Union of International Associations¹⁰¹’. More importantly in terms of the idea of intellectual co-operation, however, the UAI, on the sidelines of the congress, also published a booklet that contained its detailed plan for the organization of intellectual and scientific work as well as a comprehensive glossary

⁹⁸ “Invitation-Programme, Congrès International du Travail Intellectuel organisé à Bruxelles, les 20, 21 et 22 Août 1921, par l’Union des Associations Internationales”, 30 May 1921, LNA: R1005.

⁹⁹ From H. La Fontaine and P. Otlet to the League of Nations, 30 Jun. 1921, LNA: R1005.

¹⁰⁰ From H. La Fontaine and P. Otlet to the Secretary-General, 25 Jul. 1921, LNA: R1029. However, on the ground of the approaching Second Session of the Assembly in September 1921, the Secretariat took a negative stance toward attending the convention (see Nitobe’s Note dated 11 August 1921 attached to this letter). Nitobe even commented, ‘for the present there is no need for taking any action. I do not believe that the U.A.I. expects any answer from the L.N.’ (Nitobe’s Minute, 11 Aug. 1921, LNA: R1005).

¹⁰¹ Georges Patrick Speeckaert, “A Glance at Sixty Years of Activity (1910-1970) of the Union of International Associations”, Union of International Associations ed., *Sixtieth Anniversary, Union of International Associations, 1910-1970, Past, Present, Future*, Brussels: UAI Publication, 1970, p. 30.

of key concepts for the fundamental principles of the UAI¹⁰². Hereupon, this booklet clearly explains the reason why the UAI had been consistently and even persistently seeking for an international organization for intellectual activity. In the first place, from a historical point of view, the UAI argues that the global upset caused by the Great War paradoxically proves the close solidarity of men, the acceleration of communication speed, the necessity of the world market, the universal application of science and technology, the diffusion of knowledge, and the similarity of interests of groups belonging to different nationalities¹⁰³. In the new era after the war, the progress of each nation must be based not on what existed before the great catastrophe but on the comparative studies of progress made by all the others. Therefore, the UAI insists that the League of Nations, a symbol of the new era, should be regarded not only as a body for enforcement of international law or a legislative and judicial institution but also as an organization for economic and intellectual purposes.

Secondly, in recognition of the current situation, the UAI describes that groups in the present world are increasingly being made up of great international forces that are more or less organized, work in their respective fields, and realize the ideals of unification and solidarity. Thereby it argues that international organizations exclusively should be taken into account. In light of their foundations on which relations and human interest are grouped by territorial divisions (states) or by the similarity of objects and functions (associations), international organizations must be twofold; the League of Nations as a union of states is based on national

¹⁰² Union des Associations Internationales, *Centre International, Conceptions et Programme de l'Internationalisme. Organismes Internationaux et Union des Associations Internationales. Etablissements scientifiques installés au Palais Mondial*, Brussels: Union des Associations Internationales, 1921, LNA: R1005.

¹⁰³ Both the words 'monde' and 'globe' are often used in this text.

interests, whereas the UAI as a federation of peoples represents universal interests. Nonetheless, both international organizations share the same social background, a society of all human beings based on civilization. As shown already, the concept of civilization is one of the key ideologies in the UAI's scheme for the organization for intellectual co-operation. According to its interpretation, civilization is defined:

The intellectual and moral richness of humanity is created by the natural variety and the necessary independence of all national geniuses. But civilization in the future can no longer be considered as the work of a single group, a nationality and a state; it will be the work of the whole of mankind (Polycivilization). Each particular culture has to come to be connected to contributions, borrowings and benefits from the general protection. The integrated Internationalism therefore works with the advent of the state of universal civilization, a civilization founded on the notion of a single humanity, called to realize a common destiny, and based on law, freedom and the voluntary federative agreement¹⁰⁴.

While recognizing the importance of particular national cultures as a component of universal civilization, the UAI doubtlessly lays primary emphasis on the general and universal, particularly the intellectual life of all mankind. It is this holistic understanding of civilization that incorporates a universalistic characteristic into its scheme for the work of intellectual activity.

Thirdly and lastly, following the perspective of historical development as well as the perception of the current situation, the UAI advocates Internationalism as a principle of behavior in the internationalized world after the war. Internationalism, in a reflection of the

¹⁰⁴ *Centre International, Conceptions et Programme de l'Internationalisme. Organismes Internationaux et Union des Associations Internationales. Etablissements scientifiques installés au Palais Mondial.*

intellectualism of the UAI, is defined as a science to observe and theorize the facts of international order, a social doctrine to strive to reveal the goals assigned to human society and to seek the ways to achieve these goals and express them in order, as well as an art and a social policy to endeavor to apply these rules and put its ideas into practice. At the same time, Internationalism in the UAI's terms is thought to rest on the biological, economic, historical and sociological knowledge that nourishes the intellectual life of the time. In this way, the UAI's incentive to create an international organization for intellectual co-operation can be drawn from and justified by this guiding principle of Internationalism¹⁰⁵. Therefore, the UAI's proposition to the League of Nations for the organization of intellectual activity was never tentative but rather indispensable for practicing its Internationalism, and this motivation thus required La Fontaine and Otlet to make great efforts to materialize their plan.

Meanwhile, the Council was requested by the First Assembly in December 1920 to submit two reports to the next Assembly, one on the educational influence which the UAI had exerted in cultivating intellectual pursuits on an international level, and one on the desirability of creating an organization for intellectual labor attached to the League of Nations. In preparing these reports, the Secretariat also increasingly formed a clear image of what was meant by the work of intellectual activity. After the session of the Council of March 1921, Nitobe started to weigh the advantages and disadvantages of different schemes about the problems that had been

¹⁰⁵ In this booklet, the idea of internationalism is explored in more detail. For example, it cites as an opposition some doctrines like militarism, statism and nationalism. Moreover, it also differentiates internationalism and other similar doctrines; it is not cosmopolitanism, which is unitary and regards mankind as a single social group without regard to national groups; it is not individualist anarchism, which is hostile or completely indifferent to any social group of compulsory nature; and it is more complete than pacifism, which is confined to opposing war.

submitted to the Secretariat of the League¹⁰⁶. Among them, Nitobe identified the plans of the UAI and the French Associations of the League of Nations in particular as the ones to be considered seriously. On the one hand, in view of the valuable works of the UAI for the diffusion of a broad spirit of understanding and worldwide co-operation, Nitobe regarded its scheme as ‘a comprehensive scheme, unique in the breadth of its conceptions and its aims, for international intellectual organization and for international education¹⁰⁷’. In addition, it is notable that Nitobe, for the first time, made a positive statement about the establishment of an international organization for intellectual activity by the League, stressing that ‘[t]he conclusion is that this work is one that should be undertaken by the League of Nations; that therefore the League has an intellectual duty to fulfill, and that for this purpose some organism – Conference, Commission, or Office – requires to be created¹⁰⁸’. At the same time, however, Nitobe puts special emphasis on education in the work of the new organization, the completion of national education by international education founded on international ideas and facts and on the principles of the League of Nations. This is probably because Léon Bourgeois, one of the major figures in the political circles of the League, introduced the subject of establishing an office of education at the last session of the Council. In this regard, the French scheme initially suggested by the French Association of the League of Nations but modified by Léon Bourgeois to be more education-oriented came to attract Nitobe’s attention more than the scheme offered by the

¹⁰⁶ Other than the proposals from the UAI and the French Associations of the League of Nations as mentioned already, the Secretariat had received some recommendations of a similar kind by this time from individuals and organizations in different countries such as France, Austria, and Japan.

¹⁰⁷ “Report on the International Co-ordination of Intellectual Labour”, 21 May 1921, LNA: R1005.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

UAI¹⁰⁹. Thus, Nitobe implied that the UAI's scheme had some problems to be addressed, mentioning that '[t]he scheme of the Union of International Associations which deals more exclusively with the scientific purpose of the organization, further conceived this organization as a consolidation and expansion of the work of the Union and of the institutions attached to it, and also as a complete realisation of the plans of intellectual organisation which were in the minds of their founders¹¹⁰'. For this reason, Nitobe thereafter kept a distance from the UAI and came to lean towards the idea of the League establishing its own international intellectual organization.

In addition to these two schemes, another organized project was submitted from the Austrian government to the Secretariat in July 1921. The main purpose of this Austrian scheme was to promote international co-operation in a more effective way and to achieve international peace by means of instilling the 'League Spirit' in the great masses of people and promoting a sincere international understanding among nations¹¹¹. The main characteristic of this scheme can be found in its comprehensiveness:

An organised gathering, discussion and co-operation between the great spirits of nations, competition between and exchange of their products are uniting powers by which world-wide civilisation and international relations are promoted. Music, art, trade, science, industry, literature, education, etc., are spheres in which a sincere understanding and a natural esteem of

¹⁰⁹ It goes without saying that, as shown by the project of the International University that the UAI had undertaken, emphasizing an educational factor in the work of intellectual activity was not an exclusive feature of the French scheme. Rather, the uniqueness of the French scheme lay in its presumption that it would be possible to establish an office of education in the name of the organization for intellectual work. On the other hand, for the UAI, education was one of the various factors consisting of the whole work.

¹¹⁰ "Report on the International Co-ordination of Intellectual Labour".

¹¹¹ League of Nations, "Scheme for International Intellectual Cooperation, presented by M.F. Matsch, Vienna, and transmitted by the Austrian Government", Geneva, 14 Jul. 1921, LNA: R1029.

nations may be reached. It is contended that a League of Nations which builds such bridges as these for the cultural progress of the nations themselves can become a popular institution¹¹².

Based on this comprehensive approach, it suggests that the permanent organization should consist of special conferences of the various spheres, a permanent general commission, and the various small permanent special bureaus. This scheme is clearly different from the previous two schemes in that it seeks to establish different conferences in each sphere of activity. However, it overlaps with the French scheme in that the permanent general commission is assumed to consist of government representatives exclusively. Though this Austrian project had some peculiarities not shared by the UAI and French schemes, it eventually caught the attention of the Secretariat of the League of Nations¹¹³.

In August 1921, a month before the Second Session of the Assembly, the silhouettes of the two reports prepared by the Secretariat became increasingly clear. As for the former report on educational activities undertaken by the UAI and its influences, it was early agreed in the Secretariat that the report was supposed to be a favorable resume of the work of the UAI without any critical comment to it¹¹⁴. On the other hand, the latter report on the advisability of creating an organization for intellectual labor attached to the League still needed to be examined and discussed, because in its preparation the basic character of the report was confused by the

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ The Secretariat's observation regarding this scheme was that '[t]he idea of creating some special Conferences and Bureaux which distinguishes this scheme from all others, may be quite useful, but there are too many and too different spheres included. Especially industry and trade have nothing to do with the intellectual organization...' (Halecki's Minute, 16 Aug. 1921, LNA: R1029).

¹¹⁴ From I. Nitobe to H. La Fontaine, 31 May 1921, LNA: R1005. The work of drafting this report was delegated to a French member of the Secretariat of the League, François Monod (From I. Nitobe to the Secretary-General and Jean Monnet, 11 Aug. 1921, LNA: R1029).

eclectic mix of the two schemes proposed by the UAI and the French representatives. In fact, Jean Monnet stated his opinion that the draft report would not greatly help the Secretariat to obtain the approval of the Assembly for the creation of any organization, not only because it might give the Assembly the impression of a huge enterprise, but also because it identified a large part of itself from the point of view of the UAI, whose objective was vague and absolutely different from the League's aim to pursue the establishment of an organization in the domain of educational problems in the same way as other technical questions¹¹⁵. In this respect, he suggested that it would be appropriate to recommend to the Assembly the creation of a provisional and restricted research body in which persons of scientific or educational authority shall be in charge of presenting its findings and the organization plan to the next Assembly¹¹⁶. As mentioned previously, based on the French scheme Nitobe had become convinced that the League should undertake the enterprise for international intellectual activity, particularly in the form of an educational project, by establishing a new organization. However, Nitobe nevertheless replied to Monnet that a large part of the report should be devoted to the activities of the UAI in light of its accomplishments in this field in the past¹¹⁷. On the other hand, considering the present situation in which nations were not yet ready for intellectual co-operation and considering that there might be an objection at the Assembly to a comprehensive project like the UAI's scheme, Nitobe agreed with Monnet that a small provisional body should be set up. The report was thus modified in alignment with Monnet's

¹¹⁵ From Robert Haas to the Secretary General, 11 Aug. 1921, LNA: R1029.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ From I. Nitobe to the Secretary-General and J. Monnet, 11 Aug. 1921, LNA: R1029.

suggestions¹¹⁸ .

At the meeting on 2 September 1921, only three days before the opening of the second Assembly, the Council needed to make a formal decision of its stance toward the problem of organizing intellectual work. In so doing, the French representative Léon Bourgeois read a report on the organization of intellectual work in which it was proposed that the Council should adopt two reports which had been drafted by the Secretary-General in accordance with the recommendations adopted by the First Assembly on 18 December 1920, and with the views expressed by the Council at its meeting on 1 March 1921. The first report prepared by the Secretariat, “Educational Activities and the Co-ordination of Intellectual Work accomplished by the Union of International Associations”, gives a detailed historical account of the activities of the UAI as well as its founders, La Fontaine and Otlet¹¹⁹. As Nitobe had already related in his correspondence with La Fontaine and Otlet, the report is in favor of the UAI with compliments to its long efforts for the organization and development of international co-operation, particularly its educational activities such as the International University. In the same way, it emphasizes the invaluable contributions of the UAI to the League’s project of organizing intellectual work:

...the work of the founders of the Union of International Associations, a work of documentation and information; of co-ordination of effort, of general education, appears as a vast enterprise of international intellectual organisation, characterised by the breadth of its conception and design.

¹¹⁸ From I. Nitobe to J. Monnet, 15 Aug. 1921, LNA: R1029.

¹¹⁹ League of Nations, “Educational Activities and the Co-ordination of Intellectual Work accomplished by the Union of International Associations, Memorandum by the Secretary-General”, Geneva, 5 Sep. 1921, LNA: R1029.

Its action is twofold as regards principles; it owes to the logical force of the ideas which it has brought forward an educative influence which is highly conducive to the development of the ideas of union and international organization. As regards, facts, it has proved its efficiency by the institutions which it has created. The Union of International Associations, its Congress, the publications connected with them, and the International University, form particularly effective instruments for the “diffusion of a broad spirit of understanding and world-wide co-operation.” The League of Nations should regard these institutions to-day as most valuable organs of collaboration¹²⁰.

Thus, this report suggested that the League should take the lead in promoting a collaborative relationship with the UAI, whereas only the side of the UAI had been seeking for such cooperation until then.

However, it can be said that the League, in its second report “The Desirability of Creating a Technical Organization for Intellectual Work”, eventually adopted not the UAI’s but the French scheme as its master plan for the organization of intellectual work. In fact, the report explains the reason why the League needs to establish an organization for intellectual work as one of its technical organizations, with emphasis on the significance of educational activity:

It is an activity which may be called educational – an activity which in every country influences, intellectually or morally, national bodies both of the learned few and also of the masses of the people. The League of Nations cannot pursue any of its aims, either the general aims of co-operation as laid down in the Covenant, or even the more precise aims assigned to it by certain provisions, such as the campaign against the use of dangerous drugs and against the traffic in women and children, without, at every moment encountering educational problems, and without being obliged to ask for active help from those engaged in education in all countries. The Council is therefore in entire agreement with the principles of the Resolution adopted by

¹²⁰ Ibid, p. 6.

the last Assembly. It is unanimously of opinion that the League of Nations should include in its programme the co-ordination of intellectual activity and international co-operation as regards education¹²¹.

In this way, based on the French scheme, the League identifies an educational activity as the main pillar of international intellectual work. Furthermore, according to the amendment by Jean Monnet, the report recommends that the Council should ask the present Assembly to set up a committee of enquiry which might submit definite proposals to the next Assembly, and which will form in the meantime a provisional advisory committee to the Council to consider questions falling within its competence. Lastly, the complete picture of the League's organization for intellectual work is presented in the following draft resolution:

The Assembly calls upon the Council to appoint a Committee to examine international questions regarding Intellectual Co-operation and Education.

This Committee will consist of a maximum number of twelve members, appointed by the Council. It will submit to the next Assembly a report on the measures to be taken by the League to facilitate intellectual exchange between nations, particularly as regards the communication of scientific information and methods of education.

Pending the consideration of this report by the Assembly, this Committee will act as an advisory organ to the Council, which may submit to it any technical questions of this kind arising before the next Session of the Assembly.

To this Committee will also be assigned the task of examining a scheme for an International Education Office, referred to in the Council's Report dated March 1st, 1921.

Here the term 'intellectual co-operation' was first appeared in the official documents of the

¹²¹ League of Nations, "The Desirability of Creating a Technical Organisation for Intellectual Work, Memorandum by the Secretary-General", Geneva, 5 Sep. 1921, LNA: R1029.

League of Nations. It is also notable again that reflecting on the French scheme, intellectual co-operation was thought to be closely related with education at this point. However, as early as at the discussion in the Assembly of that month, the League was forced to change this idea of intellectual co-operation.

Following the introduction of these two reports, Léon Bourgeois read his own report on the organization of intellectual work by the League of Nations. He also agrees with the reports of the Secretariat that the League should establish an organization for international intellectual work, underlining its spiritual value for the League of Nations:

We are all agreed that the League of Nations has no task more urgent than that of examining these great factors of international opinion – the systems and methods of education, and scientific and philosophical research. It would be unthinkable that the League should endeavour to improve the means of exchange of material products without also endeavouring to facilitate the international exchange of ideas. No association of nations can hope to exist without the spirit of reciprocal intellectual activity between its members¹²².

However, in contrast with the UAI's scheme that lays primary emphasis on its universal values such as civilization, the Bourgeois report draws more attention to the national basis of international intellectual activity.

...the League of Nations should at the earliest opportunity take steps to show how closely the political idea which it represents is connected with all the aspects of the intellectual life which unites the nations. But in proportion as we consider this spiritual connection a vital one, we

¹²² League of Nations, "Organisation of Intellectual Work, Report by M. Léon Bourgeois, French representative, adopted by the Council on September 2nd, 1921", LNA: R1029.

must deal with it with more caution than if it were a merely material relation. Systems of education, scientific or philosophical research may lead to great international results, but they would never be initiated or would never prosper if they were not bound up with the deepest national sensibilities¹²³.

Again, while the UAI's scheme focuses on a universal nature of mankind crossing national boundaries, namely civilization, the Bourgeois report thus considers the main aim of intellectual co-operation as international intercourse and understanding among nations. This is a corollary of the basic nature of the report as one that was submitted by a government representative to the Assembly of the League of Nations as an international and intergovernmental organization based on nation-states. Therefore, it might be said that the idea of intellectual co-operation originally deriving from the UAI's universalism, when embodied and embedded in the League of Nations as La Fontaine and Otlet had been long awaiting, came to be transformed into one of a different nature: international intercourse and understanding among nations. As a result, this report, which was called the 'Bourgeois Resolution' together with the two reports of the Secretariat was adopted unanimously by the Council and thereafter became a guiding principle in organizing an organization for this work, namely the ICIC¹²⁴.

The Bourgeois Resolution was at once sent to the Second Session of the Assembly that took place from 5 September to 5 October 1921. Before the discussion in the plenary meeting, the

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ The language of the Bourgeois Resolution, though with some modifications of wording, is the same as that of the draft resolution in the Secretariat's second report. In the discussion at the Council, the British representative Arthur Balfour remarked that he was doubtful whether the machinery of the League could usefully be employed to further the objects in view, but he did not desire to oppose the adoption of the Bourgeois Resolution (League of Nations, *Minutes of the Fourteenth Session of the Council of the League of Nations held at Geneva, First Part, August 30th - September 3rd 1921*, p. 10).

subject of the organization of intellectual labor was supposed to be examined in the Fifth Committee of the Assembly¹²⁵. At the first meeting of the Fifth Committee on 8 September, La Fontaine, who once again attended the Assembly as one of the Belgian delegates, opened the debate on the subject. He suggested that because of its complexity the question of the organization of intellectual labor should be referred to a Sub-Committee to be set up in the Fifth Committee¹²⁶. It can be easily imagined that La Fontaine, in his usual way, intended firstly to build a consensus in favor of the UAI's scheme on this question in a small group and then to present it as an accomplished fact. Though the proposal was eventually rejected by a vote of 16 to 8, it was unanimously decided that La Fontaine should be appointed to introduce the discussion as a person thoroughly conversant with the question¹²⁷. Accordingly, at the meeting of the Fifth Committee on 10 September, where the Bourgeois Resolution and the two reports of the Secretariat were distributed to its members, La Fontaine opened the discussion by making a brief survey of the evolution and scope of the movement for the international co-ordination of intellectual work. Repeating the efforts and accomplishments by the UAI in this field, La Fontaine concluded by expressing the earnest hope that 'the League of Nations might be able to build upon the foundations already laid, in such a way that both the material and the intellectual resources of every country might be pooled and distributed to the mutual advantage of intellectual workers all over the world¹²⁸'. It is conspicuous that La Fontaine still sought to

¹²⁵ The Fifth Committee was assigned to deal with humanitarian questions: Organization of Intellectual Labor, Traffic in Opium and other Drugs, the Typhus Campaign in Eastern Europe, Deportation of Women and Children in Turkey, and Traffic in Women and Children (League of Nations, *The Records of the Second Assembly, Meetings of the Committees*, II, Geneva, 1921, p. 329).

¹²⁶ Ibid, p. 330.

¹²⁷ Ibid, pp. 330-331.

¹²⁸ Ibid, p. 333.

construct the organization for intellectual workers on the foundation built by the UAI, but he conclusively proposed the adoption of the Bourgeois Resolution through which an organization would be set up to examine the question thoroughly and to present a report to the next Assembly. This is perhaps because, considering that the organization was projected as a provisional one and therefore the UAI could possibly exert an influence on its ideas and activities afterward, La Fontaine may have thought that the highest priority should be assigned firstly to its establishment.

La Fontaine's survey was favorably received by a Chilean representative, who expressed that it was Belgium which had taken the initiative in the movement for the organization of intellectual work¹²⁹. Subsequently in the course of discussion, members of the committee expressed various opinions concerning the question of the organization of intellectual work, which were grouped into three proposals¹³⁰. The first proposal mainly supported by a French representative was that the Fifth Committee should register its approval of the Bourgeois Resolution. The second suggested by a Spanish representative was that the Fifth Committee should approve the Bourgeois Resolution and refer to the Committee the study of questions in connection with intellectual co-operation, and that for the benefit of the committee proposed in the Bourgeois Resolution the Fifth Committee should enumerate the matters which it considered desirable to be included in the terms of reference of this new committee. The third suggestion raised by a Norwegian representative was to refer the Bourgeois Resolution to the examination of a sub-committee, which should then make a report on the subject to the Fifth Committee.

¹²⁹ Ibid, p. 333.

¹³⁰ Ibid, pp. 333-334.

As a result of further discussion and voting, the French proposal was unanimously approved, and the others lost and were withdrawn. However, it is of great significance that a fundamental change was made to the Bourgeois Resolution at this meeting. In fact, the chairman of the Fifth Committee, the Canadian representative Charles Doherty questioned whether the word ‘education’, which was included in the resolution, was not liable to be misunderstood as inferring a proposal by the League of Nations to take into its own hands the direction of education, and the Committee agreed to omit the word ‘education’¹³¹. This is not merely an omission of the word but also a fundamental change to the idea of intellectual co-operation, since, as mentioned earlier, education had been thought of as the main pillar for the work of international intellectual activity. Now, deprived of its core idea, the project of organizing intellectual co-operation became ambiguous and needed to be re-articulated. It was a representative of South Africa, Gilbert Murray, who was asked by the Fifth Committee to undertake this task and prepare a report for presentation to the plenary meeting of the Assembly¹³².

Gilbert Murray, a professor of Greek classics at Oxford University as well as one of the fervent British advocates of the League of Nations serving as a chairman of the League of Nations Union, started his lifelong career in the work of intellectual co-operation from this point¹³³. However, in the beginning, he was not as enthusiastic about the question of organizing

¹³¹ Ibid, p. 335.

¹³² Ibid, p. 335.

¹³³ Murray served as a member of the ICIC from the beginning to the end as well as its chairman from 1928 to 1939. For more on Murray’s life, see Duncan Wilson, *Gilbert Murray, OM, 1866-1957*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987; Jean Smith and Arnold Toynbee eds., *Gilbert Murray: An Unfinished Autobiography*, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1960. For his involvement in the ICIC, see Duncan Wilson, *Gilbert Murray, OM, 1866-1957*, Ch.15; Jean Smith, “The Committee for Intellectual

intellectual work as La Fontaine, and even regarded the question as ‘a subject that bores me stiff’, ‘that beastly Intellectual Travail’ and ‘almost a joke’¹³⁴. Despite his initial reluctance, in accordance with his appointment as a rapporteur Murray prepared a report and read it at the meeting of the Fifth Committee on 20 September 1921. In his report, the primary motive of organizing intellectual work is explained from the point of view of forming a universal conscience:

The Committee considered realises the great importance of the Organisation of Intellectual Work; it knows that the future of the League of Nations depends upon the formation of a universal conscience. This can only be created and developed if the scholars, the thinkers and the writers in all countries maintain close mutual contact, and spread from one country to another the ideas which can ensure peace among the peoples, and if the efforts already made in this direction receive encouragement.¹³⁵

Remarkably, this perception is similar to the UAI’s scheme in that it puts emphasis on universal values and the initiative of intellectuals in the work of intellectual co-operation. In this regard, it is arguable that Murray shared the same perception of the organization of intellectual work with the UAI, rather than with the French scheme. Therefore, Murray’s report provoked criticism

Co-operation in Gilbert Murray’s Papers”, in Jean Smith and Arnold Toynbee eds., *Gilbert Murray: An Unfinished Autobiography*, pp. 198-204; Salvador de Madariaga, “Gilbert Murray and the League”, in Jean Smith and Arnold Toynbee eds., *Gilbert Murray: An Unfinished Autobiography*, pp. 176-197. As for his internationalism in relation to the League of Nations and the ICIC, see Jeanne Morefield, *Covenants without Swords: Idealist Liberalism and the Spirit of Empire*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005; Martin Ceadel, “Gilbert Murray and International Politics”, in Christopher Stray ed., *Gilbert Murray Reassessed: Hellenism, Theatre, and International Politics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007, pp. 217-237; Lord Cecil, “The League of Nations Union and Gilbert Murray”, in H.A. Fisher ed., *Essays in Honour of Gilbert Murray*, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1936, pp. 79-94.

¹³⁴ Salvador de Madariaga, “Gilbert Murray and the League”, pp. 189-190. Even after the Assembly, Murray portrayed it as a “somewhat hazy and obscure subject, on which nobody but a few cranks seemed to have any closer view” (From G. Murray to the Prime Minister, 8 Oct. 1921, GM188).

¹³⁵ League of Nations, *The Records of the Second Assembly, Meetings of the Committees*, II, Geneva, 1921, p. 469.

from a French representative, who argued that the sentiments of the Fifth Committee and the great interest which many of the members took in this matter were not reflected in it¹³⁶. Murray explained that his intention was not to let the report stand by itself but to make a few remarks on the subject and promised to reconcile it with the views that the French delegate put forward¹³⁷. Thus, the following resolution in accord with the Bourgeois Resolution was adopted by the Fifth Committee and was decided to be sent to the plenary session of the Second Assembly:

[T]his Committee approves the draft resolution put forward by M. Léon Bourgeois in the name of the Council: namely, the nomination by the Council of a Committee to examine international questions regarding intellectual co-operation, this Committee to consist of not more than 12 members and to contain both men and women¹³⁸.

Again, it should be noted that the wording is not identical with that of the original Bourgeois resolution. In the end, not only were the words ‘and education’ omitted after ‘intellectual co-operation’, but also a provision was added that women should be included in the Committee¹³⁹. In particular, dropping education from the scope of the organization came to be controversial later in the Assembly.

The next day after the meeting of the Fifth Committee, on 21 September 1921, Murray as a rapporteur took the rostrum of the plenary meeting of the Assembly. Instead of merely reading his report approved by the Fifth Committee, he made a longish speech on his view on the

¹³⁶ Ibid, p. 365.

¹³⁷ Ibid, p. 365.

¹³⁸ Ibid, p. 469.

¹³⁹ The insertion of the word ‘women’ was put forward by the Norwegian representative, Kristiane Bonnevie, who later became a member of the ICIC (Ibid, p. 335).

international organization of intellectual work. Firstly, Murray referred to the ambiguousness of the idea of intellectual co-operation and explained the reason why such an organization should be set up by the League of Nations:

This whole subject of the international organisation of intellectual work suffers, I think, from a certain vagueness, or at least it causes a difficulty in some minds as to its exact meaning. That is one of the reasons – perhaps the principal one – why we have thought it necessary to recommend the appointment of this expert Committee. I would venture to suggest that the work of this Committee will be to analyse the whole field, to see if the work suggested is really important, to see what part of it is strictly relevant to the work of the League and also to consider if it is likely to involve great expense¹⁴⁰.

Moreover, he articulates his own view on intellectual co-operation by suggesting three issues to be addressed by the new organization: 1) international action for the protection of intellectual workers, 2) international action for the practical advance of knowledge, and 3) international action with a view to the spread of the international spirit and the consciousness of human brotherhood¹⁴¹. Among these activities, as indicated in his reference to the ‘formation of a universal conscience’ in his report, the third point is similar to the UAI’s scheme and is regarded as the most important. In fact, referring to the recent development in this field accomplished by La Fontaine and Otlet, particularly its International University, Murray argues that ‘it is obvious that a great work has to be done, not perhaps by the League, but, on the other hand, not entirely without the co-operation of the League, in counteracting the nationalist

¹⁴⁰ League of Nations, *The Records of the Second Assembly, Plenary Meetings (Meetings held from the 5th of September to the 5th of October 1921)*, Geneva, 1921, p. 309.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid*, p. 310.

tendencies which have invaded education in almost every country¹⁴². Thus, based on the motive shared with the UAI, he identifies the fundamental principle of intellectual co-operation as a resistance from the point of view of universal spirit or consciousness against the tradition of national education that a nation concentrates its intellectual effort and directs the minds of its young people entirely on its own glory and its own interests¹⁴³. Not surprisingly, however, this stretched interpretation of the idea of intellectual co-operation, verbally based on the Bourgeois Resolution but ideologically close to the UAI's scheme, was opposed by a French member at the meeting. The French representative Gabriel Hanotaux, while reminding the representatives that Murray's remark was of a purely personal nature, suggested that the Assembly should only vote on the motion as it was framed by the amendment proposed by the Fifth Committee¹⁴⁴.

However, this report was thought to be confusing and paradoxical. While Murray identifies educational activities and 'the spread of the international spirit and the consciousness of human brotherhood' as the primary task of the new organization, the draft resolution based on the Bourgeois Resolution lacks the word 'education'. Therefore, a Haitian delegate, Louis Dante Bellegarde, asked for the reinsertion of the word on the ground that these questions should hold the foremost place in the efforts of the League of Nations. While noting the precaution of the Fifth Committee to avoid the reproach of intervening in the domestic affairs of nations with regard to education, Bellegarde notwithstanding points out clearly the necessity of the new organization to deal with education with good reason:

¹⁴² Ibid, p. 310.

¹⁴³ Ibid, p. 310.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 313.

What is our object in forming this Committee, which will have to deal with all international questions of intellectual co-operation? Our object is to collect for the information of all countries the results achieved by the human intellect. Now, if it is desired to co-ordinate the achievements of the human mind, how can we afford to neglect the formation of the human mind?¹⁴⁵

From this point of view, Bellegarde proposed a motion that the words ‘and education’, which are in the original draft by Léon Bourgeois, should be restored with a view to the formation of the international spirit, and that an exchange of information should take place with regard to the pedagogic work carried out all over the world so that the League may arrive at the unity in varied forms which were endeavored to be achieved by the organization¹⁴⁶.

Responding to this lucid motion, Murray, while agreeing with the magnitude of education in the work of intellectual co-operation, nonetheless stated repeatedly that the word would convey the impression that the League wanted to map out a scheme of education and impose it on the different nations. On the other hand, he noted that the very broad phrase ‘co-operation in intellectual work’ certainly included education among its other activities¹⁴⁷. This would have been a weak explanation for Murray himself, because it is obvious that the Haitian counterargument was a corollary of the vagueness and confusion of the idea of intellectual co-operation, and thus it should have been justified according to Murray’s own argument about the work of intellectual co-operation. Needless to say, the omission of the word ‘education’ was a product of the political compromise to give the highest priority to the establishment of the

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 311.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid, p. 312.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid, pp. 312-313.

organization. Moreover, from the same political consideration, the composition of the organization was also minimized to twelve members. It was evident that these provisions were at variance with the comprehensive understanding of intellectual co-operation that both Murray and the UAI shared, but as a result of the withdrawal of the motion by Bellegarde the resolution was adopted unanimously by the Assembly¹⁴⁸. In this way, while the idea of intellectual co-operation became more and more ambiguous through the political process in the League of Nations, the League finally decided to establish a committee for intellectual co-operation on the basis of the Bourgeois Resolution.

3. The Idea of Intellectual Co-operation in the Early ICIC.

On the ground of the Bourgeois Resolution adopted by the Second Assembly in 1921, the new Committee on Intellectual Co-operation was supposed to submit to the next Assembly a report on the measures to be taken by the League to facilitate intellectual exchange between nations, particularly as regards the communication of scientific information. From an administrative point of view, the Council was expected to nominate the members of the committee as early as possible in order to allow the Secretariat of the League enough time to arrange its inaugural session, and thereby enable the committee to be well-prepared to draw up the report to the Third Assembly set for September 1922. For this purpose, shortly after the

¹⁴⁸ This might be one of the reasons for Murray's disinclination to discuss intellectual co-operation. The UAI also criticized the trivialization of the question in the Assembly as a "political game" (From P. Otlet to I. Nitobe, 7 Dec. 1921, MUN: Mundapaix NC 7).

Second Assembly, the Secretariat, aiming at the next session of the Council in January 1922, started to make a list of the candidates to be considered as members of the organization¹⁴⁹.

According to Nitobe, the basic design of the new committee was that it would be a small committee of not more than nine or ten members, the scope of whose discussion would be a restricted one and perhaps consist mainly of the question of the speedy exchange of scientific information. Thus, the names of the members would mostly be those of scientists in the broad sense of the word¹⁵⁰. Interestingly in this regard, in Nitobe's discussions with Murray he insisted on the nomination of a 'Hindu' as one of the representatives from Asia, from the point of view of different national and cultural backgrounds as well as of different disciplines in science¹⁵¹. Therefore, what Nitobe had in mind was that nationality should be taken into account in considering the nomination of the members¹⁵². By the same token, it was also desired that the Council should invite an American and a German so that they would feel more honored by their nominations¹⁵³. However, at the same time, the Secretariat received the names of candidates recommended by various governments and organizations, all of whom were centered in Europe and then mostly in France¹⁵⁴. As a result, Nitobe prepared a provisional list of candidates to the

¹⁴⁹ League of Nations, "Appointment of a Committee to Examine Questions of Intellectual Co-operation, Memorandum by the Secretary-General", 7 Dec. 1921, LNA: R1029.

¹⁵⁰ League of Nations, "Minutes of Directors' Meeting held on Wednesday 8th December 1921", Geneva, 9 Dec. 1921, LNA: R1570.

¹⁵¹ From I. Nitobe to G. Murray, 21 Nov. 1921, GM265. From I. Nitobe to G. Murray, 7 Jan. 1922, GM265.

¹⁵² Nitobe himself thought that he could virtually represent Japan in the committee in the capacity of a secretary (From I. Nitobe to G. Murray, 21 Nov. 1921, GM265). It was eventually agreed in the Secretariat that the countries from which nominations must be made were Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, Colombia, India, Norway, the United States and Germany, and that there might be one or two more places from among Spain, Czech-Slovakia and Austria (Inazo Nitobe, "Intellectual Co-operation", 22 Dec. 1921, LNA: R1029).

¹⁵³ Inazo Nitobe, "Intellectual Co-operation".

¹⁵⁴ According to a summary prepared by the Secretariat, names recommended by the organizations were as follows: (1) From the International Union of Associations for the League of Nations, Great Britain:

Council from the point of view of geographical distribution¹⁵⁵.

Despite the expectation of the Secretariat that the committee members would be appointed, the Council held on 13 January 1922 discussed it with a negative attitude. In fact, a rapporteur, the French representative Gabriel Hanotaux, read his report suggesting that while the Council should decide to constitute the committee on intellectual co-operation in accordance with the resolution of the Second Assembly, the composition of the committee and the date which it was to be convened should be decided at a subsequent session. This proposition of postponement was adopted by the Council¹⁵⁶. Understandably, this decision to postpone the nomination of the committee members deeply disappointed the Secretariat of the League of Nations as they ‘had everything ready for nomination – the best names representing not only different nationalities but different organisations and interests¹⁵⁷’.

Nitobe, who had been consistently devoted to the realization of the committee, was even more dissatisfied with the attitude of the Council, particularly that of the French representative, complaining not only that ‘I myself have been interested in the scheme of intellectual cooperation not only officially – in fact, very much more deeply than officially – and therefore

Gilbert Murray (Professor of Oxford University), France: Gustave Lanson (Directeur de l’École Normale Supérieure), Paul Appell (Recteur de l’Université de Paris), Paul Painlevé (Deputy and former Minister for War), Émile Borel (Professor at the Sorbonne), Belgium: Henri La Fontaine (Senator), Switzerland: André Mercier (University of Lausanne), Paul Moriaud (University of Geneva), Italy: Francesco Ruffini (Professor at University of Turin), Austria: Joseph Redlich (former Minister of Finance). (2) From the Council for the Representation of Women in the League of Nations, Ogilvie Gordon (President of the Council and Vice President of the International Council of Women). (3) From the International Council of Women, Ogilvie Gordon. (4) From the Permanent Greek Secretariat in Geneva, Andreas Andreades (Professor at the University of Athens) (“Candidates recommended by organizations for appointment on Committee on Intellectual Co-operation”, 12 January 1922, LNA: R1029).

¹⁵⁵ The names listed by Nitobe include: H. Bergson (French), J. Destrée (Belgian), G. Murray (British), F. Ruffini (Italian), A. de Castro (Brazilian), L. Torres Quevedo (Spanish), A. Einstein (German), D. Banerjee (Indian), Marie Curie (Franco-Polish), K. Bonnevie (Norwegian), G. de Raynold (Swiss), and an American to be announced (From I. Nitobe to G. Murray, 14 Jan. 1922, GM265).

¹⁵⁶ League of Nations, *Official Journal*, 3rd Year No.2, Feb. 1922, p.111.

¹⁵⁷ From I. Nitobe to H. La Fontaine and P. Otlet, 16 Jan. 1922, MUN: Mundapaix 18.

my disappointment was not very small either¹⁵⁸, but also that ‘I still do not understand why M. Hanotaux was so insistent upon postponing the nomination¹⁵⁹. Nitobe also suspected that the French representative Gabriel Hanotaux received some ‘instructions’ from his government which were not in harmony with what the Secretariat thought to be the right course, even implying that the French government might have a political interest in achieving the nomination of more French members other than Bergson¹⁶⁰. Moreover, he surmised that Hanotaux’s maneuver might have resulted from the desire of having a secretary of Léon Bourgeois appointed to the committee and the ambition to concentrate in Paris the intellectual and artistic activities of the world, which implied the weakening of Belgian influence in this sphere¹⁶¹. Particularly in the latter case, Nitobe himself had noticed very pronounced opposition to La Fontaine in his conversations with some prominent French people in the League of Nations¹⁶². As mentioned earlier, there was, in fact, a great divergence in the idea of intellectual cooperation between the UAI’s and the French schemes, which in turn became problematic over the composition of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. Even after the establishment of the committee, this problem remained as a conflictive point in the basic understanding of intellectual co-operation.

Disturbed by the politics in the Council, the Secretariat of the League was forced to reconsider the time schedule for the establishment of the Committee. Firstly, with an expectation of the early nomination of the committee members by the Council, it was agreed

¹⁵⁸ From I. Nitobe to P. Otlet, 31 Jan. 1922, MUN: Mundapaix 19.

¹⁵⁹ From I. Nitobe to H. La Fontaine and P. Otlet, 16 Jan. 1922, MUN: Mundapaix 18.

¹⁶⁰ From I. Nitobe to G. Murray, 14 Jan. 1922, GM265.

¹⁶¹ From I. Nitobe to G. Murray, 14 Feb. 1922, GM265.

¹⁶² Ibid.

that the Committee meet twice probably between July and September without much interval for study and, if needed, it also might prepare an interim report for the Assembly and continue its work into the next year¹⁶³. Secondly, the Secretariat prepared a longer and comprehensive list of potential members which included ‘names of individuals of different nationalities suitable to represent their countries on the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation¹⁶⁴’. This list was circulated to the members of the Council, and finally at the meeting of the Council held on 15 May 1922, the French representative Léon Bourgeois read a report about nominating eleven members of the committee, which was then adopted by the Council¹⁶⁵.

¹⁶³ League of Nations, “Minutes of Directors’ Meeting held on Thursday, 30 March, 1922”, Geneva, 5 Apr. 1922. From I. Nitobe to G. Murray, 8 Apr. 1922, GM265.

¹⁶⁴ League of Nations, “Nomination of a Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, Memorandum by the Secretary-General”, Geneva, 16 Mar. 1922, LNA: R1029. The list attached to this memorandum included the following 58 names: A. Andreades (Greece), P. Apell (France), E. Arnesen (Norway), S. Arrhenius (Sweden), S. Askenazy (Poland), C. Baez (Paraguay), D.N. Banerjee (India), Ch. Bedier (France), H. Bergson (France), P. Bonfante (Italy), K. Bonnevie (Norway), A. de Castro (Brazil), A da Costa (Portugal), P. Curie (France), J. Cvijic (the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs), J. Destrée (Belgium), A. Dopsch (Austria), A. Einstein (Germany), C.V. Ferreira (Uruguay), G. Ferrero (Italy), F. Fleiner (Argentina), E. Gleditsch (Norway), G.E. Hale (USA), J.L. Heiberg (Denmark), Y. Hirn (Finland), O. Jespersen (Denmark), N. Jorga (Rumania), V.L. Kellogg (USA), H. La Fontaine (Belgium), A.L. Lowell (USA), C. Morawski (Poland), G. Murray (Great Britain), J.F. Niermeyer (Netherlands), M. Ogilvie-Gordon (Great Britain), P.M. Pidal (Spain), H. Pirenne (Belgium), T. Quevedo (Spain), S. Ramon y Cajal (Spain), J. Redlich (Austria), J. de Reynold (Switzerland), E. Romer (Poland), E. Röthlisberger (Switzerland), F. Ruffini (Italy), T. Ruysen (France), J. Sakurai (Japan), H. Schuck (Sweden), J.T. Shotwell (USA), J. Susta (Czechoslovakia), A. Tanakadate (Japan), M.C. Thomas (USA), E. Troeltsch (Germany), F.J. Urrutia (Colombia), J. Vianna (Brazil), Van Vollenhoven (Netherlands), V. Volterra (Italy), J. Zolger (the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs), Zyauddin Ahmed (India) (Société des Nations, “List of Names suggested for the Committee on International Cooperation”, 16 Mar. 1922, LNA: R1029).

¹⁶⁵ The appointed members of the committee were as follows: D.N. Banerjee (Professor of Political Economy at the University of Calcutta), H. Bergson (Honorary Professor of Philosophy at the Collège de France, Member of the Académie française, Member of the Académie des Sciences morales et politiques), K. Bonnevie, (Professor of Zoology at the University of Christiania, Delegate to the Assembly of the League of Nations), A. de Castro (Director of the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Rio de Janeiro), Curie-Sklodowska (Professor of Physics at the University of Paris and Honorary Professor of the University of Warsaw, Member of the Académie de Médecine at Paris, and of the Scientific Society of Warsaw), J. Destrée (Former Minister of Science and Arts, Member of the Académie belge de littérature et de langue française), A. Einstein (Professor of Physics at the University of Berlin, Member of the Royal Academy of Amsterdam, of the Royal Society of London and of the Academy of Sciences at Berlin), G.A. Murray (Professor of Greek Philosophy at Oxford University, Member of the Council of British Academy and Delegate of South Africa to the Assembly of the League of Nations), G. de Reynold (Professor of French Literature at the University of Berne), F. Ruffini (Professor of Ecclesiastical Law at the University of Turin, former Minister of Public Education, President of the Union of Associations for

Shortly after the nomination of the members for the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, Nitobe sent a letter to the UAI expressing his regret that La Fontaine was not included among the nominees¹⁶⁶. However, he also suggested that La Fontaine's friendship with Destrée, the appointed Belgian member, would be a great asset in providing the new committee with knowledge of the UAI¹⁶⁷. At this time, Nitobe was particularly concerned about the situation of the UAI because the Belgian government, which had been supporting the work of the UAI, suddenly changed its policy. It ordered the UAI to evacuate from the *Palais Mondiale*, a large space in the *Palais du Cinquantenaire* in Brussels that was allocated as a gratuitous loan to the UAI for its headquarters¹⁶⁸. This dispute between the UAI and the Belgian government was a decisive event that showed the beginning of the end of the UAI's initiative in the field of international intellectual co-operation¹⁶⁹.

Despite this predicament, the UAI notwithstanding continuously attempted to influence the conceptualization of intellectual co-operation in the League of Nations by criticizing the committee about its present ill-defined aim¹⁷⁰. According to the UAI, the idea of intellectual

the League of Nations, Vice-President of the Royal Academy of Turin), L. de Torres Quevedo (Director of the Laboratorio electro-mecanico at Madrid, Member of the Committee for the extension of scientific studies (Junta para Ampliacion de Estudios), member of the Académie des Sciences de Madrid) (League of Nations, "Nomination of a Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, adopted by the Council on May 15 1922", LNA: R1029).

¹⁶⁶ From I. Nitobe to H. La Fontaine, 16 May 1922, MUN: HLF 201.

¹⁶⁷ From I. Nitobe to H. La Fontaine, 22 May 1922, MUN: HLF 201.

¹⁶⁸ From I. Nitobe to P. Otlet, 13 Feb. 1922, MUN: Mundapaix 18. According to a traveling auditor of the League, de Morpurgo, 'the present moment is one of great crisis for the Union' (Morpurgo's Minute, 3 Mar. 1922, LNA: S401).

¹⁶⁹ The International University virtually ceased its activities after the Third Session held from August to September 1922, despite a Fourth Session held in 1927. Moreover, it was the establishment of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation with the financial help of the French government in 1926 that marked the displacement of the center of international intellectual co-operation from Brussels to Paris. See Georges Patrick Speeckaert, "A Glance at Sixty Years of Activity (1910-1970) of the Union of International Associations", p.31, 38.

¹⁷⁰ Paul Otlet, "Introduction aux Travaux de la Commission de Coopération Intellectuelle de la Société des Nations", 26 Jun. 1922, LNA: R1031.

co-operation that led to the establishment of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation was shortsighted and confined to limited programs without a core idea, although it had to be a comprehensive organization synthesizing various intellectual activities in the world. In this regard, it argued that the committee, recalling the origin of its formation and the current state of works already completed in various quarters, should give a presentation to the forces already organized, in particular the UAI¹⁷¹. However, ultimately the representation of the UAI was never realized in the committee on intellectual co-operation.

Meanwhile, the Secretariat of the League moved to make preparations for the First Session of the ICIC set for August 1922. It devoted itself to making sure that the invited members would join the committee as well as to putting into a concrete shape the committee's aim and programs which had been only vaguely given by the Assembly and the Council. With regard to the members of the committee, most had already accepted the appointment by the beginning of June 1922, though only Marie Curie hesitated to be a member on the ground of the distrust of the prospect of the committee¹⁷². In addition, after the selection and negotiation by the Secretariat, a vacated position for an American member was fixed¹⁷³. On the other hand, because of the vagueness of the idea of intellectual co-operation, as Otlet criticized, the

¹⁷¹ This view was echoed by the Belgian member of the ICIC, Jules Destrée (League of Nations, International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, "Scheme for the Creation of an International Intellectual Centre submitted to the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation by M.J. Destrée", [28 Jul. 1922] LNA: R1031).

¹⁷² League of Nations, "Minutes of Directors' Meeting held on June 1st, 1922", LNA: R1570. As a result, Nitobe visited Curie in Paris and explained the importance of the role played by the committee, and she reluctantly agreed to attend the First Session of the committee (League of Nations, "Minutes of the Directors' Meeting held in the Secretary General's Room on June 14th, 1922", Geneva, 19 Jun. 1922, LNA: R1570). For Nitobe's retrospective account of his conversation with Curie, see Nitobe Inazo, *Tōzai Aifurete* (East meets West), pp. 313-315.

¹⁷³ The Secretary appointed as the twelfth member George Ellery Hale, Director of the Mount Wilson Observatory and Professor of Astrophysics at Chicago University (League of Nations, "Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, Note by the Secretary-General", Geneva, 29 Jun. 1922, LNA: R1030).

Secretariat needed to embody it in specific agendas discussed at the First Session of the committee. In this regard, a member of the committee, Gonzague de Reynold, suggested that the agendas of the First Session should be strictly limited to the closest and most practical questions and enumerated several subjects of discussion: a survey on the state of intellectual life in different countries, the ways to provide emergency aid to nations where intellectual life was in danger of catastrophe as a result of economic circumstances, the international organization of documentation, the international organization of scientific relations and inter-university relations, the preparation of a preliminary report, and preparation for the next session based on the general results of the deliberations in the First Session of the committee¹⁷⁴. In accord with Reynold's and other proposals, the Secretariat extracted three principal questions for the First Session of the committee: the cooperation for scientific research, inter-university relations, and bibliography and exchange of publications¹⁷⁵. In the end, these three questions, which had been in the UAI's scheme already, became the main pillars of the work of the early ICIC throughout the 1920s.

At last, the ICIC held its First Plenary Session in Geneva from 1 to 5 August 1922¹⁷⁶. At the first plenary meeting, Nitobe welcomed the members on behalf of the League of Nations and

¹⁷⁴ From Gonzague de Reynold to I. Nitobe, 10 Jul. 1922, LNA: R1030.

¹⁷⁵ League of Nations, "Report from the Secretariat of the League of Nations on the proposals submitted to it with regard to intellectual cooperation by various organizations and persons", 29 July 1922, LNA: R1031.

¹⁷⁶ As a result, all of the members except Hale and Einstein attended the session. Hale was absent due to illness, and was substituted by Robert A. Millikan who took over Hale's position the next year. Not only was Einstein absent due to a scientific mission to Japan at that time, but also he felt that the ICIC could not live up to its goal to establish a platform of intellectuals for discussing human affairs because of various national constraints that hampered its efforts. For this reason, Einstein tendered his resignation as a member of the ICIC to the Secretariat of the League of Nations. For details on his doubts about the ICIC, see David E. Rowe and Robert Schulmann ed., *Einstein on Politics: his private thoughts and public stands on nationalism, Zionism, war, peace, and the bomb*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007, pp. 189-204. However, Einstein was eventually reinstated in 1924 and served as one of the pivotal figures in the ICIC until 1932.

made an opening address in which he defined the characteristics of intellectual co-operation:

The members of the Committee were all personalities eminent in the various branches of human knowledge, and their relations with their respective Governments, which they in no way represented, were those of complete independence.

The work of the Committee, the scope of which had not been strictly defined, either by the Council or by the Assembly, was to submit to the Assembly a report on the steps to be taken by the League to facilitate intellectual relations between peoples, particularly in respect of the communication of scientific information¹⁷⁷.

It is obvious that this remark is based on the Bourgeois Resolution. On the other hand, however, it should be noted that Nitobe defines the leading role of individual intellectuals, its members non-related with governments and the communication of scientific information as the central features of the ICIC. Arguably, these characteristics derive from the UAI's view of intellectual co-operation. Therefore, at the inauguration of the ICIC, Nitobe adopted the UAI's universalistic idea of intellectual co-operation as the fundamental principles of the ICIC. In this regard, it can be said that, while losing its leadership in the discussion about the work of intellectual co-operation in the League of Nations, the UAI eventually provided an ideological basis of intellectual co-operation to the ICIC. Nevertheless, as evidenced by the active involvement of the French government in the process of establishing the ICIC, it was by no means easy to remove approaches and influences from governments in the intergovernmental framework of the League of Nations. In fact, as shown in later chapters, not only the French but

¹⁷⁷ League of Nations, Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, "Minutes of the First Session, Geneva, August 1st-5th, 1922", Geneva, 11 Oct. 1922, p. 3.

also other governments such as the Japanese and the Chinese governments continuously exerted its influence on the ICIC after its foundation. In this way, the relationship between the ICIC and governments remained as one of the puzzles inherent in the ICIC's idea of intellectual co-operation.

At the same time, soon after the first plenary meeting, Nitobe put forward to the Secretary-General a retrospective report about the process of establishing the ICIC. In this report, while giving a detailed account of the process of trial and error from the point of view of the person in charge, Nitobe pointed out another problem inherent in the ICIC's idea of intellectual co-operation:

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. Practically all the nationalities composing the Council were represented in the Committee, except Japan and China. Why these exceptions? As to China, because her universities are yet so little developed; as to Japan, it was first planned (in my private discussion with M. La Fontaine and Professor Gilbert Murray who took the most active part in the question in the Assembly) to make the Committee as small as possible – five or seven members – and it was thought that the presence of a Japanese (myself) in the capacity of secretary, would actually though not officially represent the Far East; but finally the full member of twelve was appointed, and I thought that Asia should have a better representation¹⁷⁸.

Nitobe mentions a different aspect of the ICIC's basic character from its universalistic nature that he revealed at the opening session: a problem of nationalities in the work of intellectual

¹⁷⁸ Inazo Nitobe, "Observation on the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation", 18 Aug. 1922, LNA:R1031.

co-operation. As mentioned already, in the selection of the ICIC members, Nitobe took into consideration their national and cultural backgrounds. This view is closer to the French idea that defined intellectual co-operation as exchange and understanding among particular national cultures, rather than the UAI's idea assuming the existence of a universal civilization. Furthermore, given that Nitobe calls for the representativeness of non-Western cultures like Japan and China in the ICIC, it is obvious that his argument lays even stronger emphasis on the particularity of national cultures that the French scheme presupposing the centrality of French culture in the world. From his words in a regretting tone, therefore, it is evident that the ICIC had embraced from the very beginning two different and conflicting perspectives on intellectual co-operation, one based on the universality of culture (Western civilization) and the other based on the particularity of culture (national cultures).

As stated above, the idea of intellectual co-operation, initially brought into the League by the UAI, was crystalized as the ICIC through the process of the conceptualization in the Secretariat led by Nitobe, the active involvement of the French government and the political compromises in the Council as well as the Assembly. In other words, the idea of intellectual co-operation was formed in the League of Nations where various actors such as individual intellectuals, private organizations and governments were intricately entangled. However, it resulted in the ambiguity of the fundamental principles in the established ICIC, an eclectic mix of the UAI's and the French ideas. For this reason, with tensions between individual intellectuals and governments as well as between the universality and the particularity of culture, the ICIC's idea of intellectual co-operation continued to change throughout the period of its activity from 1922 to 1939.

Chapter II

Japan's Intellectual Co-operation

1. The Establishment of the Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation

When the League of Nations was established on 10 January 1920 after the discussion in the Paris Peace Conference, it was not necessarily met with unqualified enthusiasm in Japan. Comments in the press in particular expressed a sense of caution toward the League and held a negative opinion on Japan's participation on the ground that joining the League might undermine Japan's national interests, especially the gains in China that Japan had attained under the cloak of the chaos during World War I¹. In short, the League of Nations was generally regarded as an obstacle to Japan's foreign policy².

Contrary to such popular opinion, however, many intellectuals not only welcomed the creation of the League of the Nations but also highlighted its importance to Japanese foreign policy. Many of these intellectuals were strongly influenced by American Wilsonianism during and after World War I, and were enthusiastic advocates for the Japanese democratic movement³. For example, Yoshino Sakuzo, one of the committed proponents of 'Taisho Democracy',

¹ Chikao Fujisawa, "The Present Attitude of Japan towards the League of Nations", [March] 1921, LNA: R1573. Oka Yoshitake, "Pari Kouwa Kaigi ni okeru Amerika Gaiko to Wagakuni Yoron" (U.S. Diplomacy in the Paris Peace Conference and Japan's Public Opinion), *Oka Yoshitake Chosaku Shu*, Vol. 6, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1993, pp. 219-240.

² Nonetheless, as Thomas Burkman points out, it must be noted that the Japanese government forthwith found a value in its status as a member of the League Council and became rather deeply engaged in making the most of it to secure and pursue its national interests (Thomas W. Burkman, *Japan and the League of Nations: Empire and World Order, 1914-1938*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008).

³ For Wilsonianism, see Frank Ninkovich, *The Wilsonian Century: U.S. Foreign Policy since 1900*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1999.

argued in 1919 that the movement was not just intended to develop democracy in Japan but based on a global trend seeking for international justice and equality⁴. For ideologues like Yoshino, the League of Nations was a product of such a global trend, specifically the trend of American Wilsonianism, and they saw it as not merely an international political institution but also as an embodiment of their ideals and expectations for the new era after World War I⁵.

Thus, the League of Nations emerged as more than just a political entity—it was at the same time a cultural entity. For example, Anesaki Masaharu, a professor of religion at Tokyo Imperial University and one of the leading advocates for ‘Taisho Democracy’, saw the League of Nations as a cultural issue. In his essay titled “the League of Nations as a Cultural Matter”, he provided a unique perspective on the League of Nations not just as a political institution but also as a cultural institution representing a system of values.

...the League of Nations is more than its organization. The value of the League for world culture depends on how to manage and develop its potential. In order to enhance the capability of the League, it is of course necessary to study its organization in itself. However, it is also essential to reveal its place in human culture and its historical trail, and to examine its significance for the progress of culture. In this regard, the League of Nations as a cultural matter emerges as an important research question⁶.

⁴ Yoshino Sakuzo, ‘Sekai no Daishucho to sono Junno oyobi Taiousaku’ (The World Trend, its Accustomization and Measures), in Oka Yoshitake ed., *Yohisno Sakuzo Hyoronshu*, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1975, pp. 144-151.

⁵ On the impact of Wilsonianism on Japan in the 1910s and 1920s, see Frederik R. Dickinson, *War and National Reinvention: Japan in the Great War, 1914-1919*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999, Chapter 6; Mitani Taichiro, “Taisho Demokurasii to Amerika” (Taisho Democracy and America), *Taisho Demokurasii Ron: Yoshino Sakuzo to Sonogo*, Tokyo: Chuo Koron Sha, 1974, pp. 122-154. For a comparison regarding its effect on anticolonial movements in various places including China and Korea, see Erez Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

⁶ Anesaki Masaharu, “Bunka Mondai toshiteno Kokusai Renmei” (The League of Nations as a Cultural Matter), *Kokusai Renmei*, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 23.

Anesaki argued this based on the recognition that World War I led to a watershed in the history of world culture. In “A General Ledger of Nineteenth Century Civilization”, an essay describing the cultural contexts of World War I, Anesaki describes how World War I was triggered by Wilhelm II of *Deutsches Kaiserreich*, and argues that it was the result of an exteriorization of the adverse effects of the nineteenth century civilization, such as a distorted faith in a struggle for survival, the excessive competition of commerce and industry, and a delusion of militarism⁷. Therefore, Anesaki stressed that the coming postwar world should put an end to the vices of nineteenth century civilization and bring about wide-ranging changes including physical and mental reforms. He concludes that ‘the restoration of peace must entail a revolutionary change of social reconstruction⁸’. Accordingly, in his view, since this social change primarily meant a reconstruction of world civilization as well as the formation of a new world culture, in the aftermath of the war such cultural tasks were best handled by the League of Nations. He noted:

Although it cannot be said that the League founded today embodies these cultural ideals completely and realizes them sufficiently, we should find a great cultural significance in the emergence of the existing organization as part of pursuing these ideals. In fact, the question posed to us now is whether to choose culture or barbarism, and so, if the present League can be further strengthened, the victory of culture over barbarism will be secured. For this triumph, we should not only deliberate the meaning of culture but also proceed with the enhancement and development of the League of Nations⁹.

In this way, intellectuals like Anesaki saw the League from a cultural perspective and such

⁷ Anesaki Masaharu, “Jukyuseiki Bunmei no Sokanjo” (A General Ledger of Nineteenth Century Civilization), *Sekai Bunmei no Shin Kigen*, Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1919, p. 3.

⁸ Ibid, p.3

⁹ Anesaki, “Bunka Mondai toshiteno Kokusai Renmei”, p. 28.

discourses provided a social and intellectual basis for embracing the new idea of intellectual co-operation which was held by the ICIC in Japan¹⁰.

On the other hand, the cultural dimension of international relations was also problematized in discussions on Japanese foreign policy after World War I. The arguments by Goto Shinpei are one case in point. Goto has usually been seen from the viewpoint of his political roles, first as a colonial administrator in Taiwan or Manchuria, and later as a statesman and politician as the Home Minister, the Foreign Minister, and the mayor of Tokyo. At the same time, it is less widely known that he also had numerous contacts with people involved in Japan's international cultural exchange¹¹. Indeed, in view of how he maintained close contact with Nitobe Inazo, Goto's important role in Japan's cultural exchange in the interwar years cannot be ignored¹². In fact, in the early years after World War I, Goto proposed a new diplomatic initiative based on the axis of culture.

After World War I, Goto presented Japanese foreign policy with a major cultural challenge in

¹⁰ Anesaki's argument, 'the League of Nations as a Cultural Matter', seems similar in principle to the idea of 'the League of Minds' put forward later by Paul Valéry as a fundamental principle of the League of Nations as well as of the ICIC. In this respect, it was not a coincidence that both Anesaki and Valéry became involved in the ICIC in the 1930s. Valéry's idea of 'the League of Minds' is discussed in Chapter VI.

¹¹ Sakai Tetsuya, "'Shokumin Seisaku Gaku' kara 'Kokusai Kankei Ron' he: Senkanki Nihon no Kokusai Chitsujō Ron wo meguru Ichikosatsu" (From Colonial Studies to International Relations: Examining Discourses on International Order in Interwar Japan), in Asano Toyomi and Matsuda Toshihiko eds., *Shokuminchi Nihon no Houteki Kozo*, Tokyo: Shinzansha, 2004, p. 8. Among biographies of Goto, see particularly, Kitaoka Shinichi, *Goto Shinpei: Gaikou to Vizion* (Goto Shinpei: Diplomacy and Vision), Tokyo: Chuo Kouron Sha, 1988.

¹² Their relationship began when Goto invited Nitobe to the Office of the Governor-General of Taiwan in 1899. Goto, then the director of the Civil Administration Bureau of the Office, invited Nitobe as a technical advisor. Nitobe had resigned as a professor at Sapporo Agricultural College in 1898 and was staying in the United States at the time. Additionally, after Taiwan, Goto not only recommended Nitobe as a professor at Kyoto Imperial University, but he also established an endowed course of colonial studies at Tokyo Imperial University, and Nitobe was appointed as the inaugural chair. Moreover, during their trip to Europe after World War I, when Nitobe was approached and asked to assume the position of Under Secretary-General of the League of Nations, Goto encouraged him to accept the offer. Thus, arguably, Nitobe's administrative, academic as well as diplomatic careers had been under the strong influence of Goto throughout his life. On their relationship, see Nitobe's memoir on Goto: Nitobe Inazo, *Ijin Gunzo* (Great Men), Tokyo: Jitsugyo no Nihon Sha, 1931, pp. 391-405.

his call to action titled ‘*Nihon no Bunkateki Shimei*’ (Japan’s Cultural Mission)¹³. Goto’s argument regarding ‘Japan’s Cultural Mission’ was motivated by his strong resentment against Western racial prejudice of Japanese people and their culture. Taking the rejection of Japan’s proposal for racial equality at the Paris Peace Conference and the anti-Japanese movement in the United States as examples of what should be high priority issues for Japan after the war, Goto alleged that these problems undoubtedly resulted from a widespread misunderstanding and ignorance of Japan among Western countries¹⁴. For this reason, he maintained that since the Japanese nation was inherently peaceful and cooperative, it was imperative to introduce Japanese culture to Western people so that their misunderstandings could be rectified¹⁵. Because this growing frustration was held not only by Goto but also by a number of Japanese policy makers and intellectuals, the mission to introduce Japanese culture to the West became one of the general goals of Japanese foreign policy in the 1920s.

Together with the idea of Japan’s cultural mission, a fundamental principle guiding Japan’s international cultural exchange after World War I emerged in the form of ‘*Tozai Bunmei Chowa Ron*’ (The Theory of Harmony between Eastern and Western Civilizations). Although the idea that Japan can and should be a cultural mediator between the East and the West is seemingly banal, it has been a widely-shared ideology in the field of international cultural exchange since

¹³ Goto Shinpei, “Nihon no Bunkateki Shimei” (Japan’s Cultural Mission), *Gaiko Jiho*, No. 382, Oct. 1920, pp. 19-28; Goto Shinpei, “Nihon no Bunkateki Shimei ni tsuite: Sairon” (Japan’s Cultural Mission Revisited), *Gaiko Jiho*, No. 383, Nov. 1920, pp. 11-23.

¹⁴ Needless to say, Japan’s proposal for racial equality at the Paris Conference was nothing more than the self-oriented appeal for equality between Japan and Western powers. For further discussion, see Naoko Shimazu, *Japan, Race and Equality: the Racial Equality Proposal of 1919*, London: Routledge, 1998. On the anti-Japanese movement in the United States in 1920s, see Izumi Hirobe, *Japanese Pride, American Prejudice: Modifying the Exclusion Clause of the 1924 Immigration Act*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001.

¹⁵ Goto, “Nihon no Bunkateki Shimei”, pp. 22-23; Goto, “Nihon no Bunkateki Shimei ni tsuite: Sairon”, p. 20.

the 1920s¹⁶. This is because the ‘Theory of Harmony between Eastern and Western Civilizations’ has functioned as an ideological basis of constructing Japan’s national identity vis-à-vis the world. To be more precise, on the premise that Japan was, historically and culturally, the first nation to achieve modernization among non-Western countries, the ideology made it possible to believe that Japan should be qualified for being recognized as equal with the West as well as superior to other nations in the East, particularly in Asia¹⁷. As with Goto’s argument regarding ‘Japan’s Cultural Mission’, employing the East/West dichotomy in the ‘Theory of Harmony between Eastern and Western Civilizations’ came to be a prevailing and influential discourse in the 1920s¹⁸.

In this way, after World War I, the importance of culture in international relations came to be increasingly recognized in Japan. In fact, very little had been written on the ICIC in Japan after its establishment in 1922, and nobody except those involved in the League knew about it. However, as the cultural perspective of international relations became shared among the public through discourses like ‘Japan’s Cultural Mission’ and the ‘Theory of Harmony between Eastern and Western Civilizations’, there was a growing interest in the ICIC. This provided the context and background for the foundation of a Japanese national committee on intellectual

¹⁶ Shibasaki Atsushi, *Kindai Nihon to Kokusai Bunka Koryu* (International Cultural Relations and Modern Japan), Tokyo: Yushindo, 1999; Sakai Tetsuya, *Kindai Nihon no Kokusai Chitsujo Ron* (The Political Discourse on International Order in Modern Japan), Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2007, p. 204.

¹⁷ Sakai, *Kindai Nihon no Kokusai Chitsujo Ron*, pp. 203-204.

¹⁸ For example, Hara Takashi, the Japanese prime minister at the time, proclaimed the harmonization between Eastern and Western civilizations as one of the most critical policy issues (Hara Takashi, “Tōzai Bunmei no Chowa” (Harmony between Eastern and Western Civilizations), *Gaiko Jiho*, No.388, Jan. 1921, pp. 27-34. Since then, a vast number of arguments regarding Japan’s national identity as a special mediator between them have been (re)produced. For a discussion of the postwar period since 1945, see Hirofumi Takase, *Sengo Nihon no Keizai Gaiko* (Japan’s Economic Diplomacy in the Postwar Period), Tokyo: Shinzansha, 2008. This work reveals that Japanese economic policy has been implemented according to a ‘Japan image’ projected by the dichotomy between the East and the West.

co-operation.

As mentioned in Chapter I, the ICIC was initially established as a consultative committee of the Council of the League, and thus it had no domestic base in each member state. Immediately after its founding, however, the ICIC saw the dismal conditions facing intellectual workers in central and Eastern Europe as one of its central agenda items, and as early as 1923 ‘national committees on intellectual co-operation’ were established voluntarily in twelve countries for the purpose of receiving support from the ICIC¹⁹. In response, at its Second and Third Plenary Sessions in 1923 the ICIC welcomed such a movement for national committees on intellectual co-operation and adopted a resolution on their organization²⁰.

Approved by the Council of the League and sent to each government, this resolution reached the head office of the Japanese Foreign Ministry in Tokyo on 5 February 1924²¹. The Foreign Ministry then contacted the Ministry of Education about the possibility of establishing a national committee, since the domestic implementation of such activities by the ICIC would largely fall under the control of the Ministry of Education²². However, there was neither a close consultation between them nor a formal response to the League. This was because the Foreign Ministry at this point was mostly uninformed about the ICIC. Thus, it was not until the end of 1924 that the Foreign Ministry began to seriously investigate the idea of intellectual co-operation and embarked on an intensive study of the activities of the ICIC.

¹⁹ League of Nations, *Ten Years of World Co-operation*, Geneva: Secretariat of the League of Nations, 1930, p. 318.

²⁰ League of Nations, Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, *Minutes of the Second Session, Geneva, July 26th to August 2nd, 1923*, pp. 44-45. League of Nations, *Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, Minutes of the Third Session, Paris, December 5th to December 8th, 1923*, pp. 34-35.

²¹ From Sugimura Yotaro to Matsui Keishiro, 5 Feb. 1924, JFMA: Gakugei Kokunai Iinkai Kankei.

²² From Matsumoto to Sugiura Shizujiro, 27 Mar. 1924, JFMA: Gakugei Kokunai Iinkai Kankei.

In reaction to the Japanese government's hesitance and lukewarm response, Furukaki Tetsuro, who was working for the Secretariat of the League at Geneva at that time, asserted that 'there is no doubt that the work of international exchange in the intellectual field is growing more frequent and efficient day by day²³' and he underlined the necessity of establishing a Japanese national committee on intellectual co-operation.

It is a shame, from the international point of view of intellectual civilization, that there is no organization like this in any countries in the East despite many such organizations in the West. The necessity of international co-operation in the academic fields comes at a crucial time, especially considering the seriously troubled world economy in the aftermath of the Great War and the intellectual depression spreading worldwide. There is an urgent necessity for co-operation and support in this field, and I strongly hope that authorities and associations in my country are determined to promote the establishment of a Japanese committee on intellectual co-operation and contribute in concert to the development of civilization²⁴.

Although it seems that Furukaki overestimated the significance of the work for intellectual co-operation, his assertion nonetheless reflected the expectation in the League that the ICIC would no doubt provide the intellectual base of world peace by means of intellectual co-operation. Furthermore, as Furukaki stressed, it was also anticipated that Japan as a non-Western country would be actively engaged in the work of the ICIC to develop a world civilization. Despite Furukaki's ardent appeal, there was, in the end, neither a change in the attitude of the Japanese government nor a grass-roots movement in Japanese society for

²³ Furukaki Tetsuro, 'Chiteki Kyouryoku Nihon Inka no tame Gakujutu Dantai no Shuki wo Unagasu' (Urging Domestic Academic Associations to Stand Up for Establishing a Japanese Committee on Intellectual Co-operation), *Kokusai Chishiki*, Vol. 4, No. 5, May 1924, p. 28.

²⁴ *Ibid*, p. 28.

establishing a Japanese national committee on intellectual co-operation.

However, at the end of 1924, the Japanese government suddenly moved to embark on founding a national committee on intellectual cooperation. The trigger was the Council of the League's reaffirmation of the importance of establishing a national committee in each country, which was given additional weight when it adopted a resolution to the member states of the League that recommended more strongly that each state seriously consider how to establish them²⁵. First, in December 1924 the Foreign Ministry sought advice from Nitobe, who was staying in Japan on leave, inquiring about the work of the ICIC and the national committees in other countries²⁶. With Nitobe's positive message about the establishment of a national committee in Japan, the Foreign Ministry prepared an extensive report that scrutinized the pedigree and activities of the ICIC as well as the present situation of national committees in other countries²⁷. Hereupon the ministry finally acquired the full picture of the ICIC. In addition, with the consent of the Ministry of Education on establishing a national committee, the

²⁵ League of Nations, "Thirteenth Session of the Council, Minutes of the Seventeenth Meeting hold on Tuesday, September 30th, 1924, at 10.30 a.m.", LNA: R1064. It states '(t)he Assembly noted with pleasure that the network of national committees on intellectual co-operation is becoming more and more widespread. Other national committees should be organised in those places, where they do not at present exist, and the Government should, if possible, be prepared to give them financial assistance. The Council instructs the Secretary-General to invite once again those Governments which have not yet done so, to encourage the setting up of national committees on intellectual co-operation and if possible to give them financial assistance in their work of intellectual co-operation'.

²⁶ Overall, Nitobe answered as follows: As national committees were set up by small countries in Central and Eastern Europe damaged during the war in order to receive assistance through the ICIC, it is not so pressing for major powers as donors to establish such committees. In fact, Great Britain and France have difficulty with their foundation. For this reason, the Japanese government has no need to accelerate the establishment of its national committee and there should be a decent excuse for the League. However, because there is no linkage between public and private universities in Japan, an organization integrating them is needed from the point of view of external relations. In this regard, a Japanese national committee should be set up at any cost ("Chiteki Kyoryoku Mondai ni kanshi Nitobe Hakushi no Danwa" (Conversation with Dr. Nitobe on the Questions of Intellectual Co-operation), [Dec. 1924], JFMA: Kokusai Renmei Gakugei Kyoryoku Iinkai oyobi Kokusai Gakuin Kankei Ikken, Vol. 2).

²⁷ Jouyaku Dai Sanka, "Kokusai Renmei no Chiteki Kyoryoku Iinkai tokuni Kokunai Iinkai Setsuritsu no Mondai" (The Question on the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations, particularly on the Embellishment of National Committees), 1 Jan. 1925, JFMA: Gakugei Kyoryoku Kokunai Iinkai Kankei.

administrative coordination between both ministries came into being²⁸. At the same time, outside of the government a detailed discussion emerged that introduced the ideas and activities of the ICIC to the public and which called for the establishment of a national committee in Japan²⁹. Thus, in May 1925, the two ministries discussed the possible arrangements for setting up a Japanese national committee and selected interested organizations that were expected to participate in it³⁰. Furthermore, the Imperial Office for the League of Nations at Paris sent a telegram stating that ‘in view of the fact that academic associations in our country are now prepared to act in concert with the movement of the League and come together for common interests, there is an urgent need to establish our national committee³¹’. In this way, diplomatic missions abroad also came to insist on the foundation of a Japanese national committee.

In January 1926, Aoki Setsuichi, a chief correspondent at the Tokyo branch office of the League of Nations, made a strong appeal for the establishment of a national committee³². First

²⁸ From Matsuura Shizujiro to Debuchi Katsuji, 17 Jan. 1925, JFMA: Gakugei Kyoryoku Kokunai Inikai Kankei.

²⁹ Okamoto Go, “Gakumon Geijutsu no Kokusaika” (Internationalization of Academics and Arts), *Kokusai Chishiki*, Vol. 5, No. 4, Apr. 1925, pp. 97-110; Okamoto Go, “Gakumon Geijutsu no Kokusaika” (Internationalization of Academics and Arts), *Kokusai Chishiki*, Vol. 5, No. 5, May 1925, pp. 111-123.

³⁰ “Chiteki Kyoryoku Kokunai Inikai no Uchiawase Jiko” (Agenda of the Meeting on National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation), n.d., JFMA: Gakugei Kyoryoku Kokunai Inikai Kankei. The organizations or institutions selected were: the Imperial Academy, the National Research Council, the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts, the Japanese Association for the Advancement of Science, the League of Nations Association of Japan, Imperial Universities, Waseda University, Keio University, Tokyo Music School, Tokyo Higher Normal School, Japan Women’s University, the Imperial Library, Japan Library Association.

³¹ From Matsuda Michikazu to Shidehara Kijuro, 10 Oct. 1925, JFMA: Gakugei Kyoryoku Kokunai Inikai Kankei.

³² The plan to set up the Tokyo branch office began with Nitobe’s trip to Japan from December 1924 to February 1925. After his home leave, Nitobe prepared a report on the movement of the League of Nations in Japan and submitted it to the Secretary-General (Inazo Nitobe, “The League of Nations Movement in Japan (A Report on the Trip to Japan)”, 9 Apr. 1925, LNA: R1573). In this report, which was widely circulated and read in the Secretariat with some comments by the Secretary-General and Directors, Nitobe suggested that the Secretariat of the League should dispatch some League functionaries to the Far East for the purpose of propagating the ideal of the League. In response, Vladimir Slavik of the Political Section, in consideration of the limited budget of the League, offered a more practical suggestion that the Secretariat should create a small branch office in Tokyo (Vladimir Slavik, “Remarques concernant le rapport du Dr. Nitobé au sujet de son voyage au Japon”, 29 Apr. 1925, LNA: R1573). In agreement with

of all, Aoki criticized the negative attitude of the Japanese government and its people toward the work of intellectual co-operation by the League of Nations. He denounced Japan's inaction, claiming that 'despite Japan's status as a permanent member of the Council, not having a national committee sends the message that the Japanese government and its people have neither sincerity nor awareness for cooperating in this noble and promising work³³'. According to Aoki, if there was a League's project that Japan could successfully implement, it should be in regards to socio-cultural and humanitarian issues, and therefore Japan had a duty to cooperate with the ICIC as a holder of a particular culture in the East³⁴. In this way, Aoki underscored Japan's cultural uniqueness as part of the East, which provided a strong rationale for Japan's active involvement in the work of the ICIC. This argument later came to constitute an essential element behind the idea of Japan's intellectual co-operation.

With this growing interest in the work of intellectual co-operation with the League of Nations in Japan, the government conducted further investigation into the ICIC and produced a more detailed report than the previous one of 1925³⁵. In line with the previous report, but extending over 46 pages in all, this report reveals that the Foreign Ministry had completed its intensive investigation into the work of the ICIC with a view to establishing a national committee in

Slavik's idea, Nitobe made concrete suggestions: (1) appoint someone in Tokyo as an agent of the Information Section, preferably from among the secretaries of the Japanese League of Nations Union, (2) let him come to Geneva and work as a member of the Secretariat for a year, (3) on his return, let him establish a small office as a branch of the Secretariat (From Inazo Nitobe to the Secretary General, Joseph Avenol, Bernardo Attolico and Pierre Comert, 26 May 1925, LNA: R1342). As a result, Aoki Setsuichi was appointed as the chief correspondent of the newly established Tokyo branch office.

³³ Aoki Setsuichi, "Kokusai Chiteki Kyouryoku Gakkai no Seiritsu" (Establishment of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation), *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun*, 17 Jan. 1926.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Jouyaku Kyoku Dai Sanka, "Kokusai Renmei no Chiteki Kyoryoku Jigyo Gaisetsu" (Overview of the Work of Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations), 24 Feb. 1926, JFMA: Gakugei Kyoryoku Kokunai Iinkai Kankei.

Japan. In so doing, after discussing concrete plans, the 'Gakugei Kyoryoku Iinkai' came into being as the Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation in April 1926.

At its inaugural ceremony on 30 April 1926, a chairman and members of the Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation were appointed³⁶. It was also decided that the League of Nations Association of Japan should provide an office and staff to carry out the work of the committee, and four supervisors were assigned to oversee the work of each of the four departments: (1) Department of University Liaison (Yamada), (2) Department of Academic Research (Miyajima), (3) Department of Literature and Art (Anesaki), (4) Department of Theatre and Music (Komura)³⁷. Thus, with the establishment of the national committee, Japan's intellectual co-operation with the League of Nations, and with the ICIC in particular, took an important step forward³⁸. Though both Furukaki and Aoki denounced the indifferent attitude of the Japanese government and its people toward the work of the ICIC, the official establishment of the Japanese national committee was not necessarily belated³⁹. Nonetheless, what is more

³⁶ Chairman: Yamada Saburo (Professor of Law at Tokyo Imperial University). Members: Yamada, Anesaki Masaharu (Professor of Religion at Tokyo Imperial University), Miyajima Mikinosuke (Director of the Kitasato Institute), Komura Kinichi (Member of the House of Peers), Nagaoka Harukazu (Director of the Foreign Ministry), Kuriya Ken (Director of the Ministry of Education).

³⁷ "Honbu Dayori" (Correspondence), *Kokusai Chishiki*, Vol. 6, No. 6, Jun. 1926, p. 144.

³⁸ The ICIC also placed great value on the establishment of the national committee in Japan, stressing that 'the constitution of the new Japanese National Committee, among others, indicates that the idea of Intellectual Co-operation has made great headway in the Far East' ("Report of the Director of the International Institute for Intellectual Co-operation to the Governing Body (July 1926)", League of Nations, *Official Journal*, October 1926, p. 1293).

³⁹ The establishment year of each national committee is as follows: Greece (1922), Belgium (1922), Hungary (1923), Finland (1923), Poland (1923), Latvia (1923), Yugoslavia (1923), Czechoslovakia (1923), Austria (1923), Switzerland (1924), Denmark (1924), France (1924), Romania (1925), Cuba (1925), Australia (1925), the United States of America (1925), Netherlands (1926), Sweden (1926), Japan (1926), Luxemburg (1926), Great Britain (1928), Italy (1928), Salvador (1928), Spain (1928), Germany (1928), Iceland (1929), Estonia (1929), South Africa (1929), Chili (1930), Danzig (1931), Mexico (1931), China (1933), Syria (1933), Bolivia (1934), Argentina (1936), Iran (1936), Uruguay (1937), Egypt (1937), Dominican Republic (1937), Haiti (1937). League of Nations, International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, *National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation*, Geneva, 1932; League of Nations, *Proceedings of the Second General Conference of National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation*, Paris, July, 5th-9th, 1937, Geneva, 1938.

important was that the essential problem of Japan's intellectual co-operation lies not in the timing of the national committee but in its inherent character.

2. The Meaning of Intellectual Co-operation in Japan

As mentioned above, it was the Foreign Ministry that consistently played a leading role in establishing the Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. Although it was initially planned through the consultation between the Foreign Ministry and the Ministry of Education, because of the passive posture of the latter, the former eventually took the initiative and responsibility for the national committee. Arguably, this central role of the Foreign Ministry characterized the nature of the national committee as well as Japan's intellectual co-operation itself.

The Foreign Ministry's strong influence on the national committee was apparent not only in the process of its establishment but also in its organizational structure. For example, Article 1 of the 'Proposition' prescribed that 'this committee on international cultural exchange should act to cooperate with the work of intellectual co-operation by the League of Nations as a Japanese national committee under the direction of the Foreign Minister⁴⁰'. In other words, the national committee was supposed to function as a subordinate body of the Foreign Ministry. Additionally, Article 3 stipulated that 'the chairman and members should be appointed among

⁴⁰ "Kokusai Bunka Kokan Iinkai Secchi ni kansuru Ken" (On Establishing the Committee on International Cultural Exchange), n.d., JFMA: Gakugei Kyoryoku Kokunai Iinkai Kankei.

high officers of relevant ministries and persons with learning and experience by the Cabinet upon the request of the Foreign Minister⁴¹, indicating that the committee was controlled by the Foreign Ministry and deprived of its autonomy of composition even in the planning stages.

The same holds true for its financial recourses. Indeed, the committee was initially financed from the budget of the Foreign Ministry for implementing the Versailles Peace Treaty⁴². Although the committee was subsequently transferred to the League of Nations Association of Japan in 1927 and financed by its budget, it must be noted that financial sponsorship and oversight by the Foreign Ministry still continued in essence. This is because when the committee was transferred to the League of Nations Association of Japan in 1927 the governmental subsidy to the Association was also increased from 50,000 to 70,000 yen⁴³. Furthermore, in its official letter to the Association, the Foreign Ministry instructed that the increased amount should be used particularly for the work of intellectual co-operation⁴⁴. Thus, it is clear that the Foreign Ministry continued to maintain indirect control over the committee, even after it was transferred to the private organization, the League of Nations Association of Japan⁴⁵.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² “Gakugei Kyoryoku Inkaei Seiritsu Jijo” (Conditions of Establishing the National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation), n.d., JFMA: Kokusai Renmei Gakugei Kyoryoku Inkaei oyobi Kokusai Gakuin Kankei Ikken, Vol. 7.

⁴³ “Kokusai Renmei Kyokai Showa Ninendo Jigyo Keikaku narabini Sono Yosansho” (Business Plan and Budget of the League of Nations Association of Japan in 1927), n.d., JFMA: Kokusai Renmei Kyokai Ikken, Vol. 3.

⁴⁴ “Meirei Sho Kokusai Renmei Kyokai” (Order to the League of Nations Association of Japan), 25 Apr. 1927, JFMA: Kokusai Renmei Kyokai Ikken, Vol. 3.

⁴⁵ It is problematic to say that the League of Nations Association of Japan was a purely private organization. In fact, as mentioned previously, the Association was not only subsidized by the Japanese government, but also one of its main purposes was to support Japanese foreign policy for the sake of promoting its national interests, an arrangement which was generally called ‘Kokumin Gaiko’ (National Diplomacy) at that time. For details on the League of Nations Association of Japan, see Ikei Masaru, “Nihon Kokusai Renmei Kyokai: Sono Seiritsu to Henyo” (Japan Association for the League of Nations:

For this reason, both in the process of its establishment and in its finance, the Foreign Ministry had great influence on the national committee. In this regard, the committee was also called a ‘natural child of the Foreign Ministry’⁴⁶. On the other hand, it should also be noted that by avoiding integrating the committee into the government structure the Foreign Ministry effectively camouflaged it as a private organization based on domestic academic associations. This is evident from the fact that Yamada Saburo, who was a scholar of private international law rather than a government official, was invited to be chairman of the national committee and it was swiftly transferred to the League of Nations Association of Japan⁴⁷. The Foreign Ministry might have chosen this arrangement because they paid close attention to the basic character of the ICIC, which put more emphasis on the participation of intellectuals than governments. Or the Ministry might have understood that the work of intellectual co-operation could be implemented more successfully by individuals and private associations. In any case, the Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation was represented and emphasized not as a government organ but as a private organization in itself.

The ICIC for its part stated that the practical questions of a national committee such as its

Its Development and Change), *Hogaku Kenkyu*, Vol. 68, No. 2, pp. 23-48. However, it is more noteworthy that its proximity to the government was not unique to the League of Nations Association of Japan; there were similar conditions in its counterparts in other countries like Great Britain and France. For the British case, see Helen MacCarthy, *The British People and the League of Nations: Democracy, Citizenship and Internationalism, c.1918-45*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011; Donald S. Birn, *The League of Nations Union*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981. For France, Jean-Michel Guieu, *Le rameau et le glaive: Les militants français pour la Société des Nations*, Paris: Presses de Sciences Po., 2008; Christian Birebent, *Millitants de la Paix et la SDN: Les mouvements de soutien à la Société des nations en France et au Royaume-Uni 1918-1925*, Paris: L’Harmattan, 2007.

⁴⁶ “Gakugei Kyoryoku Iinkai Seiritsu Jijo”.

⁴⁷ Yamada Saburo (1869-1965) spent most of his life in academia and held various positions such as Professor of Law at Tokyo Imperial University, President of Keijo Imperial University during the period of Japanese colonial rule over the Korean Peninsula, and President of the Japan Academy after World War II. He chaired the Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation until 1936 when the committee was incorporated into the newly established ‘Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai’ (Society for International Cultural Relations).

composition, procedure and relation to the government should be decided based on the domestic condition of each country⁴⁸. Actually, the form of establishing a national committee varied considerably between countries and there were several national committees founded by their respective governments⁴⁹. Particularly, it is evident that national committees in major countries like Great Britain, France and Italy were to some extent related to governments. In this regard, it was common that national governments, especially in major countries, were more or less involved in the creation of their national committees on intellectual co-operation.

It is also noteworthy that Japanese officials working for the Secretariat of the League such as Furukaki, Nitobe, and Aoki assumed a major role in propagating the ideal of the ICIC in Japan with an emphasis on the necessity of establishing a Japanese national committee. This is because they put themselves in the international secretariat in Geneva and shared the universal sensibilities for the work of intellectual co-operation initiated by the ICIC. Nevertheless, Furukaki and Aoki, like Nitobe, were so obsessed with advancing the status of Japan in the world that they became closely intertwined with the government in pursuit of this goal. As a matter of fact, Furukaki's article advocating the establishment of a Japanese national committee was first sent to the Foreign Ministry and then passed to the League of Nations Association of

⁴⁸ League of Nations, Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, *Minutes of the Third Session*, p. 35.

⁴⁹ According to the usage of the words 'individual', 'public' and 'private' by the ICIC itself, the core pillar in the establishment of each national committee is as follows: Australia (public), Austria (private), Belgium (individual), Cuba (public), Czechoslovakia (public and private), Denmark (public), Danzig (private), Estonia (private), Finland (private), France (public and private), Germany (public), Great Britain (public), Greece (public and private), Hungary (private), Italy (public), Japan (private), Latvia (private), Luxemburg (private), Netherlands (public and individual), Poland (private), Romania (public and private), South Africa (public), Sweden (public), Switzerland (individual), United States of America (individual). League of Nations, International Organisation on Intellectual Co-operation, *National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation*, Geneva, 1932. Though the Japanese committee is listed as a private organization, it is well documented that the Foreign Ministry consistently led its establishment and financing, as discussed already.

Japan to be published in its periodical⁵⁰. Here again, there is no doubt that their dedicated effort for the national committee was also conducted under the shadow of the Japanese government.

It should also be noted that the Japanese national committee was initially planned to be an organization for international cultural exchange as part of a joint enterprise of the government and private sectors. At first referred to as the ‘National Committee on International Cultural Co-operation’ or ‘Committee on International Cultural Exchange’, it was intended to be set up as a large-scale organization for international cultural exchange headed by the Foreign Minister. In fact, this original plan listed a wide range of names as the envisaged members of the committee, from the Foreign Minister to high officials of relevant ministries and academics of public and private universities⁵¹. Moreover, an attached budget plan allocated 53,885 yen to the committee, which remarkably exceeded the amount of governmental subsidy for the League of Nations Association of Japan⁵².

Additionally, the guiding principle of this committee was based on the idea of the ‘Harmony

⁵⁰ From Ashida Hitoshi to the League of Nations Association of Japan, 27 Mar. 1924, JFMA: Chiteki Rodo Inikai.

⁵¹ “Kokusai Bunka Kokan Inikai Secchi ni kansuru Ken”. Here, the committee composition was defined: Chairman: Shidehara Kijuro (Foreign Minister), Members: Tsukamoto Seiji (Chief Cabinet Secretary), Debuchi Katsuji (Vice Foreign Minister), Nagaoka Harukazu (Director-General, Foreign Ministry), Hirota Koki (Director-General, Foreign Ministry), Komura Kinichi (Deputy Director, Foreign Ministry), Matsuura Shizuichiro (Vice Education Minister), Kuriya Ken (Director-General, Education Ministry), Nishikawa Tatsuji (Director-General, Education Ministry), Sakurai Joji (President, Imperial Academy), Inoue Tetsujiro (Chairman, Imperial Academy), Sato Sankichi (Chairman, Imperial Academy), Tanakadate Aikitsu (Vice President, National Research Council), Fukuhara Jiro (Director, Imperial Fine Arts Academy), Sakatani Yoshiro (Vice President, League of Nations Association of Japan), Soeda Juichi (League of Nations Association of Japan), Yamada Saburo (Commissioner, League of Nations Association of Japan), Kozai Yoshinao (President, Tokyo Imperial University), Hattori Unokichi (Professor, Tokyo Imperial University), Ueda Kazutoshi (Professor, Tokyo Imperial University), Anesaki Masaharu (Professor, Tokyo Imperial University), Kuroita Katsumi (Professor, Tokyo Imperial University), Miyake Yonekichi (Principal, Tokyo Higher Normal School), Ibaraki Seiji (Principal, Tokyo Women’s Higher Normal School), Masaki Naohiko (Principal, Tokyo School of Fine Arts), Murayama Naojiro (Principal, Tokyo Music School), Takata Sanae (President, Waseda University), Hayashi Kiroku (President, Keio University), Aso Shozo (Head, Japan Women’s College), Secretary-General: Yamada Saburo, Secretaries: Kuriyama Shigeru (Foreign Ministry), Kikuzawa Suemaro (Education Ministry), Kato Sotomatsu (League of Nations Association of Japan).

⁵² Ibid.

between Eastern and Western Civilizations'. The proposed plan for the committee explained that 'it must be in accord with our long standing policy that we establish this national committee in the hope of letting people know the true state of affairs in our country, which has often been misunderstood, and further that the committee will contribute to the cultural fusion of the East and the West⁵³'. As with Goto Shinpei's proposals for cultural exchange described earlier, in the course of establishing the national committee the Japanese government became aware of the significance of cultural diplomacy as one of the new dimensions of Japanese foreign policies after World War I. This meant, on the one hand, that diversified but disorganized international cultural exchange activities could be systematized and expanded, but on the other hand that governments would be the central players in the domain of cultural exchange. In this regard, the foundation of the Japanese national committee at the initiative of the Foreign Ministry signified the beginning of the Japanese government's active involvement in the field of international cultural exchange⁵⁴. Indeed, the Japanese government had found a chance to promote its national interests through this committee and sought to make the most of this opportunity for

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ In terms of governmental involvement in international cultural exchange, it should be noted that the Japanese government embarked on two different projects for cultural exchange in the 1920s: 'Gakugei Kyoryoku' (Intellectual Co-operation with the League of Nations) and 'Taishi Bunka Jigyo' (Cultural Programs toward China). As mentioned above, in effect Japan's intellectual co-operation with the League started together with the establishment of its national committee in 1926. As discussed later, its main purpose was to introduce Japanese culture in the West. By contrast, Cultural Programs toward China, which were financed with reparations from the Qing Dynasty following the Boxer Rebellion in 1900 and were based on the Special Account Act for Cultural Programs toward China in 1923, were initially implemented as a joint project between Japan and the Republic of China. The programs included establishing research institutes in China such as the Peking Humanities Institute, promoting student exchanges through subsidies to 'Toa Dobun Kai' (East Asia Common Culture Association), and so forth. However, with the escalation of tensions between both countries, these programs eventually became part of the Japanese government's policies of cultural imperialism in China. For details, see See Heng Teow, *Japanese Cultural Policy toward China: A Comparative Perspective*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999; Abe Hiroshi, *Taishi Bunka Jigyo no Kenkyu* (Study of Cultural Programs toward China), Kyuko Shoin, 2004. As a result of integrating these two projects into one organization, the *Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai* was founded in 1934.

policy purposes⁵⁵.

Notwithstanding this manifest intention of the Japanese government, the national committee did not become a governmental organ in the end. As the guidelines for the committee's establishment make clear, the Foreign Ministry recognized the committee's autonomy to a certain degree:

The function of this committee is to act as a liaison between domestic intellectual associations and the ICIC (or the IIC), supporting the League's investigation of intellectual life in each country, putting forward Japan's opinions to the League as well as communicating and cooperating with organizations of the same kind in other countries. In short, because of the inconvenience of governmental mediations and the preference of direct contacts between nations, activities of this national committee should be dealt with as autonomously as possible⁵⁶.

However, this recognition changed in connection with the growing adversarial relationship between Japan and the League after the Manchurian Incident in 1931, and the Japanese government not only came to disregard the autonomy of the national committee but also hoped for a new organization for international cultural exchange. In this context, based on the model of the Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, the *Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai* (KBS; Society for International Cultural Relations) was established in 1934.

In this way, contrary to the initial negative response of the Japanese government to the request of the League to create a national committee in each country, the Japanese government came to invest the committee with positive values and saw it as a vehicle for broader ideas such

⁵⁵ “Kokusai Bunka Kokan Iinkai Secchi ni kansuru Ken”.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

as the ‘Harmony between the Eastern and Western Civilizations’. It thus eventually became envisaged as a large-scale organization for international cultural exchange. However, despite such lofty ambitions, it is evident at a glance that this plan was doomed to end in failure before it had even begun. In fact, the committee had no choice but to make a difficult start with only six members, and its budget was dramatically cut to one-third of the planned amount⁵⁷. It was therefore impossible to expect that such a national committee could meet its ambitious purpose for international cultural exchange. Indeed, to use the words of Yamada Saburo, the committee was ‘merely a temporal institution as well as a preparatory committee for the future’⁵⁸.

Nevertheless, the Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation had its own ‘manifest destiny’: the introduction of Japanese culture to the Western countries. The ‘Suggestions for the Organization of National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation’, which was adopted by the ICIC in 1923, defined four points as the main objects of national committees:

- (1) To serve as intermediaries between the organisations of intellectual life in their respective countries and the International Committee appointed by the Council of the League of Nations;
- (2) To collaborate in the enquiries set on foot by this Committee into the conditions of

⁵⁷ As for the composition of the committee, two influential members joined in 1927: Nitobe Inazo, who became a member of the House of Peers after his resignation from the Secretariat of the League of Nations, and Tanakadate Aikitsu, who was appointed as a Japanese member of the ICIC in the same year (The League of Nations Association of Japan, “National Committee of Japan on Intellectual Co-operation”, June, 1927, LNA: R1064). As for its finance, the national committee’s actual 1927 budget amounted to about 13,000 yen (“Kokusai Renmei Kyokai Showa Ninendo Jigyo Keikaku narabini sono Yosansho”). Even in 1930, four years after its establishment, only about 15,000 yen was allocated to the committee (“Kokusai Renmei Kyokai Showa Yonendo Jigyo Keikaku narabini Sono Yosansho” (Business Plan and Budget of the League of Nations Association of Japan in 1930), n.d., JFMA: Kokusai Renmei Kyokai Ikken, Vol. 3).

⁵⁸ Yamada Saburo, “Kokusai Renmei to Gakugei Kyoryoku” (League of Nations and Intellectual Co-operation), *Kokusai Chishiki*, Vol. 6, No. 6, Jun. 1926, p. 11.

intellectual life;

(3) To forward to the Secretariat of the International Committee, or directly to the other National Committees concerned, the most urgent of the requests of the institutions and intellectual workers in their respective countries, especially requests for books and instruments, facilities for traveling and inter-university exchanges;

(4) To satisfy as far as possible requests of the same kind which may be made to them through the intermediary of the Secretariat of the International Committee or directly by the other National Committees⁵⁹.

By this definition, the ICIC expected each national committee to serve as a liaison organization with a view to their function to execute the investigations and decisions of the ICIC in their respective countries.

However, in Japan, the national committee was regarded as a useful channel to broadcast Japan's opinions to the world, more precisely as an organ to introduce Japanese culture and provide a 'true cultural understanding' of Japan to Western people. For example, a brochure published by the Japanese national committee articulated the top priority of its tasks:

The primary purpose of our committee is to introduce Japanese culture. In terms of international co-operation, it must be an urgent task to show the true nature of Oriental culture to Western people who often know very little about it⁶⁰.

Yamada Saburo, Chairman of the national committee, also shared the same perception of the ultimate goal of the committee, stating that 'the main purpose of our committee is not merely to

⁵⁹ League of Nations, Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, *Minutes of the Third Session*, pp. 34-35.

⁶⁰ Gakugei Kyoryoku Iinkai, *Gakugei no Kokusai Kyoryoku* (International Intellectual Co-operation), Tokyo: Kokusai Renmei Kyokai, 1928, pp. 18-19.

assist the investigations at the request of the ICIC or the IIC but also to introduce our culture to Western countries⁶¹. As with Goto Shinpei's advocacy for Japan's 'Cultural Mission', this proactive attitude to the introduction of Japanese culture to the West paradoxically intimates a sense of inferiority with Western nations. While Japan was in both name and reality one of the world powers occupying a seat in the Council of the League of Nations, there remained a strong sense that Japan was not yet appropriately appreciated and respected in Europe and America. In this regard, Japan's intellectual co-operation was also motivated by this strong sense of frustration towards the West.

Nevertheless, the aim of introducing Japanese culture was not necessarily a one-sided argument by the Japanese national committee. The ICIC also expected the Japanese committee to showcase various aspects of Japanese culture. The ICIC requested that Japan donate materials on Japanese fine arts, and they also encouraged Japan to exhibit the colonial cultures in Korea, Taiwan and Manchuria which were then under the rule of the Japanese Empire⁶². In this way, considering the overlapping interests of the ICIC's requests for introducing Japanese culture, the purpose of the Japanese national committee was not necessarily dogmatic.

Nonetheless, the crucial issue lies in how the Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation conceptualized the purpose and dynamics of mutual understanding in implementing its work. In regard to this point, members of the Japanese committee thought that introducing Japanese culture one-sidedly from Japan could contribute to the 'correct' and 'true'

⁶¹ Yamada Saburo, "Gakugei Kyoryoku Kokunai Iinkai Daihyosha Kaigi no Gaikyo" (Overview of the General Conference of National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation), *Kokusai Chishiki*, Vol. 9, No. 11, Nov. 1929, p. 61.

⁶² From Matsuda Michikazu to Shidehara Kijuro, 8 Dec. 1929, JFMA: Gakugei Kyoryoku Kokunai Iinkai Kankei.

understanding of Japan and further to mutual understanding between Japan and the West, as well as between the East and the West. This notion was premised on the idea that the Japanese people inherently had the most accurate comprehension of their home country and therefore they were in a position to enlighten Western people about the essence of Japanese culture. As a result, this logic precludes the need for reciprocity. In this sense, Japan's intellectual co-operation, represented by its national committee, was solely intended as a unidirectional vehicle to introduce Japanese culture to Western people. Moreover, in terms of mutual understanding, this logic only problematized the Western misapprehension of Japanese culture, not the Japanese comprehension of Western civilization and cultures. By necessity, this one-sided view of mutual understanding was reflected in the work of the Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. In fact, the national committee devoted almost of its efforts to exporting Japanese culture through the ICIC to Western countries, and there were hardly any projects aimed at domestically implementing ICIC policies or promoting a better understanding of foreign cultures in Japan. Ultimately, the Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation served as an organ to introduce Japanese culture in the West.

3. The Nationalization of Intellectual Co-operation: Japanese Culture and its Contents

The activities of the Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation can be classified into four categories: (1) English translation of existing Japanese legal codes, (2)

publication of the *Year Book of Japanese Art*, (3) compiling a French-language bibliography on Japanese history with a list of recent principal works, (4) liaison and coordination with the ICIC.

First, in relation to the English translation of Japanese legal codes, the third meeting of the Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation in June 1926 decided that ‘translating the existing legal codes in European languages should be initiated as an urgent task⁶³’. In response to this decision, the national committee resolved to establish the ‘Codes Translation Committee’ and appointed its members in May 1925. At first, the translation committee was divided into two groups, drafting members and review members⁶⁴. The ‘Codes Translation Committee’ was officially inaugurated in June 1927 with a budget of 7,000 yen for its first fiscal year⁶⁵. The first task of the translation committee was to undertake the English translation of the Japanese Commercial Code, because, according to Yamada Saburo, the Commercial Code was preeminently important in connection with Japan’s foreign trade, and English was the language of those countries with which the greater part of Japan’s trade was conducted⁶⁶. In the early stages of the committee’s work the drafting members assembled every week and prepared a draft of the translation, which was then examined by the review members

⁶³ “Honbu Dayori” (Correspondence), *Kokusai Chishiki*, Vol. 6, No. 8, Aug. 1926, p. 123.

⁶⁴ “Honkyokai Nyusu” (News from the Association), *Kokusai Chishiki*, Vol. 7, No. 7, Jul. 1927, p. 145. Chairman: Yamada Saburo; Drafting Members: Miyaoka Tsunejiro (lawyer), Takayanagi Kenzo (Professor of Law at Tokyo Imperial University), Thomas Baty (British lawyer, legal advisor to the Foreign Ministry); Review Members: Ikeda Torajiro (Director, Bureau of Civil Affairs, Ministry of Justice), Kayama Kanichi (Judge, Supreme Court of Judicature), Kishi Seiichi (lawyer), Matsumoto Joji (Member of the House of Peers), Matsunami Niichiro (Professor of Law at Tokyo Imperial University).

⁶⁵ “Kokusai Renmei Kyokai Showa Ninendo Jigyo Keikaku narabini Sono Yosansho” (Business Plan and Budget of the League of Nations Association of Japan in 1927), n.d., JFMA: Kokusai Renmei Kyokai Ikken, Vol. 3. “Oubun Houten Kiso Iinkai Hakkaishiki” (Inaugural Ceremony of the Codes Translation Committee), n.d., JFMA: Gakugei Kokunai Iinkai Kankei.

⁶⁶ The Codes Translation Committee, the League of Nations Association of Japan, *The Commercial Code of Japan, Annotated*, 2nd ed., Tokyo: Maruzen, 1931, pp. iii-iv.

once each month. However, the review group tended to start its discussions from scratch each month, despite the fact that the drafting group already discussed the drafts in advance. This resulted in a situation where, in the words of one commentator, ‘with heated discussions on every word of the translation, it often happens that it takes more than one hour to give an appropriate translation of a word⁶⁷. In the interest of improving efficiency, in January 1929 the translation committee decided to institute some organizational changes and to appoint Takayanagi Kenzo as the one to prepare the draft, which would then be examined by a joint general meeting of both drafting and review members twice a month⁶⁸. Though the translation was initially supposed to be completed in three years, at which point the translation committee would proceed to the Japanese Civil Code, these lengthy discussions delayed the English translation and publication of the Japanese Commercial Code until 1931, four years after its inauguration⁶⁹. After that, chairman Yamada assumed the position of President of Keijo Imperial University, and Takayanagi, who had played a prominent role in the process of translation, became unable to attend the meetings owing to pressures in his business. As a result, in January 1933 the Codes Translation Committee went on temporary hiatus and suspended its project of translating the Japanese Civil Code⁷⁰. It was not until 1940 that the translation

⁶⁷ “Honkyokai Nyusu” (News from the Association), *Kokusai Chishiki*, Vol. 8, No. 1, Jan. 1928, p.141.

⁶⁸ “Honkyokai Nyusu” (News from the Association), *Kokusai Chishiki*, Vol. 9, No. 3, Mar. 1929, p. 84. The Codes Translation Committee, the League of Nations Association of Japan, *The Commercial Code of Japan, Annotated*, 2nd ed., p. v. In its final form, the translation committee was constituted as follows. Chairman: Yamada Saburo, Draftsmen: Takayanagi Kenzo, Drafting Assistant and Secretary: Mizota Shuichi, Members on Revision: Thomas Baty, John Gadsby (Legal Advisor to the British Embassy in Tokyo), Ikeda Torajiro, Kayama Kanichi, Kishi Seiichi, Matsumoto Joji, Matsunami Niichiro, Miyaoka Tsunejiro.

⁶⁹ The Codes Translation Committee, the League of Nations Association of Japan, *The Commercial Code of Japan, Annotated*, 2nd ed., Tokyo: Maruzen, 1931. The Codes Translation Committee of the League of Nations Association of Japan, *The Commercial Code of Japan*, Tokyo: Maruzen, 1932.

⁷⁰ “Honkyokai Nyusu” (News from the Association), *Kokusai Chishiki*, Vol. 13, No. 2, Feb. 1933, p. 128.

committee consummated its project and the five volumes of the English translation of the Civil Code – from its ‘General Provisions’ to ‘Succession’ – were published⁷¹.

Second, the Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation published a total of 5 volumes of *The Year Book of Japanese Art* from 1928 to 1932⁷². This project originated in the decision by the executive meeting of the Japanese national committee in June 1927 to lay the groundwork for the publication of an English yearbook of Japanese art⁷³. Before that, the national committee collected and provided information or materials concerning Japanese art to the ICIC and the IIIC. After 1927, the committee sought to produce a publication on Japanese art compiled entirely on its own. At the meeting of the national committee in December 1927, Taki Seiichi, Professor of Japanese art history at Tokyo Imperial University, was appointed as a new member of the committee, and the Department of Art and Literature was divided into the Department of Literature, directed by Anesaki, and the Department of Art, directed by Taki. The committee also proposed and approved a project to edit and publish a yearbook of Japanese art and a photo collection as a means of introducing Japanese culture to the West⁷⁴. Shortly after, the first editorial meeting for the yearbook of Japanese art took place, where Taki was appointed as its advisory editor, Dan Ino, Professor of European art history at Tokyo Imperial University,

⁷¹ The Codes Translation Committee, *The Civil Code of Japan*, Book I-V, Tokyo: the International Association of Japan, 1936-1940.

⁷² National Committee of Japan on Intellectual Co-operation, *The Year Book of Japanese Art 1927*, Tokyo, 1928; National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations Association of Japan, *The Year Book of Japanese Art 1928*, Tokyo, 1929; National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations Association of Japan, *The Year Book of Japanese Art 1929-30*, Tokyo, 1930; National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations Association of Japan, *The Year Book of Japanese Art 1920-31*, Tokyo, 1931; National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations Association of Japan, *The Year Book of Japanese Art 1931-32*, Tokyo, 1932.

⁷³ “Honkyokai Nyusu” (News from the Association), *Kokusai Chishiki*, Vol. 7, No. 8, Aug. 1927, p. 134.

⁷⁴ “Honkyokai Nyusu” (News from the Association), *Kokusai Chishiki*, Vol. 8, No. 1, Jan. 1928, p. 142.

was appointed as the editor-in-chief, a graduate student, Ozaki Natsuhiko, was appointed as the secretary of the national committee, and Sato Junzo was appointed as an assistant⁷⁵. Thereafter, Dan and Ozaki shaped a draft of the manuscript which was translated into English by Katsumata Senkichiro, Professor of English language at Waseda University⁷⁶. In this way, the first volume of *The Yearbook of Japanese Art 1927* was published at the end of 1928 and four more volumes followed by 1932. In the meantime, at the request of Yamada Saburo, Taki also wrote an English guide to give a general overview of Japanese art in 1931⁷⁷. However, as a result of a decrease in subscribers as well as the reduction of the publishing subsidy from the League of Nations Association of Japan, the Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation was forced to halt publication of the yearbook in 1933⁷⁸.

Third, the national committee compiled an extensive bibliography in French on humanities in Japan, including Japanese philosophy and history, and sent it to the ICIC⁷⁹. Supervised by Anesaki Masaharu, the bibliography prepared in 1928 consisted of two parts: Japanese classics until the Edo period and recent works⁸⁰. The list of the classics included commentaries on authors and the contents of a total of 84 works, from the 'Nihon Shoki' (Chronicles of Japan) to the historiography of the Edo era, while the range of recent works encompassed 58 books that were felt to be representative of Japanese or Oriental history published in Japan from 1924 to 1926. It is reported that the national committee compiled and sent this bibliography to the ICIC

⁷⁵ "Honkyokai Nyusu" (News from the Association), *Kokusai Chishiki*, Vol. 8, No. 2, Feb. 1928, p. 105.

⁷⁶ "Honkyokai Nyusu" (News from the Association), *Kokusai Chishiki*, Vol. 8, No. 5, May 1928, p. 113.

⁷⁷ Seiichi Taki, *Japanese Fine Art*, Tokyo: Fuzanbo, 1931.

⁷⁸ "Honkyokai Nyusu" (News from the Association), *Kokusai Chishiki*, Vol. 13, No. 2, Feb. 1933, p. 128.

⁷⁹ Sato Junzo to the ICIC, 28 Apr. 1928, UNESCO: H.IX.14.

⁸⁰ Commission Nationale de Coopération Intellectuelle du Japon, *Bibliographie japonaise concernant l'histoire nationale suivie d'une liste des principaux ouvrages publiés en 1924, 1925, et 1926*, Tokyo, 1928.

and the IIC every year⁸¹.

Fourth, the Japanese national committee provided information on the intellectual situation in Japan at the request of the ICIC and the IIC. For example, when the IIC appealed for information on Japanese art at the establishment of the national committee, the second meeting of the national committee in May 1926 resolved that ‘the committee should ask universities, authorities, companies, banks and so forth for the donation of materials in European languages for the cause of introducing Japanese civilization, and donate them to the library of the League or the ICIC⁸²’. With the appeal made in the name of its chairman Yamada Saburo, the national committee received a wide variety of books and materials from concerned businesses and institutions. These included complete works on Japan’s national treasures, catalogs of the major exhibitions on Japanese art, education materials, and statistics and basic information on museums and galleries in Japan, all of which were eventually sent to the IIC in October 1926⁸³. Additionally, in 1927, the national committee carried out investigations on the scholarship system of Japanese universities and the organizational forms of national museums in Japan, and these reports were also subsequently submitted to the IIC⁸⁴.

Moreover, the Japanese national committee sent Yamada Saburo as its representative to the First Meeting of Representatives of National Committees held in Geneva in July 1929. This meeting was held seven years after the inauguration of the ICIC in the League of Nations, and though the Chairman of the Meeting Gilbert Murray boasted about the key role that the ICIC

⁸¹ However, at this time, only the 1928 version of this bibliography has been found.

⁸² “Honbu Dayori” (Correspondence), *Kokusai Chishiki*, Vol. 6, No. 7, Jul. 1926, p. 152.

⁸³ “Honbu Dayori” (Correspondence), *Kokusai Chishiki*, Vol. 6, No. 9, Sep. 1926, p. 122. “Honbu Dayori” (Correspondence), *Kokusai Chishiki*, Vol. 6, No. 12, Dec. 1926, p. 121.

⁸⁴ “Honbu Dayori” (Correspondence), *Kokusai Chishiki*, Vol. 7, No. 5, May 1927, p. 153. “Honbu Dayori” (Correspondence), *Kokusai Chishiki*, Vol. 7, No. 6, Jun. 1927, p. 132.

had played in making advances toward intellectual co-operation, statements from the representatives of participating national committees concentrated on criticisms about the ideological vagueness of intellectual co-operation, particularly the ICIC's 'lack of singleness of aim'⁸⁵. In this general atmosphere of the conference, Yamada repeated the leitmotif of the Japanese national committee stressing, the collaboration between the Eastern and Western civilizations⁸⁶. Also, with respect to the organization of intellectual co-operation of through the League of Nations, he emphasized the primary importance of national committees, comparing the ICIC to a head, the IIC to a hand, and national committees to a foot⁸⁷. Tanakadate Aikitsu, who also attended the meeting, reported that this statement was construed as 'somewhat radical'⁸⁸ and that it caused controversy from other participants⁸⁹. Furthermore, in the name of the Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation Yamada made a proposal that the ICIC and the IIC should follow the model of *The Year Book of Japanese Art* and publish a yearbook on international intellectual life based on materials selected and drawn up by national committees⁹⁰. However, while placing great value on *The Year Book of Japanese Art* and recommending other national committees to follow the example of the Japanese committee, the general meeting eventually rejected the Japanese proposal on the grounds that the ICIC had

⁸⁵ League of Nations, International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, "Meeting of Representatives of the Intellectual Co-operation National Committees, First Meeting held at Geneva on July 18th, 1929, at 10 a.m.", Geneva, July 18th, 1929, pp. 11-12, LNA: R2242.

⁸⁶ Ibid, p. 8.

⁸⁷ Ibid, p. 8; Yamada Saburo, "Gakugei Kyoryoku Kokunai Iinkai Daihyosha Kaigi no Gaikyo", pp. 56-57.

⁸⁸ Yamada Saburo, "Gakugei Kyoryoku Kokunai Iinkai Daihyosha Kaigi no Gaikyo", p. 57.

⁸⁹ Tanakadate Aikitsu, "1929 Nen no Gakugei Kyoryoku Iinkai Houkoku" (Report of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation in 1929), n.d., JFMA: Kokusai Renmei Gakugei Kyoryoku Kokusai Iinkai oyobi Kokusai Gakuin Kaikei Ikken, Vol. 6.

⁹⁰ League of Nations, International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, Meeting of Representatives of National Committees, "Proposal by the Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation", Geneva, July 16th, 1929, UNESCO: IIC 539.

already decided to abandon the scheme of publishing an international yearbook. Instead, they reiterated that it would be more preferable for national committees to publish national yearbooks⁹¹.

In addition, it should be noted that the ICIC had an ambitious plan to hold its 1930 plenary meeting in Tokyo. This plan came from Nitobe's private letter to the ICIC in early 1929 saying that his Japanese acquaintance was willing to donate £2,000 to the IIIC⁹². In reaction to this offer and with a keen interest in intellectual relations between the Far East and Europe, the ICIC conceptualized two possible programs that could be implemented with this donation: (1) the possible publication of a complete biography prepared by the IIIC, under the supervision of a committee composed of competent persons, of all publications concerning Japan issued outside Asia and considered from all points of view, (2) a subvention in order to ensure the work of the central service in the IIIC dealing with the co-ordination of libraries in different countries⁹³. In response, Gilbert Murray redefined the fundamental idea behind these possible programs from the point of view of the dichotomy between the East and the West, stating that '[t]he most interesting problem might be a study of the points of contact of the two civilizations, Western and Far-Eastern; or more limited and therefore more possible, a study of the influence of Japan on Europe, in matters of art, thought, literatures, &c during the last thirty years⁹⁴'. During the course of this discussion, the idea of organizing a session of the ICIC in Tokyo in the spring of

⁹¹ League of Nations, International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, "Meeting of Representatives of National Committees, Fifth Meeting held at Geneva on July 20th, 1929, at 10.30 a.m.", pp. 6-7, UNESCO: IIIC 539.

⁹² From Inazo Nitobe to George Oprescu, 2 Feb. 1929, LNA: R2195.

⁹³ From G. Oprescu to Gilbert Murray, 2 Apr. 1929, LNA: R2195; From G. Oprescu to G. Murray, 6 Apr. 1929, LNA: R2195; From G. Oprescu to G. Murray, 9 Apr. 1929, LNA: R2195.

⁹⁴ Gilbert Murray' Note, n.d., LNA: R2195.

1930 was proposed and supported by all its members⁹⁵. In response, as early as February 1929, it was agreed at the meeting of the Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation that the national committee, in recognition of the adequateness of the plan, would make an effort to realize it⁹⁶. Furthermore, Sugimura Yotaro, the Japanese Under Secretary-General after Nitobe, expressed his positive view on convening the ICIC in Tokyo to the Japanese Foreign Ministry⁹⁷. However, for financial reasons, the Foreign Ministry took a negative attitude toward this proposal and instructed Tanakadate to maintain a cautious stance even if the issue was raised at the plenary session of the ICIC in October 1929⁹⁸. Tanakadate followed the Ministry's instructions and did not mention the plan at the meeting, but he later reported that 'because many people seemed to be interested in this plan, the Japanese government may as well invite them to Tokyo in 1930⁹⁹'. Nonetheless, the Foreign Ministry displayed no change in its negative attitude and stated that the Japanese government had absolutely no intention of getting involved in the plan due to budgetary reasons. The Ministry even notified the delegation to implicitly caution the League against looking into it any further¹⁰⁰. Thus, this remarkable project went up in smoke without further discussion thereafter¹⁰¹.

⁹⁵ From G. Oprescu to G. Murray, 15 Apr. 1929, LNA: R2195; From G. Murray to G. Oprescu, 16 Apr. 1929, LNA: R2195; From G. Oprescu to I. Nitobe, 1 May 1929, LNA: R2195.

⁹⁶ "Honkyokai Nyusu" (News from the Association), *Kokusai Chishiki*, Vol. 9, No. 4, Apr. 1929, p. 115.

⁹⁷ From Sugimura Yotaro to Sato Naotake, 19 May 1929, JFMA: Kokusai Renmei Gakugei Kyoryoku Kokusai Iinkai oyobi Kokusai Gakuin Kankei Ikken, Vol. 5; From Sato Naotake to Tanaka Giichi, 4 Jun. 1929, JFMA: Kokusai Renmei Gakugei Kyoryoku Kokusai Iinkai oyobi Kokusai Gakuin Kankei Ikken, Vol. 5.

⁹⁸ From Tanaka Giichi to Sato Naotake, 12 Jun. 1929, JFMA: Kokusai Renmei Gakugei Kyoryoku Kokusai Iinkai oyobi Kokusai Gakuin Kankei Ikken, Vol. 5.

⁹⁹ Tanakadate, "1929 Nen no Gakugei Kyoryoku Iinkai Houkoku".

¹⁰⁰ From Tanaka Giichi to Sato Naotake, 1 May 1929, JFMA: Kokusai Renmei Gakugei Kyoryoku Kokusai Iinkai oyobi Kokusai Gakuin Kankei Ikken, Vol. 5.

¹⁰¹ The plenary sessions of the ICIC during the period of its activity from 1922 to 1939 took place in Geneva, with only a few exceptions when the plenary sessions were held in Paris. In this regard, it is

It is important to reiterate that all of the projects and activities mentioned above had been implemented for the purpose of introducing Japanese culture to Western countries. The Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation strived to export Japanese culture in all of these cases, by translating Japanese legal codes into English, publishing the yearbook on Japanese art, compiling a bibliography of books on Japanese history and literature, and coordinating with the ICIC and the IIC. Therefore, the programs implemented by the Japanese national committee were in effect nothing but an export-oriented cultural exchange, a one-way flow from Japan to the West. For this reason, the national committee seldom introduced foreign cultures to Japan or put in practice the projects proposed by the ICIC or the IIC. In fact, for example, the program for 'Education on the League of Nations' that the ICIC set as one of its agendas was assumed not by the national committee but mainly by the Tokyo Office of the Secretariat of the League and the League of Nations Associations of Japan¹⁰². The Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation was merely an organization to export Japanese culture to Western countries, no more and no less.

noteworthy that the ICIC had considered the plan to hold its meeting in another place outside Europe, particularly in Tokyo, even though it was never realized.

¹⁰² Société des Nations, International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, Sub-Committee of Experts on the Instruction of Youth in the Aims of the League of Nations, "Education in Japan on the League of Nations (Item 1 on the Agenda): Note by the Secretary of the Committee", Geneva, 27 Jun. 1930, UNESCO: E.J. 33-48. The full text of the recommendations adopted at the first session of the ICIC's Sub-Committee of Experts for the Instruction of Children and Youth in the Aims of the League of Nations in August 1926, was translated by the Tokyo Office of the League Secretariat into Japanese and circulated among the press and educational organizations throughout Japan in October 1926. The work of the Sub-Committee and the reports from the various countries on teaching concerning the League were also translated by the Tokyo Office and furnished to the press and interested organizations. On the other hand, the meeting of the League of Nations Association of Japan in May 1927 unanimously adopted a resolution that the Japanese government should take definite measures to ensure that education regarding the League be offered as soon as possible. The resolution, together with the recommendation of the Sub-committee, was submitted to the Ministry of Education in June 1927. As a result of these activities, a survey regarding the education on the League of Nations in Japan was published by the Association (Kokusai Renmei Kyokai, *Nihon ni okeru Kokusai Renmei ni kansuru Kyoiku* (Education on the League of Nations in Japan), Tokyo: Kokusai Renmei Kyokai, 1930).

Among these cultural exchange programs by the national committee, the most importance was placed on the English translation of Japanese legal codes and the publication of *The Year Book of Japanese Art*. In emphasizing the importance of these two projects, Chairman Yamada Saburo echoed the repeated refrain of Japan's intellectual co-operation.

Because of my firm conviction that the establishment of close harmony between the civilizations of the East and the West is indispensable to the maintenance of lasting world peace, I held that the work of our National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation should not be confined merely to those projects on which co-operation might be sought by the League's International Committee in Geneva or by the International Institute in Paris. Two Sub-Committees were therefore established within our National Committee. The work of one of them was to compile and publish a "Year Book of Japanese Art" in the English language, in the hope that the presentation to the peoples of other countries of information relating to the development of Japanese art might serve as a step toward the harmonization of Oriental and Occidental culture. The other Sub-Committee had for its object the translation of the Japanese Codes into European languages¹⁰³.

As Yamada emphasized, these two programs formed the major part of the work of the Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. Accordingly, there is no doubt that both activities represented the image of Japanese culture that the national committee desired to show to Western people. In particular, by appealing to the eyes of Western people with visual materials such as painting, pottery, sculpture and so forth, *The Year Book of Japanese Art* was more distinctly colored by the Japanese national committee's interpretations of what Japanese culture was.

¹⁰³ The Code Translation Committee of the League of Nations Association of Japan, *The Commercial Code of Japan, Annotated*, p. iii.

In this regard, it is important to examine the content of the yearbook, in particular the ‘Japanese culture’ represented in the book. The Japanese national committee did not merely introduce Japanese culture superficially through the publication of the yearbook, but in its compilation and display the committee also constructed its own concept of ‘Japanese culture’ itself. In theory, representing a culture externally as an entity entails an internal *subjectivation* or substantiation of the culture¹⁰⁴. This process leads to fundamental questions such as what kind of Japanese culture should be shown to others, or more importantly, what Japanese culture is in the first place. From this viewpoint, it is clear that *The Year Book of Japanese Art* projected an image of Japanese culture that corresponded to the identification process of Japanese culture itself.

As mentioned, *The Year Book of Japanese Art* was published every year from 1928 to 1932. The compilation was supervised by Taki Seiichi and chiefly conducted by Dan Ino with the help of Sato Junzo of the League of Nations Association of Japan and Ozaki Natsuhiko. In addition, its front cover was drawn by prominent Japanese painters, Matsuoka Eikyu and Yamaguchi Hoshun, and proofreading was provided by Arundell del Re, Professor of English Literature at Tokyo Imperial University¹⁰⁵. In the 1927 edition, describing the primary purpose of this

¹⁰⁴ On cultural subjectification from the point of view of the West in confrontation with ‘others’, i.e. the Orient, see Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, New York: Vintage Books, 1979. While cultural subjectification is not a new concept and is now generally accepted, it is important here to highlight a reversal of Said’s Orientalism by emphasizing the strategic construction and deployment of ‘Japanese culture’ toward the West.

¹⁰⁵ Arundell del Re, born from an Irish mother and an Italian father in Florence in 1892, studied in London and Oxford. After serving as a lecturer in Italian at Oxford University, he was appointed Professor of English Literature at Tokyo Imperial University in 1927. He was involved in the organization of the exhibition of Japanese art works in Rome in 1930. Subsequently, he was appointed Professor of English Literature at Taihoku Imperial University in Taiwan in 1930, where he was engaged in research on Buddhism and native religions in Taiwan from the perspective of comparative religion. After the Second World War, he returned to Tokyo and became an advisor to the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, supporting its occupation policy, particularly the educational reorganization in

publication, Yamada Saburo began the preface with these words:

Although since olden times our country has been known as a land of art, it may be said that there are so far, almost no works which present Japanese modern art accurately and in detail to readers of European languages. As all men share the same emotions, literature and art speak a universal language which has power to bind heart to heart in mutual sympathy and fellowship. That, in short, is the reason for the publication of this book by our Committee on Intellectual Co-operation¹⁰⁶.

The strategy that the Japanese national committee employed here was, first of all, to appeal to the eyes of Western readers. In view of the linguistic disadvantage of the Japanese language as isolated from the European language system, this publication aimed at make Japanese culture accessible to the Western people who had no ability to understand Japanese. Moreover, the basic purpose of introducing Japanese culture through the publication of *The Year Book of Japanese Art* was also invested with the positive ideal of becoming a means for peaceful international understanding, as noted in a later edition.

Japanese philosophy and literature and [sic] barred from a world-wide understanding owing to the linguistic difficulties; but different to them, the spiritual life of Japanese artists is possessed of a possibility of being a great deal more freely understood through the depiction of figures. This is the reason why art has of late come to be recognized as a powerful means of peaceful international understanding. What we hope and desire is that this international interchange of art will not stop at being merely a means of international friendship, but will furnish an opportunity

Japan. After living in Japan until 1954, following a stay in Sydney for some years, he moved to New Zealand and was appointed Lecturer in English at Victoria University, where he conducted a study mainly on the Colombo Plan. He died in Australia in 1974. In spite of his transnational and transcultural career ranging from Europe to Asia and Oceania, little historical research has been conducted on his life.

¹⁰⁶ National Committee of Japan on Intellectual Co-operation, *The Year Book of Japanese Art 1927*, p. v.

for artists of all nations to widen their knowledge, receive stimuli for new productions, and rise higher in the great expression of humanity¹⁰⁷.

In this way, the introduction of Japanese culture to the West was justified by its role in accomplishing international understanding as well as contributing to the development of human culture. Arguably, it was also part of another strategy of the Japanese national committee to achieve the particularistic goal of spreading Japanese culture to Western countries by making great use of a universalistic discourse or logic, such as peaceful international understanding.

In general, *The Year Book of Japanese Art* mainly consists of three parts. Firstly, it provides information on art exhibitions held in Japan each year. In particular, the book provided English overviews of prestigious art exhibitions such as the Imperial Fine Arts Academy Exhibition, the Institute of Japanese Art Exhibition, and the Nikakai Art Exhibition, and included descriptions of prize-winning works displayed at the exhibitions at the end of the book. Secondly, it showcased Japanese historical art works such as national treasures and important cultural properties, including the collection at the Shosoin. And thirdly, it gave a commentary on art museums, art organizations and research institutes on art in Japan. While the composition of these three parts was a common feature in all editions of the yearbook, appendixes were added to some versions. For example, Taki Seiichi's "a Survey of Japanese Painting during the Meiji and Taisho Eras" was annexed to the 1928 edition, Noguchi Yonejiro's "the Discovery of Masterpeace of Hiroshige" to the 1929 edition, and "Periods of the History of Japanese Art" (without the author's name, but presumably by Taki Seiichi) to the 1932 edition.

¹⁰⁷ National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations Association of Japan, *The Year Book of Japanese Art 1930-31*, p. 4.

The leitmotif of the yearbook is significant in that it presents a comprehensive vision of Japanese culture. More importantly, however, it identifies Japanese culture as a heterogeneous and hybrid culture consisting of different cultural elements. First, the yearbook clearly recognizes that Japanese art has been strongly influenced by Western art since the Meiji Restoration in 1868. For example, the 1928 edition articulates the considerable impact of Western art on Japanese art as a whole, stating that ‘[t]his influence of Western art is not confined merely to the artists who employ Western technique in painting in oils or in chiseling marble, but it has even effected and produced certain modifications in the works of artists who are using pure Japanese technique, such, for instance, as the painter who paints and draws on paper or silk, or the sculptor who employs wood as his principal medium¹⁰⁸’. For this reason, the yearbook not only covers the exhibitions of Japanese-style paintings like the Imperial Fine Arts Academy Exhibition and the Institute of Japanese Art Exhibition, but also devotes pages to exhibitions mainly dealing with Western-style paintings including the Nikakai Art Exhibition. Moreover, Western-style fine arts account for nearly half of the photographs of paintings and sculptures attached to the end of each yearbook.

Second, the yearbook also acknowledges that Japanese art has been historically under the influence of China. In fact, the 1929 edition, introducing the exhibition of Chinese paintings held in Japan in November 1928, explains that the Japanese application of Chinese arts has its historical roots in the expansion of Buddhism to Japan from China in the 7th and 8th

¹⁰⁸ National Committee of Japan on Intellectual Co-operation, *The Year Book of Japanese Art 1927*, p. 2.

centuries¹⁰⁹. In addition, photographs of the Chinese paintings displayed at the exhibition are inserted at the end of the 1929 edition.

Finally, despite the great influences of Western and Chinese arts on Japan, the yearbook places a high value on the unique tradition of Japanese art. Referring to the Japanese sense of beauty, it affirms the uniqueness of Japanese culture that has never been erased by foreign influences.

The Japanese sense of beauty – notably in its taste for the tea-ceremony, its most representative form – as embodied in our architecture and pottery, lacquer-work and various other applied arts, is too unique and peculiar to be easily apprehended by European connoisseurs¹¹⁰.

In view of Japan's historical experience of cultural interchange with China and the West, this idea of a unique tradition is absolutely essential to protect and ensure the subjectivity of Japanese culture from the influence of foreign cultures.

In these ways, the entanglement of three cultures can be seen in the representation of 'Japanese culture' within *The Year Book of Japanese Art*. In sum, the image of 'Japanese culture' projected by the Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation consisted of Western culture, Chinese culture and 'traditional' Japanese culture. Furthermore, it is worth noting that the relative emphasis placed on each of three cultures changed in as few as five years of its publication. At first, the idea of Japanese culture presented in the yearbook

¹⁰⁹ National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations Association of Japan, *The Year Book of Japanese Art 1928*, pp. 7-11.

¹¹⁰ National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations Association of Japan, *The Year Book of Japanese Art 1931-32*, p. 7.

highlighted the influence of Chinese culture in pre-modern Japan and the influence of Western culture in modern Japan. In this regard, the ideological role of Chinese culture was of particular importance, because it functioned as a mediator to make possible a dichotomy between the East and the West, placing Japanese culture in both at the same time¹¹¹. However, in spite of this initial emphasis on the acculturation of Japanese culture under the influence of Western and Chinese cultures, ‘traditional’ aspects later became central, and the particularity and uniqueness of Japanese culture came to be underlined iteratively. The turning point in this representational shift can be identified as around 1931, as Yamada Saburo stated in the preface of the 1930-31 edition:

From the sacred forests of India, from the flowing rivers of Cathay, Japan inherited the wisdom of the East. She developed arts and crafts throughout the ages. But how can the spiritual civilization of the Orient work upon the materialism of today? The Japanese contribution to world culture surely must be based on this foundation.

Japanese artists, trying honestly to realize themselves through their racial inheritance not seldom suggest the way to creativeness through having sympathy with the aspirations of the world, without forfeiting the delicacy and dignity of their own artistic traditions¹¹².

While identifying Japanese culture as part of the civilization of the Orient, Yamada focused his attention on the Japanese ‘racial inheritance’ and ‘traditions’. In this manner, Japanese culture, while being situated within the civilization of the East, is deliberately differentiated from other Eastern cultures such as Chinese culture or Korean culture by virtue of the particularity of

¹¹¹ For the significance of China in the identification process of modern Japan, see Stefan Tanaka, *Japan's Orient: Rendering Pasts into History*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

¹¹² National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations Association of Japan, *The Year Book of Japanese Art 1930-31*, p. vii.

Japanese culture – that is, ‘the distinctive traits of Japanese art, which towers high above all the other peaks of Oriental art¹¹³’. Therefore, the idea of Japanese culture shown in *The Year Book of Japanese Art* assured its uniqueness and particularity in the world, distinguished from Western culture by its origins in the East as well as differentiated from other Eastern cultures by the supremacy of its tradition in the region of the East¹¹⁴.

This stream of thought on Japanese culture with its emphasis on Japan’s inherent traditions was often associated with anti-modernism in interwar Japan¹¹⁵. For example, Noguchi Yonejiro’s argument is typical of this trend. Noguchi Yonejiro, also known as Yone Noguchi, was a Japanese writer of English poetry who was famous within Japan and overseas during the interwar period, and he was one of the representative Japanese intellectuals who had an international career¹¹⁶. Although there are few documents indicating Noguchi’s involvement in the work of the Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, his name can be found in several action plans drafted by the committee. For example, when a report on the situation of literature and art in contemporary Japan was designed in the program of activities for 1927, he was listed as a *rappporteur* of the literary world¹¹⁷. Additionally, four of his works

¹¹³ National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations Association of Japan, *The Year Book of Japanese Art 1931-32*, p. 8.

¹¹⁴ Obviously, this logic resulted from the idea of the ‘Harmony between the East and the West’.

¹¹⁵ Harry Harootunian, *Overcome by Modernity: History, Culture, and Community in Interwar Japan*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000. It is obvious in the book that Harootunian’s argument is based on Tosaka Jun’s sharp analysis of the discourse on Japanese Culture (Nihon Bunka Ron) or Japanese Ideology (Nippon Ideorogi) in the interwar period. See Tosaka Jun, *Nippon Ideorogi* (Japanese Ideology), Iwanami Shoten, 1977 [Original work published in 1936].

¹¹⁶ For recent work on Noguchi, see Amy Sueyoshi, *Queer Compulsions: Race, Nation, and Sexuality in the Affairs of Yone Noguchi*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2012. He was also the father of Isamu Noguchi, the internationally renowned sculptor and designer.

¹¹⁷ However, his name was erased and instead Dan Ino was added in handwriting (“Showa Ninendo Jigyoan (Kyokai Gawa)” (Action Plan of 1927 on the part of the Association), JFMA: Gakugei Kokunai Iinkai Kankei).

were included in the list of Japanese books to be translated in European languages¹¹⁸. In this way, he was asked to cooperate with the national committee particularly on Japanese literature and art, and this led to his contribution of the article “the Discovery of Masterpieces of Hiroshige” to the 1929 edition of *The Year Book of Japanese Art*.

In his book *Shin Nihonshugi* (True Japanism), Noguchi examined the ideal form of Japanese culture from the point of view of the contemporary situation of Japanese society. Remarking on the general social atmosphere after the Great Kanto Earthquake in 1923, he begins the book by specifying a hideous social disease in Japanese society, particularly the mass consumer society that came into being in Japan in the 1920s. For Noguchi, this social malady was caused by the materialism of modern Western civilization.

I believe that it is more advisable to propagandize paganism rather than to advocate democracy in Japan today. Paganism is to misbelieve, to deny Western civilization and to disapprove of modern thoughts. The reason why I, one of the admirers of Western civilization, insist on this is that I want to reject Western materialism. Japan has been immeasurably poisoned by it since the so-called world war¹¹⁹.

Instead of Western civilization, he subsequently seeks for new ethics in the pre-modern history of Japan and rediscovers the great potential of Japan’s traditional culture for the new era¹²⁰. Therefore, he emphasizes that the ideal form of Japanese culture must be centered on its tradition, taking the *Kojiki*, a sacred Japanese text written in the 8th century, as the most

¹¹⁸ “Oyaku Shomoku Memo” (Memorandum on a list of books to be translated in European languages), JFMA: Gakugei Kokunai Inkaikai Kankei).

¹¹⁹ Noguchi Yonejiro, *Shin Nihonshugi* (True Japanism), Daiichi Shobo, 1926, p. 102.

¹²⁰ Ibid, pp. 31-32.

valuable Japanese literature for the world¹²¹.

Although Noguchi seems to make a parochial argument that merely lauds the greatness of Japanese traditional culture, it is more important that he discuss Japanese culture from an international perspective. Moreover, his argument is based on Japanese intellectuals' major preoccupations regarding world issues, particularly the problem between Eastern and Western civilizations.

As more understanding between the East and the West is becoming visible in international politics, we are stepping into the age when two different poetries in the East and the West approach each other. As with the West, our modern life has become dangerous and insecure, so that we can no longer observe nature calmly nor reflect on ourselves. Perhaps, similar to Western poets, we have to make every effort to change our life, but do not want to be a slave of reason like other countries. A major task for us in the future is how we can retain the inherent (aesthetic) tastes of the Japanese people¹²².

Thus, denying modern civilization, which also meant the rejection of the West, was regarded not merely as a question of thought but also as a problem of international relations. Arguably, while still being based on the idea of harmony between the East and the West, Noguchi found a hope not so much in the West as in the East, which was represented by Japanese traditional culture.

Noguchi Yonejiro's stance can be defined as a type of ideological undercurrent of

¹²¹ Noguchi Yonejiro, "Sekaini okeru Nihon Bungaku no Chii" (the Status of Japanese Literature in the World), *Nihon Bungaku Koza*, vol. 1, Tokyo: Shinchosha, 1926, p. 11.

¹²² Ibid, p. 32.

antimodernism that was associated with modern Japan¹²³. In the interwar period in particular, there was a strong perception of the decline of Western civilization, while at the same time a mass consumer society based on materialism drawing from Western civilization also emerged in various cities all over the world, including in colonies and non-Western countries. In response, the drive of antimodernism was all the more accelerated globally. Interestingly, it was an international modernist like Noguchi who drew attention to the limitations of Western modernity and stressed the necessity of ‘overcoming’ its civilization. However, the place where Noguchi arrived in his pursuit of overcoming the West was Japan’s historical past which had already vanished, overcome by Western civilization itself¹²⁴. In this regard, antimodernists like Noguchi fell into an anachronism where they discovered a vision for the future in the past that no longer existed. To borrow the words of Ienaga Saburo, ‘while they were too conscientious to enjoy modern civilization with no question, their mindset was too old to envision a future society¹²⁵’. In the end, such an antimodernism, associated with the overall trend of ‘Nippon Kaiki’ (Return to Japan) in Japan in the late 1930s, later tumbled into the Japanese fascist ideology.

For this reason, the idea of Japanese culture expressed by the Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation in *The Year Book of Japanese Art* was drawn into this antimodernism in the 1930s. It is true that the national committee was not as antimodernist as

¹²³ On the antimodernistic stream in modern Japanese intellectual history, see Ienaga Saburo, “Han Kindaishugi no Rekishiteki Seisatsu” (Historical Reflection on Antimodernism), *Nihon Kindai Shisoshi Kenkyu*, augmented edition, Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1971, pp. 232-233. Also, see Tetsuo Najita and Harry Harootunian, “Japanese Revolt against the West: Political and Cultural Criticism in the Twentieth Century”, in Peter Duus ed., *The Cambridge History of Japan*, Vol. 6, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989, pp. 711-774,

¹²⁴ Harootunian, *Overcome by Modernity*, Chapter 1.

¹²⁵ Ienaga, “Han Kindashugi no Rekishiteki Seisatsu”, p. 257.

Noguchi, because the constituent elements of Western culture in Japanese culture were never denied – even though the aspect of traditional culture became more and more emphasized. However, over time it became increasingly difficult for the national committee to maintain the triune image of Japanese culture composed of Western culture, Chinese culture and traditional culture.

This complex composition of Japanese culture was integrated and demonstrated as a single *national* culture in *The Year Book of Japanese Art*. This is evident in the editorial supervisor of the yearbook Taki Seiichi's recognition of the cultural context of Japanese society. First, looking back to the Japanese paintings in the Meiji and Taisho eras, Taki characterized the general trend of Japanese art and further Japanese culture as a whole as marked by a process of Westernization followed by the revival of 'the old national culture'¹²⁶. For this reason, Western and traditional paintings were equally included in the yearbook. However, he saw this situation as negative and undesirable, describing the concurrency of Westernization and the revival of 'the old national culture' in Japan after the Meiji period as 'Niju Seikatsu' (Double Life)¹²⁷. What Taki considered an underlying problem in the spiritual life of modern Japan was that these two tendencies were not integrated but divided and in conflict. For Taki, national life must be genuinely unified without any disruption and conflict.

In order to overcome this condition of a double life, Taki laid a great emphasis on 'the Japanese personality'.

¹²⁶ Sei-ichi Taki, "A Survey of Japanese Painting during the Meiji and Taisho Eras" in *The Year Book of Japanese Art 1927*, p. 155.

¹²⁷ Taki Seiichi, "Bijutu Hen" (Art), in Miyake Yujiro ed., *Shin Nihon Shi*, Yorozu Choho Sha, 1916, pp. 716-717.

From the ideal point of view, the difference between Japanese-style and Western-style painting does not much matter, for the essential point is how to bring out the Japanese personality of the craftsman in his work. Only it is to be deprecated that because of their excessive concern with formal details, our artists find themselves extremely cramped in the expression of their own individuality as Japanese artists¹²⁸.

This ‘Japanese personality’ is almost identical to ‘Kokuminsei’ (Japanese National Character), because he also stated that ‘I believe that its national character should always be fully represented in masterpieces of art¹²⁹’. Taki thought that an art work must reflect the national character of its artist, because the artist is not only an individual but also a member of his/her society and nation¹³⁰. In this regard, though he attached weight to the personality of Japanese artists in art works, his main emphasis was on being Japanese, i.e. on the Japanese national character, and the individual character of artists was regarded as merely secondary. Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that Taki was not obsessed with a narrow-minded and self-righteous idea of the Japanese national character.

It is wrong to think that what is called national character is always fixed. A national character should be increasingly expanded and spread in association with the development of the country. Particularly, in light of the past history of Japanese culture, it is often the case that importing foreign civilizations made it possible to develop its own civilization. It is fair to say that Japan has always been influenced by foreign cultures in every age of its past. This is demonstrated in the fields of science and religion, and is especially manifested in art. Therefore, also in the future, it is not necessarily favorable to cling only to things from its own country. The content

¹²⁸ Sei-ichi Taki, “A Survey of Japanese Painting during the Meiji and Taisho Eras”, p. 161.

¹²⁹ Taki Seiichi, “Bijutsu to Kokuminsei” (Art and National Character), *Nihon Shakaigakuin Nenpo*, the 10th Year, 1923, p. 480.

¹³⁰ *Ibid*, p. 484.

of national character should be more and more expanded to represent its feature¹³¹.

In this way, recognizing the influence of foreign cultures in Japanese culture, Taki thus located the Japanese national character in the way that it imported elements from other cultures. For Taki, accordingly, it was this national character that could overcome the double life between Westernization and the revival of traditional culture and thereby integrate the fractured national life into a unified whole. Indeed, it is clear from Taki's discussion that Japanese culture was nothing but a national culture in the end. It was thus thought that an antinomy between Westernization and the revival of tradition could be sublated by viewing this composite Japanese culture as a unified national culture. In this regard, the three different components of Japanese culture presented in *The Year Book of Japanese Art* were integrated through the idea of national culture.

However, it cannot be said that a holistic view of this kind was widely shared in the discourses on Japanese culture at that time. Rather, much attention was paid to the potential for conflict arising from this situation of Japanese culture. The cultural situation in Japanese society over the 1910s and the 1920s, or more precisely during the period from the Russo-Japanese War in 1905 to the Manchurian Incident in 1931, is generally understood as 'Taisho Bunka' (Taisho Culture)¹³². It is very significant in the history of Japan that a diversity of discourses on culture were produced in different manners during this period, including Soda Kiichiro's 'Bunkashugi'

¹³¹ Ibid, pp. 486-487.

¹³² Tsurumi Shunsuke, "Taishoki no Bunka" (Culture during the Taisho Period), *Iwanami Koza Nihon Rekishi 19, Gendai 2*, Iwanami Shoten, 1963, p. 294. According to Tsurumi, while its name originates in Emperor Taisho (Yoshihito), the commonly held image of 'Taisho Bunka' is independent of his reign from 1912 to 1926 and covers the longer time period.

(Culturalism), Oyama Ikuo's 'Proletaria Bunka' (Proletarian Culture), Kon Wajiro's 'Kogengaku' (*Modernology*, Study of Modern Social Phenomena), Yanagita Kunio's 'Minzokugaku' (Folklore) and so forth¹³³. This ideological diversity was made possible mainly by the political movement of 'Taisho Democracy' at the time, which entailed a 'tendency of non-state values to become independent from state-centric values'¹³⁴. Releasing diverse values from the control of the government, the 'Taisho Democracy' movement was not only a political movement but also a socio-cultural movement. As mentioned above, this context enabled cultural views on international relations like Anesaki and Goto to come into being.

In addition, it should also be noted that the diversity of cultural discourse during the Taisho Bunka period was rooted in the structural socio-economic transformation of Japanese society in the 1920s. During the 1920s, when American capitalist practices like Fordism became widespread across the world, capitalism developed in Japanese society as well and contributed to the rise of a mass consumer society in metropolises such as Tokyo and Osaka. From the point of view of the domestic economy, while the Japanese economy experienced a persistent recession after World War I, corporate efforts resulted in the highly developed form of capitalism in Japan during this time¹³⁵. This global spread of American capitalism and its culture generated a sense of contemporaneity that permeated various parts of the world, influencing the shape of mass and popular culture in Japan that was also similar to Weimar

¹³³ For the diversity of cultural discourses in Taisho Culture, see Minami Hiroshi and Shakai Shinri Kenkyujo, *Taisho Bunka 1905-1927* (Taisho Culture), Tokyo: Keiso Shobo, 1965.

¹³⁴ Mitani Taichiro, "Taisho Demokurasi no Imi" (Meaning of Taisho Democracy), *Taisho Demokurasi Ron*, p. 7.

¹³⁵ Nakamura Takafusa, *Showa Keizaishi* (Economic History in the Showa Era), Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1986, pp. 6-27.

culture in Germany¹³⁶. Thus, in conjunction with the diversification of Japanese society in the 1920s that produced various social conflicts and contradictions, cultural discourses also diversified.

Among these discourses on Japanese culture, it is notable that Gonda Yasunosuke, a pioneer of the study of popular culture in Japan, cast grave doubt on the idea of national character and the holistic view of Japanese culture. Gonda argued that the idea of national character ideologically constrained diverse discourses reflecting the reality of Japanese society because it postulated that the Japanese national character, transcendently imagined as perfect beauty or supreme goodness, had always determined the life of the Japanese people throughout its history¹³⁷. Although Gonda never denied the idea of national character itself, there is no doubt that he identified certain ideological pitfalls: the idea of national character firstly anticipates the risks of disruption to national life emerging from the context of actual conflicts within contemporary society, and secondly it tends to premise abstract and transcendent concepts as a way to ideologically overcome such social and cultural contradictions.

Nonetheless, it cannot be said that Gonda's criticism of national character is as valid in assessing the idea of national culture presented by the Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. As is evident by examining *The Year Book of Japanese Art*, the national committee acknowledged the strong influence of foreign cultures on Japanese culture

¹³⁶ For a breakthrough view on interwar Japan from the perspective of contemporaneity, see Harootunian, *Overcome by Modernity*, Chapter 1. For the case of Europe, also see, Charles S. Maiyer, *Recasting Bourgeois Europe: Stabilization in France, Germany, and Italy in the Decade after World War I*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988.

¹³⁷ Gonda Yasunosuke, "Minshu no Goraku Seikatsu ni arawaretaru Kokumin Seijo" (National Character Signified in Popular Entertainment), Gonda Yasunosuke Chosakushu, Vol. 4, Tokyo: Bunwa Shobo, 1975, pp. 32-33.

and represented it as a complex of Western, Chinese and traditional Japanese cultures. The idea of national culture in the national committee was just a framework of these three cultures, not the kind of transcendent concept that Gonda argued against. Nevertheless, as mentioned in the above discussion of Noguchi Yonejiro, the traditional aspect of Japanese culture became increasingly associated with antimodernism, which attributed the physical and mental confusions experienced in Japan after World War I primarily to the influences of Western civilization and thus sought for an intact national unity in Japan's historical past. In this regard, the idea of national culture presented by the national committee was also at risk of falling into the dogmatism of national character. And, in fact, it transformed into one of the nationalistic ideologies that supported Japanese Fascism in the late 1930s.

4. The Establishment of *Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai* and Later Developments

It is notable that the Japanese government became keenly aware of the necessity of its foreign cultural policy in the early 1930s. In fact, in the "Prospectus on the Expanded Reorganization of the Department of Cultural Exchange" prepared in 1931, the Foreign Ministry gave considerable attention to the effectiveness of foreign cultural programs for the whole of Japan's foreign policy, and the ministry appealed for the organizational improvement and expansion of its department of cultural exchange¹³⁸. Importantly, according to this prospectus the primary

¹³⁸ Gaimusho Bunka Jigyobu (Department of Cultural Exchange, Foreign Ministry), "Bunka Jigyobu no Kakuchoteki Kaiso nikansuru Shuisho" (Prospectus on the Expanded Reorganization of the Department

purpose of foreign cultural policy was regarded as ‘embodying Japan’s national awareness’ and ‘expanding its sphere into the world of human knowledge’. With these explicit imperialistic intentions, this prospectus predicted the predominance of Japan’s cultural imperialism, particularly Japan-centric cultural enterprises in China and other areas in Asia after the Manchurian Incident.

In this context where governmental involvement in international cultural exchange grew increasingly intensified, the *Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai* (KBS; Society for International Cultural Relations) was set up as a semiofficial organization in 1934, with the Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Cooperation as its parent body. In January 1933, the Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation decided to organize a ‘Bunka Iinkai’ (Cultural Committee) with a view to implement programs for cultural exchange in a new way¹³⁹. The national committee, while being aware of the limitation of its activities that had been carried out since 1926, began to seek a more effective way to realize its aim of introducing Japanese culture in Western countries. Soon after the decision to establish the Cultural Committee, its first meeting took place, attended by members including Yamada Saburo, Tokugawa Yorisada, Dan Ino, Kabayama Aisuke, Kuroda Kiyoshi, and Okabe Nagakage¹⁴⁰. After several meetings, the committee decided to name the organization ‘Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai’ and its temporary office was set up in November 1933¹⁴¹. Then, after collecting contributions by the preparatory committee that had been appointed by the Foreign Minister, the KBS was officially inaugurated

of Cultural Exchange), May 1931, JFMA: Kokusai Renmei Gakugei Kyoryoku Kokusai Iinkai oyobi Kokusai Gakuin Kankei Ikken, Vol. 7.

¹³⁹ “Honkyokai Nyusu” (News from the Association), *Kokusai Chishiki*, Vol. 13, No. 2, Feb. 1933, p. 128.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 129. All of these members joined the board of directors of the KBS.

¹⁴¹ *KBS 30nen no Ayumi* (30 Years of the KBS), Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai, 1964, p. 13.

in April 1934¹⁴². In this way, as mentioned clearly in its publications as well, KBS was born from the womb of the Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation¹⁴³.

It is significant that the new direction sought in the course of establishing the KBS was completely different in character from the major activities that the Japanese national committee had implemented as the work of intellectual co-operation until then. First, as mentioned previously, governmental involvement in the work of international cultural exchange was more strongly anticipated. Indeed, while founded as a semiofficial organization, the KBS not only included aristocratic politicians and high governmental officials as members of the board of directors, but it also overtly received governmental subsidy with the approval of the Imperial Diet¹⁴⁴. Unlike the Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, it was no longer understood in the KBS that the work of cultural exchange must be implemented through private initiative and that the influence of the government should be excluded as much as possible. Second, the basic principle of its activities was shifted from multilateral exchange to bilateral exchange. The Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, supposedly a national committee of the ICIC, functioned as part of the ICIC's multinational framework. As such, when the Japanese national committee intended to introduce Japanese culture, its

¹⁴² The board members were as follows. President: Konoe Fumimaro, Vice President: Tokugawa Sadayori, Go Seinosuke, Chairman: Kabayama Aisuke, Members: Anesaki Masaharu, Okabe Nagakage, Ogura Masatsune, Kadono Jukuro, Kushida Manzo, Kuroda Kiyoshi, Takakusu Junjiro, Dan Ino, Hamada Kosaku, Fukui Kikusaburo, Masaki Naohiko, Mihara Shigekichi, Yamada Saburo, Chief Secretary: Aoki Setsuichi.

¹⁴³ *Zaidanhojin Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai Setsuritu Keika oyobi Showa Kyunendo Jigyo Hokokusho* (Report on the Establishment and the Business Plan of the KBS for 1934), pp. 4-5; *KBS 30nen no Ayumi*, pp. 12-13. For the details on the history of the KBS, see Shibasaki Atsushi, *Kindai Nihon to Kokusai Bunka Koryu: Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai no Sosetsu to Tenkai* (International Cultural Relations and Modern Japan: History of Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai 1934-45), Yushindo, 1999. Jessamyn Reich Abel, "Warring Internationalisms: Multilateral Thinking in Japan, 1933-1964", Ph. D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 2004.

¹⁴⁴ In fact, governmental subsidy accounted for a substantial portion of the KBS budget throughout the 1930s and the 1940s. See Shibasaki, *Kindai Nihon to Kokusai Bunka Koryu*, p. 92, p. 126, and p. 161.

counterpart should be the ICIC or the IIIC, not a particular country. For this reason, the national committee could expect Japanese culture to be well and widely understood in western countries. However, the work of cultural exchange implemented by the KBS was primarily based on bilateral exchange. This is because the Japanese government, which strongly opposed the intervention of the League of Nations in the negotiation process of the Sino-Japanese dispute over Manchuria, became inclined to keep a distance from multilateral frameworks after it withdrew from the League in 1933. In this context, the KBS placed a high priority on cultural exchange on a bilateral basis¹⁴⁵. Third, while the primary purpose of Japan's intellectual co-operation was to introduce Japanese culture in the West, the major activities of the KBS, especially after the start of the Sino-Japanese war in 1937, were transformed into propaganda efforts associated with Japan's invasion of China and other Asian countries. Indeed, alongside the development of 'Taishi Bunka Jigyo' (Cultural Programs toward China) which were directly implemented by the Foreign Ministry since 1924 and by the 'Koain' (East Asia Development Board) after 1938, the KBS also embarked on a propaganda campaign justifying and supporting the Japan-centric idea of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere in China and South East Asia¹⁴⁶.

In this way, considering the KBS alongside the Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation reveals the historical implications of the Japanese national committee. Not only was the national committee minor in terms of the composition of its membership, its budget,

¹⁴⁵ From the late 1930s to the early 1940s, while moving away from multilateral agreements such as the Washington Treaty System based on the Nine Power Treaty in 1922 and the Kellogg-Briand Treaty in 1928, the Japanese government concluded bilateral cultural agreements with several states, most of which were the Axis powers: Hungary (1938), Germany (1938), Italy (1939), Brazil (1940), Siam (1942) and Bulgaria (1943).

¹⁴⁶ Shibasaki, *Kindai Nihon to Kokusai Bunka Koryu*, Chapter 6.

and its activities, but also the committee had no other definite goal than to introduce Japanese culture in the West. In this regard, it should be concluded that the Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation was a premature organization, at best a forum for intellectuals interested in what they thought of as intellectual co-operation. Nevertheless, however, the Japanese national committee played a formative role in the formation and development of international cultural exchange in Japan. It was a small committee where intellectuals discussed together with government officials about a better way to implement international cultural exchange. Based on the discussions in the national committee, the KBS was founded in the name of public and private cooperation as Japan's first national organization for international cultural exchange. Therefore, the Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation provided the basis and built the momentum for intellectuals to engage in the 'national' enterprise of international cultural exchange.

As the Chairman Yamada Saburo stated, the Japanese national committee was merely 'a temporal institution as well as a preparatory committee for the future'. As a result of the foundation of the KBS as a large-scale national organization for international cultural exchange in Japan, the national committee increasingly became less meaningful. This is particularly evident in the organizational transfer of the national committee to the KBS in 1936. Since 1927, the Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation had been institutionally under the control of the League of Nations Association of Japan. When the League of Nations Association of Japan was renamed the International Association of Japan in concurrence with Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations in 1933, the national committee remained part of the

restructured organization. However, through negotiations with the ministries of foreign affairs and education, Yamada raised a question concerning the status and affiliation of the Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation at the board meeting of the KBS in June 1936. It was decided at the meeting that the national committee should be transferred to and placed under the control of the KBS according to the following terms:

1. The present members should resign and the national committee will be transferred only in name. Therefore, the constitution of the committee and its authority should be left to the discretion of the KBS. However, the Director of the Special School Bureau of the Ministry of Education and the Director of the Department of Culture of the Foreign Ministry should be appointed members of the new committee. All of the executive members of the KBS will also be appointed as members of the new committee.
2. The system of a standing committee, which consists of the executive members of the KBS, should be adopted in the national committee.
3. The chief secretary of the KBS should act as the secretary-general of the national committee¹⁴⁷.

In sum, this transfer was substantively an absorption of the Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation by the KBS. Nevertheless, before this organizational change, the Japanese national committee overlapped with the KBS in terms of the composition of its members by its nature as an intellectual body. For example, Yamada Saburo was the chairman of the national committee as well as the member of the board of directors; this was also the case with Anesaki Masaharu. For this reason, even though the national committee was placed under

¹⁴⁷ “Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai Kiroku Dai 35kai Rijikai Giji Yoroku” (Proceedings of the 35th Board Meeting of the KBS), 12 Jun. 1936, KBSC.

the direction of the KBS, there was little change in its organizational structure¹⁴⁸.

On the other hand, however, in light of its function as a liaison with the ICIC and the IIIC it was thought that the national committee should secure some independence from the KBS. Soon after the decision for its transfer, the KBS resolved:

Although it was decided that the national committee would be transferred only in name from the International Association of Japan, and that its composition, authority and project program should be examined in our Society, with careful consideration of its work to the greatest extent possible, the appointment of the members should be proposed by the board of directors and required to be decided by the Foreign Ministry. Its mandate is, in collaboration with the ICIC and the IIIC, to respond to the inquiries from them and support their work. The committee should be as independent as possible. The ministries of foreign affairs and education are required to finance its budget, and if necessary, its operating cost will be paid out of the budget of our Society¹⁴⁹.

Though some attention was thus paid to the independence of the national committee, its decision-making and budget became heavily dependent on the KBS. Nonetheless, it should be

¹⁴⁸ Members of the new Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation were as follows. President: Aisuke Kabayama (Member of the House of Peers, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the KBS); Members: Anesaki Masaharu (Member of the ICIC, Director of the KBS), Dan Ino (Director of the KBS), Hamada Kosaku (Professor of the Imperial University of Kyoto, Director of the KBS), Ito Nobukichi (Director of the Bureau of Higher Education, Ministry of Education), Kato Masaharu (Professor Emeritus, the Imperial University of Tokyo), Kuroda Kiyoshi (Managing Director of the KBS), Nagayo Mataro (President of the Imperial University of Tokyo), Okabe Nagakage (Member of the House of Peers, Managing Director of the KBS), Okada Kenichi (Director of the Cultural Affairs Bureau, Foreign Ministry), Okochi Masatoshi (Director of the Institute of Physical and Chemical Research), Sugi Eizaburo (Director of the Imperial Household Museum), Tanakadate Aikitsu (Member of the House of Peers, Professor Emeritus of the Imperial University of Tokyo), Yamada Saburo (Ex-Chairman of the National Committee of Intellectual Co-operation, Director of the KBS), Yamakawa Tadao (Vice President of the International Association of Japan); Secretary: Setsuichi Aoki (General Secretary of the KBS). From Kabayama Aisuke to Henri Bonnet, n.d., LNA: R3976; From Kabayama Aisuke to Gilbert Murray, 21 Dec. 1936, UNESCO: A.III.13; League of Nations, Intellectual Co-operation Organization, *National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation*, Geneva, 1937, pp. 83-84.

¹⁴⁹ “Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai Kiroku Dai 38kai Rijikai Giji Yoroku” (Proceedings of the 38th Board Meeting of the KBS), 11 Sep. 1936, KBSC.

noted that the Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, albeit nominally, was continued under the auspice of the KBS. This is because the national committee was still of some use for the KBS. Since the ICIC officially adopted the system of national committees in building cooperative relations with each country, and indeed most countries including non-member states like the United States had its own national committee, the KBS hesitated to come into direct contact with the ICIC and the IIIC without the Japanese national committee. Therefore, though it was the KBS that actually sent Japanese representatives to the conferences held by the ICIC, these individuals still identified themselves as representatives of the Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, not the KBS. In fact, the KBS discussed about the participation of a Japanese representative in the Second General Conference of National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation scheduled to be held by the ICIC in July 1937, and decided to send Yamada Saburo again as a representative of the Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation as well as the KBS¹⁵⁰. Moreover, in a nod to his purpose of attending the conference, it was also resolved that the travel cost should be covered by a grant from the KBS¹⁵¹. Thus, chaired by Kabayama Aisuke, the Director of the KBS after its transfer, the Japanese national committee lost its function as an organization for cultural exchange and degenerated into a mere nominal organ for maintaining contact with the ICIC.

For this reason, it was inevitable that the Japanese national committee could hardly carry out any sort of remarkable project, quantitatively and qualitatively. Besides the dispatch of Yamada

¹⁵⁰ “Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai Kiroku Dai 42kai Rijikai Giji Yoroku” (Proceedings of the 42th Board Meeting of the KBS), 15 Jan. 1937, KBSC; “Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai Kiroku Dai 43kai Rijikai Giji Yoroku” (Proceedings of the 43th Board Meeting of the KBS), 12 Feb. 1937, KBSC.

¹⁵¹ “Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai Kiroku Dai 44kai Rijikai Giji Yoroku” (Proceedings of the 44th Board Meeting of the KBS), 15 Mar. 1937, KBSC.

to the Second General Conference of National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation in 1937, all the national committee could do was to donate English, French and German books on Japan to the IIC in 1938¹⁵². This was suggested by Kabayama Aisuke on behalf of the Japanese national committee in January 1938, and 921 books were finally donated to the IIC¹⁵³. As a result, a division for Japanese materials was set up in the library of the IIC. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that this donation was also conceived of and conducted at the initiative of the KBS.

Consequently, as a result of the decision by the Japanese government in October 1938 to end all cooperative relations with the technical organizations of the League of Nations, its contact with the ICIC as well as with the IIC was also broken¹⁵⁴. In response, the ICIC still requested the Japanese government to maintain normal contact between them, on the ground that the ICIC was actually given certain independence from the main body of the League of Nations and was in a position to gain the cooperation of Japan¹⁵⁵. However, the Japanese government answered that the Japanese national committee was to be dissolved and relations with the ICIC shall be cut off at once¹⁵⁶. Emphasizing the close relations with the ICIC even after the Manchurian

¹⁵² League of Nations, International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, "Report of the National Committees of Intellectual Co-operation on Their Activities during the Year 1937-38", 1938, pp. 77-79, LNA: R3975.

¹⁵³ League of Nations, *International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation*, Paris: International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, 1939, p. 144.

¹⁵⁴ Even after its secession from the League of Nations in 1933, the Japanese government had maintained more or less close ties with such technical organizations of the League of Nations as the Advisory Committee on Opium, the Permanent Central Opium Board, the Advisory Committee on Social Questions, the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, the Economic Committee, the Health Organization and its Eastern Bureau. However, with the expansion of the Sino-Japanese war from July 1938, the Council of the League adopted a sanction resolution against Japan based on Article 16 and 17 of the Covenant on 30 September 1938, and the Japanese government decided to discontinue its cooperation with these organs as well (League of Nations, "Co-operation of Japan with the Organs of the League: Letter from the Japanese Government", Geneva, 3 Nov., 1938, LNA: R5383).

¹⁵⁵ From Sugimura Yotaro to Konoe Fumimaro, 10 Oct. 1938, JFMA: Kokusai Renmei Shokikan tonu Kyoryoku Shushi Kankei.

¹⁵⁶ From Konoe Fumimaro to Sugimura Yotaro, 24 Oct. 1938, JFMA: Kokusai Renmei Shokikan tonu Kyoryoku Shushi Kankei.

Incident and its usefulness for Japan, Sugimura still implied that the Japanese government should stay within the framework of the ICIC at any cost¹⁵⁷. Nonetheless, the Japanese government enforced the severance of formal and informal relations with the ICIC without sending any further message to it¹⁵⁸. Moreover, in consideration of the situation both in Japan and abroad, the KBS determined that it should not get involved directly in the work of the ICIC¹⁵⁹. With this, the Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation was dissolved in 1938, putting a period to its 13 years of intellectual co-operation.

¹⁵⁷ From Sugimura Yotaro to Konoe Fumimaro, 26 Oct. 1938, JFMA: Kokusai Renmei Shokikan tono Kyoryoku Shushi Kankei.

¹⁵⁸ From Arita Hachiro to Sugimura Yotaro, 7 Nov. 1938, JFMA: Kokusai Renmei Gakugei Kyoryoku Kokusai Iinkai oyobi Kokusai Gakuin Kankei Ikken, Vol. 8.

¹⁵⁹ From Nagai Matsuzo to Mitani Takanobu, 8 Mar. 1939, JFMA: Kokusai Renmei Gakugei Kyoryoku Kokusai Iinkai Kankei Ikken, Vol. 8. On the other hand, the KBS still tried to sustain ties with the ICIC and the IIC, stating ‘... in view of the fact that the activities of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation are not confined solely to the members of the League, we feel certain that the some measure of cooperative relations can be maintained unofficially with the Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai insofar as they come within the scope of the Society’s activities’ (From Ayské Kabayama to Henri Bonnet, 21 Feb. 1939, UNESCO: A.III.13). In reply, while expressing his deep regret for the dissolution of the Japanese national committee, Bonnet showed a positive attitude toward collaborating with the KBS in its work (From Henri Bonnet to Aisuke Kabayama, 25 Mar. 1939, UNESCO: A.III.13).

Chapter III

China's Intellectual Co-operation

1. The Beiyang Government and 'Cultural Relativism'

It is not surprising that little attention has been paid to the diplomatic motivations and efforts of the Beiyang Government of the Republic of China in the League of Nations during the 1920s. After all, it is well known that the domestic context in China was dominated by nationalist campaigns such as the May Fourth Movement, which were triggered by the unsatisfactory treatment of the Shandong problem at the Paris Peace Conference and which eventually led the Beiyang Government to refuse to sign the Treaty of Versailles¹. Moreover, another reason that the diplomacy of the Beiyang Government in the League of Nations has attracted little study is because it was indeed after the foundation of the Nationalist Government at Nanjing in 1928 that the close relationship between China and the League began to develop, accompanied with their collaborative projects in different ways.

Recent scholarship has, however, argued that the Beiyang Government showed a keen interest in the League of Nations and was actively involved in it by sending its competent

¹ In light of the political situation in China during this period, including the presence of independent warlords beyond the control of the central government and the concession territories imposed by unequal treaties with foreign powers, there is no consensus on the Beiyang Government's actual legitimacy as a Chinese national government. Apart from the complexity of Chinese domestic politics and the legitimacy of the central government, this chapter identifies the Chinese government as the government with the right to represent China in the League of Nations: i.e., the Beiyang Government from 1920 to 1928 and the Nationalist Government from 1929 to 1946. For an overview of the Chinese situation at that time from an international point of view, see William Kirby, "Internationalization of China: Foreign Relations at Home and abroad in the Republican Era", *China Quarterly*, No.150, June 1997, pp. 433-458.

delegation led by Wellington Koo². The Beiyang Government is also important from the point of view of the formation of Chinese intellectual co-operation. Firstly, the government understood its relationship with the League of Nations in relation to the cultural status of China in the world, and such a cultural self-consciousness, in essence, had been taken over by the Nanjing Nationalist Government after 1928. Secondly, it can be thought that this kind of Chinese cultural perception based on the dichotomy between China and the world encouraged the early ICIC to drastically change its fundamental idea of intellectual co-operation. For these reasons, this chapter begins with the involvement of the Beiyang Government in the League of Nations, particularly its self-assertion about the status of Chinese culture in the world.

The primary objective of the Beiyang Government in the League of Nations was to win a non-permanent seat on the Council. Learning from the failure of Chinese diplomacy on the discussion of the Shandong problem at the Paris Peace Conference, the Beiyang Government became increasingly convinced that China should participate in the Council of the League where Japan occupied a position as a permanent member. In addition, there is no doubt that the government was motivated by its strong desire to break out of its peripheral position and to gain

² Alison Adcock Kaufman, "In Pursuit of Equality and Respect: China's Diplomacy and the League of Nations", *Modern China*, online first version, 15 Sep. 2013, pp. 1-34; Xu Guoqi, *China and the Great War: China's Pursuit of a New National Identity and Internationalization*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005; Tang Chi-hua, *Beijing Zhengfu yu Guoji Lianmeng (1919-1928)* (The Beijing Government and the League of Nations, 1919-1928), Taipei: Dongda Tushu, 1998; Kawashima Shin, *Kindai Chugoku Gaiko no Keisei* (Formation of Modern Chinese Diplomacy), Nagoya Daigaku Shuppan Kai, 2004. Without confirming the Treaty of Versailles, it was the Treaty of Saint-Germain that enabled China to participate in the League of Nations as its member. The Beiyang Government specified the League of Nations as the most important space to break away from its peripheral status (Nishimura Shigeo, "Nijūuseiki Zenhanki Chugoku to Mittsu no Gaiko Kukan" (China in the first half of the twentieth century and three diplomatic spaces), Nishimura Shigeo ed., *Chugoku Gaiko to Kokuren no Seiritsu*, Horistu Bunkasha, 2004, pp. 1-14.

international status as a great nation in the world³. In fact, since the First Assembly in 1920 where China was successfully elected as a non-permanent member of the Council, the Beiyang government was vigorously engaged in campaigning for its re-election in every subsequent election⁴. The Beiyang Government targeted the Assembly in particular in its campaign for a non-permanent seat on the Council. In the Assembly where small countries held a majority, the Chinese government sought to maintain its status as a non-permanent member of the Council by means of a logic that resonated with the majority. This was the principle of geographical distribution, what was called ‘Fengzhou Zhuyi’ in Chinese.

As early as the First Assembly in 1920, the Chinese delegate Wellington Koo, laying emphasis on the power of the Assembly to elect four non-permanent members of the Council, suggested that the members should be elected in view of the principle of geographical distribution⁵. Although this appeal was not necessarily shared or supported by the majority of the Assembly, China managed to gain the very last seat of the four non-permanent members of the Council at the election of the First Assembly⁶. Thereafter, at the Third Assembly in 1922,

³ Nisimura, *ibid*; Kawashima Shin, “Chugoku Gaiko ni okeru Shocho toshiteno Kokusaiteki Chii” (The Long-term Target of Chinese Diplomatic History to Enhance its International Status in the Hague Peace Conference, the League of Nations and the United Nations), *Kokusai Seiji*, No. 145, Aug. 2006, pp. 17-35.

⁴ In the end, during the period of the Beiyang Government, China had held a non-permanent seat on the Council from 1920 to 1923 and from 1926 to 1928. Given the basic principle of non-re-eligibility in the election of non-permanent members of the Council, it would be fair to say that the Chinese diplomacy by the Beiyang Government for a non-permanent seat of the Council achieved a measure of success. For a general overview of the Chinese diplomacy to the League of Nations in the period of the Beiyang Government, see Tang Chihua, *Beijing Zhengfu yu Guoji Lianmeng*. See also Alison Adcock Kaufman, “In Pursuit of Equality and Respect: China’s Diplomacy and the League of Nations”.

⁵ The League of Nations, *The Records of the First Assembly, Plenary Meetings (Meetings held from the 15th of November to the 18th of December 1920)*, Geneva, 1920, pp. 430-431. In so doing, Koo mentioned three geographical divisions: Europe and America as well as Asia and the remaining parts of the world.

⁶ In addition to China, Spain, Brazil and Belgium were elected. The League of Nations, *The Records of the First Assembly*, pp. 559-561. These four countries were re-elected at the Second Assembly in 1921

the Chinese government propounded an official proposal that the rules and procedures for the election of the non-permanent members of the Council should be drawn up⁷. Here again, China underlined the importance of geographical distribution, stating more clearly that three members should be chosen from Europe, two from the American continent and one from the other continents⁸. In response, the French representative who was acting as rapporteur displayed a negative attitude regarding the Chinese proposal on the grounds that the other continents, the Asia-Africa-Oceania group, could not be regarded as a sufficiently well-established legal entity to furnish a basis for representation on the Council, and further that the present prioritized distribution of the seats to Europe would be reasonable until the complete establishment of peace in Europe⁹. On the other hand, however, he acknowledged that the Chinese proposal contained, if not a distinct principle or an idea, at least a tendency which must be taken into account. He thus proposed the recommendation that '[i]t is desirable that the Assembly, in electing the six non-permanent Members of the Council, should make its choice with due consideration for the main geographical divisions of the world, the great ethnical groups, the different religious traditions, the various types of civilization and the chief sources of wealth¹⁰'. Interestingly, the principle of geographical distribution that the Chinese government originally proposed was extended to include various factors such as ethnicity, religion, civilization and

(League of Nations, *The Records of the Second Assembly, Plenary Meetings (Meetings held from the 5th of September to the 5th of October 1921)*, Geneva, 1921, p. 898).

⁷ League of Nations, *Records of the Third Assembly, Plenary Meetings, Volume 1, Text of the Debates (Meetings held from September 4th to 30th, 1922)*, Geneva, 1922, p. 103.

⁸ It had been already decided at the Third Assembly that the number of non-permanent seats on the Council would be increased from four to six. League of Nations, *Records of the Third Assembly*, p. 225, p. 341.

⁹ League of Nations, *Records of the Third Assembly*, p. 341.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 341.

economic resources. It is also noteworthy that the Persian representative strongly supported the Chinese proposal and asked for a permanent allocation of a non-permanent seat of the Council to Asia¹¹. Receiving this endorsement from Persia, the Chinese representative Tang Zai-fu argued that it was not until the Council included members from outside of Europe and America that it could have a universal character which would be essential for the exercise of its world-wide authority, and he suggested that the members of the Assembly should vote in favor of the recommendation that the French representative proposed¹². Thus, following the election at the Third Assembly, China was successful again in maintaining its position as a non-permanent member of the Council¹³.

In this way, the principle of geographical distribution in the election of non-permanent members of the Council was primarily China's diplomatic strategy to maintain its status on the Council. It emphasized the geographical and cultural importance of countries other than those from Europe and America in the League of Nations, particularly countries in Asia, and it was also based on the assumption that China was a great nation in the region. In this regard, this argument was intimately intertwined with Chinese national identity as a representative of Asia. Despite its eventual success at the Third Assembly in 1922, however, China was in a precarious state in the League of Nations. The Chinese government's capability to govern effectively came under severe criticism because of China's domestic disintegration and its financial contribution

¹¹ League of Nations, *Records of the Third Assembly*, p. 342.

¹² League of Nations, *Records of the Third Assembly*, p. 346.

¹³ China was barely elected as the sixth, the last non-permanent member after Brazil, Spain, Uruguay, Belgium and Sweden (*ibid*, p. 383).

falling into arrears, which increasingly became problematic in the League¹⁴. In fact, it seemed impossible for China to expect its re-election at the Fourth Assembly in 1923, when it was apparent that the Beiyang government was on the verge of financial bankruptcy¹⁵. For this reason, China failed to keep its non-permanent seat in the election at the Assembly¹⁶.

After this disappointment, aiming for the recovery of its lost status in the League, the Chinese government tenaciously called for the election of non-permanent members of the Council based on the principle of geographical distribution. At the Fifth Assembly in 1924, while submitting the same proposal once again, the Chinese delegate stressed the basic principle of geographical distribution in the election of the non-permanent seats on the Council.

The view of the Chinese delegation was that five seats should be allocated to Europe and America and the remaining one to Asia. China in this matter is perfectly consistent: we think it is proper and fitting for the Council further to increase the number of non-permanent seats in order to include all the important Members according to geographical division¹⁷.

It must be noted that China strategically employed the principle of geographical distribution in universalistic terms in pursuit of regaining its own status as a non-permanent member in the Council. Nonetheless, the universalistic appeal of the principle of geographical distribution also won the support of Persia and Japan, and the Chinese proposal was unanimously adopted by the

¹⁴ Kawashima, "Chugoku Gaiko niokeru Shocho tositeno Kokusaiteki Chii", pp. 28-29; Tang, *Beijing Zhengfu yu Guoji Lianmeng*, pp. 113-138.

¹⁵ Tang, *Beijing Zhengfu yu Guoji Lianmeng*, pp. 138-142.

¹⁶ China received no more than 10 votes, which was even less than Persia's 14 votes (League of Nations, *Records of the Fourth Assembly, Text of the Debates*, Geneva, 1923, p. 156).

¹⁷ League of Nations, *Official Journal*, Special Supplement, Geneva, 1924, p. 161.

Assembly¹⁸. However, the result of the election was that China only received 14 votes and it again failed to gain a non-permanent seat on the Council. This was not only because the Chinese government had not shown significant change in its domestic governance and finance, but also because, contrary to the expectations of the Chinese government, Latin American countries received the support of the majority of the Assembly in conformity with the principle of geographical distribution that China repeatedly highlighted¹⁹. As the principle shed light on the significance of geographical differences in the world, in principle it should be applied to all geographical regions. It was therefore hard to give priority to Asia when Latin American countries insisted on the uniqueness of their geographical unity. In other words, though the Chinese government pursued its own interest by means of the universalistic logic of the principle of geographical distribution, it was this very logic that put the government's own head in the noose and hampered its return as a non-permanent member of the Council.

The Chinese government was shocked by its second failure to be elected as a non-permanent member of the Council. The Chinese representative forthwith addressed this problem at the Assembly in the following year of 1925.

Owing to the non-observance of the geographical principle in the election of non-permanent Members to the Council, China has not yet been able to regain her seat on the Council since 1923, and the Chinese people have not known whether the League still has its eye on the continent of Asia. But I can assure you that the attitude of the Chinese Government as a supporter of the League remains unchanged. Moreover, there are in China many warm

¹⁸ Ibid, p. 161.

¹⁹ In fact, unlike China, Brazil and Uruguay were re-elected in the election at this Assembly (ibid, p. 278).

well-wishers of the League. Chinese public opinion on matters of international interests runs very high to-day. What China most expects from the League is that her international position and the privileges to which she is entitled shall be fully recognized²⁰.

The Chinese representative subsequently advocated the election of China as a non-permanent member of the Council on the strength of its large population, magnificent land with a great deal of natural resources, and its ancient civilization²¹. This statement revealed the true thought of the Chinese government – that the principle of geographical distribution must be meaningless insofar as China has no representation at the Council, even if the principle itself was rightly observed. In other words, for China, the principle of geographical distribution primarily meant the recognition of China's international status and privilege, not the equal treatment of all the members of the League of Nations. China thus once again submitted to the Assembly the same proposal for geographical distribution in the election of the non-permanent members of the Council, which was likewise endorsed by Persia and adopted as a recommendation by the Assembly²². Furthermore, just before the election, the Chinese delegation meticulously made an appeal to the member states for voting with reference to the principle of geographical distribution, with clear implication for the election of China, but this ended in vain with China obtaining no more than 26 votes²³.

This Chinese government's insistent demand for geographical distribution also continued at

²⁰ League of Nations, *Official Journal*, Special Supplement No. 33, Geneva, 1925, p. 43.

²¹ Ibid, p. 44.

²² Ibid, p. 71, pp. 110-111.

²³ Ibid, p. 159. Under these circumstances, it was reported that there was not only apathy but also actual hostility to the League of Nations in China (From James A. Creig to Eric Drummond, 1 Oct. 1925, LNA: R1345). This view was strengthened by the report of Ludwik Rajchman who visited China as the Director of the Health Section in 1926 ("Mission of Dr. Rajchman in the Far East: Report to the Secretary-General", 4 Feb. 1926, LNA: R1604).

the Seventh Assembly in 1926²⁴. This time, luck was on the Chinese side, because it was decided at this Assembly that the number of non-permanent members of the Council would be further increased from six to nine. This decision, however, sparked a bruising campaign among member states in the election, in which each member claimed the allocation of a non-permanent seat on the basis of the principle of geographical distribution²⁵. For this reason, complaining that the principle was used for political purposes, some delegates such as Switzerland and Canada suggested that the Assembly should elect non-permanent members not based on geographical and cultural divisions leading to discord but from the point of view of world co-operation²⁶. In this situation, the Chinese government, nonetheless, still insisted on the application of the principle of geographical distribution, directly demanding the selection of China as a representative of Asia in the Council.

On this occasion allow me to beg of you that China, which is a most important figure in the continent of Asia, should receive due attention by the League of Nations as regards her geographical position and the privileges to which she is entitled. I sincerely hope that China will be the first among the Asiatic States to occupy a non-permanent seat on the Council when the new scheme comes into force²⁷.

As mentioned previously, the Chinese government's persistence in claiming a non-permanent

²⁴ For this purpose, in advance of the Assembly, the Chinese government proposed to decorate high-ranked officers of the League Secretariat including its Secretary General and Directors. For example, From Chao-Hsin Chu to E. Drummond, 25 Feb. 1926, LNA: R1604; From Chu-Chao Hsin to Herbert Ames, 8 Mar. 1926, LNA: R1604. However, according to the internal regulations, these offers were all declined.

²⁵ The Persian representative even called for the allocation of two seats to Asia (League of Nations, *Official Journal*, Special Supplement, No. 44, Geneva, 1926, p. 42, p. 70).

²⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 69-71.

²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 79.

seat on the Council resulted from its desire to receive due recognition of China as a great nation in the League of Nations. On the other hand, it was also underpinned by a domestic reason. Confronted with the Northern Expedition by the Nationalist Party (Kuomintang) since July 1926, the Beiyang Government justified its domestic legitimacy as the one and only government of the Republic of China based on the claim that it had sole external sovereignty, namely the representativeness of China in the League of Nations. Therefore, the flipside of the Beiyang Government's claim to legitimacy was that its diplomatic failure in the League could immediately trigger an internal crisis. As a consequence, thanks to the increased number of non-permanent members of the Council, the Beiyang Government succeeded in regaining a seat after three years' absence²⁸. Since China occupied the seat for a two-year term, however, the issue of maintaining a non-permanent seat on the Council would arise again sooner or later. In fact, the Chinese government's campaign for a seat resumed at the Ninth Assembly in 1928, but by then it was no longer the Beiyang Government but the Nationalist Government that governed the Republic of China and which led China's diplomacy in the League of Nations.

In this way, the principle of geographical distribution, which the Chinese government repeatedly underlined in the Assemblies, was based on its persistent desire to receive international recognition of China as a great nation in the world as well as a representative of Asia. Therefore, the concept of the region 'Asia' was meaningful to China to the extent that it could contribute to the enhancement of China's international status. Moreover, when identifying itself as a representative of Asia, the Chinese government projected a strong self-consciousness

²⁸ Ibid, pp. 81-83. In the election at the Seventh Assembly, Columbia, Poland, Chile, Salvador, Belgium, Romania, Netherlands, China and Czechoslovakia were elected as non-permanent members of the Council.

regarding its own history and culture. It is noteworthy that this cultural self-assertion of the Chinese government, while being closely related with China's national identity, spilled over to other countries and also had an impact on the idea of intellectual co-operation in the ICIC as well.

China's claim for a non-permanent seat in the Council by means of the principle of geographical distribution was premised on a strong sense of nationality as a great historical and cultural nation. It was this obsession with Chinese national identity that entailed its involvement in the ICIC, which aimed to initiate various cultural programs in the name of intellectual co-operation during the same period. In so doing, the Chinese government showed a keen interest in the work of the ICIC and, as early as the Fourth Assembly in 1923, the Chinese delegate mentioned the idea of intellectual co-operation.

China has been able to remain a sovereign State for several thousand years, chiefly owing to her intellectual qualities, without which no country can prosper in her national life, no matter how rich her material wealth may be. Some people sneer at China, simply because of her backwardness in scientific development. I consider scientific civilization to be valuable, but spiritual civilization is a necessity to a nation²⁹.

The Chinese representative here urged the League of Nations as well as the ICIC to shift the emphasis of the idea of intellectual co-operation from scientific civilization to spiritual civilization. In other words, while criticizing the understanding of intellectual co-operation confined to scientific civilization, which the work of the early ICIC was based on, China asked

²⁹ League of Nations, *Records of the Fourth Assembly*, p. 104.

for the re-evaluation of spiritual civilization. Additionally, spatially characterizing scientific civilization as the West and spiritual civilization as the East, this statement prompted the reappraisal of intellectual values of the East, particularly the Chinese intellectuality from the point of view of comparative civilization.

The Chinese have derived great benefits from Western civilisation, and we want to give something in return which may be beneficial to the intellectual world of the West.... I would ask Westerners not to overlook that in the Orient which is invaluable and which money cannot buy. In other words, they should not overlook the intellectualism of the East, which should, I feel, be exchanged for and mixed with the intellectualism of other countries. Our door is wide open for the exchange of ideas and knowledge; for this reason I propose... that the work of intellectual co-operation should cover the whole field of intellectualism, including that of my own country³⁰.

As the principle of geographical distribution underlined the geographical importance of non-Western countries, the Chinese government expressed a sort of ‘cultural relativism’ in its emphasis on the particularity and uniqueness of non-Western cultures. However, just as the principle of geographical distribution assumed, it should be clear that the strong sense of China’s national identity as a great nation was also inherent in this seemingly universalistic ideology of ‘cultural relativism’. In short, while stressing the cultural significance of the East on the basis of quasi-cultural relativism, the Chinese government as representative of the East appealed for giving due recognition to Chinese culture in the ICIC and to appointing a Chinese member.

³⁰ Ibid, p. 105.

The Chinese government therefore had been frustrated with the absence of a Chinese member in the ICIC since its establishment. In this regard, in the discussion at the Fifth Committee of the Fourth Assembly, the Chinese delegate complained that the intellectual movement in the Far East was not adequately represented on the ICIC. To remedy this, he suggested the appointment of a specialist on Far-Eastern questions as a member of the ICIC, with an emphasis on the significance of Chinese culture³¹. Moreover, the delegate submitted to the Fifth Committee a draft resolution that '[i]n view of the value of oriental intellectualism, the membership of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation should be extended to cover the field of the ancient studies in Asiatic countries³²'. There is no doubt that this draft resolution was intended to secure a Chinese member in the ICIC. Particularly, by confining the profession of this member to the field of ancient studies in Asiatic countries, the Chinese government displayed its confidence in China's history and tradition as the only country that could adequately fulfill this role, and thus it further anticipated the possibility that a Chinese member would be appointed to the ICIC.

However, members of the ICIC showed a cool attitude toward the Chinese proposal. Gonzague de Reynold, a Swiss delegate and member of the ICIC, explained that the ICIC would never exclude the countries of the Far East on the grounds that it had already embarked on an inquiry on a large scale into the conditions of life of intellectual workers in all countries³³. Furthermore, the Chairman of the Fifth Committee Gilbert Murray, while admitting the cultural characteristics of each country, maintained his negative attitude toward the Chinese proposal for

³¹ League of Nations, *Records of the Fourth Assembly, Meetings of the Committees, Minutes of the Fifth Committee (Social and General Questions)*, Geneva, 1923, p. 24.

³² *Ibid*, p. 34.

³³ *Ibid*, p. 24.

the practical reason that the resolution constituting the ICIC provided for a maximum of twelve members representing all the fifty-two member nations of the League³⁴. Dissatisfied with these negative answers from the ICIC, the Chinese representative argued against the general lack of appreciation among Western people regarding the importance of Chinese culture.

Oriental culture was of very great importance, especially in China. Chinese civilisation was four thousand year old. The greatest philosophic and scientific work published in China during the last three centuries was an encyclopedia, perhaps the most important in the world, of which the table of contents alone constituted several thousand volumes.... This bibliographical document in itself showed the importance of Oriental culture. It might be maintained that this Asiatic civilisation was too little known in Europe and America; but that did not mean that it was not worthy of recognition³⁵.

It is noticeable that the Chinese government here again projected its self-image as a cultural representative of Asia. Despite the negative attitude of the ICIC members, however, other countries, particularly non-Western ones, agreed with China's assertion because it was tinged with the idea of 'cultural relativism'. Nevertheless, the egocentric intent of the Chinese government to place its own member in the ICIC lay behind this quasi-universalistic logic. In so doing, in light of the fact that the ICIC had already included an Indian member, the Chinese representative stated discontentedly that 'the Committee was not representative of universal culture, Asia being represented by the Indian delegate³⁶'. While the Chinese government avoided a direct expression, the most essential thing for China was not the representation of

³⁴ Ibid, p. 34.

³⁵ Ibid, p. 35.

³⁶ Ibid, p. 56.

Asia but the appointment of a Chinese member as a representative of Asia in the ICIC.

This Chinese cultural assertion was different in essence from the fundamental idea of intellectual co-operation on which the ICIC was predicated. For this reason, the ICIC members such as Reynold and Murray made negative remarks at the Assembly. As described in Chapter I, Nitobe highlighted two characteristics of the ICIC at its opening session in 1922. Firstly, the members of the ICIC should participate in it as an individual, not as a government representative. In other words, a member was appointed in view of her/his scientific achievement and the political involvement of governments was excluded to the extent possible. Secondly, it was projected that the work of the ICIC should focus on the communication of scientific information, and it was on the basis of science that the ICIC could envisage and implement various programs. In this early period of the ICIC, science was understood primarily as natural science with a universal character, and most of the ICIC seats were in effect occupied by natural scientists. In this respect, it is arguable that the ICIC's idea of intellectual co-operation, particularly at its early stage, was based on the monism of a universal culture, namely Western civilization. Therefore, by necessity the ICIC of that time showed little interest in cultural differences between nations or regions. For this very reason, it was primarily the ICIC's premise Western civilization that the Chinese representative criticized as Western people's incomprehension of the importance of Chinese culture, and China challenged the ICIC's idea of intellectual co-operation by means of the logic of cultural relativism. In other words, the Chinese government sought to shift the emphasis of the ICIC's perception of intellectual co-operation from Western civilization to national culture, from the universality to

the particularity of culture.

What is more intriguing, however, is that the Chinese challenge to the ICIC's universalistic perception of culture resonated with other non-Western countries that similarly felt uncomfortable with the cultural hegemony of Western civilization. For example, adding his support to the Chinese proposal, the Persian representative complained that 'the great types of Asiatic culture had not obtained due recognition on the Committee'³⁷. Furthermore, the discussion was marked by outbursts of similar frustrated voices from Romania, the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, Czechoslovakia, the Spanish-speaking countries of America, the Irish Free State, Finland and Hungary³⁸. While struggling with the cultural self-assertions from these countries, the Fifth Committee eventually resolved the confusion by adopting a resolution that the Assembly would petition the Council for increasing the number of members on the ICIC. In so doing, it is notable that the resolution stated that the ICIC should represent not only different fields of study but also the various national cultures³⁹. In this way, the Chinese challenge based on 'cultural relativism' led to the due consideration of the particularity of national cultures in the idea of intellectual co-operation.

The Chinese voice of protest against the universalism of Western civilization thus echoed across other non-Western countries. Among them, India was one of the most important actors in insisting on 'cultural relativism' in the idea of intellectual co-operation. It is true that India had been continuously represented as a member in the ICIC, but it perhaps became increasingly

³⁷ League of Nations, *Records of the Fourth Assembly, Meeting of the Committees, Minutes of the Fifth Committee*, p. 24.

³⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 22-24, pp. 34-38, pp 53-57,

³⁹ *Ibid*, p. 55.

aware of the Western-centric bias behind the fundamental principle of intellectual co-operation⁴⁰. It is also likely that India's anti-Western point of view was reinforced by its domestic situation under the rule of the British Empire. For all of these reasons, at the Eighth Assembly in 1927, the Indian representative complained that the work of the ICIC was still somewhat lacking in universality, particularly as regards Oriental countries, thereby suggesting that 'international culture should be based on national culture, reflecting the particular genius of the country from which it had sprung'⁴¹. As with China, India also confronted the Western-centered idea of intellectual co-operation with a particular emphasis on the value of national culture. However, no matter how strongly the Indian delegate underlined the significance of Oriental cultures as well as the diversity of national cultures, its primary purpose was to obtain due recognition of the value of Indian national culture in the ICIC⁴².

In contrast, Japan's response differed slightly from China and India. It is certain that Japan as one of the Asian countries shared with China and India the counterargument against the idea of intellectual co-operation based on Western civilization. For this reason, the Japanese government had not only supported the Chinese campaign for a non-permanent seat on the Council but also agreed with its appeal to 'cultural relativism' in the ICIC⁴³. Nevertheless, the

⁴⁰ The Indian members of the ICIC included D. Banerjee (1922-23), J. Boze (1924-1930), S. Radhakrishnan (1931-1938), and A. Qadir (1939).

⁴¹ League of Nations, *Official Journal*, Special Supplement No. 56, Geneva, 1927, p. 14.

⁴² In fact, in 1927, the Indian representative appealed for the necessity to study the Orient, particularly Indian culture, in its proposal to the ICIC ("Study of Oriental Questions by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation", 16 Sep. 1927, LNA: R1087).

⁴³ For example, at the Fifth Committee of the Fourth Assembly in 1923, while getting into line with the negative attitude of the ICIC members toward China, the Japanese representative eventually supported its proposal (League of Nations, *Records of the Fourth Assembly, Meeting of the Committees, Minutes of the Fifth Committee*, p. 56). Also, in the Fifth Assembly in 1924, the Japanese delegate was in favor of the claim of the Chinese government for a non-permanent seat on the Council and asked the Assembly to adopt the Chinese proposal for the principle of geographical distribution (League of Nations, *Official Journal*, Special Supplement No. 23, p. 161).

Japanese government had a reason why it could not completely agree with the pride in the cultural value of the Orient or Asia that was displayed by China and India. At the Sixth Assembly in 1925, the Japanese representative described the cultural position of Japan in the world:

Japan had found in European science the knowledge necessary to organise her defense. But she had sought also to gain an insight into the civilisation of Europe, which made her respect Western and European civilisations. She had learnt that European civilisation was great because it was the fruit of intellectual culture through the ages, and she felt a profound respect for this civilisation. At the same time, the Japanese fully recognised the moral and spiritual value of the civilisations of India and China, and those civilisations, too, they held in high esteem⁴⁴.

This cultural status of Japan in the world was derived from the Japanese idea of the consonance between the East and the West. Recent research has already demonstrated that this idea had two ideological functions, firstly in making a claim to Europe and the United States regarding Japan's equality to the West by means of the logic of 'cultural relativism', and secondly in forcing the Japanese colonies and other Asian countries to accept Japan's superiority in Asia on the basis of the idea of civilization and civilizing mission, both of which had been underpinning and strengthening the national identity of modern Japan⁴⁵. For this reason, identifying itself neither as the East nor as the West but as a mediator between them, the Japanese government had no choice but to show an ambivalent attitude toward the strong assertions of China and

⁴⁴ League of Nations, *Official Journal*, Special Supplement No. 35, Geneva, 1925, p. 31.

⁴⁵ Shibasaki Atsushi, *Kindai Nihon to Kokusai Bunka Koryu: Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai no Sosetsu to Tenkai* (International Cultural Exchange and Modern Japan: History of Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai 1934-45), Tokyo: Keiso Shobo, 1999. This is discussed in greater detail in Chapter III.

India.

As mentioned above, in concert with the Chinese challenge, criticism of the Western-centric bias in the ICIC's idea of intellectual co-operation was also stirred up by other non-Western countries. In this regard, the Chinese claim for 'cultural relativism' in the ICIC triggered a chain reaction among those countries dissatisfied with the fact that they had no cultural representation in the ICIC. However, while sharing the logic of 'cultural relativism', China, India and Japan had different dreams in one bed, each seeking for due recognition of the significance of its national culture as a representative of Asia in the ICIC. Therefore, they looked only at the West and there was surprisingly little discussion or communication among them about the possibilities of intellectual cooperation *within* Asia. This was an inevitable result of each country's nationalistic desire which was rooted in the idea of national culture, and which loomed in the shadows behind the logic of 'cultural relativism'.

2. The Nationalist Government and the Nomination of a Chinese Member in the ICIC

Although the close co-operation between China and the ICIC was officially initiated after the foundation of the Nationalist Government in 1928, this does not mean that there had been no linkage between them during the period of the Beiyang Government. Firstly, in reaction to the growing criticism of the ICIC's Western bias from different countries that erupted at the Fourth Assembly in 1923, in 1924 the ICIC came up with the idea of appointing correspondents

representing national cultures⁴⁶. Given the organizational and financial constraints that made it impossible to enlarge its membership, this was obviously the ICIC's concession to the strong demand by countries like China to represent its national culture in the ICIC. In doing so, the ICIC decided to appoint Hu Shih as the correspondent for China⁴⁷. However, a correspondent did not give Hu Shih a voice in the ICIC, and thus the correspondent system did not serve to represent Chinese culture in the ICIC⁴⁸.

Secondly, along with appointing a Chinese correspondent, the ICIC gave serious consideration to the appointment of a Chinese member in the ICIC. The report by Ludwik Rajchman on his visit to the Far East marked the first time that a League official proposed the appointment of a Chinese member in the ICIC⁴⁹. In response, Secretary-General Eric Drummond fully agreed with Rajchman's suggestion and even anticipated its early realization⁵⁰. In his estimate, there was a sufficient provision to allow for a certain increase in the membership of the ICIC, and thus 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 Assembly⁵¹. However, as previously discussed, the Chinese government was not content to wait and see but rather fueled the debate at every meeting of the Assemblies. Even though initially the ICIC and the IIC also had a positive attitude toward the appointment of a

⁴⁶ League of Nations, Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, "Memorandum by the Secretariat on the Appointment of Correspondents to the Committee", Geneva, 14 Jul. 1924, LNA: R1035.

⁴⁷ From Ken Harada to Hoo-Tsi, 14 Aug. 1925, LNA: R1035. Hu Shih (1891-1962), a well known Chinese philosopher, was one of the leading intellectuals in the May Fourth Movement as well as the New Culture Movement in China and served as a professor at Peking University.

⁴⁸ From Georges Oprescu to Chao Hsin Chu, 13 Aug. 1926, LNA: R1035.

⁴⁹ "Mission of Dr. Rajchman in the Far East: Report to the Secretary-General", 4 Feb. 1926, p. 19, LNA: 1604.

⁵⁰ League of Nations, "Mission of Dr. Rajchman in the Far East: Note by the Secretary General", 5 Feb. 1926, LNA: R1604.

⁵¹ From E. Drummond to G. Oprescu, 30 Aug. 1926, LNA: R1035.

Chinese member, this vanished in smoke in the end⁵².

The term of the non-permanent seat that the Chinese government secured at the Seventh Assembly in 1926 was due to expire in 1928. The Chinese government, now replaced by the Nationalist Government, continued to appeal for the status of a non-permanent member on the Council. In fact, submitting a request for its re-eligibility to the Ninth Assembly in 1928, the Chinese representative defined the League of Nations as a mediator between the Eastern and Western civilizations, stating that 'I am still an optimist, and am convinced that if the Far East and the Western worlds are to meet on common ground – for these two types of civilisation are designed to supplement and not to rival one another – the League must be their intermediary⁵³'. Although the Chinese government had shown a conciliatory attitude toward the League while also criticizing its Western centrism, the Indian delegate who took the stage after the Chinese address had harsher words, even mentioning the colonial domination by Europe:

You are no doubt aware that, in certain quarters in the East, there is a suspicion that the League is intended for use as an instrument of perpetuating the hegemony of the races which are of European origin over the other races. I do not believe that this view can be honestly entertained by anybody who studies the facts deeply and without prejudice. But the suspicion exists, and suspicions, even when unfounded, may produce mischief if not dispelled by the solid evidence of facts⁵⁴.

As a consequence of the confrontational atmosphere between the East and the West invoked by

⁵² From Giuseppe Prezzolini to G. Oprescu, 14 Jan. 1927, LNA: R1037; From G. Oprescu to the Director of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, 20 Jan. 1927, LNA: R1037.

⁵³ League of Nations, *Official Journal*, Special Supplement No. 64, Geneva, 1928, p. 34.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, p. 50.

this Indian statement, the Chinese request for its re-eligibility in the election of non-permanent members of the Council fell short of reaching a majority and was rejected by the Assembly.

The repeated failure of the Chinese effort provoked unrest within the Secretariat of the League of Nations, because it had mixed feelings of anxiety and anticipation regarding the Chinese Nationalist Party's newly established National Government. On one hand, the League welcomed the Nationalist Government with high expectations that the unified Chinese government would have enough power not only to quell the domestic political disorder but also to guarantee the payment of its contribution to the League⁵⁵. On the other hand, however, the League of Nations and the Secretariat in particular had a sense of caution toward the movement of Chinese nationalism on which the Nationalist Government was based. Furthermore, since the Nationalist Government lost its non-permanent seat in the Council in parallel with the establishment of the new government, there was speculation in the Secretariat that China would withdraw from the League of Nations. For this reason, the Secretariat of the League hastily decided to dispatch the Under Secretary-General Joseph Avenol to improve the situation and strengthen ties between China and the League⁵⁶. During his mission in China from January to

⁵⁵ In fact, the payment of the Chinese contribution to the League had been in arrears ("China's Contribution to the Expenses of the League of Nations: Note by the Secretary-General", League of Nations, *Official Journal*, Nov. 1927, p. 1632. For details, see Tang Chi-Hua, *Beijing Zhengfu yu Guoji Lianmeng*, pp. 189-270.

⁵⁶ From E. Drummond to Wang King Ky, 18 Oct. 1928, LNA: R3585. Regarding the original idea of this mission, Drummond explained that '[o]wing to the happenings at the last Assembly and particularly in view of the Assembly's refusal to grant re-eligibility for election to the Council to China, I was glad to consider carefully what measures, if any, could be taken by the Secretariat to show the Government of Nanjing that these happenings were not in any way caused by lack of interest in or hostility to the new developments in China. After much thought, I came to the conclusion that the best means which lay in my power of manifesting friendly sentiments towards the Nanjing Government was to offer to send a mission to Nanjing in order to explain the workings of the League to the Government there and to promote, if possible, cooperation between the Chinese Government and the League. I felt no hesitation in placing such a proposal before the Chinese Representative...' (From the Secretary-General to B. Almeida, 5 Nov. 1928, LNA: R3585).

March 1929, which was followed by a stopover in Japan for two weeks, Avenol visited major Chinese cities including Hong Kong, Shanghai, Nanjing, and Beijing as well as cities in Manchuria such as Mukden and Dalian⁵⁷. With the purpose of alleviating the Anti-League feeling in China, Avenol delivered a speech that emphasized great potential in the future relationship between the League and China, particularly in technical fields such as transportation and communications, public hygiene, agriculture and intellectual co-operation⁵⁸. At the same time, Avenol held talks with leading members of the Nationalist Party in which he emphasized the strong interest of the League in co-operating with China and requested the government to stay in the system of the League of Nations⁵⁹. However, despite the fears that lay behind this effort by the Secretariat, it is doubtful that the Nationalist Government was seriously considering withdrawing from the League at the time. In fact, in reply to Avenol, Chiang Kai-shek stated that since the aims of the League of Nations were compatible with the principles of freedom and equality of the Nationalist Party, China would not hesitate to make any sacrifice necessary to achieve these common goals with the League of Nations⁶⁰. Thus, it is

⁵⁷ Société des Nations, “Mission en Chine du Secrétaire Général Adjoint: Journal du 13 janvier au 4 février”, n.d., LNA: R3585; “Sejour à Nankin”, n.d., LNA: R3585; “Sejour à Shanghai”, n.d., LNA: R3585; “Hanchow – 11/13 février 1929”, n.d., LNA: R3585; “Sejour à Hankou - 24-26 février 1929”, n.d., LNA: R3585; “Sejour à Pekin - 28 février/8 mars 1929”, n.d., LNA: R3585; “Sejour à Moukden - 7 et 8 mars 1929”, n.d., LNA: R3585; “Sejour à Dairen - 9 et 10 mars 1929”, n.d., LNA: R3585, “Sejour au Japon - 13/26mars 1929”, n.d., LNA: R3585. For Avenol’s mission to China, see James Barros, *Betrayal from Within: Joseph Avenol, Secretary-General of the League of Nations, 1933-1940*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969, pp. 40-47.

⁵⁸ “Discours prononcé par M. Avenol, audiercer à l’Hotel de Ville de Nankin, le 31 janvier 1929”, n.d., LNA: R3585.

⁵⁹ “Audience du Général Chiang Kai-shek, Nankin, 2 fevrier 1929: Discours prononcé par M. Aveol”, n.d., LNA: R3585. In addition to Chiang Kai-shek, Avenol engaged in talks with other executive members of the Nationalist Party such as Wang Jing-wei, T.V. Soong and Tai Chi-tao (“Sejour à Nankin”).

⁶⁰ “Résumé du discours prononcé par le Président du Gouvernement national de la République chinoise, Général Chiang Kai-shek, en réponse au discours de M. Avenol, Nankin, é février 1929”, n.d., LNA: R3585.

plausible that under favor of the conciliatory mood in the League, the Chinese government intended to use the League as well as the Secretariat to its advantage⁶¹.

In conjunction with the dispatch of Avenol's mission to China, the Secretariat of the League began the serious consideration of appointing a Chinese member in the ICIC. In March 1928, just before the token reunification of China by the Nationalist army, a Harvard historian Arthur N. Holcombe informed the League that there was a general indifference about the League of Nations among the most influential leaders of the Nationalist Party, but that they would be eager to utilize every means of enhancing their prestige when they were victorious in the civil war. In this regard, he suggested the appointment of some leading Chinese scholars to the ICIC as a means to get Chinese people interested in the League of Nations⁶². The Secretary-General regarded this suggestion as worth very careful consideration, and the Secretariat of the League started to move toward the appointment of a Chinese member in the ICIC.⁶³ In July, while listing Cai Yuan-pei, Ho Shih and V. K. Ting (Ding Wen-jiang) based on the candidates suggested by Holcombe, the chief secretary of the ICIC raised the prospect that it would be

⁶¹ Zhou Wei, "Tuichu huo Liyong Guoji Lianmenghui Wenti" (Question of Whether to Quit or Use the League of Nations), *Zongwai Pinglun*, 12 Apr. 1929, pp. 1-5. Zhou, who had served as a Chinese delegate in the League, not only spoke against China's withdrawal from the League but also pointed out the following advantages that China could gain by staying in and using the League of Nations: (1) collaboration with the world, (2) impression of peace-loving Chinese culture, (3) co-operation with small countries in the League, (4) assistance from the League, (5) China's international status as a great nation, (6) absorbing new knowledge through technical co-operation, (7) diffusion of the 'Three People's Principle'.

⁶² From Arthur N. Holcombe to William Rappard, 30 Mar. 1928, LNA: R2219. Holcombe also suggested the following candidates: Cai Yuan-pei (Minister of Education at Nanjing), Hu Shih (Formerly Professor of Philosophy at Peking University), J. S. Lee (Li Si-guang) (Professor of Geology at Peking University), Ping Tze (Zoologist, National South Eastern University at Nanjing), and Y. R. Chao (Professor of Philology at Tsinghua College).

⁶³ League of Nations, "Note by the Secretary General", Geneva, 24 Apr. 1928, LNA: R2219.

possible to think of nominating a Chinese member of the ICIC after the consolidation of China⁶⁴. Because of domestic conflicts in China as well as power struggles in the Nationalist Party, however, it was not until the end of 1929 that the Nationalist Government communicated to the League its wish to nominate a Chinese member to the ICIC⁶⁵. The main purpose of this nomination was to anchor the interests of the leaders of the Nationalist Party to the League of Nations, and thus the candidate was to be someone who was able to represent not only Chinese civilization but also the Nationalist Party. In view of this, the Chinese government strongly suggested Wu Shi-Fee (Wu Zhi-hui) because of his prominence as a scholar and his close relationship with the Nationalist party, particularly with Chiang Kai-shek. Meanwhile, they rejected Ho Shih, whom the Secretariat of the League had originally considered to be the best candidate, for the reason that he was critical of the Nationalist Party⁶⁶.

As the Secretariat of the League had already been considering Cai Yuan-pei, Ho Shih or V. K. Ting as the most suitable candidates for a Chinese member of the ICIC, the name of Wu Zhi-hui was completely unexpected. Since the Secretariat was prepared to choose candidates from a scientific point of view, it was most likely puzzled by the Chinese government's request that the

⁶⁴ From Albert Dufour-Ferroncel to Joseph Avenol, 5 Jul. 1928, LNA: 2219. Ding Wen-jiang was a geologist and later became a professor of geology at Peking University.

⁶⁵ "Extrait d'une lettre de M. Wou Saofong", 10 Dec. 1929, LNA: R2219.

⁶⁶ "Extrait d'une lettre de M. Wou Saofong", 30 Dec. 1929, LNA: R2219. Wu Zhi-hui (1865-1953), usually spelled as Wu Shi Fee in the publications related to the ICIC, was a politician as well as a scholar of Chinese philosophy, linguistics and phonology. Before the Chinese Revolution in 1911, he led the Chinese anarchist group in Paris with Zhang Jing-Jiang and Li Yu-ying (Li Shi-zeng), while participating in the revolutionary movement by Sun Yat-sen's *Tongmenghui* (Chinese Revolutionary Alliance). After the revolution, he was committed to the modernization of China, particularly creating the standardized Chinese phonetic system, *Zhuyin*. At the same time, while taking the initiative in establishing the Institut franco-chinois de Lyon, he had served as a Chinese member of the ICIC from 1930 to 1939. For his political activities, Wu, as one of the rightist cadres and a committed anti-communist in the Chinese Nationalist Party, had consistently supported Chiang Kai-shek ever since his rise to power. For biographical studies on him, see Zhang Wei, *Wu Zhi-hui yu Guoyu Yundong* (Wu Zhi-hui and the National Language Movement), Taipei: Wenzheshi Chubanshe, 1992; Saga Takashi, *Kindai Chugoku Anakizumu no Kenkyu* (Study of Modern Chinese Anarchism), Tokyo: Kenbun Shuppan, 1994.

Chinese member should be someone representing the Nationalist Party as well. Therefore, The Secretariat sent an inquiry about Wu Zhi-hui to Ludwik Rajchman, who was well acquainted with the situation in China through his personal connections from his experience as the director of the Health Section in the League⁶⁷. Lajchman, in response, made a positive statement about appointing Wu Zhi-hui, whereas he also thought that Ho Shih would be the ideal member for the ICIC⁶⁸. With information from another informant supporting Lajchman's view, the Secretariat of the League as well as the ICIC thus narrowed its choices to Wu Zhi-hui⁶⁹.

In March 1930, the Chinese government made an official request to the ICIC to appoint its Chinese member with the recommendation of Wu Zhi-hui as the most desirable candidate. The government's request underlined the importance of Chinese culture in the work of intellectual co-operation:

Seeing that China is the cradle of one of the oldest civilisations in the world, and that intellectual co-operation between the East and the West is essential to mutual understanding, the Chinese government considers that addition of a Chinese member to your Committee would be of some value. From this point of view the Chinese member to be appointed should be one who represents the Chinese civilisation and culture⁷⁰.

While the ICIC showed its willingness to welcome a representative of the ancient civilization, the Council, which discussed the appointment of the ICIC members at its meeting in May 1930, also shared the same view and approved the nomination of Wu Zhi-hui as a member of the ICIC.

⁶⁷ From A. Dufour-Ferronco to Ludwik Lajchman, 8 Feb. 1930, LNA: R2219.

⁶⁸ From L. Lajchman to A. Dufour-Ferronco, 12 Feb. 1930, LNA: R2219.

⁶⁹ From Cheng Yin-Tze to Pierre Comert, 17 Feb. 1930, LNA: R2219.

⁷⁰ From Woo Kaiseng to Gilbert Murray, 18 Mar. 1930, LNA: R2219.

At the meeting, the French representative Aristide Briand explained the reason for inviting a Chinese intellectual to the ICIC from the ideological point of view of intellectual co-operation:

The Committee on Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations should reflect the intellectual life of the whole world in its different aspects. Its membership should be constituted in such a way that the main branches of learning as well as various types of civilisation are represented. It has therefore been a source of constant regret in the past that one of the oldest and most brilliant civilisations in the world – the Chinese civilisation – has had no representative on the Committee. I believe that I shall be acting in accordance with the wish of my colleagues in proposing that you appoint as a member of the Committee Mr. Wu-Shi-Fee, one of the most prominent representatives of Chinese culture, who combines a great personal reputation with wide intellectual attainments⁷¹.

By acknowledging that the ICIC should represent the main branches of learning as well as various types of civilization, it is obvious that the idea of intellectual co-operation was drastically altered in the League of Nations. In other words, the ICIC came to recognize not only the universality of Western civilization but also the particularity of national cultures as essential to the work of intellectual co-operation. In this way, the insistent effort by the Beiyang Government and the Nationalist Government for giving full recognition to the significance of Chinese culture in the League at last led to the nomination of Wu Zhi-hui as the Chinese member of the ICIC.

The nomination of the Chinese member was also welcomed by the ICIC. At the Twelfth Session of the ICIC in August 1930, the Chairman Gilbert Murray expressed his satisfaction at

⁷¹ 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.

the representation of Chinese culture as well as Japanese culture in the ICIC, from the point of view of their contribution to the progress of humanity⁷². Wu Zhi-hui, however, did not show up at the meeting. More than this, during his entire term from 1930 to 1939 he did not participate in a single ICIC meeting. Instead, the Chinese government sent a substitute to the sessions of the ICIC every year⁷³. In view of Wu Zhi-hui's negative attitude toward participating, the ICIC considered the new appointment of another Chinese person as a member, but the Chinese government insisted on the continuance of Wu⁷⁴. Although it is not known exactly why Wu Zhi-hui had been personally reluctant to fulfill his duty as a member of the ICIC, it is conceivable that the Chinese government as well as Wu were content merely to have China occupy an honored status in the League of Nations through the appointment of a Chinese member in the ICIC. Furthermore, as mentioned later, most of the programs of intellectual cooperation between China and the ICIC were implemented not in the ICIC but in China, mainly undertaken by the Chinese government for its modernization.

3. The Formation of the Chinese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation

After the nomination of Wu Zhi-hui as the Chinese member in 1930, the cooperative relationship between the ICIC and China rapidly intensified. As discussed in detail in Chapter 4,

⁷² League of Nations, International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, "Minutes of the Twelfth Session held at Geneva from Wednesday, July 23rd, to Tuesday, July 29th, 1930", Geneva, 13 Aug. 1930, LNA: R2255.

⁷³ Lin Yu-tang (1931), Chen He-xi (1932), Hu Tian-shi (1933-35), Cheng Qi-bao (1936), Li Yu-ying (1937-39).

⁷⁴ From Jean Daniel de Montenach to L. Lajchman, 3 Dec. 1930, LNA: R2219.

the League's Mission of Educational Experts to China in 1931 served as the catalyst for forging a firm relationship between the ICIC and China. Although the Chinese government initially proposed the project with a view to make the most of the ICIC as well as the League for its own national reconstruction, the ICIC was also actively involved with preparations for the mission such as the definition of the mission's purposes and the selection of its members. In fact, through the implementation of this project, the ICIC came to establish a new identity as a center of intellectual and cultural exchanges between the East and the West. At the same time, the mission became the first experiment for the ICIC to directly assist a particular government.

The Mission of Educational Experts to China and its final report provoked two reactions from China: the mission of Chinese educationists to Europe and the establishment of the Chinese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. The Chinese educational commission to Europe was one of the suggestions raised by the League's mission in their final report. In March 1932, shortly after the League's mission completed its fieldwork in China and it had submitted a provisional report to the Chinese government, the ICIC reached an agreement with the government on sending the Chinese commission to European countries at its own expense⁷⁵. In doing so, the Chinese government informed the ICIC of five prospective members of the commission⁷⁶. The ICIC, in response, adopted a resolution at its Fourteenth Plenary Session in

⁷⁵ Société des Nations, Commission internationale de Coopération intellectuelle, "Comité exécutif, 6ème session: Procès-verbal de la première séance, tenu à Paris, le 30 mars 1932 à 11 heures", n.d., LNA: R2251.

⁷⁶ From Chu Chia-hua to L. Rajchman, 7 Jun. 1932, LNA: 2256. The list of members included Li shi-mou (Head of the College of Engineering, National Chekiang University), Kuo You-shou (Head of the Department of Higher Education, Ministry of Education), Yang Lien (Professor of Education, Peking University), Hang Li-wu (Director of the Commission for the Administration of Indemnity Funds returned by the British government), Cheng Chi-pao (Dean of the Department of Education, National Central University).

July to ‘take the necessary steps to ensure that the Chinese educationists sent to Europe shall derive the fullest possible benefit from their visit if the Governments of the countries visited will, for this purpose, kindly give their benevolent support to the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation⁷⁷’. With this resolution, the ICIC made arrangements for the arrival of the Chinese mission in Europe, formulating the plan of the countries that the Chinese mission would visit.

On their arrival in Europe at the end of August 1932, the members of the mission were invited to Geneva and instructed on the outline of their work and schedule⁷⁸. In line with the program that the ICIC prepared, the mission started a round of visits with Poland where they inspected schools and universities with the assistance of Marian Falski, who served as a member of the League’s educational mission to China in 1931⁷⁹. After a one-month stay in Poland and a short visit to Denmark, they made a study tour of European countries such as Germany, France, Great Britain, Italy, Austria and the Soviet Union from October to January 1933⁸⁰. In conjunction with the course of their study trip, the ICIC and the IIC continually made arrangements for the Chinese mission to gain the utmost cooperation wherever they visited⁸¹. In March 1933, after a two-week stay in the Soviet Union, the mission thus completed

⁷⁷ League of Nations, International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, “Draft Resolution on the Mission of Educationists sent to China”, Geneva, 21 Jul. 1932, LNA: 2257.

⁷⁸ From J. D. de Montenach to Werner Picht, 31 Aug. 1932, LNA: 2256. The mission was finally composed of Li Hsi-mou, Kuo Yu-shou, Yang Lien, Cheng Chi-pao, Chen Ho-shien (Former Commissioner of Education, Kiangsu). All of the mission members became members of the Chinese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation later.

⁷⁹ From Gustave Kullmann to Marian Falski, 31 Aug. 1932, LNA: 2256. For details, see “Extract from the General Report of the Director of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation to the International Committee”, n.d., pp. 1380-1381.

⁸⁰ From C. P. Chen to J. D. de Montenach, 11 Sep. 1932, LNA: 2256.

⁸¹ “Aide-Mémoire: Compte-rendu d’un entretien téléphonique avec M. Zilliacus du Secretariat de la S.d.N. de 12 Septembre 1932 à 16 1/2”, n.d., LNA: R2256. In fact, as the ICIC and the IIC had arranged, the mission received guidance from Carl Becker in Germany, Paul Langevin in France and R. H. Tawney in England. Including Falski in Poland, all were members of the League’s Mission of Educational Experts

all the scheduled programs and left for China⁸².

At the Fifteenth Plenary Session of the ICIC in July 1933, Henri Bonnet, the Director of the IIC, offered a summarized report of the completion of the Chinese mission to Europe. He characterized it as a great success by which the Chinese educationists had certainly been able to obtain a comparative view of the different systems of education in Europe⁸³. Furthermore, he even suggested that the ICIC not only send a representative to China to act as an adviser to the Chinese Ministry of Education, but also to appoint three such advisers, one for each of the three provinces in which the initial educational reforms were to be introduced⁸⁴. In this context, Bonnet concluded that ‘contact between the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation and the Chinese Government was now assured⁸⁵’. While leaving Bonnet’s suggestions in abeyance, the ICIC attached high importance to the mission of Chinese educationists in Europe and considered that this experiment should be widely imitated⁸⁶. In this way, the mission served to physically and mentally shorten the distance between the ICIC and China.

More importantly, however, the League’s Mission of Educational Experts to China also spurred the Chinese government to establish the Chinese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation in 1933. During the League’s mission in China in 1931, Bonnet met with Chinese

to China in 1931. In this regard, it can be said that this tour by Chinese educationists was a review as well as a practical version of the report of the League’s educational mission.

⁸² Jean Daniel de Montenach to Massimo Pilotti, 24 Feb. 1933, LNA: R3995; Société des Nations, Organisation de Coopération intellectuelle, Comité exécutif, “Neuvième session: Procès-verbal, première séance tenue à Paris le 11 avril 1933 à 11 heures 30”, Geneva, 19 Jun. 1933, LNA: R4004.

⁸³ League of Nations, Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, Fifteenth Session of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, “Provisional Minutes: Seventh Meeting held at Geneva on July 20th, 1933, at 3.30 p.m.”, Geneva, 21 Nov. 1933, p. 1, LNA: R4001.

⁸⁴ Ibid, p.1.

⁸⁵ Ibid, p.1.

⁸⁶ “Extract from the Report of the International Committee on the Work of its Fifteenth Plenary Session, 17th July, 1933”, n.d., LNA: R3995.

intellectuals and members of the Chinese Ministry of Education to discuss how to improve contacts between China and the ICIC⁸⁷. From the point of view of the Chinese government, the collaboration with the ICIC was understood as a way to promote their own efforts toward national reconstruction. The government therefore stressed that there was a need to establish a center that would both serve as a mediator of exchanges between Chinese and Western cultures and work to integrate different cultural organizations in China⁸⁸. With this view, the foundation of a Chinese national committee on intellectual co-operation was agreed upon in principle by Bonnet and the Chinese Ministry of Education⁸⁹. At the same time, they drafted a plan for the organization of the national committee which stipulated that it should devote the greater part of its activities to educational issues, particularly exchanges of teachers and students, while also dealing with questions of science as well as arts and letters⁹⁰.

However, it was not until 1933 that the idea of establishing a Chinese National Committee on Intellectual Cooperation was realized. In the course of creating the national committee, Li Yu-ying (Li Shi-zeng) played a leading role⁹¹. In fact, Li launched full preparations for the creation of the Chinese national committee after his return from the trip to Europe in 1932,

⁸⁷ “Ci-joint rapport préliminaire du directeur de l’Institut international de coopération intellectuelle sur la mission d’éducateurs envoyés par la Société des Nations en Chine”, n.d., p.p. 13-14, LNA: R2256.

⁸⁸ Ibid, pp. 14-15.

⁸⁹ Ibid, p. 16.

⁹⁰ “Note au sujet de la constitution d’une Commission chinoise de coopération intellectuelle”, annexed to “Ci-joint rapport préliminaire du directeur de l’Institut international de coopération intellectuelle sur la mission d’éducateurs envoyés par la Société des Nations en Chine”, pp. 1-5.

⁹¹ Li Yu-ying (1881-1973) was a Chinese scholar and politician. After participating in the revolutionary movement in Paris with Wu zhi-hui, he held prominent positions particularly in the educational administration of the Nationalist Government, such as a member of the commission of education, the president of the National Peiping University, one of the founders of the National Palace Museum and the president of the National Academy at Peiping. Although Wu Zhi-hui served on the ICIC and acted as the president of the Chinese national committee, it was actually Li who consistently took the initiative in the Chinese movement toward cooperation with the ICIC. The reason why Li was entrusted with the task of establishing the Chinese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation was his intimate friendship with Wu Zhi-hui as well as his considerable knowledge of the West, particularly French culture.

where he had exchanged views on this matter with key figures of the ICIC and the IIIC⁹². Based on the discussions between Li and the ICIC, it was agreed that the Chinese national committee should be regarded as a ‘coordinating body among Chinese organizations with characteristics of intelligence, education, arts and sciences⁹³’. Based on this plan, the organizing committee for the Chinese national committee on intellectual co-operation, which consisted of twenty-five members appointed by the Ministry of Education, was held in Shanghai in June 1933⁹⁴. At this meeting, It was also decided that Wu Zhi-hui should chair the committee and that the organizing committee would establish an executive committee composed of seven members⁹⁵. As almost all members of the organizing committee were more or less related with the Ministry of Education, it is obvious that the Chinese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation was

⁹² From Henri Bonnet to G. Murray, 11 Dec. 1932, UNESCO: A.I.16.

⁹³ From the IIIC to Cheng Yin Fun, 21 Jan. 1933, LNA: R3995.

⁹⁴ From Hoshien Tchen to J. D. de Montenach, 7 Jul. 1933, LNA: R3974. This organizing committee evolved into the Chinese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. The members include: Chang Chi (Director of the Department of Archives of the Imperial Palace Museum at Peiping), Chang King-kiang (President of the Committee of National Reconstruction, Founder of the Association of Sino-international Cooperation for Intellectual, Economic and Social Development), Cheng Chi-pao (Ministry of Education, Member of the Chinese Educational Mission in Europe), Chen Li-fu (Member of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang), Chu Chia-hua (Minister of Communications, Former Minister of Education), Chyne Wen-ya (Director of Printing of the Imperial Palace Museum at Peiping), Kuo You-shou (Ministry of Education, Member of the Chinese Educational Mission in Europe), Lee Chia-hsiang (Ministry of Education, Member of the Chinese Educational Mission in Europe), Li Shi-mou (Ministry of Education, Member of the Chinese Educational Mission in Europe), Li Shou-hua (Vice-President of the National Academy at Peiping, Former Minister of Education), Li Yu-ying (President of the National Academy at Peiping, Founder of the Association of Sino-international cooperation for Intellectual, Economic and Social Development), Lin Yu-tang (Academia Sinica, Publicist), Lo Chia-lung (President of the Central University of Nanjing), Niu Yuen-chieh (Vice-President of the Examination Yuan), Sing Yu-tse (Chairman of the Editorial and Translation Committee of the Ministry of Education), T. V. Soong (Minister of Finance, Vice-President of the Executive Yuan), Tai Chi-tao (President of the Examination Yuan), Tchen Ho-shien (Professor, Former Commissioner of Education of the Province of Kiangsu), Tsai Yuan-pei (President of Academia Sinica, Former Minister of Education), Tsu Ming-yi (Secretary General of the Executive Yuan, Co-director of the Franco-Chinese Institute in Shanghai), Wang Chi-chie (Minister of Education, Former Rector of the University of Wuhan), Wong Wen-hao (Director of the Chinese National Institute of Geology, Former Minister of Education), Wu Shi-fee (Member of the Chinese University Commission, Member of the ICIC), Yang Chien (Professor, General Secretary of Academia Sinica), and Yang Lien (Ministry of Education, Member of the Chinese Educational Mission in Europe).

⁹⁵ Ibid. The members of the executive committee included Wu Zhi-hui, Chiang Kin-kiang, Li Yu-ying, Tsai Yuan-pei, Tsu Ming-yi, Tchen Ho-shien, and Chyne Wen-ya.

formed under the strong influence of the Chinese government⁹⁶.

From its inception, the very name given to the Chinese national committee revealed both the broad expectations and the particular goals of Chinese government's interest in intellectual co-operation. The Chinese name for the committee was *Shijie Wenhua Hezuo Zhongguo Xiehui*, in which the term 'intellectual co-operation' was translated into Chinese as *Shijie Wenhua Hezuo* (literally meaning 'World Cultural Co-operation'). In fact, when the national committee was established, Chinese intellectuals including Wu Shi-hui and Li Yu-ying still lacked a detailed knowledge of the work of the ICIC⁹⁷. Nonetheless, it is interesting to note that at this point the Chinese national committee already had a general understanding of what intellectual co-operation was. For example, it presents a comprehensive vision of international intellectual co-operation by classifying it into three forms: (1) intellectual co-operation directly implemented by the League of Nations, (2) intellectual co-operation implemented in collaboration between the League and each national cultural organization, (3) intellectual co-operation implemented by each national cultural organization⁹⁸. Among these three, the Chinese national committee laid special emphasis on the third form, particularly the significant role of a national cultural organization in the work of intellectual co-operation. This is because, as previously mentioned, the Chinese national committee recognized the urgent need to be a

⁹⁶ In parallel with the establishment of the Chinese national committee, the Chinese government set up its permanent mission of delegates to the ICIC in Geneva. Though it was formally presided over by Wu Zhi-hui, Li Yu-ying assumed his post as the first permanent delegate while Hu Tien-she served as its secretary-general. "Délégation chinoise auprès des Organisation internationales de Coopération intellectuelle, Bureaux à Genève et à Shanghai", 11 Jun. 1934, UNESCO: A.I.135.

⁹⁷ For this reason, the Chinese national committee asked the IIC to provide materials including publications by the ICIC. From Hoshien Tchen to H. Bonnet, 9 Jun. 1933, UNESCO: A.III.55.

⁹⁸ Chen He-xi ed., *Shijie Wenhua Hezuo: Canjia Guolian Shijie Wenhua Hezuohui di Shisi ci Huiyi zhi Baogao* (World Cultural Co-operation: Report on the Participation in the Fourteenth Session of the ICIC), Shanghai: Shijie Bianyiguan, 1933, p. 49.

center for integrating various domestic cultural organizations in China. This is a corollary of the Chinese national committee's overarching goal to achieve national reconstruction under the initiative of the Chinese government. On the other hand, however, this does not mean that the scope of intellectual co-operation from the Chinese point of view was confined to governmental activities. In fact, Li Yu-ying argued that the Chinese national committee should deal not only with intergovernmental relations but also with the relationship between societies including peoples and social institutions⁹⁹. Intellectual co-operation was thus conceptualized as a joint initiative between the public and private sectors in China. At the Nineteenth Plenary Session of the ICIC in 1937, Li on behalf of Wu Zhi-hui raised the question of intellectual co-operation from the point of view of its social aspects:

The Intellectual Co-operation Organisation should work not only, as it were, "horizontally" with the idea of co-operation between the different countries, but also in a vertical sense, with a view of establishing good understanding between the different classes of society. That was the aim at Charleroi and was also the purpose which M. Wu Shi Fee had in view in founding the various settlements in China. That was the angle from which he viewed the standardisation of methods of training¹⁰⁰.

In addition to international understanding among nations, he thus emphasized the development of mutual understanding in a society or nation as one of the two major functions that the ICIC

⁹⁹ Li Yu-ying, "Shijie Wenhua Hezuo Zhongguo Daibiaotuan Zuzhi Dagang Chenbao Dahui Beian Tongqi" (The Organizational Outline of the Chinese Delegation to the ICIC reporting on the Preparatory Notice for the Conference), *Li Shi-zeng Xiansheng Wenji* (Collected Works of Li Shi-zeng), Vol. 2, Taipei: Zhongguo Guomindang Zhongyang Weiyuanhui Dangshi Weiyuanhui, 1970, p. 371 [Original work published 1943].

¹⁰⁰ League of Nations, International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, "Nineteenth Session, Minutes: Third Meeting held in Paris on July 13th, 1937, at 10 a.m.", n.d., p. 30, LNA: R4003.

should serve. This argument resulted partly from Li's socialistic tendency as an old anarchist, but it primarily derived from the critical situation in China at the time, in which social integration and national unity were most needed. In this regard, it can be said that this socialistic understanding of intellectual co-operation was a Chinese reinterpretation of the ICIC's fundamental principles.

At the same time, the Chinese understanding of intellectual co-operation was underpinned by the ideological dichotomy between China and the West, or between China and the 'international'. For example, while stressing the importance of studying the issues regarding cultural exchange between the East and the West, Li Yu-ying focused more attention on China itself vis-à-vis the West¹⁰¹. Particularly in discussing China's intellectual cooperation with the ICIC, he often referred to the term *Zhongguo Guoji* (Sino-international). In his view, international culture, which had long been dominated by Western cultures, would never be complete unless it incorporated Chinese culture¹⁰². In this regard, China was strongly motivated by a sense of mission for the diffusion of Chinese culture particularly in the West, asserting its historical and cultural uniqueness in the world¹⁰³. From this point of view, in addition to the work of intellectual co-operation as a way to contribute to its national reconstruction, the Chinese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation also became engaged in a propaganda

¹⁰¹ Li Yu-ying, "Zai di Erci Quanguo Jiaoyu Huiyi Jianyanci" (Lecture at the Second National Education Conference), *Li Shi-zeng Xiansheng Wenji* (Collected Works of Li Shi-zeng), Vol. 2, Taipei: Zhongguo Guomindang Zhongyang Weiyuanhui Dangshi Weiyuanhui, 1970, p. 245 [Original work published 1930].

¹⁰² Li Yu-ying, "Zhongguo Guoji Xueshu Wenti" (International Scientific Issues in China), *Li Shi-zeng Xiansheng Wenji* (Collected Works of Li Shi-zeng), Vol. 2, Taipei: Zhongguo Guomindang Zhongyang Weiyuanhui Dangshi Weiyuanhui, 1970, pp. 271-272 [Original work published 1953].

¹⁰³ Ibid, pp. 274-275. Li Yu-ying, "Shijie Wenhua" (World Culture), *Li Shi-zeng Xiansheng Wenji* (Collected Works of Li Shi-zeng), Vol. 2, Taipei: Zhongguo Guomindang Zhongyang Weiyuanhui Dangshi Weiyuanhui, 1970, p. 280 [Original work published 1954].

campaign to introduce Chinese national culture to the West¹⁰⁴.

Furthermore, there was another reason why Chinese intellectuals and the government embarked on the implementation of intellectual co-operation by establishing a national committee. While some intellectuals had already introduced general information about the ICIC in China during the 1920s, much more attention was paid to the ICIC's work of intellectual co-operation from a perspective of cultural diplomacy in the early 1930s¹⁰⁵. This is because of the Japanese government's increasingly aggressive cultural diplomacy to Western countries around the same time. In 1934, the Japanese government established its large-scale national organization for cultural exchange, the *Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai* (Society for Promotion of International Cultural Relations). The organization of Japanese cultural diplomacy in this way induced a sense of vigilance among Chinese intellectuals, because they detected in it Japan's definite intention to promote the cultural invasion of China and justify its puppet state, Manchukuo¹⁰⁶. In total opposition to Japanese cultural imperialism by means of Japan's hypocritical programs for international cultural exchange, and in view of the fact that other major governments such as Germany, France, Italy, the Soviet Union, Spain, Great Britain and the United States were also engaged in organizing cultural diplomacy for the sake of their own national interests, Chinese intellectuals argued that such a national organization for cultural

¹⁰⁴ As mentioned in detail later, this campaign crystallized in the opening of the Sino-International Library in Geneva.

¹⁰⁵ You Xiong, "Guoji Lianmeng yu Xuewen Yishu zhi Guojihua" (League of Nations and the Internationalization of Arts and Sciences), *Dongfang Zazhi*, Vol. 22, No. 19, 1925, pp. 44-54. He Zuo-lin, "Guoji Zhishijie de Hezuo Yundong" (Movement of International Intellectual Co-operation), *Dongfang Zazhi*, Vol. 23, No. 19, 1926, pp. 35-42; Zhang Fu-liang, *Guoji Zhishi Hezuo Yundongshi* (History of International Intellectual Co-operation Movement), Shanghai: Shangwuyin Shuguan, 1927.

¹⁰⁶ Liu De-ming, "Guoji Weihua Shiye shi Shenme?" (What is International Cultural Exchange?), *Waijiao Yuebao*, Vol. 6, No. 6, 1935, p. 141.

exchange should also be established in China¹⁰⁷. Arguably, the Chinese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation was also thus expected to undertake the mission to fight this propaganda war among governments.

Given these intents and purposes, the Chinese national committee was engaged in a variety of activities for intellectual co-operation¹⁰⁸. Firstly, the national committee published a number of publications relating to the aims, organizations, activities and achievements of the ICIC so that Chinese intellectuals could gradually take interest in it and cooperate in its work. To this end, the committee translated certain ICIC publications and reports into Chinese and also edited its own books on the relationship between China and the ICIC¹⁰⁹.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, pp. 155-157.

¹⁰⁸ League of Nations, Intellectual Co-operation Organization, "Statement of the Work of the Chinese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation from June 1933 to May 1934", Geneva, 8 Jun. 1934, LNA: R3974; League of Nations, Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, *National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation*, Geneva, 1937, pp. 39-43; Organisation internationale de coopération intellectuelle, *Commission nationale chinoise de coopération intellectuelle*, Shanghai: Commission nationale chinoise de coopération intellectuelle, 1937.

¹⁰⁹ Translated works include: Shijie Wenhua Hezuo Zhongguo Xiehui Choubi Weiyuanhui transl., *Geguo Wenhua Hezuo Xiehui Gailan*, Shanghai: Shijie Wenhua Hezuo Zhongguo Xiehui Choubi Weiyuanhui, 1933 [originally, Société des Nations, *Commissions nationales de Coopération intellectuelle*, Geneva: Société des Nations, 1932]; Chen He-cien, transl., *Shijie Wenhua Hezuohui Taolun Gaijin Zhongguo Jiaoyu Baogaoshu Huiyi Jilu*, Shanghai: Shijie Wenhua Hezuo Zhongguo Xiehui Choubi Weiyuanhui, 1933 [the ICIC's report on the Mission of Educational Experts to China]; Dai Xiu-jun, transl., *Di Shiwuci Guolian Wenhua Hezuo Baogao*, Shanghai: Shijie Shuji, 1934 [the ICIC's Report on its Fifteenth Plenary Session]; Dai Xiu-jun, transl., *Di Shiliuci Guolian Wenhua Hezuo Baogao*, Shanghai: Shijie Shuji, 1935 [the ICIC's Report on its Sixteenth Plenary Session]; Xu Zhai, transl., *Minzhong Yishu ji Gongren Yule*, Shanghai: Shijie Wenhua Hezuo Zhongguo Xiehui, 1935 [International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, *Art populaire et loisirs ouvriers*, Paris: Société des Nations, Institut international de coopération intellectuelle, 1934]; Zeng Jue-zhi, transl., *Gaote Tanhua*, Shanghai: Shijie Shuji, 1935 [*Entretiens sur Goethe à l'occasion du centenaire de sa mort*, Paris: Société des Nations, Institut international de coopération intellectuelle, 1932]; Zen Jue-zhi, transl., *Wuxiandian Guangbo de Wenhua Jiaoyu Zuoyong*, Shanghai: Shijie Wenhua Hezuo Zhongguo Xiehui, 1936 [F. W. Beidler-Wagner, *Le rôle intellectuel et éducatif de la radiodiffusion*, Paris Institut international de coopération intellectuelle, 1935]; Wang Feng-yi, transl., *Guojia yu Jingji Shenghuo*, Shanghai: Shijie Wenhua Hezuo Zhongguo Xiehui, 1936 [International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, *A Record of a First International Study Conference on the State and Economic Life*, Paris: International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, 1932]. For edited works by the Chinese national committee, see Chen He-xien, ed., *Shijie Wenhua Hezuo: Canjia Guolian Shijie Wenhua Hezuohui Di Shisici Huiyi zhi Baogao* (International Intellectual Co-operation: Report on the Participation of the Fourteenth Session of the ICIC), Shanghai: Shijie Bianyiguan, 1933; Chen He-xien, ed., *Guolian zhi Wenhua Hezuo Zuzhi* (Organization of Intellectual Co-operation of the League), Shanghai: Zhonghua Shuji, 1934.

Secondly, the committee enhanced coordination with Chinese intellectual institutions and with the Ministry of Education. As most of the members of the committee were representatives of different intellectual institutions and of the Ministry of Education from its inception the committee maintained intimate personal relations with these organizations and carried on continuous correspondence with them. The committee furthermore conducted a detailed enquiry into the position of intellectual institutions in China¹¹⁰.

Thirdly, the Chinese national committee engaged in collaboration with Chinese libraries. It is particularly noteworthy that the *Bibliothèque Sino-internationale* was established in Shanghai and Geneva at the initiative of members of the national committee¹¹¹. Housing a number of Chinese newspapers, periodicals, and a hundred thousand books as well as a collection of educational materials for exhibition purposes, the *Bibliothèque Sino-internationale* in Geneva served as one of the cultural centers to promote the study and research of China and to introduce Chinese culture to western people¹¹².

Fourthly, the Chinese national committee organized lectures on scientific, library and artistic

¹¹⁰ The results of the survey were released as W. Y. Chyne, ed., *Handbook of Cultural Institutions in China*, Shanghai: Chinese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, 1936.

¹¹¹ To be precise, the Library in Shanghai was already opened in 1932, and it was during the time of Li Yu-ying's visit to Europe in 1933 that the library in Geneva was established. The founders of the library included members of the national committee such as Wu Shi-hui, Li Yu-ying and Tsai Yuan-pei. Hu Tian-shi, who participated in the sessions of the ICIC from 1933 to 1935 on behalf of Wu Zhi-hui, acted as the director of the library in Geneva. For details, see *Bibliothèque Sino-Internationale Genève*, 2nd Edition, Geneva, 1934; Zhongguo Guoji Tushuguan ed., *Zhongguo Guoji Tushuguan Gaiyao* (Brief Overview of the Sino-International Library), 1934.

¹¹² The library survived the war but closed in 1951 because of the recognition of the People's Republic of China in 1950. The collection was transferred to Uruguay, and it was not until 1993 that it was reintegrated into the present national central library in Taipei. Li Yu-ying, "Zhongguo Guoji Xueshu Wenti" (International Scientific Issues in China), *Li Shi-zeng Xiansheng Wenji* (Collected Works of Li Shi-zeng), Vol. 2, Taipei: Zhongguo Guomindang Zhongyang Weiyuanhui Dangshi Weiyuanhui, 1970, p. 271 [Original work published 1953]; Yang Jian-ping and Xiang Jun, "Cong Piaobo Guji Kan Liangan Lamei Waijiao" (Diplomacies of the PRC and the ROC toward Latin America from the point of view of the drifting palaeography), *The Quarterly of Latin American Economy and Trade*, No. 14, 2013, pp. 26-45.

subjects. The lectures were delivered not only by leading Chinese intellectuals such as Wu Zhi-hui, Tsai Yuan-pei and Li Yu-ying, but also by foreign intellectuals invited to China¹¹³.

Fifthly, the Chinese national committee organized artistic, scientific, technical and educational exhibitions. For example, an exhibition of German artistic painting was held in 1934 at Peiping, Nanjing and Shanghai. This was realized through the collaboration of the National Library of Peiping, the Central University of Nanjing, the Sino-German Cultural Association, and the Association of Sino-International Co-operation for Intellectual, Economic and Social Development¹¹⁴.

Sixthly, through coordination with the *Ecole internationale de Genève*, the national committee promoted overseas education for pupils in elementary and secondary education. In order to promote these exchanges, *Shijie Xuexiao* (International School of Shanghai) was founded in October 1936 under the auspices of leading members of the Chinese national committee, namely Wu Zhi-hui, Tsai Yuan-pei, Li Yu-ying and Zhang Jingjiang¹¹⁵. The school accepted a limited number of Chinese pupils and provided them with education in the most modern methods with the assistance of foreign teachers from France, Great Britain, the United States and Austria¹¹⁶.

Seventhly and finally, as a national committee subject to its international body, the Chinese national committee kept in constant touch with the ICIC and the IIIC. Particularly, when the

¹¹³ For example, William Martin (Professor at the University of Geneva, Redactor of the *Journal de Genève*), André Honnorat (Senator, Former French Minister of Education), August Wilden (French ambassador in China), Pearl Buck (American writer), Fernand Maurette (Assistant director of the International Labour Office), Alexandra Roubé-Jansky (French novelist). *Organisation internationale de coopération intellectuelle, Commission nationale chinoise de coopération intellectuelle*, pp. 29-31.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 32-34.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 35-37.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 37. This school still exists in Shanghai as *Shijie Xiaoxue* (World Primary School).

Second General Conference of National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation was held by the ICIC and the IIC in Paris in 1937, the Chinese national committee sent Li Yu-ying and Yan Ji-ci as its representatives¹¹⁷.

In sum, the tasks of the Chinese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation were twofold: to co-ordinate the activities of the cultural institutions in China and to ensure the participation of China in international intellectual co-operation¹¹⁸. In other words, as stated previously, the primary purpose of the national committee was to construct and consolidate the unity of its national culture inside China as well as to impress the particularity and uniqueness of the national culture on others, particularly Western people in the international arena of the ICIC. In this sense, the notion of national culture was the essence of China's intellectual co-operation with the ICIC:

Chinese people will certainly have a special part to play in the work of intellectual co-operation, as there is an aspect of Chinese civilisation which is peculiar to itself, independent and more suited to the Chinese people than that borrowed from the West. In view of these differences the Chinese Committee feels that it is necessary to multiply the opportunities for the exchange of intellectual and scientific ideas. This collaboration may eventually be expected to cover many new and important works¹¹⁹.

This Chinese view of intellectual co-operation had been echoed since the early 1920s by the Chinese government, both the previous Beiyang Government and the present Nationalist

¹¹⁷ The arguments by the Chinese national committee at the conference are discussed in Chapter IV.

¹¹⁸ Tzehsiung Kuo, *China and International Intellectual Co-operation*, Nanjing: Council of International Affairs, 1936, p. 12.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 13.

Government in Nanjing, as well as by the Chinese intellectuals interested in the ICIC's work of intellectual co-operation. As they were strongly motivated by their shared desire to achieve China's representation in the ICIC, the significance of Chinese national culture in the world had been always emphasized inside and outside of the League during the 1920s. Moreover, after the nomination of Wu Zhi-hui as a Chinese member of the ICIC and the deepening of the cooperative relations between China and the ICIC, the work of intellectual co-operation came to be interpreted as a governmental policy in the context of the full-scale efforts by the Chinese government for its national reconstruction in the 1930s. In this way, the Chinese mindset and experience were conceptualized as the idea that intellectual co-operation should be not only based on the particularity of national cultures but also implemented mainly by governments. Since this Chinese reinterpretation was essentially different from the ICIC's original idea premised on the universality of Western civilization and the key role of private intellectuals, it led to an ideological shift of the ICIC's fundamental principles in the late 1930s¹²⁰.

In the middle of its development, however, the Chinese national committee was also involved in the expansion of the Sino-Japanese war. Particularly after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident in July 1937 and the subsequent Battle of Shanghai in the following month, the Sino-Japanese skirmish evolving from the Manchurian Incident in 1931 turned into an all-out war. Although Shanghai was one of the main battlefields, the national committee took advantage of the Shanghai International Settlement and engaged in publicity activities to bring an accusation against the systematic destruction of Chinese cultural institutions by the Japanese army, even

¹²⁰ The details of this ideological shift of the ICIC are discussed in Chapter IV.

after the capital was relocated to Zhongqing and Nanjing fell at the end of 1937¹²¹. In fact, the Chinese national committee repeatedly sent telegrams to the ICIC and the IIC reporting the cultural devastation of China, especially the destruction of Chinese educational institutions such as universities, schools and libraries, caused by indiscriminate attacks from the Japanese Army¹²². Furthermore, at the Twentieth Plenary Session of the ICIC in July 1938 Li Yu-ying highlighted the proactive actions of the Chinese national committee in spite of the serious situation and called for international support for China:

...the Chinese national Committee had very definitely decided to develop international culture in China. China was asking international organisations, like those dependent on the League of Nations, to help it in this aim. China had absolute faith in the League, whatever might be said of it, just as a republican had faith in republican rule. The Intellectual Co-operation Organisation was an essential body of the League, for, whereas the latter dealt with current problems, the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation prepared the future. The Chinese National Committee did not want to ask anything impossible, but it believed that if they tried with courage and conviction to impress on the minds of all the necessity of organising collective security, they would achieve their object¹²³.

Even at the height of the war, the Chinese national committee maintained hope for the possibility of intellectual co-operation to defend humanity from the physical and mental

¹²¹ Chen He-xi, “Wu Zhi-hui Xiansheng Changdao Guoji Wenhua Hezuo” (Wu Zhi-hui Advocating World Cultural Co-operation), *Wu Zhi-hui Xiansheng Jिनianji*, 1963, p. 26.

¹²² From Hoshien Tchen to H. Bonnet, 24 Aug. 1937, UNESCO: A.III.35; From Hoshien Tchen to H. Bonnet, 3 Sep. 1937, UNESCO: A.III.55; From Wu Shi Fee to the IIC, 22 Sep. 1937, UNESCO: A.III.55; From Hoshien Tchen to H. Bonnet, 23 Oct. 1937, UNESCO: A.III.55; From J. Usang Ly to the ICIC, 21 Feb. 1938, LNA: R4044; From T. L. Yuan to G. Murray, 10 Jun. 1938, LNA: 4044.

¹²³ League of Nations, Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, “Twentieth Plenary Session of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation: Minutes, Eighth Meeting held at Geneva on July 14th, 1938, at 3 p.m.”, n.d., p. 77, LNA: R4004.

destruction of the war. Although it is of course evident that this Chinese appeal was made for its own sake, it is also certain that the ICIC, which was established as a product of remorse for the outbreak of the First World War, was being put to the test in terms of its ability to prevent war by means of intellectual co-operation.

Despite its appeal in the midst of the state of emergency in China, ultimately the Chinese national committee received a cold reaction from the ICIC. While discussing the Chinese appeal for assistance, the ICIC finally decided to relegate it to abeyance for financial reasons¹²⁴. Li Yu-ying again attended the plenary session of the ICIC in 1939 and repeated the same argument that the ICIC should fulfill its original function to defend civilization from aggressive actions destroying valuable libraries and archives¹²⁵. However, the ICIC of the time was no longer able to maintain its normal functions, not to mention initiate a new project like organizing assistance for China. After that, with the crisis of the League and the ICIC themselves in the aftermath of the outbreak of the war in Europe, the Chinese national committee in line with other Chinese cultural organizations continued the protest movement and lobbying campaign against the Japanese invasion, now shifting its weight from the ICIC to the United States¹²⁶. Though China's intellectual co-operation was thus eventually dissociated from the ICIC, its experience obtained from years of cooperation with the ICIC prepared the way for China to participate in

¹²⁴ “Vingt-cinquième Session, Procès-verbal de la Deuxième séance, tenue à Genève le 19 juillet 1938, à 10 heures”, n.d., LNA: R4006.

¹²⁵ League of Nations, Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, “Minutes of the Twenty-First Plenary Session of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, held at Geneva from Monday July 17th to Saturday July 22nd, 1939”, Geneva, 24 Aug. 1939, p. 62, LNA: R4004.

¹²⁶ Chen He-xi, “Wu Zhi-hui Xiansheng Changdao Guoji Wenhua Hezuo” (Wu Zhi-hui Advocating World Cultural Co-operation), *Wu Zhi-hui Xiansheng Jinianji*, 1963, p. 27.

UNESCO as one of its founding members after the end of the Second World War¹²⁷.

¹²⁷ Ibid, p. 27. In fact, at the inauguration of UNESCO in 1946, the Chinese delegation was led by former members of the Chinese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, including Wu Zhi-hui and Li Yu-ying. “Etat des rapport avec les membres de la commission internationale au 15 juin 1945”, n.d., UNESCO: A.I.12. From Hoshien Tchen to J. J. Mayoux, 9 Oct. 1945, UNESCO: A.III.55.

Chapter IV

The Transformation of the Idea of Intellectual Co-operation in the 1930s

As discussed in the previous chapters, both China and Japan refuted the universalistic ideology of intellectual co-operation that the ICIC was predicated on in the 1920s, stemming from their respective cultural assertions emphasizing the particularity of national culture. Confronted by this antagonism, the ICIC gradually shifted the emphasis of its fundamental principles from the universality to the particularity of culture. This ideological transformation is demonstrated in the two notable projects that the ICIC had enthusiastically undertaken in the 1930s: the Mission of Educational Experts to China and the Japanese Collection. The former was implemented in China as a joint enterprise for intellectual co-operation between the ICIC and the Chinese government, while the latter was situated within the ICIC itself with the help of the Japanese government, cultural organizations as well as intellectuals in Japan. Through these projects of intellectual co-operation inside and outside the ICIC, the transformation of the ICIC's principles resulted in the International Act concerning Intellectual Co-operation ratified in 1938. In this chapter, this transformation of the ICIC is characterized as its ideological shift from intellectual co-operation to international cultural exchange.

1. Intellectual Co-operation outside the ICIC: Mission of Educational Experts to China

The projects of intellectual co-operation between the ICIC and China were implemented as a part of the broader collaborations between the League of Nations and the Chinese government, which were collectively framed as the League's Technical Co-operation with China. Since the establishment of the Nationalist Government in Nanjing in 1928, the Chinese government had sought assistance from the League of Nations for its national reconstruction and modernization, particularly in the technical fields including health and hygiene, transit and communications, and education. The League, in response, continuously sent technical experts in these fields to assist the Nationalist Chinese government, and their collaboration increased in the 1930s¹. The work of intellectual co-operation between the ICIC and China also emerged in this context. In fact, it was League's technical advisors in China, for example Ludwik Rajchman, that enthusiastically motivated the League as well as the ICIC to embark on intellectual co-operation with China².

The Technical Co-operation between the League and China was greatly accelerated by the proposal from the Chinese government on 7 January 1921, which requested the League to send

¹ For details about the Technical Co-operation between the League and China, see Zhang Li, *Guoji Hezuo zai Zhongguo* (International Co-operation in China), Taipei: Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 1999, Ch. 4; Zhang Li, "Gu Wei-jun yu 20 Shiji 30 Niandai Zhongguo he Guolian de Jishu Hezuo" (Wellington Koo and the Technical Co-operation between China and the League in the 1930s), Jing Guang-yao ed., *Gu Wei-jun yu Zhongguo Waijiao*, Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 2001, pp. 220-233; Jürgen Osterhammel, "'Technical Co-operation' between the League of Nations and China", *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 13, no. 4, 1979, pp. 661-680; Susanne Kuß, *Der Völkerbund und China: technische Kooperation und deutsche Berater, 1928-34*, Münster: LIT, 2005; Margherita Zanasi, "Exporting Development: The League of Nations and Republican China", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 49, no. 1, pp. 143-169.

² As a director of the Health Section of the League Secretariat as well as an advisor to the Nationalist Government in Nanjing, Rajchman played a leading part in the Technical Co-operation between the League and China. For his involvement in China, see Martha A. Balińska, *For the Good of Humanity: Ludwik Rajchman, Medical Statesman*, Budapest: Central European University Press, 1995.

two directors of its Secretariat, Arther Salter in the Economic and Financial Section and Robert Haas in the Transit and Communication Section, to China for a short period to provide direction for China's national reconstruction³. Unanimously approved by the Council of the League in January, and with the addition of one more director, Ludwik Rajchman in the Health Section, Salter and Haas were sent to Nanjing during the period from February to March 1931⁴. Likewise, intellectual co-operation between the ICIC and China took shape by two successive requests from the Chinese government. On 6 March 1931, the Chinese Ministry of Education submitted a three-part proposal to the League of Nations⁵. Firstly, it asked the League of Nations to make a general arrangement for the exchange of professors between China and other countries, particularly of professors specializing in medical and natural sciences on the one hand, and jurisprudence and political sciences on the other, with a view to bringing about a much closer understanding and fuller exchange of ideas between China and the West. Secondly, the Ministry of Education requested the League to send three professors respectively specializing in English literature, Geography and Geology to the Central University in Nanjing. It also set the conditions that a professor of English literature would preferably be British and professors of Geography and Geology should be selected from amongst scientists of Australia, Germany, Scandinavia or Switzerland, who were able to teach in English. And thirdly, the Chinese government called for detailed information concerning the scope of the League's work in the field of intellectual activity such as the ICIC, the IIIC and the International Educational

³ "Proposed Visit to China of the Director of the Economic and Financial Section and of the Director of the Transit Section", League of Nations, *Official Journal*, Feb. 1931, p. 147.

⁴ League of Nations, "Communication from the Chinese Government in regard to technical co-operation with the League: Note by the Secretary-General", Geneva, 15 May 1931, LNA: R3575.

⁵ From P.L. Chen to the Secretary General, 6 Mar. 1931, LNA: R2255.

Cinematographic Institute at Rome.

While generally welcoming these multiple demands, the Secretariat of the League was concerned about the second point, particularly its financial resources, because the Chinese government stated that the Central University could not offer the exchange professors more than the highest salary paid to members of the faculty, 320 Mexican dollars per month. Considering that the salary would not be sufficient for the professors from Europe, the Secretary General suggested that the Chinese contribution to the League which was in arrears could be used for this purpose⁶. With this prospect, it was decided in the ICIC that the IIIC should start to study the question of exchanging professors to China for the next meeting of the ICIC in 1931, and to prepare a memorandum investigating how collaboration with China could be obtained in the League's work in the field of intellectual activity⁷. Taking these actions in response to the request from the Chinese Ministry of Education, the Secretariat of the League expressed its desire to assist the development of relations between China and other members of the League in the field of intellectual co-operation⁸.

Subsequently, on 25 April 1931, the Chinese government made a second request for the League of Nations to assist its effort for national reconstruction and modernization. While preparing for the establishment of the Chinese National Economic Council (*Quanguo Jingji*

⁶ From Eric Drummond to Albert Dufour-Feronce, 1 Apr. 1931, LNA: R2255.

⁷ Société des Nations, Commission internationale de coopération intellectuelle, Comité exécutif, 3ème Session, "Procès-verbal de la 5ème séance tenue le 12 avril 1931, à 10 heures, sous la présidence de M. Jules Destrée", 12 Apr. 1931, LNA: R2250. From Jean Daniel de Montenach to Henri Bonnet, 20 Apr. 1931, LNA: R2255.

⁸ From Joseph Avenol to P.L. Chen, 23 Apr. 1931, LNA: R2255. Gilbert Murray, the chairman of the ICIC, even stated that '[i]f I were more free myself, I should greatly like to go to Nanjing for a year, and I think there must be some younger professors who feel the same' (From Gilbert Murray to Jean Daniel de Montenach, 26 Apr. 1931, LNA: R2255).

Weiyuanhui), which was formally inaugurated in September 1933 and thereafter became the focal point of the Technical Co-operation between China and the League, the Chinese government suggested several possible projects that the League could provide support for:

- (1) First in the stage of first planning and organisation the League might be able to send someone as it has already done in the special domain of health work for such limited period as might be practicable and convenient to the Government in order to help with his advice both as to the plan itself and as to any subsequent methods by which the League could assist it.
- (2) Secondly in the execution of particular projects the League might at the request of the Government send or propose officers representatives or experts who apart from their own competence could be in contact with the relevant technical organisation in Geneva.
- (3) Thirdly in appropriate special cases a League Committee whether a standing committee or one appointed *ad hoc* might at the request of the Government help to frame or improve some particular scheme.
- (4) Fourthly the League might in several ways help in the training of China's officers who will be required for the more extended work of later years. In the domain of health the League had already been able to arrange for technical education in practical work in other countries sometimes with the aid of Fellowship.
- (5) And in addition the League might help the Government to find advisers to assist the development of the Chinese educational system and facilitate the intercourse between the centres of intellectual activity in China and abroad.
- (6) Lastly China might sometimes desire to initiate League action in some sphere in which international cooperation or the coordination of the policy of a number of countries might be required in order to remove some obstacle to China's development⁹.

This request was approved by the Council on 19 May 1931¹⁰. At the same time, the Council

⁹ From T.V. Soong to the Secretary-General, 25 Apr. 1931, LNA: R3575.

¹⁰ "Communication from the Chinese Government with regard to Co-operation with the League as regards Technical Questions", League of Nations, *Official Journal*, July 1931, pp. 1081-1083. In the discussion at the Council, while agreeing that it would be desirable in light of the principle of universality

decided to increase expenditures by 100,000 francs for the Technical Co-operation of the League of Nations with the Chinese Government¹¹.

Among the projects for the Technical Co-operation with the League that the Chinese government proposed in its telegram, the fifth point in particular fell under the jurisdiction of the ICIC. The Secretary-General of the League referred thus referred the question of sending a mission of educational advisors to China to the ICIC, the IIC as well as to the International Institute of Educational Cinematography¹². Therefore, soon after the adoption of the Chinese proposal by the Council in May, the IIC initiated preparations for the dispatch of the educational mission to China. Bonnet informed the ICIC that he was in negotiations with Carl Heinrich Becker, a professor at the University of Berlin and the former Prussian minister of education, to formulate a basic plan of the mission and was also looking for educationists from Poland and France¹³. From this viewpoint, the IIC prepared a detailed list of possible

that the League offered to China the technical assistance for its national reorganization, the Japanese representative Yoshizawa Kenkichi underlined that the assistance should be of a purely technical character, and moreover the one and only aim of the plan was to assist in the development of the natural resources of the country and the well-being of the Chinese people without in any case affecting the general progress of the friendly and close relations existing between the members of the League in the Far East (ibid, p. 1082). Clearly, the Japanese government was constantly wary of closer ties between the League and China through their technical co-operation. In this regard, Rajchman's report on the Technical Co-operation between the League and China was carefully studied and translated into Japanese (Kokusai Renmei Toukyou Shikyoku, *Raihiman Houkokusho: Kokusai Renmei no Taishi Gijutsu Enjo ni kansuru Houkokusho* (Rajchman Report: the Report on the League's Technical Co-operation with China), Nihon Kokusai Kyokai, 1934).

¹¹ "Credits allocated in the 1931 Budget for Technical Co-operation between the Chinese Government and the League of Nations", League of Nations, *Official Journal*, July 1931.

¹² "Communication from the Chinese Government in Regard to Co-operation with the League as Regards Technical Questions: Note by the Secretary-General, submitted to the Council on May 19th, 1931", League of Nations, *Official Journal*, July 1931, p. 1173.

¹³ From Henri Bonnet to Albert Dufour-Feronce, 4 Jun. 1931, LNA: R2255. It should be noted that the IIC paid particular attention to educationists in Poland. This is undoubtedly because, as with China, Poland was also pursuing educational reform in the same period with a view to its national reconstruction from a subordinate status, and the IIC thought that Polish knowledge and experience would be more suitable for the reorganization of Chinese educational system than such great powers as Great Britain and the United States.

educational experts to participate in the mission to China¹⁴. With Carl Becker's consensus for arranging the visit to China, the project of the League's educational mission took concrete shape as early as June 1931¹⁵. The mission would be composed of four members of educational experts with different nationalities, the Chief Assistant in the Office of the Secretary General, Frank Walters, who would represent the Secretary-General, and the Director of the IIIC Henri Bonnet, and the ICIC thought that the mission should aim at enquiring into the conditions of education in China and drawing up a general scheme for the reorganization of teaching in its various degrees¹⁶. It should be noted, moreover, that the ICIC recognized this educational mission as 'one of the most important matters which have been placed before the Organisation of Intellectual Co-operation since it exists, as for the first time the Organisation is asked to bring effective collaboration to the work of reconstruction undertaken by the League for one of its members¹⁷'. In fact, the mission of educational experts to China was an unprecedented experiment for the ICIC and became one of the largest undertakings among the projects that the ICIC had implemented during the period of its activity.

¹⁴ "Liste des personnalités dont les noms ont été cités en relation avec la préparation de la mission d'experts en matière d'enseignement demandée par le Gouvernement chinois", 5 Jun. 1931, LNA: R2255. The list includes names of specialists in four fields of education: (1) Experts in public education in general: Carl Becker (Professor at the University of Berlin, Former Minister of Education of Prussia), (2) Experts in scientific and technical education: André Mayer (Professor at the Collège de France) and Paul Langevin (Professor at the Collège de France), (3) Experts in elementary education: José Castillejo (Professor at the University of Madrid), Józef Mikułowski-Pomorski (Former Minister of Education of Poland), Marian Falski (Director of Primary Education at the Polish Ministry of Education), Konewka (Inspector of the Polish Ministry of Education and the head of the Adult Education section of the municipal government of Warsaw), Kornilowicz (Organizer of tertiary education), and Radwan (Organizer of new public schools in Poland), (4) Experts in university and secondary education: Richard Henry Tawney (Professor at the University of London) and Alfred Zimmern (Professor at the University of Oxford, Former Vice Director of the IIIC).

¹⁵ From Albert Dufour-Feronce to Henri Bonnet, 6 Jun. 1931, LNA: R2255.

¹⁶ From Jean Daniel de Montenach to Gilbert Murray, 12 Jun. 1931, LNA: R2255. At this point, the mission was planned to consist of Becker, Langevin, Tawney and Zimmern.

¹⁷ Ibid.

On the other hand, the ICIC and the IIC were simultaneously engaged in responding to the first request by the Chinese government in March, especially the question of sending three European professors to the Central University at Nanjing. As with the case of selecting members for the mission of educational experts to China, the IIC promptly collected information about possible candidates and had private discussions with them about the professorship in China. As for the professor of Geology, the IIC chose candidates among Swiss professors and decided to suggest two names to the ICIC¹⁸. At the same time, in the course of selecting a candidate for the professor of Geography, the ICIC was informed by Rajchman that the Chinese government was already considering nominating the German geographer Wilhelm Credner, who was teaching at Sun Yat-sen University in Canton at that time, to be the professor at Nanjing¹⁹. In considering the official demand of the Chinese government to nominate Credner for the professorship as well as information supporting his qualification, the ICIC decided to advise Credner to remain in China to await the final decision by the ICIC and the League of Nations²⁰. For the professorship of English literature, in consultation with Gilbert Murray, the IIC focused interest in Laurence Binyon, whom they regarded as an ideal person for the professorship²¹. However, faced with Laurence's hesitation to stay in China for a long period, the ICIC and the IIC had to

¹⁸ From Jean Daniel de Montenach to Henri Bonnet, 3 Jun 1931, LNA: R2255. The candidates suggested by the IIC were Edouard Parejas (Professor at the University of Geneva) and Emile Argand (Professor at the University of Neuchâtel).

¹⁹ From Jean Daniel de Montenach to Ludwik Rajchman, 2 Jul. 1931, LNA: R2255.

²⁰ From Jean Daniel de Montenach to Gilbert Murray, 4 Jul. 1931, LNA: R2255.

²¹ From Gilbert Murray to Eric Drummond, 10 Jun. 1931, LNA: R2255. From Gilbert Murray to Jean Daniel de Montenach, 15 Jun. 1931, LNA: R2255. Laurence Binyon (1869-1943), a British poet and a scholar of Eastern Art, was working for the British Museum at the time.

continue to search for another English professor suitable for the post²².

Additionally, the project of arranging the three professorships at the Central University in Nanjing ran into the problem of financial resources. As noted above, the Chinese government stated that the Central University was unable to grant these professors a salary higher than 320 Mexican dollars per month (equal to about 16 Pound sterling), while the Secretariat of the League estimated that the lowest salary that should be paid would be approximately 100 Pound sterling²³. This meant that the League would have to bear the difference, namely 84 Pound sterling per month for an appointment of two years, and that they would also have to pay their traveling expenses. In view of this, the Secretary General mentioned that the expenses should be charged to the Chinese arrears contributions. However, as the League itself admitted that it was just an 'affectation', there is no doubt that most of the expenses for the professorships at the Central University in Nanjing were in fact shouldered by the League of Nations²⁴. In this sense, the League not only offered technical assistance but also in essence provided indirect financial support to the Chinese government.

Through these preparations, the ICIC revealed its basic posture on the work of intellectual co-operation with China through a memorandum sent to the Chinese government in July 1931. In light of the fact that the collaboration would be promoted primarily between the ICIC and the Chinese government, the memorandum prepared by the IIC stressed its close relationship with governments of all countries, while balancing this position with the principle that the ICIC

²² From Laurence Binyon to Gilbert Murray, 23 Jun. 1931, LNA: R2255; From Gilbert Murray to Albert Dufour-Feronce, 27 Jun. 1931, LNA: R2255; From Albert Dufour-Feronce to Frank Heath, 3 Jul. 1931: R2255.

²³ From Jean Daniel de Montenach to Gilbert Murray, 12 Jun. 1931, LNA: R2255.

²⁴ Ibid.

should be composed not of governments but of scholars representing all the great civilizations of the world²⁵. Again, as the work of intellectual co-operation with China was thought to be the first experiment for the ICIC to directly assist a particular member state of the League, the ICIC became more conscious about its relationship with governments, which had not been seriously considered in the ICIC until then²⁶.

The questions concerning the work of intellectual co-operation between the ICIC and China, particularly the professorships at the Central University in Nanjing and the mission of educational experts to China, were thus deliberated at the Thirteenth Plenary Session of the ICIC at the end of July 1931. First, introducing in detail the two requests from the Chinese government, the chairman Gilbert Murray explained the course of preparation for two collaborative projects between the ICIC and China²⁷. As for sending three professors to the Central University in Nanjing, Murray reported that the ICIC was planning to appoint Edouard Parejas as a professor of Geology and Wilhelm Credner as a professor of Geography whereas the selection process of a professor of English literature was still underway. At the same time, the ICIC decided that the term of the professorships in China should be two years during which the League of Nations would pay to the professors the salary of 30,000 Swiss francs per year including the amount paid by the Central University. Second, regarding the mission of

²⁵ League of Nations, International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, "Report on the Working of the International Organisation of Intellectual Co-operation", attached to the letter from Albert Dufour-Feronce to P.L. Chen, 11 Jul. 1931, LNA: 2255.

²⁶ Société des Nations, Commission internationale de Coopération intellectuelle, Comité exécutif, "Quatrième Session: Procès-verbal de la deuxième séance tenue le lundi 13 juillet 1931, à 15h. 30", n.d., LNA: R2250.

²⁷ Société des Nations, Commission internationale de Coopération intellectuelle, "Treizième Session: Demande de collaboration adressée par le Gouvernement chinois à la Société des Nations, Rapport du Président de la Commission, Professeur G. Murray, au nom du Comité Exécutif", Geneva, 21 Jul. 1931, LNA: R2256.

educational experts to China, the ICIC eventually announced that the mission would be composed of Carl Becker, Paul Langevin, R. H. Tawney and Marian Falski, accompanied by Frank Walters and Henri Bonnet²⁸. Murray reported that on 18 July 1931, Becker, Langevin, Tawney and Walters had their first meeting in Geneva where they discussed their tasks and arrangements for the trip. They expressed their shared view that this mission would be the first step and would mark the beginning of a long and close collaboration between the ICIC and China. Interestingly, they also agreed from the very beginning that the mission intended to help China to find in its own great traditions of culture the means of gradually adapting itself to new conditions. This emphasis on traditional elements of Chinese culture in its development came to be reflected later in the mission's report.

After the chairman's statement, Lin Yu-tang, who was present at the session on behalf of Wu Zhi-hui, expressed the significance of the professorships at the Central University in Nanjing and the educational mission to China in terms of intellectual co-operation between China and Europe:

One of the most important questions with which the mission would have to deal in China was exchanges of Chinese and European teachers. Such exchanges would be at least as profitable to Europe as to China. Indeed, European knowledge of Chinese culture, literature and philosophy,

²⁸ Compared with the previous plan of members, Alfred Zimmern was replaced by Falski. This is because Zimmern was not able to take a leave of absence from Oxford University to spend several months in China at short notice (From Henri Bonnet to Albert Dufour-Feronce, 20 Jun. 1931, LNA: R2255). Meanwhile, Alfred Rocco, the Italian member of the ICIC, objected to the composition of the mission, arguing that an Italian member should be included in term of the significance of Italian culture equal to French and German cultures (From Alfred Rocco to Albert Dufour-Feronce, 25 Jul. 1931, LNA: R2256). In response, the ICIC added to the mission Alessandro Sardi, the president of L'Istituto Luce (L'Unione Cinematografica Educativa), as a representative of the International Educational Cinematographic Institute at Rome (From Jean Daniel de Montenach to Henri Bonnet, 3 Oct. 1931, LNA: R2256).

both ancient and modern, was still in a most elementary stage²⁹.

Lin revealed his idea that this mission should be regarded not as a unilateral adoption of European knowledge for China's national reorganization but as a mutual interaction of cultures between China and Europe. This was a permutation of the 'Theory of Harmony between the East and West' by which Lin underlined that Europe should learn from China and vice versa. His theoretical optimism notwithstanding, however, others noted that Lin Yu-tang himself was pessimistic about the advance in European understanding of Chinese culture³⁰.

Interestingly, following Lin's statement about the leitmotif of intellectual co-operation between the ICIC and China, Tanakadate Aikitsu and Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan respectively asked whether the mission, or other missions of the same kind, could visit Japan and India to make a further enquiry into educational situations in the Far East³¹. Like Lin Yu-tang, both Tanakadate and Radhakrishnan called for an ICIC mission to visit their countries from the viewpoint of the harmony between the East and the West. However, for Li as well as the Chinese government this mission aimed at the reconstruction of its educational system, and they defined the purpose of the mission on the basis of the ideological dichotomy between the East and the West. This provoked sensitive reactions from Japan and India, both of which had a strong sense of national identity as a great nation, historically and culturally, in the East. As the

²⁹ League of Nations, International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, *Minutes of the Thirteenth Session held at Geneva, from Monday, July 20th, to Saturday, July 25th, 1931*, Geneva, 15 Aug. 1931, p. 42.

³⁰ Tanakadate, the Japanese member of the ICIC present at the Session, mentioned that 'when I had a private talk with Mr. Lin, he seemed to underestimate the mission and said that it would be only at the moment of return when they understood somewhat the situation of China' ("Dai Jusankai Chiteki Kyoryoku Iinkai Hokoku" (Report on the 13th Session of the ICIC), n.d., JFMA: Kokusai Renmei Gakugei Kyoryoku Kokusai Iinkai oyobi Kokusai Gakuin Kankei Ikken, Vol. 8.

³¹ Ibid, pp. 42-43.

primary purpose of this mission thus became less and less clear in the course of discussion, José Castillejo, the Spanish member of the ICIC, cast a legitimate doubt on the intention of the Chinese government:

...the intensions of the Chinese Government should be defined. Was the object of educational reform to improve the traditional forms of Chinese education or to introduce European culture in China? In the latter event... a great deal could be learnt from the experience of other backward or isolated countries which had already made similar experiments; and, while their methods might not be adopted, their mistakes could thereby be avoided³².

Castillejo's criticism detected an essential problem of the guiding principle of this mission as well as a potential pitfall of the theory of harmony between the East and the West that was shared by the members of China, Japan and India in the ICIC. In fact, assuming the 'East' as a single and homogeneous body, the theory functioned as an ideology to suppress various differences among Eastern countries. Accordingly, as their viewpoints were confined to the fixed dichotomies such as China / the West, Japan / the West and India / the West, the members of each country asserted their respective status as representing the entirety of the East. In other words, as China, Japan and India were respectively manipulating the concept of the 'East' vis-à-vis the West for the sake of their own image as a representative of the East, it can be said that they were dreaming different dreams in the single bed of the ICIC. For this reason, as Castillejo criticized, no consideration was given to the co-operation among non-Western countries with a view to sharing the same experience in their process of modernization.

³² Ibid, p. 43.

At the session, however, most of the members took no account of Castillejo's words and blindly followed the discourse on the harmony between the East and the West. This is because the idea of harmony of the East and West increasingly became one of the fundamental principles of the ICIC, particularly in the 1930s³³. The ICIC thus adopted the resolution welcoming the requests of the Chinese government, particularly for the professorships at the Central University of Nanjing and the mission of educational experts to China, stating that '[t]he Committee affirms its intention of according to the Chinese Government the fullest and most extensive collaboration based primarily on the recommendations of the Chinese government itself³⁴'.

Even after the ICIC's formal approval of the two projects for collaboration with China, there was nonetheless considerable confusion over appointing the three professors to the Central University in Nanjing. The potential candidates for the professor of English literature had not been named at the plenary session of the ICIC in July because of the declination of Laurence Binyon. The ICIC conducted interviews with several candidates and eventually focused attention on H. N. Davy³⁵. After careful consideration about his qualifications, they decided that Davy would be the best candidate for professor of English literature at the Central University³⁶, And with Davy's formal acceptance of the offer, the professorship of English literature was thus

³³ This is discussed in detail in a later section of this chapter.

³⁴ League of Nations, International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, "Collaboration of the Chinese Government", Geneva, 25 Jul. 1931, LNA: R2256.

³⁵ From Maxwell Garnett to Gilbert Murray, 25 Jul. 1931, LNA: R2255; From Maxwell Garnett to Albert Dufour-Feronce, 27 Jul. 1931, LNA: R2250.

³⁶ "Memo: Candidates for the post of a professor of English at Nanking University", 28 Jul. 1931, LNA: R2255; From G.G. Kullmann to Gilbert Murray, 28 Jul. 1931, LNA: R2255.

finally settled³⁷. By contrast, it was smoothly decided that the ICIC would entrust the professorship of Geology to Edouard Parejas as planned³⁸. However, the selection of a professor of Geography caused further confusion in August, because Wilhelm Credner, whom the ICIC had regarded as a prime candidate, became unable to accept the nomination due to his contract being renewed with the university in Canton³⁹. Faced with task of having to find a new candidate for the professorship of Geography again, the ICIC collected a good deal of information about different candidates, while giving preference to professors of Swiss and Austrian nationalities⁴⁰. In so doing, in light of the fact that one of the professors sent to the Central University, Edouard Parejas, was a Swiss national, the ICIC narrowed down its focus to an Austrian geographer. Finally, in the end of October 1931 the ICIC formally nominated Hermann von Wissmann, who was recommended by the Austrian National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, as a professor of Geology at the Central University in Nanjing⁴¹. The final candidates for the professorships at Central University were thus Edouard Parejas as a professor of Geology, Hermann von Wissmann as a professor of Geography, and H. N. Davy as a professor of English literature, and they were to be sent to Nanjing for two years from 1931 to 1933⁴².

On the other hand, the mission of educational experts, composed of Becker, Langevin,

³⁷ From Joseph Avenol to H. N. Davy, 10 Aug. 1931, LNA: R2255; From H. N. Davy to the Secretary-General, 18 Aug. 1931, LNA: R2255.

³⁸ From Joseph Avenol to Edouard Parejas, 10 Aug. 1931, LNA: R2255.

³⁹ From Jean Daniel de Montenach to Gilbert Murray, 3 Oct. 1931, LNA: R2255; From G. G. Kullmann to Wilhelm Credner, 3 Oct. 1931, LNA: R2255.

⁴⁰ "Liste de Noms de Professeurs proposés pour la Chair de Géographie à l'Université de Nanking", 24 Aug. 1931, LNA: R2255.

⁴¹ From Jean Daniel de Montenach to Henri Bonnet, 3 Oct. 1931, LNA: R2255; From Eric Drummond to Hermann von Wissmann, 26 Oct. 1931, LNA: 2255.

⁴² Shortly after their appointments, Parejas and Davy departed for Nanjing in September, while Wissmann left in November 1931.

Tawney and Falski and accompanied by Walters, was dispatched as arranged and arrived in Shanghai on 30 September 1931⁴³. On its arrival in Shanghai, the mission immediately began its operations there, meeting a representative of the Ministry of Education as well as members of the National Economic Council, which was newly formed for the purpose of directing the work of reconstruction in China⁴⁴. A few days later, the members of the mission proceeded to Nanjing where, welcomed by the Minister of Education and directors of its departments, they sketched out its work program. The mission also visited the Central University in Nanjing where the three professors sent by the ICIC had just started their courses. According to the study plan, the members then headed to Tientsin, visiting Nankai University and other institutions of higher education where they interviewed teachers and relevant authorities in the city. After that, the mission stayed in Peiping for three weeks, during which it visited Peking University, private universities and leading research institutions. While also inspecting the center of the adult education movement at Ting Hsien in the province, in Peiping they made a comprehensive study of the Chinese educational system at various levels. In the beginning of November, returning to southern China, the mission studied technical schools and universities in Hangchow and then made a more detailed examination of the school system including Catholic and Protestant missionary schools in Greater Shanghai, while making a short stay at Wuxi. Finally, staying in Nanjing for three weeks from the middle of November to December, the members furthermore studied the organization of foreign higher education institutions as well as primary

⁴³ The mission was later joined in China by Bonnet and Sardi.

⁴⁴ For details about the itinerary of the mission in China, see “Ci-joint le rapport préliminaire du directeur de l’Institut international de Coopération intellectuelle sur la mission d’éducateurs envoyés par la Société des Nations en Chine”, n.d., pp. 4-7, LNA: R2256

and secondary schools in the city. During this period, the mission made a systematic study of the documentation provided by the Chinese government with the addition of several interviews and discussions with the Minister of Education. With a final visit to Chinkiang and Soochow from Nanjing, the mission ended at Shanghai on 15 December. After the departure of the other members, only Becker remained in China and continued to engage in a further study of the teaching organization in Canton for a while longer. Based on these investigations in China for three months, the mission members concentrated on preparing a report to outline the basic direction toward the reform of the educational system in China⁴⁵.

After their return to Europe, each member was supposed to submit their part of the whole report without delay so that the ICIC could adopt the report at its next session in July 1932 and transmit it to the Chinese government as quickly as possible. However, Tawney was the only member of the mission who had completed this duty as of the end of March. The IIC therefore convened a meeting in Paris with the four members in order to assess their progress, but it was evident that the individual work of the members other than Tawney had not been sufficiently advanced for the completion of the report⁴⁶. In these circumstances, at the request of the ICIC and the IIC, the League issued a letter of demand in the name of the Deputy Secretary-General Joseph Avenol to the three members to hasten the completion and transmission of their parts of

⁴⁵ In addition, Alessandro Sardi, who joined the mission as a representative of the International Educational Cinematography at Rome, also prepared his report on the reform of the Chinese educational system in terms of the application of the educational cinematograph to China and submitted it to the League of Nations in May 1932 (Alessandro Sardi, "Report on his work as a member of the Commission sent by the League of Nations for the reform of education in China", attached to the letter from Alessandro Sardi to Eric Drummond, 10 May 1932, LNA: R2256).

⁴⁶ From Jean Daniel de Montenach to Joseph Avenol, 18 May 1932, LNA: R2256.

the report⁴⁷. Under this pressure the mission finally completed its final report on educational reform in China, which was submitted to the Fourteenth Plenary Session of the ICIC in July⁴⁸. Ultimately, based on three months of fieldwork, the ICIC accomplished its mission to provide advice on the reform of the Chinese educational system only one year after the initial request by the Chinese government in April 1931.

The report comprehensively deals with various questions regarding the educational situation in China, including: national education and foreign influences; the ‘spirit of teaching’, especially in science, language and writing; principles of administration; financial organization; the teaching staff; the distribution of schools across the country; rational utilization of schools; social selection of schoolchildren and students; and school systems. It also examines the proposals for major educational issues at the different stages of instruction for primary, secondary, university and adult education. In sum, however, as the IIC pointed out, the mission’s basic understanding of the situation of education in China was that ‘[t]he proposals are inspired by the principle that the organisation of public education is an essential factor in the national unity of a country, and, although this principle has always been recognised in China, the reforms introduced as a result of intercourse with foreign countries have none the less compromised the unity of China’s national culture⁴⁹’. This understanding coincided with the common view of the mission members at the time of its inauguration that the main purpose of

⁴⁷ From Joseph Avenol to the IIC, 18 May 1932, LNA: R2256.

⁴⁸ The report was later published by the IIC. See The League of Nations’ Mission of Educational Experts, *The Reorganisation of Education in China*, Paris: League of Nations’ Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, 1932.

⁴⁹ ‘General Report by the Director of the International Institute on Intellectual Co-operation to the International Committee, approved by the Plenary Committee’, League of Nations, International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, “Report on the Committee on the Work of Its Fourteenth Plenary Session submitted to the Council and to the Assembly”, Geneva, 20 Aug. 1932, p. 44.

the mission was to help China to find in its own great traditions of culture and means of gradually adapting itself to new conditions. From this viewpoint, the fundamental question for the mission was therefore not how to introduce western education systems in China but how the unity of Chinese national culture could be preserved under the strong pressure of foreign influences in the process of its national reconstruction. This view is clearly stated in the preamble to the last section of the report, ‘Conclusions and Suggestions for Preparatory Measures of Reform’:

The educational system of a country is one of the strongest bonds of national unity. In China, this fact has always been acknowledged, but the recent development under a variety of foreign influences has severely endangered the unity of the national culture. The starting-point of our proposal is the desire to re-establish this unity under the altered conditions of modern China, and to emphasise the national and social character of her educational system⁵⁰.

For this purpose, the report proposes guiding principles for the reorganization of the educational system in China. Among several proposals, the report first of all suggests the Chinese government to unify its education administration and to strengthen the authority and influence of the Ministry of Education, and it places high expectations on governmental initiative in the reform of its educational system⁵¹. Secondly, on the other hand, it insists that reforms should be carried out based on local traditions in China. In this regard, the report censures the blind imitation of the American model of the educational system that the mission witnessed almost

⁵⁰ The League of Nations’ Mission of Educational Experts, *The Reorganisation of Education in China*, p. 197.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, p. 197.

everywhere in China during its fieldwork. While arguing that, unlike the United States, China has attained its high civilization through the process of its long history, it maintains that Chinese educators should not lean towards ‘superficial Americanisation’ but become more conscious of the tradition of its own civilization⁵². Moreover, in light of the fact that Chinese civilization has been underpinned by local traditions, the report concludes that ‘the cultural conditions of Europe are more suitable than American conditions for adaption to Chinese requirements, because, precisely, American civilisation has developed *in spite of* a total absence of local traditions, whereas European, like Chinese civilisation, must always take count of local traditions dating back thousands of years⁵³’. From this point of view, the mission’s report ends with a final proposal that a Chinese special commission should be sent to Europe as soon as possible to study the organization of school administration in the different European countries⁵⁴.

It is thus obvious that the mission of educational experts in essence strived to reconstruct the unity of Chinese national culture. In this sense, Chinese national culture was constructed not only from the inside by the Chinese government but also from the outside by the League of Nations and the ICIC. Of course, to the extent that this mission was initially requested by the Chinese government, which was struggling with the national unification of China as well as with political, economic and cultural reorganization, it is apparent that the government intended to use foreign powers including the League for the purpose. However, it should also be noted that, as the mission’s report showed, the League and the ICIC were to some extent actively engaged in restructuring Chinese national culture with an emphasis on its traditional elements.

⁵² Ibid, pp. 23-28.

⁵³ Ibid, p. 28-29.

⁵⁴ Ibid, p. 200.

In this regard, the mission can be regarded as an intellectual collaboration between the Chinese government and the ICIC for the reinforcement of Chinese national culture and even Chinese nationalism.

This mission's report together with supplemental remarks by Becker, Langevin and Sardi was discussed at the Fourteenth Plenary Session of the ICIC in July 1932. In the session, the ICIC placed great value on the accomplishment of the mission, proclaiming that '[i]t opens up a vast field of action for the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation and tends to make it a centre of exchanges and a factor of adjustment between western and eastern civilisations⁵⁵'. It should be noted that, through the project of this mission, the ICIC recognized its role as a mediator in cultural exchange between the West and the East. It also shows that the theory of harmony between the East and the West, based on which the Chinese government justified the necessity for the ICIC to assist the reform of its educational system, came to be shared by the ICIC. At the same time, in terms of cooperation with governments, the ICIC stated that '[t]his is the first time that the International Organisation of Intellectual Co-operation has been able to furnish direct assistance to a Government, and it feels great satisfaction at the opportunity so afforded⁵⁶'. The ICIC further adopted a resolution that the various means of action at the disposal of the ICIC should be employed in order to maintain close contact with the Chinese government. In this way, the ICIC not only internalized the idea of harmony between the East and West but also embarked on the development of cooperative relations with governments in its work of

⁵⁵ "Work of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation during its Fourteenth Plenary Session (Held at Geneva, from July 18th to 23rd, 1932): Report of the Committee, submitted to the Council on September 23rd, 1932", League of Nations, *Official Journal*, November 1932, p. 1774.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, p. 1790.

intellectual co-operation⁵⁷.

Shortly after its publication, however, the report came under criticism from different quarters. Firstly, while voicing its satisfaction at the result achieved in China by the mission, the Chinese government itself submitted critical comments about some descriptions in the report, particularly about the mission's strictures on the effect on China of the American system of education⁵⁸. More specifically, arguing that the report oversimplifies the complicated situation of education in China, the Chinese government explained the twofold purpose of its education policy:

It is conceivable that the Chinese Government may adopt a double education policy which will lay a sound foundation of universal and public instruction as recommended by the Report, supplemented by a system of carefully planned utilitarian education aiming at training intellectual and moral leaders of the nations⁵⁹.

In this light, the Chinese government pointed out that the members of the mission, in their

⁵⁷ League of Nations, International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, "Draft Resolution on the Mission of Educationists Sent to China", Geneva, 21 Jul. 1932, LNA: R2257. However, it should also be noted that, as with at its thirteenth plenary session, the Spanish member José Castillejo again made insightful comments on the report of the mission as well as regarding the educational policy of the Chinese government. He suggested that the Chinese government should avoid the excessively rigid and uniform centralization of its educational system, stating that '[s]uch a system would be likely to destroy individual or local initiative and traditions, and to discourage the manifold experiments which are absolutely necessary to the preparation of a form of education based on the national conscience, respectful of minorities and free from any political aims' ("Work of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation during its Fourteenth Plenary Session (Held at Geneva, from July 18th to 23rd, 1932): Report of the Committee, submitted to the Council on September 23rd, 1932", p. 1789). Castillejo's criticism is just as valid for the ICIC itself, which became increasingly involved in the exchange of national cultures with emphasis on the role of each government in the construction and development of its national unity.

⁵⁸ "Work of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation during its Fourteenth Session", League of Nations, Official Journal, November 1932, p. 1725.

⁵⁹ League of Nations, Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, "Comments by the Chinese Delegation on the Report of the League of Nations Mission of Educational Experts to China: Note by the Secretary of the Intellectual Co-operation", Geneva, 4 Oct. 1932, pp. 5-6.

impassioned loyalty to a high educational idealism, disparaged the utilitarian aspect of education that the government and Chinese educators were seeking to promote by means of adopting the American educational system. In other words, while agreeing with the ideal of education as the spiritual and material liberation of man, the government underlined that education should also ‘liberate a poverty-stricken society faced with foreign oppression and international disintegration⁶⁰’. It was for this pragmatic reason that the Chinese government expressed its dissatisfaction with the mission’s criticism of the predominance of the American education system in China.

Together with the critical comments from the Chinese government, various Chinese intellectuals and organizations expressed their views on the mission’s report⁶¹. Among them, Jiang Menglin’s discussion in particular represents a common reaction to the report from the point of view of China, in line with the comments of the government⁶². While agreeing on the basic outline of the proposals in the report, Jiang points out several misunderstandings regarding the mission’s appraisal of the educational situation in China. Firstly, he emphasizes that the old Chinese educational system before the revolution in 1911 was a mixture of three different

⁶⁰ Ibid, p. 15.

⁶¹ For example, one of the representative journals on education in the Republican era of China, *Zhonghua Jiaoyujie*, published a special issue on the mission’s report, including articles of Chinese educationists criticizing the report. See *Zhonghua Jiaoyujie*, Vol. 20, No. 11, 1933. See also Shu Yong, “Ping Guolian Jiaoyu Kaohatuan Baogao” (Comments on the Report of the League’s Educational Mission), *Duli Pinglun*, No. 39, Feb. 1933, pp. 16-21; Wu Xianzi, *Mengdie Xiensheng dui Baogaoshu zhi Piping* (Mr. Mengdie’s Comments on the Report), San Francisco: Shijie Ribaoshe, 1932; C. L. Hsia, “The Reorganization of Education in China: Comments on the League Mission’s Report”, *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 5, No. 12, Dec. 1932, pp. 1027-1037.

⁶² Jiang Menglin, “Guolian Zhongguo Jiaoyu Kaohatuan Baogaoshusho zhong Jige Jiben Yuanze de Taolun” (Discussions of Some Fundamental Principles in the Report of the League’s Educational Mission to China), *Duli Pinglun*, No. 40 and 41, Mar. 1933, pp. 11-13 and pp. 17-21. Jiang Menglin (1886-1964) was a Chinese educator and politician, serving as the president of Peking University (1918-26) as well as the minister of education (1928-30). He also wrote a number of articles and books about the relationship between the East and the West from a cultural perspective. For example, see Chiang Monlin, *Tides from the West*, Taipei: World Books, 1963.

elements: the Japanese educational system, *Keju* (Imperial Examination) and *Shuyuan* (Academies). The present educational problems in China therefore resulted from such an ancient regime accumulated over the past decades, not from the American system predominant for the last dozen years or so, and thus the strong effect of the American educational system should be regarded as a transitional condition⁶³. Secondly, Jiang argues that the close connection between education and politics in China requires that the reform of its educational system should be considered within its particular political context⁶⁴. Implying that the mission's report is too idealistic to provide practical advice for educational reform given China's political context, he concludes that things are nevertheless progressing as the mission suggests and the Chinese people should be engaged in political and educational reforms in line with the report⁶⁵.

Additionally, the mission's report also received criticism from the United States. Soon after the publication of the report, James Shotwell, the American member of the ICIC, expressed his concern that it might provoke a backlash among American educators against the work of the League of Nations in China⁶⁶. In fact, as Shotwell feared, a good deal of criticism to the report erupted at once in the United States in the beginning of 1933. For example, American educationists including Y. C. James Yen, an American-trained Chinese educator and the organizer of the National Association of Mass Education Movements, criticized the mission's

⁶³ Jiang Menglin, "Guolian Zhongguo Jiaoyu Kaochatuan Baogaoshusho zhong Jige Jiben Yuanze de Taolun", *Duli Pinglun*, No. 41, Mar. 1933, pp. 20-21.

⁶⁴ Jiang Menglin, "Guolian Zhongguo Jiaoyu Kaochatuan Baogaoshusho zhong Jige Jiben Yuanze de Taolun", *Duli Pinglun*, No. 40, Mar. 1933, p. 13.

⁶⁵ Jiang Menglin, "Guolian Zhongguo Jiaoyu Kaochatuan Baogaoshusho zhong Jige Jiben Yuanze de Taolun", *Duli Pinglun*, No. 41, Mar. 1933, p. 21.

⁶⁶ From James Shotwell to Arthur Sweetser, 20 Oct. 1932, UNESCO: A.I.135; From James Shotwell to Henri Bonnet, 4 Nov. 1932, UNESCO: A.I.135.

misapprehension of basic facts about the Mass Education Movement in Ting⁶⁷. The ICIC in response admitted misrepresenting certain facts and published articles explaining corrections in the name of Gilbert Murray as chairman of the ICIC and R. H. Tawney as a member of the mission⁶⁸.

Additionally, and more seriously, the mission report's stricture of the strong effect of the American educational system on China incurred harsh criticism from Stephan P. Duggan, a member of the American National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and a Director of the League of Nations Association. Duggan began his criticism by stating that no representative of the United States was included in the membership of the educational mission to China⁶⁹. He then argued that this resulted in the mission's European-centric understanding of education that lacked sufficient knowledge of the American educational system and American civilization itself, and which also resulted an exaggerated response to the American influence on China's educational situation⁷⁰. In view of this, Duggan strongly opposed the biased statement in the report that cultural conditions in Europe are more suitable than American conditions in considering Chinese requirements for educational reform, and he further disagreed with the report's suggestion that the Chinese government send a special commission to Europe to study the organization of school administration in the different European countries⁷¹. Instead, he

⁶⁷ From James Yen to R. H. Tawney, 5 Jan. 1933, UNESCO: A.I.135. The same criticism was also offered by Roger Sherman Greene, an American medical administrator at Peking Union Medical College, and by Edward C. Carter, the secretary of the Institute of Pacific Relations and a member of the National Association of Mass Education Movements. From Gilbert Murray to Henri Bonnet, 10 Jan. 1933, UNESCO: A.I.135; From Edward C. Carter to Henri Bonnet, 28 Mar. 1933, A.I.135.

⁶⁸ *Times*, 15 Feb. 1933, p. 13. *Times*, 17 Feb. 1933, p. 8.

⁶⁹ Stephen Duggan, "Critique of the Report of the League of Nations' Mission of Educational Experts to China", *Bulletin*, 14th Series, No. 1, Institute of International Education, Jan. 1933, pp. 5-12.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 13-15.

⁷¹ *Ibid*, pp. 15-24.

insists that ‘China resembles America and also Great Britain, but differs from Continental Europe in not having one dominating state system of education which leaves little room for any competing system⁷²’. In this way, Duggan’s criticism justifies the significance of the American educational system in the reform of the Chinese educational system, particularly suggesting that report’s proposed mission of Chinese educators to Europe should make a visit to the United States as well⁷³.

Confronted with these critical remarks from China and the United States, the ICIC conducted a review of the mission’s report under Langevin’s attendance at its Fifteenth Plenary Session in July 1933⁷⁴. The review began by explaining that while the report did not mean to make judgments on the value of the American educational system itself, the ICIC still emphasized a sense of caution regarding its influence in China, noting that it is a universal truth that ‘it is always dangerous to copy foreign educational systems closely and without attempting to adapt them to entirely new conditions or to bring them into harmony with the requirements and peculiar genius of the people amongst whom they are to be transplanted⁷⁵’. On the other hand, in response to the criticism from James Yen and Roger Greene about the mission’s misapprehension of the Mass Education Movement in Ting Hsien, Langevin paid special tribute to Yen’s personal work and the successful way in which he had enlisted support, however he also insisted on the rightfulness of the report’s observations even if it contained some errors in

⁷² Ibid, p. 25.

⁷³ Ibid, pp. 33-36.

⁷⁴ Because of the death of Carl Becker on 10 February 1933, Langevin attended the meeting on behalf of the mission.

⁷⁵ “Extract from the Report of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation on the Work of its Fifteenth Plenary Session, 17th July, 1933”, LNA: R3995.

statistical data⁷⁶. The ICIC's review concluded with the assertion that they saw no need in amending any conclusions and suggestions in the report in response to the critical comments from educators from China and the United States.

In the discussion about the mission's report at the session, Radhakrishnan again underlined that, in light of its principle of universality, the ICIC should promote intellectual co-operation with other eastern countries, particularly with India which possessed a 'civilisation that went back to the most ancient times and was endowed with quite unusual vitality⁷⁷'. Moreover, supporting Radhakrishnan's statement, Tanakadate expressed that '[t]he characteristics between of the mentality of the East and West in various directions will be one of the most important subjects of study for the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation⁷⁸'. Here again, as with the previous plenary sessions of the ICIC, the question of intellectual co-operation between China and the ICIC evoked a strong reaction from India and Japan. This is because, as previously noted, the intellectual relationship between China and the ICIC was underpinned by the idea of harmony between the East and the West, an idea which was also shared and emphasized by India and Japan for their own sakes.

Ultimately, recognizing the intellectual and cultural harmonization between the East and the West as one of its most important agendas, the ICIC adopted a resolution to continue its assistance for the Chinese government⁷⁹. The mission of educational experts to China was

⁷⁶ League of Nations, Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, "Fifteenth Session of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation: Provisional Minutes, Seventh Meeting held at Geneva on July 20th, 1933, at 3.30 p.m.", Geneva, 21 Nov. 1933, p. 2, LNA: R4001.

⁷⁷ Ibid, p. 11.

⁷⁸ Ibid, p. 12.

⁷⁹ League of Nations, International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, "Collaboration with China: Draft Resolution", Geneva, 21 Jul. 1933, LNA: R3995.

thus evaluated as a great success in the ICIC. Additionally, through implementing the project the ICIC became aware of its role as a mediator of intellectual and cultural exchanges between the East and the West, while it also contributed to the further dichotomization of the East/West binary by underplaying the internal differences within each region. From this point of view, as the mission's report underlined the need to preserve the traditions of Chinese national culture, the ICIC laid much emphasis on the particularity of national culture vis-à-vis Western civilization⁸⁰. At the same time, as the mission was defined as its first experiment to directly assist a particular government, the ICIC moved to strengthen direct and cooperative relations with governments in the work of intellectual co-operation. These shifts in the idea of intellectual co-operation differ substantially from the postulates that the ICIC was ideologically based on at its inauguration in 1922. In this regard, it can be said that the ICIC's idea of intellectual co-operation was significantly transformed through the mission of educational experts to China.

Lastly, it is important to remark on the activities of the three professors at the Central University in Nanjing after their dispatch. One year after their appointments in 1932, the ICIC was informed that the three professors were highly appreciated by the Chinese authorities and their students⁸¹. As originally planned, the term of the professorships subsidized by the League of Nations was two years from 1931 to 1933 without any possibility of extension⁸². In February

⁸⁰ In a resolution adopted at the plenary session, the ICIC stated that 'the only intention of the mission of educational experts to China was to facilitate the coordination of the reorganization efforts being made by the Chinese Government in the matter of education, and... its main object was to furnish such advice as it deemed most likely to ensure for China the benefit of western experience in the development of her own culture' (League of Nations, International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, "Question concerning China: Draft Resolution", Geneva, 21 Jul. 1933, LNA: R3995).

⁸¹ From Jean Daniel de Montenach to Ludwik Rajchman, Robert Haas, Konni Zilliacus, Gustave Kullmann, Henri Bonnet and Frank Walters, 16 Nov. 1932, LNA: R2257.

⁸² From Jean Daniel de Montenach to H. N. Davy, 15 Dec. 1932, LNA: R2255; From Jean Daniel de Montenach to Hermann von Wissmann, 15 Dec. 1932, LNA: R2255.

1933, however, the Chinese government sent a telegram to Rajchman, asking whether the League could enable the three professors to continue and consolidate the works they had begun for a further period of two years, given that they had also been engaged in research work in collaboration with the Chinese government and other Chinese organizations⁸³. The three professors themselves also hoped to extend their contacts and remain in China for a longer period⁸⁴. In response, Rajchman suggested that the League should definitely accept the liability for another year's stay in the case of Parejas as an expert of the National Economic Council, and for Davy and Wissmann he suggested that the League should try to obtain some funds from the United States⁸⁵. Furthermore, in April the Chancellor of the Central University in Nanjing also sent the League a request to extend the service of the three professors for another two years⁸⁶. The ICIC entrusted Rajchman with directing the negotiations with the Chinese government regarding the possibility of extending the terms of the professors at the expense of the Chinese government⁸⁷. Negotiations between Rajchman and the Chinese government, however, resulted in the new scheme of the Technical Co-operation between the League and China, in which the project of providing professors for a Chinese university was considered as an altogether

⁸³ From Chu Chia-Hua to Ludwik Rajchman, 17 Feb. 1933, UNESCO: A.I.135. According to the Chinese government, in addition to teaching their courses at the Central University in Nanjing, the professors were involved in different public works in China. Parejas had nearly completed a detailed geographical map of the environs of Nanjing and also had taken part in the roads conference of the seven provinces at Hankow. Both Parejas and Davy had assisted the National Economic Council in various activities. Davy was also organizing a students' advisory committee for Chinese students studying overseas and he had taught at the Central Political Academy in Nanjing. Wissmann went on an expedition to Shensi and Mongolia, and other institutions were asking for his collaboration. Parejas had also proposed an expedition to western China in collaboration with the Geological Survey at Peiping.

⁸⁴ From Gustave Kullmann to Ludwik Rajchman, Robert Haas, Frank Walters and Konni Zilliacus, 18 Mar. 1933, LNA: R3995; From Konni Zilliacus to Jean Daniel de Montenach and Gustave Kullmann, 28 Mar. 1933, LNA: R3995.

⁸⁵ From Ludwik Rajchman to Robert Haas and Konni Zilliacus, 13 Mar. 1933, UNESCO: A.I.135.

⁸⁶ From Lo Chia-Luen to Jean Danie de Montenach, 1 Apr. 1933, LNA: R3995.

⁸⁷ From Konni Zilliacus to Armi Inkeri Hallstein-Kellia, 12 May 1933, LNA: R3995; From Jean Daniel de Montenach to Lo Chia-Luen, 20 May 1933, LNA: R3995.

exceptional measure⁸⁸. Therefore, it was eventually decided that the three professors' tenures should terminate with the expiration of their contracts in 1933⁸⁹.

2. Intellectual Co-operation inside the ICIC: The Japanese Collection

As mentioned already, the leitmotif of Japan's intellectual co-operation was to introduce Japanese culture in Western countries. Therefore, from the Japanese point of view, intellectual co-operation was supposed to be implemented *in the West*, particularly in the ICIC and the IIIC. For this purpose, not only the Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation but also the Japanese members of the ICIC engaged in various activities related to Japan's intellectual co-operation in the League of Nations, typified by the publication of the Year Book of Japanese Art by the national committee. In particular, the commitments of two Japanese members of the ICIC, Tanakadate Aikitsu and Anesaki Masaharu, are noteworthy in terms of their influence on the ideological transformation of intellectual co-operation in the ICIC.

When Nitobe Inazo, who had acted as a *de facto* Japanese member of the ICIC since 1922, retired from the Secretariat of the League of Nations in the end of 1926, the Japanese foreign

⁸⁸ From T. V. Soong to the Secretary-General, 28 Jun. 1933, LNA: R5680; From Ludwik Rajchman to Jean Daniel de Montenach, 13 Jul. 1933, LNA: R3995.

⁸⁹ From Ludwik Rajchman to Jean Daniel de Montenach, 13 Jul. 1933, LNA: R3995. In the new scheme of the Technical Co-operation between the League and China, at the request of the Chinese government, the ICIC sent Fernand Maurette, Assistant Director of the International Labour Office, as an education adviser to China in February 1934. "Note pour le Secrétaire de l'Organisation internationale de Coopération intellectuelle", 24 Jan. 1934, LNA: R5727; League of Nations, Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, "Collaboration of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation in the Reorganisation of the Educational System in China: Report by M. Fernand Maurette, Assistant Director of the International Labour Office", Geneva, 27 Jun. 1934, LNA: R5721.

ministry intended to formally appoint a Japanese member to the ICIC. With the memory of their previous failure still fresh, the Japanese foreign ministry was more prepared to deal with this matter than before. In fact, as early as April 1926, Sugimura Yotaro underlined the necessity to encourage the Council of the League to appoint a Japanese member to the ICIC⁹⁰. In addition, the Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation also enthusiastically supported the appointment of a Japanese member. At its inaugural ceremony in April 1926, the national committee passed a resolution to propose that the foreign minister should push for a Japanese representative in the ICIC, and they suggested Tanakadate Aikitsu as the most appropriate candidate⁹¹.

With Tanakadate's informal consent, the Japanese foreign ministry instructed its mission at Geneva to recommend Tanakadate as a new member of the ICIC to the League of Nations⁹². To support this effort, Ishii Kikujiro, a representative of the Japanese government for the Council of the League, conferred with Eric Drummond about the nomination of a Japanese member to the ICIC. Drummond reacted negatively to this proposal, however, explaining that the ICIC was demanding an educator as a new member at the moment because physicists made up the majority of its current members. For this reason, Drummond suggested that Nitobe rather than Tanakadate would be the most desirable member, advising implicitly that the ICIC would be in trouble if by any chance the Japanese government persisted in the nomination of Tanakadate⁹³.

⁹⁰ From Sugimura Yotaro to Shidehara Kijuro, 15 Apr. 1926, JFMA: Chiteki Rodo Innkai.

⁹¹ "Honbu Dayori" (Correspondence from the Association), *Kokusai Chishiki*, Vol. 6, No. 6, Jun. 1926, p. 144.

⁹² From Shidehara Kijuro to Sugimura Yotaro, 18 May 1926, JFMA: Kokusai Renmei Gakugei Kyoryoku Innkai oyobi Kokusai Gakuin Kankei Ikken, Vol. 3.

⁹³ From Ishii Kikujiro to Shidehara Kijuro, 9 Jun. 1926, JFMA: Kokusai Renmei Gakugei Kyoryoku Innkai oyobi Kokusai Gakuin Kankei Ikken, Vol. 3.

Drummond's recommendation was in accord with changes in the ICIC's activities, which placed more importance on educational activities in the late 1920s. As mentioned in Chapter I, education was regarded as one of the most important sovereign rights in terms of forming and unifying a nation. Thus, the word 'education' was carefully avoided and was omitted from the resolution to establish the ICIC in order to prevent misunderstandings among member states that the League of Nations would interfere in domestic affairs. However, as the ICIC increasingly solidified its organizational base with the establishment of the IIIC in 1926, it embarked on expanding its scope of activity from the exchange of scientific information to education, and it defined educational activities as one of its key tasks. From this viewpoint, the ICIC created the Sub-Committee of Experts for the Instruction of Youth in the Aims of the League of Nations in 1926. The following year, the Sub-Committee published a report titled "How to make the League of Nations known and to develop the Spirit of International Co-operation", which underlined the necessity to teach the purpose and achievements of the League as well as the development of international co-operation as a part of elementary education and which also called attention to descriptions against the spirit of mutual collaboration in history textbooks⁹⁴. In 1929, the Sub-Committee furthermore prepared a pamphlet designed as a supplementary material for schoolteachers and it particularly encouraged educators to teach young people that international co-operation should be the normal method of conducting world affairs⁹⁵. Eventually, the Assembly of the League in 1929

⁹⁴ Sub-Committee of Experts, International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, League of Nations, *How to make the League of Nations known and to develop the Spirit of International Co-operation*, Geneva, 1927.

⁹⁵ League of Nations, *The Aims and Organisation of the League of Nations*, Geneva: Secretariat of the League of Nations, 1929, p. 12.

resolved that the pamphlet should be translated in each language of the member states in expectation of its use and diffusion in respective national education systems⁹⁶.

In consideration of this transformation within the ICIC, Drummond was negative about the endorsement of Tanakadate, although he did not necessarily stand against the appointment of a Japanese member. Instead, he implied that Nitobe would be the most suitable candidate for the present ICIC. When the Sub-Committee of Experts for the Instruction of Youth in the Aims of the League of Nations was created in 1926, Nitobe, who was still serving as Under Secretary-General at the time, was appointed as a member with the recommendation of the ICIC⁹⁷. However, without consideration of the ICIC's expectation for Nitobe, the Japanese government pushed the recommendation of Tanakadate as a Japanese member of the ICIC on the ground that the government had not pressed the nomination of any Japanese during Nitobe's term of office⁹⁸. As a result, the Council of the League in December 1926 made an official decision to appoint Tanakadate as a Japanese member of the ICIC⁹⁹.

Thus, Tanakadate joined the ICIC from its Ninth Plenary Session in July 1927. It goes

⁹⁶ League of Nations, *Official Journal*, Special Supplement No. 75, 1929, p. 137. In accordance with this resolution, the pamphlet was translated into Japanese and Chinese in 1930 and 1933 respectively: Kokusai Renmei Tokyo Shikyoku, "Kokusai Renmei no Mokuteki oyobi Sosiki" (Purpose and Organization of the League of Nations), *Kokusai Jijo*, No. 272, 25 Jul. 1930, pp. 1-117; Guoji Lianmeng Hui, edited by Wang Yun-Wu, translated by Zheng Yu-Liu, *Guoji Lianmeng Hui zhi Mudi ji Qizuzhi* (Purpose and Organization of the League of Nations), Hong Kong: Shangwuyin Shuguang, 1933.

⁹⁷ From Joseph Avenol to Inazo Nitobe, 14 Jul. 1926, LNA: R1023; From Inazo Nitobe to Eric Drummond, 15 Jul. 1926, LNA: R1023.

⁹⁸ From Kikujiro Ishii to Eric Drummond, 27 Nov. 1926, LNA: R1037.

⁹⁹ "Extract from the Minutes of the Forty-Third Session of the Council, Tuesday, December 7th, 1926 at 3.30 p.m.," LNA: R1037. In reaction to this decision, Nitobe regarded Tanakadate as a liaison between the ICIC and himself, promising that he would continuously offer utmost cooperation to the work of the ICIC and the IIC (From Inazo Nitobe to the Director of the IIC, 15 Dec. 1926, UNESCO: A.I.38). However, Nitobe resigned from the Sub-Committee of Experts for the Instruction of Youth in the Aims of the League of Nations in 1930, owing to the pressure of his duties as a member of the House of Peers and Chairman of the Japanese Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations (From Inazo Nitobe to George Oprescu, 12 Jun. 1930, LNA: R1023). For Nitobe's commitment to the IPR, see Tomoko Akami, *Internationalizing the Pacific: the United States, Japan and the Institute of Pacific Relations in war and peace, 1919-45*, London: Routledge, 2002.

without saying that, as with Nitobe, Tanakadate worked in close contact with the Japanese foreign ministry. Not only was Tanakadate guaranteed diplomatic status, but the foreign ministry also subsidized the expense of his travel to Geneva¹⁰⁰. As part of his duties, he submitted to the foreign ministry a detailed report on the work of the ICIC including his miscellaneous impressions almost every year during his term from 1927 to 1933¹⁰¹. Importantly, his personal reports contain vivid descriptions on each meeting from his point of view and reveal various conflicts that are rarely found in the official documents of the ICIC.

What Tanakadate witnessed during his initial participation in the ICIC in 1927 was an interior fissure within the organization of intellectual co-operation of the League of Nations, particularly a discrepancy between the IIC and the ICIC. In principle, the IIC was officially inaugurated in January 1926 as an executive organ as well as a permanent secretariat for the ICIC. However, while the ICIC ordinarily held a meeting only once a year, the IIC, which was continually engaged in the work of intellectual co-operation with its permanent office at the *Palais-Royal* in Paris, often carried out its activities without waiting for the directions or decisions from the ICIC. Moreover, while the ICIC was financed from the budget of the League, the IIC depended on the contributions from governments, among which particularly the French government was

¹⁰⁰ “Kosaian” (Draft Decision), 23 May 1927, JFMA: Jinji Kankei.

¹⁰¹ Tanakadate reports were submitted in 1927, 1928, 1929, 1931 and 1932: “Chiteki Kyoryoku Iinkai Dai 9kai Kaigi Gaikyo Hokoku” (Report on the Ninth Session of the ICIC), 4 Aug. 1927, JFMA: Kokusai Renmei Gakugei Kyoryoku Kokusai Iinkai oyobi Kokusai Gakuin Kankei Ikken, Vol. 4; “Dai 10kai Kokusai Gakugei Kyoryoku Iinkai Hokoku” (Report on the Tenth Session of the ICIC), n.d., JFMA: Kokusai Renmei Gakugei Kyoryoku Kokusai Iinkai oyobi Kokusai Gakuin Kankei Ikken, Vol. 5; “1929nen no Gakugei Kyoryoku Iinkai Hokoku” (Report on the ICIC in 1929), n.d., JFMA: Kokusai Renmei Gakugei Kyoryoku Kokusai Iinkai oyobi Kokusai Gakuin Kankei Ikken, Vol. 6; “Dai 13kai Chiteki Kyoryoku Iinkai Hokoku” (Report on the Thirteenth Session of the ICIC), n.d., JFMA: Kokusai Renmei Gakugei Kyoryoku Kokusai Iinkai oyobi Kokusai Gakuin Kankei Ikken, Vol. 8; “Dai 14kai Gakugei Kyoryoku Iinkai Hokoku” (Report on the Fourteenth Session of the ICIC), JFMA: Kokusai Renmei Gakugei Kyoryoku Kokusai Iinkai oyobi Kokusai Gakuin Kankei Ikken, Vol. 8.

the biggest donor with its annual contribution of two million francs. In this regard, doubts on the neutral ‘internationality’ of the IIC were often cast during discussions in the ICIC.

Marked by these fractious dynamics, the organizational development of the IIC from 1926 contributed to a power struggle between the ICIC and the IIC which intensified in the late 1920s. In fact, Tanakadate witnessed this power struggle first-hand in the ICIC’s debate over the status of the IIC, stating ‘it should be a key task of the ICIC to work out differences between those who seek to reduce the power of the IIC and those who want to extend it’¹⁰². According to Tanakadate, it was H. A. Lorentz, the chairman of the ICIC who succeeded Henri Bergson, who played a central role in resolving the confrontation between pro and anti-IIC groups. Tanakadate marveled at his skill to reach a middle ground and expedite the proceedings of the ICIC¹⁰³. Shortly thereafter, however, Lorentz died in 1928 and the position of chairman of the ICIC was taken over by Gilbert Murray. Despite Murray’s devotion to the work of the ICIC, the confrontation between the ICIC and the IIC grew more intense in the late 1920s, eventually leading to an overall review of the organizations for intellectual co-operation within the League of Nations including the ICIC and the IIC in 1930. The review reconfirmed that the IIC would remain under the control of the ICIC and proposed the establishment of a new governing body of the IIC that would consist of ICIC members as well as an ICIC member as the director of the IIC.

In addition to the friction between the ICIC and the IIC, Takanadate indicated that there was also a significant divergence in views of intellectual co-operation among the ICIC members.

¹⁰² “Chiteki Kyoryoku Iinkai Dai 9kai Kaigi Gaikyo Houkoku”.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

Particularly, he witnessed disputes among its members over whether the ICIC should be a purely scientific body or rather a political organization¹⁰⁴. According to Tanakadate, this conflict resulted mainly from the composition of the committee, a mixture of scholars and politicians¹⁰⁵. Although the compositional mixture had been visible since the beginning of the ICIC, it should be noted that the confrontation between them deepened and came to the fore in the late 1920s when the ICIC shifted the emphasis of its work from scientific activities to more political projects such as the promotion of ‘Moral Disarmament’ by means of teaching about the League of Nations in each country. In this context, it is clear that the faction that sought to take the work of the ICIC beyond purely scientific activities and guide it in a political direction grew swiftly and came to gain more strength by this time. This ICIC’s tendency of politicalization, however, was nothing but a declination in the eyes of Tanakadate¹⁰⁶. Perceptions concerning the nature of the ICIC thus differed among the members. In other words, though the ICIC sought for international co-operation through the solidarity of intellectuals across the world, it included in reality various divisive elements even among its members.

In his reflections on his days in Geneva, Tanakadate expressed that he participated in the ICIC with the view to pursue the unification of characters, particularly the Romanization of letters¹⁰⁷. In other words, he identified in the ICIC a valuable opportunity to put into practice his

¹⁰⁴ “1929nen no Gakugei Kyoryoku Inkai Hokoku”.

¹⁰⁵ “Chiteki Kyoryoku Inkai Dai 9kai Kaigi Gaikyo Hokoku”.

¹⁰⁶ “Dai 13kai Chiteki Kyoryoku Inkai Hokoku”.

¹⁰⁷ “Dai 69kai Teikoku Gikai Kizokuin Giji Sokkiroku Dai 7go” (Stenographic Record of the 69th Congress of the House of Peers), 15 May 1936. While acting as a physical scientist, Tanakadate had also been devoted to leading the movement of Romanization in Japan for his entire life. For a brief overview of the history of the Romanization movement in Japan, see Nanette Gottlieb, “The Romaji Movement in Japan”, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland*, Vol. 20, Issue 1, January 2010, pp. 75-88. Also, for Tanakadate’s commitment to the movement in particular, see Kayashima Atsushi, *Kokuji Romajika no Kenkyu: Senryoka Nihon no Kokunaiteki Kokuzaiteki Yoin no Kaimei* (A Study of the

ideal of Romanization, asserting that ‘Romanization is no longer at the stage of discussion but at the stage of practice¹⁰⁸’. In fact, at the first ICIC meeting that he attended in 1927, Tanakadate was introduced by the Chairman Hendrik Lorentz as a person who ‘has enthusiastically preached the use of phonetic signs analogue to the Latin characters for writing Japanese¹⁰⁹’. Displaying a certain number of Japanese books printed in Latin characters to the ICIC members, Tanakadate remarked on his movement and asked for the ICIC’s moral support and assistance¹¹⁰. In response, the Spanish member Julio Casares stated that Tanakadate’s work would be crucially important in establishing closer relations between the East and the West, and even more significantly, the Chairman Lorentz also expressed his appreciation for its importance¹¹¹. Tanakadate thus successfully made the ICIC recognize Romanization as one of the main international issues relevant to intellectual co-operation.

Subsequently, at the eleventh meeting of the ICIC in 1929, Tanakadate submitted a proposal concerning the adoption of Roman characters which later came to be named the ‘Tanakadate Proposal’. The proposal articulated his idea that the ICIC should encourage all countries to adopt Roman character into each writing system:

Considering the great amount of population who write their languages with different systems of characters; and Considering that the unification of writing will facilitate the acquisition of

Romanization of Japanese Characters: Examining Domestic and International Factors in Occupied Japan), Tokyo: Kazama Shobo, 2000.

¹⁰⁸ Tanakadate Aikitsu, “Gendai-Bunkwa to Kokuzi” (Contemporary Culture and Japanese Characters), *Kuzunone*, Tokyo: Nihon Romaji Sha, 1938, p.17. Its title and the original text are written in Roman letters.

¹⁰⁹ League of Nations, International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, *Minutes of the Ninth Session, Held at Geneva from Wednesday, July 20th, to Tuesday, July 26th, 1927*, Geneva, September 24th, 1927, p. 9.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 27.

¹¹¹ *Ibid*, p. 27.

languages and consequently will promote the mutual understanding among different nations and races; and Considering the great extent of the usage of the Roman characters in civilised countries:

This Committee recommends to all countries the adoption of the Roman letters in writing their languages, and for the countries where such letters are used in different systems of orthography to standardize their orthography as soon as possible in conformity with the nature of each language¹¹².

In reaction to this proposal, the Chairman Gilbert Murray remarked that it was an important proposal and worth studying in depth by the Sub-Committee on Sciences and Bibliography¹¹³.

At the same time, Tanakadate stressed again the importance of this question for the ICIC, explaining that the spoken and written word would constitute the most important basis of intellectual interchange¹¹⁴. The question of Romanizing characters thus became set as one of the important agendas of the ICIC.

The Sub-Committee heard a statement by Tanakadate himself, who emphasized the importance of his proposal from the standpoint of cultural interdependence between peoples, more particularly of a rapprochement between Western intellectuals and those of the Far-Eastern countries¹¹⁵. In consideration of Tanakadate's thought, the Sub-Committee was of opinion that the study of this question should be pursued along lines which would vary according to the particular country concerned, and therefore that the best plan would be to refer

¹¹² League of Nations, International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, *Minutes of the Eleventh Session, Held at Geneva from Monday, July 22nd, to Friday, July 26th, 1929*, Geneva, September 14th, 1929, p. 72, LNA: R2225.

¹¹³ Ibid, p. 73.

¹¹⁴ Ibid, p. 73.

¹¹⁵ League of Nations, International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, *Minutes of the Twelfth Session, Held at Geneva from Wednesday, July 23rd, to Tuesday, July 29th*, Geneva, August 13th, 1930, p.131.

the proposal to the national committees¹¹⁶. Based on this discussion, the Sub-Committee submitted a draft resolution, which was adopted at the Twelfth Session of the ICIC in 1930. It states:

The Sub-Committee...

Notes the importance of the adoption of a uniform method of writing languages, side by side with the national system of writing, as a possible factor in increasing mutual understanding between peoples;

And proposes that the attention of the Nations Committees for Intellectual Co-operation be directed to the importance of this problem¹¹⁷.

It should be noted here that the question about adopting a uniform method of writing languages, which the ICIC had never dealt with before, was officially added to its agenda. With this result, Tanakadate perhaps envisaged the success of his Romanization movement in the ICIC. In fact, in the wake of the adoption of the 'Tanakadate Proposal' by the ICIC, the IIC launched an investigation into a uniform method of writing languages, sending a circular letter on this subject to national committees in February 1931¹¹⁸.

Subsequently, at the Thirteenth Session of the ICIC in July 1931, Lin Yutang, a substitute Chinese member on behalf of Wu Zhihui, expressed his full support for the 'Tanakadate Proposal' and his hope that Roman characters could be introduced also in the Chinese language. Sharing a sense of purpose with Tanakadate, Lin argued that the Romanization of Chinese characters would make it easier for foreigners to understand the Chinese and would help to

¹¹⁶ Ibid, p. 131.

¹¹⁷ Ibid, pp. 95-96.

¹¹⁸ From Henri Bonnet to Aikitsu Tanakadate, 21 Apr. 1931, UNESCO: DD.III.6.

break down tenacious prejudices in China itself¹¹⁹. Tanakadate, in response, indicated that the reform which he recommended should extend, not only to China and Japan, but also to India, Russia and the countries in which Arabic was used, expecting that the ICIC would have contributed to the progress of humankind when Roman characters were widely adopted in the world¹²⁰.

The reception to the ‘Tanakadate Proposal’ was more mixed among other members, however. Whereas the Belgian member Jules Destrée, in agreement with Tanakadate and Lin, suggested that the resolution should recommend the application of Roman characters generally to the all nations which had not yet adopted them, other members such as the Italian member Alfred Rocco and the French member Paul Painlevé insisted that the ICIC should confine itself to supporting a resolution aimed at the language reforms in Japan and China¹²¹. Destrée withdrew his remark, and Tanakadate also explained his intention that the ‘proposal did not aim at abolishing the characters at present in use, but utilizing the Japanese and Roman characters side by side in order to facilitate international relations¹²². In the end, Tanakadate and Lin were asked by the Chairman to draw up and submit a resolution in this direction, and this was unanimously adopted by the ICIC. The resolution concerning the universal adoption of roman characters says:

The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation,

¹¹⁹ League of Nations, International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, *Minutes of the Thirteenth Session, Held at Geneva, from Monday, July 20th, to Saturday, July 25th, 1931*, Geneva, August 15th, 1931, p. 17.

¹²⁰ *Ibid*, p. 17.

¹²¹ *Ibid*, p. 17-18.

¹²² *Ibid*, p. 18.

Having heard Professor Lin Yutang and Tanakadate on the recent movements, especially in China and Japan, for the introduction of Roman Characters side by side with the national systems of writing these languages;

And having noted the first results of the enquiry of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation;

Considering that the unification of written symbols would be of great value in promoting international understanding;

Confirms the resolution adopted at its twelfth session on the proposal of Professor Tanakadate;

And instructs the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation to continue the enquiry begun in 1930, and to present a report on its results to the fourteenth session. The Institute should particularly endeavour to obtain relevant information and opinions from the National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation (or, where necessary, from other competent bodies) in countries which this resolution directly concerns¹²³.

Thus, the ‘Tanakadate Proposal’ led to this resolution proposed jointly by the Japanese and Chinese members. It is significant that Japan and China, sharing common tasks such as the reform of their writing systems, had some room to cooperate with each other in the ICIC. They could even pursue a common goal to facilitate international understanding from a non-Western point of view. However, the Manchurian Incident, which erupted two months after this session, wiped out the possibilities for further cooperation between Japan and China in the ICIC.

Additionally, at the Thirteenth Session, the Chairman asked Tanakadate to give the ICIC the names of the most eminent authorities on the question of Romanization¹²⁴. In 1932, consulting Daniel Jones at University College London, Tanakadate listed the names of experts from whom

¹²³ Ibid, p.92.

¹²⁴ From Aikitsu Tanakadate to Junzo Sato, 16 Sep. 1932, UNESCO: DD.III.6.

the ICIC should seek opinions¹²⁵. After hearing opinions from these professors, the ICIC and the IIC collected information from national committees of the countries in which roman characters were not used, such as Annan, Bulgaria, Cambodia, Dutch East Indies, Egypt, Greece, India, Japan, Madagascar, Persia, Turkey, Palestine and Yugoslavia¹²⁶.

Based on these experts' views as well as information given by the national committees, the ICIC examined the question of the universal adoption of Roman characters, but its prospects seemed gloomy. The ICIC pointed out the complexity and difficulty of the question, reporting that 'the immediate adoption of Professor Tanakadate's proposal would encounter serious difficulties; not only does a whole series of different problems arise according to the country considered, but, in the interior of many of the countries themselves, a multiplicity of questions call for careful attention, in China, for example, the romanization of the written language would immediately raise the problem of spoken dialects in the different provinces, the question of orthography is also of no little importance for the writing Chinese and Japanese in roman characters¹²⁷'. For this reason, the ICIC concluded that 'it would appear that no effective action can be taken immediately and that it would perhaps be advisable to await the necessary further information before the Institute turns its attention to new aspects of this question¹²⁸'.

Tanakadate's campaign for Romanization was thus deadlocked after only a few years of

¹²⁵ From Daniel Jones to Henri Bonnet, 16 Sep. 1932, UNESCO: DD.III.6; From Aikitsu Tanakadate to Gilbert Murray, 21 Sep. 1932, UNESCO: DD.III.6; From Aikitsu Tanakadate to Henri Bonnet, 23 Sep. 1932, UNESCO: DD.III.6. The list included Otto Jespersen (University of Copenhagen), Daniel Jones (University College London), Diedrich Westermann (University of Berlin), Edward Sapir (University of Chicago) and Hubert Pernot (University of Paris).

¹²⁶ League of Nations, "General Report by the Director of the International Institute on Intellectual Co-operation to the International Committee, approved by the Plenary Committee", *Official Journal*, November 1932, p. 1815.

¹²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 1815.

¹²⁸ *Ibid*, p. 1815.

discussion in the ICIC.

Therefore, at the Fifteenth Session of the ICIC in the following year, 1932, Tanakadate again had to emphasize the necessity for the ICIC to give full support to the movement for the universal adoption of Roman characters by using the dichotomy between the East and the West. Specifically, he waged his campaign under the banner of removing an important obstacle to interpretation and to mutual understanding between eastern people who used Chinese ideographic characters and western people who used the phonetic Roman characters¹²⁹. However, the Chairman Gilbert Murray, while suggesting to keep the question on the agenda, stated that the ICIC should refrain from adopting any resolution, as opinions still seemed to be divided¹³⁰.

On the other hand, however, Henri Bonnet, the Director of the IIC, mentioned that it was preparing a final report concerning the universal adoption of Roman characters based on the views of experts and information collected from national committees¹³¹. This report was published in French in 1934 when Tanakadate was replaced by a new Japanese member of the ICIC¹³². At the Sixteenth Session of the ICIC of that year, the Chairman delivered his idea that ‘the ICIC would not consider it necessary to discuss this question, which called for no decision¹³³’. It thus became obvious that the ICIC had abandoned the campaign for

¹²⁹ League of Nations, Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, Fifteenth Session, International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, “Provisional Minutes: Fourth Meeting held at Geneva on July 18th, 1933, at 3 p.m.”, Geneva, 21st November, 1933, p. 2, LNA: R4001.

¹³⁰ Ibid, p. 2.

¹³¹ Ibid, pp. 2-3.

¹³² *L'adoption universelles des caractères Latins*, Paris: Institute international de coopération intellectuelle, 1934.

¹³³ League of Nations, Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, “Sixteenth Session, Provisional Minutes, Fourth Meeting held at Geneva on July 17th, 1934, at 3 p.m.”, Geneva, October 11th, 1934, p. 5, LNA: R4002.

Romanization and removed it from its agenda. In this way, Tanakadate's attempt to promote his movement for Romanization in the ICIC, though leaving a specialized report on the list of the ICIC publications, ultimately ended in failure¹³⁴.

The above-mentioned Romanization movement by Tanakadate in the ICIC was based on his peculiar linguistic view. First of all, Tanakadate acknowledged that 'nationality' lies behind each language, stating that 'a language has in essence a mystical power to deliver its national spirit'¹³⁵. In other words, finding 'national spirit' or 'nationality' in spoken and written words, he characterizes a language primarily as a 'national' language. Furthermore, the national feature of language is expected to play a crucial role from an international point of view, because Tanakadate believed that only a national language can function as an inseparable tie of its nation in the interdependent world¹³⁶. This adherence to linguistic nationality, nonetheless, was supposed to be compatible with the idea of international co-operation in his thought¹³⁷. In fact, for Tanakadate, a worldwide spread of national languages which are backed by each national spirit *was* in actuality nothing less than international co-operation itself. He explained:

In order to spread our national language across the world, we must standardize its grammar and

¹³⁴ The Sixteenth Session of the ICIC in 1934 adopted the resolution on the universal adoption of Roman characters stipulating that '[t]he International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation expresses its appreciation for the study undertaken by the Institute on the question of the universal adoption of Roman characters, and requests the Director so to continue the work that result of the investigation may be likely to be of special service to countries where the question is of particular importance' (League of Nations, International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, "Report of the Committee on the Work of Its Sixteenth Plenary Session", Geneva, August 11th, 1934, p. 16). However, there is very little evidence that either the ICIC or the IIC took any action with regard to this question thereafter.

¹³⁵ Tanakadate Aikitsu, "Kokuzi no Shorai ni taisuru Romaji no Tachiba" (A Romanizationist Standpoint on the future of Japanese Characters), *Gakushi Kaiho*, No. 607, 1938, p. 1.

¹³⁶ Tanakadate Aikitsu, "Romaji Seijihou to Kokugo Naiyo no Minzoku Ishiki" (The Orthography of Roman Letters and National Consciousness in the National Language), *Kuzunone*, p. 57.

¹³⁷ *Ibid*, p. 59.

write it in a world character, Roman letters. In doing so, we should show literary masterpieces with our spiritual language and share the pleasure with the world. It is through this that we can truly promote international friendship and hope to have peace¹³⁸.

Some may be quick to remark that the Romanization of a language's characters would lead to the loss of the national language itself. Tanakadate, however, strongly denied such a doubt, saying 'characters are essentially for writing its national language, and they can exist only with its language, not vice versa¹³⁹'. In his view, a national language is essential and characters are understood as functional. Therefore, it is a matter of no consequence which characters should be chosen, and the reason why he sought to introduce Roman letters into the Japanese language was simply because Roman characters were being used all over the world¹⁴⁰. In short, for Tanakadate, it was a fundamental aspect of international co-operation, and further of intellectual co-operation, to exchange and understand each national character and spirit by Romanizing national languages.

Moreover, a more proactive meaning was attached to the Romanization of national language. In a word, the primary purpose of Tanakadate's Romanization movement was in fact to spread Japanese language widely around the world. This leitmotif was repeated in most parts of his literature on Romanization, shown most clearly as a slogan 'Nippongo o Romazi de, Nipponsiki

¹³⁸ Tanakadate Aikitsu, "Nippongo to Romazi" (Japanese and Roman Characters), *Nippon Romazikai Pamphlet*, No. 4, 1929, p. 3.

¹³⁹ "Dai 73kai Teikoku Gikai Kizokuin Giji Sokkiroku Dai 10go" (Shorthand Record No. 10 of the 73th Congress of the House of Peer), 11 February 1938.

¹⁴⁰ This kind of functionalistic understanding is also apparent in his attitude toward the question of adopting the metric system. Tanakadate stood for its adoption on the ground that the metric system was used around the world. For his position on the metric system question, see Tanakadate Aikitsu, *Metoruhou no Rekishi to Genzai no Mondai* (History of the Metric System and Current Issues), Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1934.

no Romazi de, Sekai ni Hiromen Nippongo¹⁴¹, (Let's spread Japanese throughout the world through the Japanese-style of Roman characters!). Again, he understood that any national language including the Japanese language was supposed to be based on its particular national character:

To make the world understand our national spirit truly, we must spread our national language at any cost. It is obvious from the fact that major powers not only are becoming familiar with other national languages but also by the fact that each is seeking to spread its own language¹⁴².

The Romanization of the Japanese language was therefore thought of as a means to spread the national spirit, or in other words, Japanese culture. In this regard, there is no doubt that Tanakadate shared a common aim of introducing Japanese culture to the West with the Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and other Japanese intellectuals involved.

Tanakadate's lifelong project for the Romanization of Japanese language, however, resulted in failure both internationally and domestically. Internationally, his campaign in the ICIC reached a stalemate after several years of inquiry. Domestically, it never succeeded in Japan either, where there were not only a great deal of opposition to the Romanization of Japanese language itself but also tensions and conflicts even among romanizationists over the particular method to be adopted. In particular, there was a serious confrontation between 'Hebon Shiki' (the Hepburn-style of Roman letters) and 'Nippon Shiki' (the Japanese-style of Roman letters),

¹⁴¹ Tanakadate, "Nippongo to Romazi", p. 5.

¹⁴² Tanakadate, "Kokuzi no Shorai ni taisuru Romazi no Tachiba", p. 6.

which erupted in the early period of the movement and intensified in the 1920s and the 1930s¹⁴³. To settle the disputes between them, the Japanese Ministry of Education took the initiative to set up ‘Rinji Romaji Chosakai’ (the Interim Committee for the Investigation of Roman Letters), in which Tanakadate also participated as a member. In the committee, Tanakadate insisted on the validity of the Japanese style, while advocates of the Hepburn style were totally opposed to his argument and behavior. They accused Tanakadate of promoting the Romanization of the Japanese language for his own interests, namely through his activities at international conferences including the ICIC which they feared would result in the international and domestic predominance of the Japanese style¹⁴⁴.

After seven years of discussion, the committee eventually confirmed the advantages of the Japanese style, and ‘Kunrei Shiki’ (the Cabinet-Ordered Romanization system) based on the Japanese style was eventually authorized by cabinet instruction in 1937. Even so, this system was not necessarily spread and used with uniformity in Japan. The KBS, for example, continued to use the Hepburn system even after the cabinet instruction and Tanakadate repeatedly claimed that the KBS should adopt the cabinet-ordered system immediately¹⁴⁵. Lacking even the collaboration with organizations for international cultural exchange like the KBS, his

¹⁴³ For the major differences between them, see Gottlieb, “The Romaji Movement in Japan”, pp. 78-79.

¹⁴⁴ For example, Sakurai Joji, apostle proponent of the Hepburn system, showed much annoyance at Tanakadate’s appeal for Romanization under the Japanese system in the international arena, stating that ‘... the Interim Committee for the Investigation of Roman letters was established, but the issue still has not been resolved at all. In light of this situation, it is very imprudent that Dr. Tanakadate, one of the members of this committee, submitted a resolution to unify different notational systems to the Japanese system’ (*Rinji Romaji Chosakai Gijiroku* (Records of the Interim Committee for the Investigation of Roman Letters), Vol. 1, 1936, p. 214). Tanakadate had indeed asked for the ICIC’s endorsement of the Japanese system (From Aikitsu Tanakadate to Henri Bonnet, 1 Jul. 1931, UNESCO: DD.III.6).

¹⁴⁵ “Dai 70kai Teikoku Gikai Kizokuin Giji Sokkiroku Dai 7go” (Shorthand Record No. 7 of the 70th Congress of the House of Peer), 23 February 1937; “Dai 73kai Teikoku Gikai Kizokuin Giji Sokkiroku Dai 7go” (Shorthand Record No. 7 of the 73th Congress of the House of Peer), 1 February 1938; “Dai 74kai Teikoku Gikai Kizokuin Giji Sokkiroku Dai 8go” (Shorthand Record No. 8 of the 74th Congress of the House of Peer), 1 February 1939.

Romanization campaign never became a widespread national movement for introducing Japanese culture to the world.

At the expiration of Tanakadate's term in 1933, the Japanese Foreign Ministry again faced the problem of appointing a Japanese member to the ICIC. This time, it had special significance for the ICIC as well as for the League of Nations, because the Japanese government gave formal notice of its withdrawal from the League on 27 March 1933. The Japanese government nevertheless intended to maintain cooperative relations with technical organizations of the League of Nations with no political character. For this reason, Tanakadate had been able to assume the position of the Japanese member of the ICIC until 1933. In this regard, the ICIC became more and more important as one of Japan's few remaining channels to international society. The ICIC, in turn, desired to ensure Japan's continuous cooperation, even asking the Japanese government to recommend the replacement for Tanakadate¹⁴⁶. In response, the Japanese foreign ministry had the intention to reappoint Tanakadate for one more term¹⁴⁷. However, because the members of the ICIC were basically nominated from each country by routine and the reappointment of the same member was in principle denied, his reappointment seemed impossible. In so doing, the Japanese foreign ministry found it necessary to recommend an alternative to Tanakadate.

Here it was Nitobe who emerged as the prime candidate for the Japanese ICIC member after Tanakadate. As the Japanese delegation at the League of Nations reported, 'we have heard

¹⁴⁶ From Ito Nobufumi to Uchida Kosai, 26 Jul. 1933, JFMA: Jinji Kankei.

¹⁴⁷ From Ito Nobufumi to Uchida Kosai, 1 Sep. 1933, JFMA: Jinji Kankei.

many times that Dr. Nitobe is a most welcome person¹⁴⁸, and he gained a great reputation in the Secretariat of the League as well as in the ICIC even after leaving his position in 1926. It was thus thought that there was no objection to his appointment as the ICIC member. With such an anticipation, in September 1933 the foreign ministry approached Nitobe, who was then at Banff to participate in the Fifth Pacific Conference held by the Institute of Pacific Relations. However, Nitobe declined to accept the offer, euphemistically expressing 'it would be the last thing I would ever do, though I would go into service if no one else undertook it¹⁴⁹'. Although Nitobe eventually accepted the recommendation after being repeatedly solicited by the ministry, he was still reluctant to be a member of the ICIC, and it was said that he expressed the feeling that 'I am asked to go to Geneva this time, but I don't want to go to Geneva anymore¹⁵⁰'. With no concern for his distress, the foreign ministry was satisfied with securing him as a nominee for a member of the ICIC and stated with confidence that Nitobe would be appointed without any difficulty at the Council of the League of Nations in January 1934¹⁵¹. However, on his way back from the Pacific Conference in Banff, Nitobe died suddenly in Victoria, Canada on 16 October 1933.

Confronted with this unexpected and sad news, the Japanese foreign ministry hastily had to find and recommend a new candidate to the League. It was, in a way, fortunate that the ICIC still expressed a positive interest in the continuation of a Japanese member. In their guidelines for the nomination, the ICIC presented several conditions for a suitable member: 1) first-rate

¹⁴⁸ From Ito Nobufumi to Uchida Kosai, 3 Sep. 1933, JFMA: Jinji Kankei.

¹⁴⁹ From the Consul Ishii at Vancouver to Uchida Kosai, 12 Sep. 1933, JFMA: Jinji Kankei.

¹⁵⁰ Uchikawa Eiichiro, *Bannen no Inazo* (Inazo in His Later Days), Morioka: Iwate Nippo Sha, 1983, p. 230.

¹⁵¹ From Ito Nobufumi to Hirota Koki, 15 Oct. 1933, JMFA: Kokusai Renmei Gakugei Kyoryoku Kokusai Iinkai oyobi Kokusai Gakuin Kankei Ikken, Vol. 8.

men in different branches of the academic circles in Japan, 2) those who are conversant with foreign languages, 3) those who are in a position to attend the meeting regularly¹⁵². According to these conditions, it was in a short time after Nitobe's death and a few months before the meeting of the Council of the League in January 1934, where the new members of the ICIC were appointed, that the Japanese government recommend Anesaki Masaharu for a new Japanese member of the ICIC¹⁵³. In all respects, this selection met the conditions that the ICIC presented, on the grounds that Anesaki was one of the leading scholars in religious studies in Japan, had on many occasions given lectures at universities in the United States and Europe, and was part of the preparation of establishing the KBS at the time¹⁵⁴. In January 1934, the Council of the League of Nations formally nominated Anesaki in place of Tanakadate as a member of the ICIC¹⁵⁵.

In consideration of Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations in 1931, the ICIC placed much higher expectations than ever before on the Japanese member to further collaboration between Japan and the ICIC, as well as between the two civilizations of the East and the West¹⁵⁶. However, the growing hostility between Japan and China in the Far East cast a dark shadow on the ICIC. For example, when the question of the revision of school textbooks was discussed at

¹⁵² From Ken Harada to Jean Daniel de Montenach, 3 Dec. 1933, LNA: R4026. Moreover, the ICIC added that a person in the humanities with practical experience in cultural programs would be preferable (From Yokoyama Masayuki to Hirota Koki, 23 Nov. 1933, JFMA: Jinji Kankei).

¹⁵³ From Masayuki Yokoyama to Henri Bonnet, 11 Nov. 1933, UNESCO: A.XI.13.

¹⁵⁴ For his life history, see his autobiography, Anesaki Masaharu and Anesaki Sensei Seitan Hyakunen Kinenkai eds., *Shinban Waga Shogai* (My Life), Ozora Sha, 1993. In reality, however, the ICIC regarded Anesaki as a reluctant concession. In fact, though the ICIC wanted to select a specialist in moral and political science, it was difficult to ask for the name of another candidate because the Japanese government made a strong representation in favor of Anesaki (From Jean Daniel de Montenach to Henri Bonnet, 11 Dec. 1933, LNA: R4026, From Jean Daniel de Montenach to Gilbert Murray, 12 Dec. 1933, LNA: R4025). In this sense, the appointment of Anesaki as a member of the ICIC was a product of political compromise.

¹⁵⁵ League of Nations, *Official Journal*, February 1934, p. 115.

¹⁵⁶ From Henri Bonnet to Masaharu Anesaki, 25 Jan. 1934, LNA: R3985.

the Sixteenth Session of the ICIC in 1934, Anesaki claimed that all Japanese school textbooks were impartial¹⁵⁷. The Chinese member, in response, disapproved of Anesaki's statement, maintaining that '[t]here were a great many text-books printed either in Japan, or in Manchuria, or elsewhere, which were by no means written in a spirit of impartial criticism...but which definitely tried to influence the Japanese mind with regard to relations with other nations¹⁵⁸'. Although the Chinese member sought to draw the attention of the ICIC to the serious situation in the Far East at the time, the Chairman in the end suggested to avoid further discussion on this issue, optimistically hoping that 'if the present situation were to calm down, his Chinese and Japanese colleagues would be quite able to collaborate in writing an impartial history¹⁵⁹'. Arguably, the ICIC intended to disregard or even disguise the fact that it was fraught with political and cultural disharmonies in spite of its guiding principle, the close collaboration of intellectuals all over the world.

Despite such tense times, Anesaki recalled his days at Geneva as 'the happiest years' of his life. Although, as with Nitobe, Anesaki was reluctant to be a Japanese member of the ICIC after Tanakadate, he visited Geneva every year, participated in the ICIC, and gave lectures in various places in Europe during his term from 1934 to 1938¹⁶⁰. Particularly in the context of Japan's increasing isolation from the world, this experience abroad was particularly positive for him.

¹⁵⁷ League of Nations, International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, "Sixteenth Session, Provisional Minutes, Seventh Meeting held at Geneva on Saturday, July 19th, 1934, at 10 a.m.", Geneva, October 11th, 1934, p. 16, LNA: R4002.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid, pp. 17-18. For details on the dispute over school textbooks between Japan and China, see Namiki Yori-hisa, Osato Hiroaki, Sunayama Yukio eds., *Kindai Chugoku Kyokasho to Nihon* (Japan and School Textbooks in Modern China), Tokyo: Kenbun Shuppan, 2010.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid, p. 18-19.

¹⁶⁰ Anesaki Masaharu and Anesaki Masaharu and Anesaki Sensei Seitan Hyakunen Kinenkai eds., *Shinban Waga Shogai* (My Life), Ozora Sha, 1993, pp. 127-130.

That said, with the exception of his close association with Paul Valéry, who had been always seated next to him at the meetings, the ICIC held little attraction for Anesaki,¹⁶¹. As mentioned in Chapter II, Anesaki and Valéry shared their perspectives on the League of Nations as a cultural entity. On the other hand, in the 1930s, the ICIC gradually shifted emphasis on its priorities from natural science or education to social sciences and humanities¹⁶². In this context, the ICIC created the Permanent Committee on Arts and Letters in 1931, in which both Anesaki and Valéry participated as members¹⁶³. Therefore, it was not a coincidence that these two intellectuals met each other and worked together in the ICIC during this period.

During the late 1920s the ICIC paid increasing attention to activities in the humanities and embarked on programs to introduce different national cultures, non-Western cultures in particular, by translating their representative literary works into French. On the initiative of the Sub-Committee and later the Permanent Committee on Arts and Letters, this project was started as the Ibero-American Collection in 1930¹⁶⁴. Following the introduction of literary works from the Ibero-American region, the ICIC planned the compilation and publication of the Japanese

¹⁶¹ Ibid, p.130.

¹⁶² For developing the field of social sciences, which was mainly led by the American member James T. Shotwell, the ICIC had hosted international conferences to organize the study of international relations and examine various actual international issues, such as ‘The Situation of Scientific Research into Contemporary International Problems and How to Provide Assistance to Specialists in International Affairs’ (1928), ‘the State and Economic Life’ (1932), ‘Collective Security’ (1934), ‘Peaceful Change’ (1936 and 1937), ‘the Economic Policy of Germany and Poland’ (1939). On the other hand, on the initiative of Valéry, the ICIC had also held large-scale conferences on humanities throughout the 1930s: ‘Goethe’ (1932), ‘the Future of Culture’ (1933), ‘the Future of European Spirit’ (1933), ‘Art and Reality- Art and the State’ (1934), ‘the Formation of Modern Man’ (1935), ‘Towards a New Humanism’ (1936), ‘Europe-Latin America’ (1936), ‘the Future Fate of Letters’ (1937).

¹⁶³ In addition to Valéry and Aneski, its members included other intellectuals such as Thomas Mann and Béla Bartók.

¹⁶⁴ As the Ibero-American Collection, 12 books in total had been published by the IIC by 1939. Titles of the volumes included *Historiens chiliens* (1930), *Le Diamant au Brésil* (1931), *Bolívar* (1934), *Facundo* (1934), *Dom Casmurro* (1934), *Amérique* (1935), *Hostos: Essais* (1936), *Mes Montagnes* (1937), *Traditions péruviennes* (1938), *Folklore chilien* (1938), *Théâtre choisi de Florencio Sanchez* (1939), *Pages choisies de Joaquim Nabucco* (1939).

Collection, in which Anesaki was directly involved as an editorial advisor.

The plan of publishing the Japanese Collection was initially envisaged by Japan's KBS in its letter on 30 November 1934 to Sato Junzo, who was working for the ICIC at that time. It also suggested the first volume of the Japanese work for translation, the poems of Basho, as well as the possibility of financial assistance for this enterprise from the Japanese side¹⁶⁵. In response, recognizing that such an undertaking would no doubt help to promote mutual understanding among nations and thereby contribute indirectly to the establishment of international peace, Bonnet answered that the KBS should make a formal proposal to the IIC, and then he would bring it before the ICIC at its next meeting¹⁶⁶. This proposal of the Japanese Collection was thus discussed at the meeting of the ICIC in July 1935. Anesaki firstly explained the general idea behind translating Japanese literary works into French as well as its planned first volume on the Haikai of Matsuo Basho and his disciples, and he also noted the sufficient funds offered by the KBS for this project¹⁶⁷. This plan for the Japanese Collection attracted much attention and received unanimous approval among members. However, some members, including the Chairman Gilbert Murray and Henri Bonnet, suggested that the project should more strongly emphasize its significance for the cultural rapprochement of the Eastern and Western nations, and suggested therefore that future volumes should include not only literary works but also other subjects of an aesthetic, moral or pedagogic nature¹⁶⁸. With the addition of this wider

¹⁶⁵ From Henri Bonnet to Aisuke Kabayama, 8 Jan. 1935, UNESCO: F.XV.1.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ League of Nations, International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, Seventeenth Session, "Provisional Minutes, Fifth Meeting held at Geneva on Wednesday, July 17th, 1935 at 10 a.m.", p. 6, LNA: R4002.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid, pp. 6-8.

meaning, the publication of the Japanese Collection was formally decided by the ICIC¹⁶⁹.

The preparatory committee was established immediately after the decision by the ICIC, and its first meeting took place in November 1935¹⁷⁰. At the beginning of the meeting, Bonnet stated that, based on the success of the Ibero-American Collection, the Japanese Collection would publish not only purely literary works but also historical or philosophical works with the view to providing an idea of the Japanese mentality and culture¹⁷¹. After a discussion about technical issues such as the selection of translators, it was agreed that the preparatory committee should prepare a provisional list of Japanese works to be translated and then send it to the KBS for its approval¹⁷². In addition, it was suggested after the meeting that the Japanese Collection could be extended and increased to 13 volumes by making the most of existing works translated already

¹⁶⁹ League of Nations, International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, *Report of the Committee on the Work of Its Seventeenth Plenary Session*, Geneva, August 8th, 1935, p. 14. The ICIC regarded the Ibero-American Collection as a model for this Japanese Collection. The reason why the Ibero-American Collection was followed by none other than the Japanese Collection was that organizations and individuals in Japan interested in the League of Nations even after Japan's withdrawal from it in 1933 attached a good deal of importance to the work of the ICIC and the cooperation of the Japanese representative with it (Mary Agnes Craig Mcgeachy to Adrianus Pelt, 9 Jul. 1935, LNA: R5737). On the other hand, however, the League of Nations also sought to maintain a connection to the Japanese government as well as to its society. During the period around 1934 and 1935 in particular, there were frequent exchanges between the Secretariat of the League at Geneva and the Tokyo branch of the League's Information Section over its endangered state after Japan's withdrawal. In this situation, Joseph Avenol, the Secretary-General after Eric Drummond, noted that '[t]he Tokyo Bureau has always seemed to me one of the most valuable from the viewpoint of work, and the most necessary from the viewpoint of distance. It would, therefore, seem desirable to keep it in one form or another...' (Joseph Avenol's Minute, 14 Apr. 1934, LNA: R5383). Consequently, the Tokyo office was downscaled to a correspondent in 1935 but was maintained until 1938 (From Kaneo Tsuchida to the Secretary General and Adrianus Pelt, 25 Feb. 1935, LNA: R5682; From Ken Harada to the Secretary General, 12 Mar. 1935, LNA: R5383). Therefore, it is arguable that the ICIC's decision to publish the Japanese Collection was more or less backed by this conciliatory mood toward Japan in the Secretariat of the League of Nations.

¹⁷⁰ The members at the first meeting included Henri Bonnet (Director of the IIIC), Dominique Braga (Technical Advisor of Literary Questions), Charles Haguenaer (Professor at l'École Nationale des Langues Orientales), Michel Revon (Professor at the Sorbonne), Junzo Sato (Officer of the IIIC), and Daniel Secrétan (Secretary-General of the IIIC).

¹⁷¹ Société des Nations, Institut international de Coopération intellectuelle, "Collection Japonaise: Compte rendu de la première réunion du Comité préparatoire, Mardi, 26 novembre 1935", 26 November, UNESCO: F/1-38.

¹⁷² Ibid. The list attached to this document indicates the general outlines from the first to fifth volumes: 1. Haikai of Basho and his disciples (in preparation), 2. Novels in the Meiji era (Higuchi Ichiyo and Natsume Soseki), 3. Novels of Saikaku in the Tokugawa era, 4. Religious History in Japan by Professor Anesaki, 5. Some classical works that have not yet been translated into European languages.

in French or English¹⁷³. In this way, the meeting of the Executive Committee of the ICIC in December 1935 decided that the projected Japanese Collection would include not only the classics but also modern works¹⁷⁴.

At the same time, the translation of the first volume, *Haikai of Basho and his disciples*, began to take shape in 1935. The compilation and translation of the volume were undertaken by Matsuo Kuninosuke and Émile Steinilber-Oberlin¹⁷⁵. For this work, Anesaki made a private donation totaling 3,000 francs to the IIC¹⁷⁶. With this assistance, Matsuo and Steinilber-Oberlin completed their joint 'Introduction' of the volume later that year¹⁷⁷. At the end of 1935, in addition to Anesaki and the KBS, the Japanese embassy at Paris offered 3,000 francs to assist the publication of the first volume¹⁷⁸. These supports for the Japanese Collection led to a total subvention of 42,400 francs by the Japanese government by March 1936¹⁷⁹. Compared with

¹⁷³ Charles Haguenauer to Junzo Sato, 28 Nov. 1935, UNESCO: F.XV.1.

¹⁷⁴ Société des Nations, Organisation de Coopération Intellectuelle, Comité exécutif, "17ème Session convoquée à Paris les 19 et 20 décembre 1935", Geneva, January 16th, 1936, LNA: R4005.

¹⁷⁵ Matsuo Kuninosuke (1899-1975) was a journalist, a literary critic and a translator who had lived in Paris during the 1920s and 1930s. In companionship with Japanese intellectuals interested in French culture, French intellectuals such as André Gide and Paul Valéry, as well as artists of the *École de Paris*, Matsuo was regarded as one of central figures in Franco-Japanese cultural exchange at that time. After World War II, he was committed to propagate the idea of UNESCO in Japan as a secretary-general of the National Federation of UNESCO Associations in Japan that was founded in 1948 (Matsuo Kuninosuke, *UNESCO no Riso to Jissen* (Ideal of UNESCO and Its Activities), Tokyo: Kumiai Shoten, 1948). Émile Steinilber-Oberlin (1878-unknown) was a French Japanologist. There was a good reason to assign the task of translation to Matsuo and Steinilber-Oberlin, because they had by then already collaborated to produce a wide range of French translations not only on Japanese haikai poems but also on classical and modern literatures, traditional dramas and religions of Japan. As an example, see Kuni Matsuo and Steinilber-Oberlin, *Les Haikai de Kikakou*, Paris: Éditions G. Crès, 1927.

¹⁷⁶ From Junzo Sato to Henri Bonnet, 24 Jul. 1935, UNESCO: F.XV.2; From Henri Bonnet to Masaharu Anesaki, 2 Aug. 1935, UNESCO: F.XV.2. The KBS, as it suggested at the time of the proposal, also contributed 4,320 francs to the IIC in 1935 ("Compte de la Collection japonaise du 1er août 1935 au 31 mars 1937", no date, UNESCO: A.II.29).

¹⁷⁷ Société des Nations, Institut international de Coopération intellectuelle, "Haikai de Bashô et de ses dix Disciples (Extraits): Point 3 du Chapitre VIII du Rapport général du Directeur de l'Institut international de Coopération intellectuelle", no date, 1935, UNESCO: F/1-38.

¹⁷⁸ From Takanobu Mitani to Henri Bonnet, 6 Dec. 1935, UNESCO: F.XV.2; From Henri Bonnet to Takanobu Mitani, 13 Dec. 1935, UNESCO: F.XV.2.

¹⁷⁹ From Takanobu Mitani to Henri Bonnet, 18 Mar. 1936, UNESCO: F.XV.2; From Henri Bonnet to Takanobu Mitani, 23 Mar. 1936, UNESCO: F.XV.2.

endowments from other countries for the IIC, for example, 2,000,000 francs from France, 1,500,000 francs from Italy, and 75,000 francs from Brazil, the amount was not substantial¹⁸⁰. Nonetheless, it should be noted that this was the first time for the Japanese government to provide direct financial contribution for the work of the ICIC and the IIC, inasmuch as the grant was supposed to be used only for the publication of the Japanese Collection. Thus, with the sufficient funds from Japan, the first volume including the “Introduction” by Matsuo and Steinilber-Oberlin as well as colorful illustrations drawn by Tsuguharu Foujita was published by the IIC in June 1936¹⁸¹.

The first volume *Haikai de Bashô et de ses disciples* was presented by Henri Bonnet at the meeting of the ICIC in July 1936¹⁸². Importantly, the ICIC at this meeting defined the fundamental principles of publishing the Japanese Collection as: ‘to make a civilization better known in its past and also in its more recent developments, and to render accessible to a wide public the masterpieces of Japanese thought, notably those which have contributed most largely to the moulding of the national mentality and which are a characteristic expression of the culture of a people¹⁸³’. In this respect, it was thought in the ICIC that the main purpose of the Collection was to introduce Japanese national culture, both old and new, outside of Japan, particularly to Western countries. Furthermore, interpreting the guiding principle in terms of the

¹⁸⁰ League of Nations, International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, “Report of the Governing Body of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation”, 1936, p. 5.

¹⁸¹ Translated by K. Matsuo and Steinilber-Oberlin, *Haikai de Bashô et de ses disciples*, Paris: Institut international de Coopération intellectuelle, 1936.

¹⁸² League of Nations, Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, Eighteenth Session, “Provisional Minutes, Sixth Meeting (public) held at Geneva on Thursday, July 16th, 1936 at 10 a.m.”, 17 Jul. 1936, LNA: R4003.

¹⁸³ League of Nations, International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, “Report of the Committee on the Work of Its Eighteenth Plenary Session”, Geneva, August 10th, 1936, p. 64.

cultural consonance between the East and the West, the ICIC passed a resolution stating ‘this effort of intellectual rapprochement between East and West is peculiarly consistent with the objects that Intellectual Co-operation has set before it from the outset¹⁸⁴’. In this way, the Japanese Collection positioned itself in the idea of intellectual co-operation on which the ICIC had been based since its establishment.

Following this, the expert committee on the Japanese Collection was held at Paris in November¹⁸⁵. The main question of this meeting was the selection of the future volumes to be published. Firstly, it was agreed that an English work by Anesaki should be translated into French and published as one of the future volumes of the Japanese Collection¹⁸⁶. While this choice was exceptional in light of the principle that the Collection would translate Japanese works into French or English, the expert committee supported the idea that, for the rapprochement between Japan and the West, it was important to publish works showing different aspects of the Japanese civilization and, in some cases, works written directly in French or English might be published to that end¹⁸⁷. Secondly, for the second volume, which was supposed to be a novel from the Meiji era, the committee discussed various Japanese authors¹⁸⁸. It was then decided that the committee should prepare a proposal for the second volume and that Sato would go to Japan to discuss the final choice with the KBS. Thirdly,

¹⁸⁴ League of Nations, International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, “Draft Resolution: Japanese Collection”, Geneva, July 17th, 1936, LNA: R4038.

¹⁸⁵ The members present this time included Dan Ino (Director of the KBS), Haguenuer, Takanobu Mitani (Japanese Delegate to the IIC), Bonnet, Braga, Sato, and Secrétan.

¹⁸⁶ Anesaki Masaharu, *Art, Life, and Nature in Japan*, Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1933.

¹⁸⁷ Société des Nations, Institut international de Coopération intellectuelle, “Collection Japonaise : Réunion du 6 novembre 1936”, UNESCO: F/1-38.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid. For example, Higuchi Ichiyo’s *Takekurabe*, Ozaki Koyo’s *Konjiki Yasha*, Natsume Soseki’s *Kusamakura*, Mori Ogai’s *Takasebune*,

Bonnet reported that the Japanese Collection would also deal with novels from the Tokugawa era, among which Ihara Saikaku's *Koshoku Ichidai-Onna* (Life of an Amorous Woman) had been already in the process of translation¹⁸⁹. Lastly, Dan Ino, one of the Directors of the KBS, explained that as the Japanese government was very interested in the activities of the Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, it would be possible to receive a 10,000 Japanese yen subsidy from the government in 1937. Coinciding with the absorption of the Japanese national committee into the KBS at the end of 1936, the Japanese Collection was thus promoted in concert by these two organizations as well as by the Japanese government. At the same time, the ICIC and the IIIC also sought for a further strengthening of intellectual co-operation with Japan through publishing the Japanese Collection as their joint enterprise¹⁹⁰.

According to the decision at the expert committee, Sato visited Japan the following year and conferred with the Japanese foreign ministry, the KBS, the Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and other cultural organizations¹⁹¹. Through his negotiations with the government and the organizations, it was agreed that the second volume of the Meiji era should

¹⁸⁹ Ibid. The translation was undertaken by George Bonmarchand (1884-1967) who was a French translator of Japanese and Chinese literary works, especially famous for his translation of Ihara Saikaku.

¹⁹⁰ From Henri Bonnet to Aisuke Kabayama, 14 Jan. 1937, UNESCO: A.III.13.

¹⁹¹ From Junzo Sato to Henri Bonnet, 5 Apr. 1937, UNESCO: F.I.8. Sato reported that the Japanese Foreign Ministry showed a favorable attitude to the work of the ICIC. This is mostly because, at the birth of the new Cabinet in February 1937, Sato Natotake, who had held prominent positions such as the director of the Mission of Imperial Japan to the League of Nations and the ambassadors to France and Belgium, was appointed its foreign minister. As an internationalist diplomat, Sato Natotake sent a sign that the Japanese government would encourage closer collaboration with the League of Nations even if it was still impossible for Japan to re-enter the League under the present situation. Although the cabinet collapsed in only four months and Sato resigned in June 1937, the Japanese government made 35,000 and 36,000 donations, a 'gift' in the League's term, for the expenses of certain technical committees of the League in 1936 and 1937 (League of Nations, *Official Journal*, May-June, 1937, p. 285; League of Nations, *Official Journal*, December, 1937, p. 887). Explaining the motivation of Sato's diplomacy, the League's correspondent at Tokyo asked the Secretary-General of the League to show every possible gesture to enable Japan to approach the League (From Rokuro Tokuda to the Secretary General, 11 May, LNA: R5737). In this context, the Japanese Collection was thought to be one of the few ties to be strengthened between the League and Japan.

be Natsume Soseki's *Kokoro* and that it would be translated by Horiguchi Daigaku and Georges Bonneau¹⁹². With this Japanese novel included as a volume scheduled for publication, in addition to the first volume *Haikai de Bashô et de ses disciples* that had been published already, the Japanese Collection had three translations in progress: Natsume Soseki's *Kokoro* for the second, Anesaki's *Art, Life, and Nature in Japan* for the third, and Ihara Saikaku's *Koshoku Ichidai Onna* for the fourth volume¹⁹³. At the meeting of the ICIC in July 1937, considerable attention was paid to Anesaki's work in particular in the hope that it would enable Western people to obtain an exact comprehension of the works of art of the Far East¹⁹⁴.

In December, the editorial committee of the Japanese Collection was held at the IIIC¹⁹⁵. First, it was reported that the French translation of Anesaki's work for the third volume had been completed and it would come out in spring 1938. The director of the IIIC Henri Bonnet then presented his viewpoint with consideration of its budget, saying that four to five volumes would be eventually published under the name of the Japanese Collection. While the second volume had been entrusted to Horiguchi Daigaku and George Bonneau and their translation work was scheduled to be finished at the beginning of March 1938, it was suggested that the planned fourth volume of Ihara Saikaku's work should be cancelled, not only because its translator George Bonmarchand had been too busy to complete his task by the due date, but also because he assumed that a 250-300-page volume with comments on the entire translation was beyond

¹⁹² From Junzo Sato to Henri Bonnet, 13 May, UNESCO: F.XV.1.

¹⁹³ League of Nations, International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, "Plan of Work 1937-38", no date, 1937, LNA: R3989.

¹⁹⁴ League of Nations, International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, Nineteenth Session, "Minutes, Fifth Meeting held at Paris on Thursday, July 15th, 1937 at 10 a.m.", LNA: R4003.

¹⁹⁵ "Collection Japonaise: Procès-verbal de la réunion du Comité de publication (3 Décembre 1937)", UNESCO: F.XV.2.

the scope of the Collection. The rest of the discussion therefore focused on a substitute plan for the fourth as well as future volumes. While several names and titles were suggested such as Chikamatsu Monzaemon, Arai Hakuseki and a Japanese classical musical (*noh*) drama, it was agreed that after hearing from the government and organizations in Tokyo regarding these proposals the committee could study and decide the next volumes¹⁹⁶. Though the committee was well aware that it would be useful to increase the volumes of the Japanese Collection, it often suffered from the shortage of Japanologists who could provide specialized knowledge concerning Japanese culture to the ICIC and the IIIC.

Nonetheless, in the first half of 1938 it still appeared that the Japanese Collection, with the publication of Anesaki's work as the second volume, had made steady progress and would show further development in the near future¹⁹⁷. However, on 2 November 1938, confronted with the League's resolution of sanctions against Japan based on Article 16 of the Covenant, the Japanese Government decided to discontinue the co-operation it had hitherto maintained with the organs of the League since its withdrawal¹⁹⁸. The message also, by necessity, implied the termination of publishing the Japanese Collection. However, the KBS, on behalf of the Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation after its dissolution in March 1939, showed a

¹⁹⁶ It was eventually agreed that the fourth volume would be a guide of Japanese art, a piece of Chikamatsu Monzaemon, or a book on the life of Ii Naosuke with the approval of the appropriate Japanese institutions (Société des Nations, Organisation de Coopération Intellectuelle, Comité exécutif, "Vingt-troisième session, Première Séance tenue à Paris, le lundi 20 décembre 1937, à 10 heures", 20 Dec. 1937, LNA: R4005). On the other hand, the IIIC continued to examine the translation of *noh*, seeking the advice of Gaston Renondeau (1879-1967), who was the French military attaché at Berlin at that time and an enthusiastic Japanologist interested in Japanese classics as well as modern literature (From Junzo Sato to General Renondeau, 22 Feb. 1938, UNESCO: F.XV.1; From General Renondeau to Junzo Sato, no date, UNESCO: F.XV.1).

¹⁹⁷ Anesaki Masaharu, *L'art, la vie et la nature au Japon*, Paris: Institut international de coopération intellectuelle, 1938.

¹⁹⁸ League of Nations, 'Cooperation of Japan with the Organs of the League: Letter from the Japanese Government', Geneva, November 3rd, 1938, LNA: R5383.

strong desire to sustain a relationship with the ICIC and the IIC¹⁹⁹. As a result, the life of the Japanese Collection was prolonged for a while and the third volume was published by the IIC in June 1939²⁰⁰. Moreover, following a proposal by Anesaki the ICIC discussed the translation of a fifteenth-century work which had exerted a considerable influence on Japanese aesthetics²⁰¹. Though the special committee of the Japanese Collection was due to take place in October and examine the question about its further volumes, the outbreak of the second world war in September 1939 and the turmoil in its aftermath delivered the final fatal blow to not only the project of the Japanese Collection but also to the life of the League of Nations itself.

3. From Intellectual Co-operation to International Cultural Exchange

As mentioned above, faced with the cultural backlash from China and Japan regarding the universalistic idea of intellectual co-operation that the ICIC had been based on since its establishment, the ICIC itself transformed its fundamental principles. This transformation was typified by the new projects it launched in the 1930s, namely the Mission of Educational Experts to China and the Japanese Collection. Again, in the course of cooperating with China and Japan, the ICIC became aware that intellectual co-operation should be based on the idea of

¹⁹⁹ From Aiské Kabayama to Henri Bonnet, 21 Feb. 1939, UNESCO: A.III.13; From Henri Bonnet to Aiské Kabayama, 25 Mar. 1939, UNESCO: A.III.13.

²⁰⁰ Natsume Sôseki, translated by Horiguchi Daigaku and Georges Bonneau, *Kokoro (Le pauvre coeur des hommes)*, Paris: Institut international de Coopération intellectuelle, 1939.

²⁰¹ League of Nations, Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, "Minutes of the Twenty-First Plenary Session of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, held at Geneva from Monday July 17th to Saturday July 22nd, 1939", Geneva, August 24th, 1939, p. 14, LNA: R4004.

particular national cultures and implemented by governments. This can be characterized as an ideological shift of the ICIC from intellectual co-operation to international cultural exchange.

From the viewpoint of the ICIC, the reexamination of its fundamental principles had already begun in the late 1920s. With the establishment of a committee of inquiry in 1929, the ICIC embarked on the overhaul of what it had done since its establishment in 1922 and the redefinition of the idea of intellectual co-operation. As the report of the ICIC in 1929 explained, the reason for this new effort was that the ICIC still had not developed a distinct identity even seven years after its inauguration:

As a matter of fact, everything that has been undertaken hitherto has, after all, been done in an empirical manner as and when problems arose and suggestions were made. It is true that the Committee has fixed the framework of intellectual co-operation – perhaps on too large scale – but it has not yet succeeded in filling in this framework, or even in realising absolutely clearly what it means by intellectual co-operation, what are the limits and aims of this co-operation, and whether its own role and that of the organs under its authority is simply one of liaison, or consists in taking the initiative and doing creative work. Since 1922, it has done all this as circumstances dictated, and it has many important successes to its credit; but, after seven years, it is its duty to stop for a moment, to survey the path travelled, to consult the map, and to draw up a new plan²⁰².

Looking back on the seven years of its activity, however, the ICIC also identified three main questions that it had been working on²⁰³: (1) How would it be possible to resume and extend international relations between universities, for example, by exchanges of students and

²⁰² “Work of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation during Its Eleventh Session: Report of the Committee submitted to the Council on August 31st, 1929”, League of Nations, *Official Journal*, November 1929, p. 1536.

²⁰³ *Ibid*, p. 1536.

professors and the equivalence of diplomas and degrees? (2) How would it be possible to resume and extend international relations in the domain of science? (3) How would it be possible to improve the methods of scientific bibliography in the international sphere? It is obvious that these questions derived from the universalistic nature of the ICIC that was characterized by the UAI in the process of its establishment. As Nitobe also described at the opening session of the ICIC in 1922, intellectual co-operation was thought to be undertaken by members not as government representatives but as intellectuals sharing common Western civilization: 'science'.

In 1930, the committee of enquiry submitted its final report to the ICIC, presenting a wide variety of suggestions in terms of the ICIC's organization, aims and activities²⁰⁴. The report redefines the main purpose of the ICIC as well as the idea of intellectual co-operation itself:

The object of intellectual co-operation is international collaboration with a view to promoting the progress of general civilisation and human knowledge, and notably the development and diffusion of science, letters and arts. Its purpose is to create an atmosphere favourable to the pacific solution of international problems. Its scope is that of the League of Nations²⁰⁵.

At first glance, while expanding its scope of action to letters and arts, the ICIC seemed to maintain its universalistic nature with a central emphasis on 'the progress of general civilisation

²⁰⁴ For details about the process of reexamination by the committee of inquiry, see Jean-Jacques Renoliet, *L'UNESCO oubliée: La Société des Nations et la coopération intellectuelle (1919-1946)*, Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1999, pp. 91-109.

²⁰⁵ "Report of the Committee of Enquiry, presented to the Chairman of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation", attached to "Work of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation during Its Twelfth Session (Geneva, July 23rd to 29th, 1930): Report of the Committee submitted to the Council on September 9th, 1930", League of Nations, *Official Journal*, November 1930, p. 1398.

and human knowledge'. The report, however, also underlined the key task of the ICIC from the point of view of international understanding:

The activity of the League of Nations in the sphere of intellectual co-operation aims at the promotion of collaboration between nations in all fields of intellectual efforts, in order to promote a spirit of international understanding as a means to the preservation of peace²⁰⁶.

It should be noted that this view of intellectual co-operation is based on the idea of the nation. In other words, it assumes cultural differences among nations as a basis for the promotion of intellectual co-operation by the ICIC. The report thus highlighted the particularity of national cultures with a view to facilitating international understanding among nations, while still resting on the idea of the commonality of 'general civilisation', that is, Western civilization²⁰⁷. In this way, through the redefinition of its fundamental principles, a tension between the universality of culture (Western civilization) and the particularity of culture (national cultures) was embedded in the ICIC's idea of intellectual co-operation.

In this respect, the ICIC formed and presented its two-faced self-image in the 1930s. Firstly, on the initiative of its Permanent Committee on Arts and Letters led by Paul Valéry and Henri

²⁰⁶ Ibid, p. 1398.

²⁰⁷ In view of this, the report sketches in broad outline the field of action of intellectual co-operation: (1) To develop the exchange of ideas and to effect personal contacts between the intellectual workers of all countries, (2) To encourage and promote co-operation between institutions doing work of an intellectual character, (3) To facilitate the spread of a knowledge of the literary, artistic and scientific effort of different nations, (4) To study jointly certain major problems of international bearing, (5) To support the international protection of intellectual rights, (6) To make known by educational means the principles of the League of Nations (ibid, p. 1398).

Focillon, the ICIC published a book of correspondence titled *A League of Minds* in 1933²⁰⁸.

This book includes open letters about perspectives on the League of Nations between seven intellectuals from different parts of the world²⁰⁹. In this book, based on the thoughts of Valéry and Focillon, the ICIC begins with an explanation of what a ‘League of Minds’ means in relation to the League of Nations:

The League of Nations wants to be able to group about itself the men who are most capable of illuminating the world’s consciousness and illuminating each other’s minds at a particularly grave hour in the world’s existence. It has never hoped to establish a unified (possibly monotonous) accord between the thoughts of men. That would not be desirable. It is well that ideas should differ with the man, the age, the conditions, the surroundings, and there is not only one way of thinking. Variety is even a necessary and natural condition of vitality. But it matters very much that those precious fine shades of thought should not materialize as obstacles, should not harden in isolation, should not become impervious to change. “The League of Nations assumes that there is a League of Minds”²¹⁰.

Here it defines the fundamental basis of a ‘League of Minds’ as the similarity of men, humanity, rather than on the differences among them. From this viewpoint, a new challenge is presented to the League of Nations as a ‘League of Minds’:

²⁰⁸ League of Nations, International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, *A League of Minds*, Paris: International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, 1933. The French title may represent its feature more clearly: *Pour une Société des Esprits*, Paris: Institut international de coopération intellectuelle, 1933.

²⁰⁹ The contributing authors include Henri Focillon, Salvador de Madariaga, Gilbert Murray, Miguel Ozorio de Almeyda, Alfonso Reyes, Tsai Yuan-pei and Paul Valéry. Although Nitobe Inazo was also asked to send a letter about his view on the League of Nations from a point of view of Japan, he was then so occupied with his involvement in the Institute of Pacific Relations that he could not participate in this international discussion. Société des Nations, Institut international de Coopération intellectuelle, “Voyage au Japon du Directeur de l’Institut international de Coopération intellectuelle (Décembre 1931)”, n.d., LNA: R2258; From Henri Bonnet to Inazo Nitobe, 18 Apr. 1932, UNESCO: F.II.1.

²¹⁰ *A League of Minds*, pp. 13-14.

It was a first part of the task of the League of Nations to set up organs for the unification of efforts and co-ordination of methods of work, in order to facilitate research. These organs are functioning. It will now be possible for it to tackle another essential piece of work, the study of problems concerning man. In founding the League of Minds and the new Republic of Letters, the League of Nations means to respect unique qualities; in asking some thinkers to agree to an exchange of letters, to choose, each one, his own correspondent, known or unknown, because he seems an affinity or because he has the attraction of an opposite, the League hopes for variety. An idea in itself is not enough. The manner in which it is received by men capable of welcoming it and for whom it has been specially formulated, counts also. Thus a kind of counterpoint is substituted for pure parallelism and theoretic objection²¹¹.

Here it is clear that the League of Minds is based on the high confidence that the human mind has the power to change the reality of the world²¹². Moreover, it should be noted that this intellectualistic and idealistic understanding of ‘mind’, or indeed the view of humanity itself, presumes the universality of Western civilization. In fact, while paying considerable attention to the influence of non-Western cultures on the West, Valéry focuses much interest on the resurgence of Western civilization in the era of the ‘Decline of the West’ described by Oswald Spengler²¹³. It is the universality of Western civilization that enables Valéry as well as the ICIC to assume intellectuals all over the world as being the same in terms of humanity. The idea of the League of Minds thus entails such a universalistic nature as a corollary of its tacit assumption, the universality of Western civilization.

Given this understanding of a ‘League of Minds’, the ICIC raised several questions to the

²¹¹ Ibid, pp. 19-20.

²¹² Defining a mind as ‘a certain power of transformation’, Valéry argues that ‘if we had more mind and if we gave mind more place and more real power in the things of this world, this world would have more chances of being re-established, and of being re-established more promptly’ (ibid, p. 114).

²¹³ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, New York: Vintage Books, 1979, pp. 250-251.

contributors²¹⁴: ‘In the present state of the world, what is the role of mind and what ought it to be?’ ‘What will become of the man of thought if the intellectual order is not well defined, if it is not established that beyond the animality of instinct, beyond the interests of class, party and nation, there are higher interests, for which the intellectual order is responsible?’ As the contributors, each of whom is learned in the knowledge of the West, shared the understanding of the universality of Western civilization, their correspondence is filled with the affirmation and defense of humanity and civilization against barbarism²¹⁵. Their common view is summarized particularly well in Gilbert Murray’s reflection:

...in our present state of Western Civilization nations must co-operate or they cannot continue; they must never fight or they will almost instantaneously perish. All sensible people know this. Yet the nations are scarcely organized at all for co-operation, while they are splendidly organized for fighting. We are rudimentary in the art of continuing alive, we are past masters in the art of mutual destruction. That is where the maladjustment lies²¹⁶.

Murray places high hopes on the capacity of Western civilization to integrate different nations in the world from a universal point of view²¹⁷. The idea of Western civilization was thus

²¹⁴ *A League of Minds*, pp. 20-21.

²¹⁵ It is notable that Tsai Yuan-pei, one of the representative Chinese intellectuals of the time and a member of the Chinese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, published an open letter as the only contributor from Asian countries. While often quoting Chinese classics and Sun Yat-sen, however, he eventually came into line with the Eurocentric voices (ibid, pp. 57-64).

²¹⁶ Ibid, p. 73.

²¹⁷ Speaking as the Chairman of the ICIC about the mission of intellectual co-operation on a radio program, Murray echoes his skepticism about the system of nation-states and firm faith in the potential of Western civilization: “The machinery of government of the world is wrong and out of date. But machinery is not everything. Behind the sixty ‘sovereign independent national governments’ there remains forces that cannot be measured or weighed – the Will, the Spirit, the Conscience of individual men who can rise above the thought of their own immediate interest or that of their nation. Such men seek for justice to others, they think of their duties more than their rights; they feel within them the desire for Truth and the spirit of brotherhood. It is they who, in nation after nation, seldom members of

preserved as an essence in the new identity of the ICIC and the League of Nations as a whole in the 1930s. In other words, the League of Minds was conceptualized in terms of the idea of universal Western civilization as an extension and sophistication of the idea of intellectual co-operation that the ICIC had maintained since the early 1920s.

On the other hand, the ICIC crafted another self-image by publishing a correspondence between Gilbert Murray and Rabindranath Tagore, titled *East and West* in 1935²¹⁸. In the beginning of his letter to Tagore, while admitting that there exist cultural differences between nations, Murray states that ‘[t]he first step towards international understanding must be a recognition that our own national habits are not the unfailing canon by which those of other peoples must be judged, and that the beginning of all improvement must be a certain reasonable humility²¹⁹’. As is the case with his argument in *the League of Minds*, he integrates various national differences into common characteristics of all humankind:

Yes, the differences are there: they are real and perhaps to a certain extent they are national or racial, though not so much as people imagine. I was once on a Committee where a certain Indian member was making himself very tiresome (there are tiresome Indians as well as tiresome Europeans) by his touchiness and vanity. And a wise old Japanese friend of mine told me afterwards how he had wondered within himself: “Is that sort of behaviour Asiatic, and ought I to feel ashamed? Or is it Indo-European, so that I am left untouched?” Of course it was neither. It was only human. There are touchy and vain people in all parts of the world, just as there are criminals in all parts; just as there are thinkers, artists, poets, men of learning; just as there are saints and sages. And it is valuable to remember that, as Plato pointed out long ago,

Governments, seldom named in newspapers, are practicing intellectual co-operation and it may be, are saving the world” (16 Jul. 1933, GM493).

²¹⁸ Gilbert Murray and Rabindranath Tagore, *East and West*, Paris: International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, 1935.

²¹⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 16-17.

while criminals tend to cheat and fight one another, and stupid people to misunderstand one another, there is a certain germ of mutual sympathy between people of good will or good intelligence. An artist cannot help thinking good art, a poet good poetry, a man of science good scientific work, from whatever country it may spring. And that common love of beauty or truth, a spirit indifferent to races and frontiers, ought, among all the political discords and antagonisms of the world, to be a steady well-spring of good understanding, a permanent agency of union and brotherhood²²⁰.

These sentences clearly show Murray's preference for the aspect of universality and commonality in his idea of intellectual co-operation. Again, this universalistic ideological tendency is underpinned by his persistent belief in Western civilization. Considering the fact that Europe itself has experienced barbaric wars in its history, Murray explains, albeit in a bitter tone, the essence of Western civilization:

I even believe in the healthiness and high moral quality of our poor distressed civilization. It made the most ghastly war in history, but it hated itself for doing so. As a result of the war it is now full of oppressions, cruelties, stupidities and public delusions of a kind which were thought to be obsolete and for ever discarded a century ago. But I doubt if ever before there was what theologians would call such a general sense of sin, such widespread consciousness of the folly and wickedness in which most nations and governments are involved, or such a determined effort, in spite of failure after failure, to get rid at last of war and the fear of war and all the baseness and savagery which that fear engenders. I still have hope for the future of this tortured and criminal generation: perhaps you have lost hope and perhaps you will prove right. But the divergence of view need make no rift between us²²¹.

In this light, he appeals to Tagore to join the project of the League of Minds where intellectuals

²²⁰ Ibid, pp. 19-21.

²²¹ Ibid, pp. 24-25.

‘live the life of the intellect and through the diverse channel of art or science aim at the attainment of beauty, truth and human brotherhood²²²’.

However, while recognizing the value of Western civilization, Tagore in response represents a different perception of the present intellectual situation of the world. He notes:

Now that mutual intercourse has become easy, and the different peoples and nations of the world have come to know one another in various relations, one might have thought that the time had arrived to merge their differences in a common unity. But the significant thing is, that the more the doors are opening and the walls breaking down outwardly, the greater is the force which the consciousness of individual distinction is gaining within. There was a time when we believed that men were remaining separate, because of the obstacles between them; but the removal of these, to the largest possible extent, is not seen to have the effect of doing away with the differences between diverse sections of mankind²²³.

The reason why Tagore emphasizes differences among human beings is that his perception is based on ‘Individuality’²²⁴. Whereas Murray takes as a given the universality of Western civilization that puts different people together into a whole, Tagore starts from the individuality through which people can realize the universal. Therefore, for Tagore, the universal means the sum of differences among different peoples or individuals. Furthermore, in his view, Western civilization is in principle effectual only in Europe and it should be regarded as merely a part of the whole²²⁵. Through this perspective, Tagore concludes his letter by accentuating the necessity of Western intellectuals to understand the significance of Indian national culture and ‘Hindu

²²² Ibid, p. 26.

²²³ Ibid, pp. 38-39.

²²⁴ Ibid, p. 39.

²²⁵ Ibid, pp. 47-48.

civilization' in the context of the broader world consisting of different cultures among peoples²²⁶.

In Tagore's argument, it is arguable that the ICIC is regarded not as the League of Minds characterized by Valéry and Murray but as an organization composed of different national cultures, a League of National Cultures as it were. As mentioned already, these two images of the ICIC resulted from the differences of primary emphasis on culture, specifically its universality (Western civilization) or particularity (national cultures). In this sense, the characterization of the ICIC as a center of cultural exchanges between the East and the West, which was frequently referred to in its involvements in China and Japan, is a corollary of the later perspective based on the particularity of culture. In this way, the ICIC was fraught with the tension between these two opposing perspective on intellectual co-operation in the 1930s, and it was at the Second General Conference of National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation in 1937 that this tension reached a climax.

In July 1937, the Second General Conference of National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation was held by the ICIC and the IIIC at the *Palais-Royal* in Paris. Participants of national committees including observers reached across as many as 43 organizations²²⁷. It had been eight years since the First General Conference of National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation took place in 1929. Compared with the First Conference, it is notable that the

²²⁶ Ibid, pp. 56-62, pp. 63-66.

²²⁷ Argentine, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, United Kingdom, Bulgaria, Chile, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Egypt, Estonia, Finland, France, Greece, Hungary, India, Iran, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Lebanon, Lithuania, Luxemburg, Mexico, Netherlands, Netherlands Indies, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Salvador, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United States of America, Uruguay, Yugoslavia, the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation of the Catholic Union of International Studies, and the Permanent Inter-Parliamentary Committee on Intellectual Relations. Also Palestine and Peru as observers.

number of national committees, particularly from non-Western countries, dramatically increased²²⁸. However, the significance of the Second General Conference is not merely confined to the increase in the number of national committees and its geographical expansion. What is particularly noteworthy is that this conference reexamined the fundamental principles and programs of the ICIC, referring back to its past and looking toward the future from the point of view of its national committees.

Several general reports on the idea, organization, and program of intellectual co-operation were submitted to the conference²²⁹. Among these, the report prepared by Gonzague de Reynold is particularly remarkable. In light of his long career as an ICIC member since its establishment in 1922, Reynold was one of the persons most familiar with the historical progress of intellectual co-operation that the ICIC had been committed to²³⁰. In fact, reflecting on where the ICIC had been, Reynold articulated a nuanced view of the idea of intellectual co-operation:

When we talk of intellectual co-operation, this common ideal consists of spiritual values, civilisation in general, indeed peace itself. It requires of all those who make themselves its

²²⁸ The delegates at the First Conference, mostly from European countries, included: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, United Kingdom, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Iceland, Japan, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Romania, Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Sweden, Switzerland, Ukrainian Academic Committee, and Commission internationale catholique de coopération intellectuelle. The Japanese national committee, the only participant from non-Western countries, sent to the conference its chairman, Yamada Saburo. See Yamada Saburo, "Gakugei Kyoryoku Kokunai Inka Daihyosha Kaigi no Gaikyo" (Overview of the General Conference of National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation), *Kokusai Chishiki*, Vol.9 No.11, November 1929, pp.54-65.

²²⁹ For example, Henri Focillon, "Work of the International Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations from 1931 to 1937", Balbino Giuliano, "The Organisation and Activities of the National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation", Peter Munch, "Structure of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation", Johan Huizinga and Gonzague de Reynold, "Function of Intellectual Co-operation in the Organisation of the Contemporary World".

²³⁰ It was only Gonzague de Reynold and Gilbert Murray who had served as members of the ICIC throughout the entirety of its activity from 1922 to 1939.

defenders and promoters a kind of vocation which simple collaboration does not require²³¹.

It is arguable that, like Gilbert Murray, Reynold also maintained the understanding of intellectual co-operation based on the universality of culture, that is, Western civilization. On the other hand, while thus stressing the universalistic nature of intellectual co-operation, Reynold also stated that much attention should be paid to the cultural diversity and the heterogeneity of the contemporary world:

If intellectual co-operation is directed towards an effort undertaken by men of different character but of goodwill, in order to meet each other, to understand each other, to labour at a work of spiritual salvation, these men will be helped, as well as rewarded, by sympathetic curiosity. It will be unsuccessful if they conspire to impose upon the world some forced and artificial unity, in the name of abstractions or verbal idols. It will be successful if the same men, submitting to reality, accept the contemporary world as it is, not only in its diversity but also in its heterogeneity. It is a mistake, and always was a mistake, to begin with the general and the apparent, a mistake which is the enemy of life, a mistake which is at the bottom of that rationalism which reduces humanity to certain intellectual elements, neglecting the great fashioning forces which are diverse and variable. Humanity and everything which expresses and defines it – civilisation, education, law, justice, liberty, peace – become thus a series of concepts. But when we try to apply these concepts to the realities of life, we are capable only of theories and the effort is sterile²³².

Clearly, Reynold also embraces the contradiction between humanity and cultural differences, between the universality and the particularity of culture. Moreover, his remarks reveal that he

²³¹ League of Nations, *Proceedings of the Second General Conference of National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation, Paris, July 5th-9th, 1937*, Geneva, January 1938, p. 55, LNA: R4036.

²³² *Ibid*, p. 55.

finds the diversity and the heterogeneity of the world in differences among national cultures. In this regard, Reynold even argues that the ICIC's work for intellectual co-operation should be based on national cultures.

I believe that if intellectual co-operation is to play a part in the contemporary world, it must become more national. By this, I mean that it must try to establish more direct contacts with national life. Furthermore, it seems to me that the national committees are called upon to play a part of the first importance, a decisive part in our future²³³.

According to Reynold's perspectives, national committees are therefore expected to function not only as a subordinate organization of the ICIC but also as an essential condition for the work of international intellectual co-operation. It even seems as if Reynold sees national committees as much more important than the ICIC and the IIC. Although his statement is, of course, directed to national committees at the general conference, it nevertheless demonstrates the general tendency of the ICIC at the time to place more emphasis on differences among national cultures. In other words, the ICIC gradually shifted its emphasis in the idea of intellectual co-operation from the universality of culture (Western civilization) to the particularity of culture (national cultures).

In a similar way, other reports share with Reynold the common perception of intellectual co-operation with an emphasis on the importance of national cultures in the work of the ICIC as well as the significant role of national committees. For example, Balbino Giuliano, the chairman of the Italian national committee, further defines national cultures as a basic unit for the work of

²³³ Ibid, p. 55.

intellectual co-operation:

We, too, are convinced that culture, although it cannot fail to be influenced by the special characteristics of each nation, always reflects in its creations the great ideals whose field of activity is universal, transcending earthly limitations. We therefore believe that the culture of a nation, while it must remain true to itself in order to progress, likewise needs contacts and exchanges however great, can isolate itself without running the risk of sterilising its energies and of attaching a dead weight to its activity. Each nation, however great, can and should, through the collaboration of other nations, become conscious of the limits of its own culture, and find the means and the impulse to escape from those limits²³⁴.

Giuliano thus characterizes intellectual co-operation as the exchange and understanding of different national cultures. It is also notable that the word ‘universal’ in Giuliano’s terms no longer means Western civilization but a sum of different national cultures represented by national committees. Therefore, it is expected that national committees would play a key role in the work of intellectual co-operation, and that the ICIC should accelerate its universality – its geographical expansion in terms of the number of national committees. In this way, with emphasis on the idea of national culture as well as the role of national committees, the work of international intellectual co-operation under the auspices of the ICIC was conceptualized as the idea of mutual exchange and understanding between national cultures.

At the same time, however, it should be noted that the conference also received reports on the ‘regional’ form of intellectual co-operation from some delegates and likewise placed such

²³⁴ Ibid, p. 17.

reports on its agenda²³⁵. One of the common characteristics shared among these reports is that they identify a commonality of culture as a basis of each regional unity. For example, Mykolas Römeris, the chairman of the Lithuanian national committee, explains the reasons for the possibility of a regional form of intellectual co-operation in the Baltic countries:

...no serious obstacles to sincere agreement exist there. The three States of this region are founded on the same principle of nationalities. Between them there is no conflict of any kind, no mutual claims of a nature to divide them. They have nothing to fear from each other and, moreover, they are of exactly equal strength. They obtained national and political emancipation in very similar conditions. Two of them, Latvia and Estonia, have almost common history, the same institutions, and have lived under the same juridical regime; again Latvia and Lithuania, have the same racial origin and very similar languages. All three have been subjected to the same Russian domination and have fought under similar circumstances. Their everyday needs and intellectual activity are, in the main, also the same. Everything, in fact, urges them towards genuine understanding, for there is here an entirely natural and firm basis of solidarity²³⁶.

As Römeris mentions, this inter-Baltic intellectual co-operation presupposes their cultural commonality, geographical limitation as well as power balance among the three states. In this regard, it might seem that the regional form of intellectual co-operation could be possible only among the Baltic states. However, a regional unity in the work of international intellectual co-operation is also emphasized in other regions that cover a wider geographical area and

²³⁵ Reports can be categorized into four regions. For the Baltic countries, Mykolas Römeris, "Inter-Baltic Intellectual Co-operation". For Latin America and North America, Miguel Ozorio de Almeida, "Inter-American Intellectual Co-operation". For the Balkans, Georges Tzitzeica, "Intellectual Co-operation between the Balkan States". For newly independent and remote countries, Kenneth Binns, "The Work of National Committees in Young and Outlying Countries".

²³⁶ *Proceedings of the Second General Conference of National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation, Paris, July 5th-9th, 1937*, p. 38.

include a more complicated power balance.

This perspective can be seen in the report at the Second General Conference of National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation by Miguel Ozorio de Almeida, the chairman of the Brazilian national committee, who notes:

In America, there is, on the whole, a tendency towards unity, towards a general organisation of mutual support. People wish to be able to speak of an American spirit and an American culture, just as one speaks of a European spirit and a European culture. In America, as in Europe, it is impossible to ascribe a definite meaning to such expressions. They deal with things which can be felt, rather than expressed in words. There are profound differences between the various American countries, just as there are great dissimilarities between the different countries of Europe. But that does not prevent there being, in both cases, innumerable points in common behind all these differences or dissimilarities. The points which the American countries have in common and which belong to them alone, certainly form the moral and spiritual basis of inter-American co-operation²³⁷.

In his statement, Ozorio de Almeida shows characteristics of the regionalist discourse on intellectual co-operation within an American context. First, he emphasizes a commonality of culture as the basis for a regional unity. Compared with the case of the Baltic states, he invokes abstract concepts such as ‘American spirit’ and ‘American culture’ in the discussion of the inter-American intellectual co-operation. This is perhaps because it is necessary to use such an abstraction to ensure the unity of the American region where there exists an outstanding superpower, the United States, and where there is also considerable linguistic and cultural diversity. Interestingly, the commonality of culture is thought to be more essential than its

²³⁷ Ibid, p. 27.

diversity in this discussion. Second, as Ozorio de Almeida refers to European culture in comparison with American culture, it is obvious that conceptions of Europe are used as a justification for the regional unity of the Americas. There is no doubt that he is conscious of regionalist movements in coetaneous Europe in the 1930s, particularly the ‘Paneuropa Union’ led by Richard Nikolaus von Coundenhove-Kalergi. In this way, it should be noted that regionalist discourses in different parts of the world become intertwined and resonated with each other.

In other words, the discourses on regional intellectual co-operation in the Second General Conference were not mutually exclusive but intertwined, and the ICIC was expected to serve as a ‘universal’ organization ensuring such regional unities²³⁸. While emphasizing a great potential in the regional form of intellectual co-operation among the Baltic states, Römeris also defined a new role of the ICIC in the complex intellectual situation of the contemporary world:

Would it not be possible to adapt the system of regional agreements as applied to political questions and as a means of establishing a very elastic confederation of States, to purely intellectual co-operation also? If the idea of intellectual co-operation spread throughout the whole of the international community when it was decided to create the International Committee and the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation open to every country of the world, would it not be all the more appropriate to set up intermediate organisations for such co-operation through the medium of regional agreements? Must we necessarily confine ourselves to two opposite poles, at one of which there is but one isolated national “unit” and at

²³⁸ In the conference, there were also interesting discussions other than the above-mentioned reports on the Baltic states and Americas. For example, Kenneth Binns, a representative of the Australian national committee, argued about the possibility of intellectual co-operation in geographically and culturally isolated regions as well as in regions politically formed, particularly the British Commonwealth. (ibid, pp. 42-45). In addition, though not in the form of a report, an Egyptian representative, Taha Hussein, mentioned an Arabic case of intellectual cooperation implemented between Egypt, Syria, and Iraq (ibid, p. 71).

the other a host of “units” representing a worldwide comprehensive scheme? Would it not be better to arrive at this general world plan through the agency of regional or other component organisations which could anticipate the specific and more limited problems of this co-operation, problems that would be common to such a group and which, thanks to a closer solidarity, would be more satisfactorily solved within that group than on the universal plane of worldwide co-operation? ²³⁹

With intellectual co-operation thus divided into three levels, international, regional and national, it was suggested at the conference that regional organizations of intellectual co-operation should be established as a mediator between the ICIC and national committees. Obviously, this was an answer to the aporia between the universality and the particularity of culture that the ICIC had embraced in its fundamental principles through the 1930s. It is therefore in the Second General Conference of National Committees on intellectual Co-operation that, while the cultural unity and independence of regions were agreed upon, the regional form of intellectual co-operation was recognized as a new dimension to the work of the ICIC with a view to bridging the gap between the ICIC and national committees²⁴⁰.

Representatives of both Japan and China’s national committees also attended this general conference where the ICIC’s idea of intellectual co-operation was fundamentally reexamined. In the case of Japan, its national committee was involved in the conference in an organized but complicated way. Firstly, the Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation sent

²³⁹ Ibid, p. 38.

²⁴⁰ In line with this, Osker Halecki, who had worked as a secretary of the ICIC in the 1920s, defined “cultural regionalism” as one of the most important principles of the ICIC. See Osker Halecki, *Intellectual Cooperation in the Post-War World*, New York: New Europe, 1943, p. 3.

some of its members including Yamada Saburo, Sugiyama Naojiro, and Anesaki Masaharu²⁴¹. Secondly, drawing attention to the problem of translation rights, the delegates submitted to the conference a proposal for the revision of the Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works²⁴². Thirdly, a report titled “Intellectual Co-operation and the Mutual Exchange of Characteristics between National Cultures” was submitted in the name of the Japanese national committee. And fourthly, a specially edited booklet *Intellectual Co-operation and the Mutual Knowledge of National Cultural Genius* was published and sent to the conference²⁴³.

Among these involvements, *International Co-operation and the Mutual Knowledge of National Cultural Genius* in particular deserves special consideration²⁴⁴. In its preface, Kabayama Aisuke, the chairman of the Japanese national committee, explains the reason why this book had to be prepared, stating that it was very difficult for Japan to gain mutual cultural understandings because of its geographical location isolated from Europe or America, and therefore that Japan was required to facilitate ‘Intellectual Co-operation and the Mutual Knowledge of National Cultural Genius’²⁴⁵. As discussed in Chapter III, the Japanese national

²⁴¹ As mentioned already, Yamada Saburo had served as the chairman of the national committee since its establishment in 1926. Anesaki had been a member of the ICIC from 1934 to 1938. Sugiyama Naojiro (1878-1966) was a professor of law at the Tokyo Imperial University.

²⁴² For details on this proposal, see Yamada Saburo, “Gakugei Kyoryoku to Honyakuken Mondai” (Intellectual Co-operation and Translation Problem), *Kokka Gakkai Zasshi*, Vol.52 No.2, Feb. 1938, pp. 1-32.

²⁴³ National Committee of Japan on Intellectual Cooperation, *Intellectual Cooperation and the Mutual Knowledge of National Cultural Genius*, Tokyo, 1937.

²⁴⁴ This English booklet consists of three articles: Hiraizumi Akira, “The Contribution of Japanese Culture to the World”, Hasegawa Nyozeikan, “The Characteristics of Japanese Civilization”, and Nishimura Shinji, “Intellectual Co-operation and the Mutual Exchange of Characteristics between National Cultures”.

²⁴⁵ Aisuke Kabayama, “Introduction”, *Intellectual Cooperation and the Mutual Knowledge of National Cultural Genius*. The Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation had been chaired by Yamada Saburo since its establishment in 1926. However, accompanied by the transfer of control of the

committee had consistently held this motivation since its foundation in 1926. Again, the primary purpose of Japan's intellectual co-operation was to facilitate the correct understanding of Japan in the West by means of introducing Japanese culture. Therefore, even if mutual understanding mattered, the national committee confined its attention to the introduction of Japanese culture to the West. The idea of Japan's intellectual co-operation was, after all, merely a one-way argument.

Reflecting the leitmotif of Japan's intellectual co-operation, this booklet seeks for the essence of Japanese culture that should be introduced in the West. Although Kabayama admits that there is no agreed view on the essence of Japanese culture, he notes that it is still regarded as one of the most important problems to be solved²⁴⁶. In fact, the articles by Hiraizumi and Hasegawa respectively intend to answer the question of what Japanese culture is²⁴⁷. Furthermore, the concepts of region like "Asia" (*Ajia*) or "the East" (*Tōyō*) were also used in exploring the essence of Japanese culture. For example, in light of the history of cultural intercourse in Asia, both Hiraizumi and Hasegawa argue about the uniqueness and representativeness of Japanese culture in the region²⁴⁸. In particular, with an emphasis on Japanese culture as a 'treasure house

committee to the Kokusai Bunka Shinkōkai (Society for International Cultural Relations) in 1936, the director of KBS, Kabayama Aisuke, also held the post of the chairman of the national committee. Thus Japan's National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation at this time was under the strong influence of KBS.

²⁴⁶ Kabayama, "Introduction", *Intellectual Cooperation and the Mutual Knowledge of National Cultural Genius*.

²⁴⁷ Hiraizumi Kiyoshi (1895-1984) was a professor of history at the Tokyo Imperial University. As a devout Shinto believer, he was committed to constructing the historical perspective of an Imperial Nation (Kokoku Shikan) in the interwar period. After Japan's defeat in World War II, he was purged from academia on account of his ideological support for Japanese Fascism. Hasegawa Nyozeikan (1875-1969) was a journalist and critic. He was one of the representative advocates for liberalism and democracy in interwar Japan.

²⁴⁸ Kiyoshi Hiraiyumi, "The Contribution of Japanese Culture to the World", *Intellectual Cooperation and the Mutual Knowledge of National Cultural Genius*, pp. 1-13. Hasegawa Nyozeikan, "The

of Eastern culture' that preserves great legacies of Indian and Chinese cultures, Hiraizumi concludes:

In short, modern Japanese culture is in an extremely complicated condition, and while she is contributing and will contribute in a greater degree in future to the progress of the world by obtaining gratifying results from that element of her culture which is based on western influences, her contribution, in a true sense, to the world in requital of Western favours will rather be made by the things traditional and characteristic of the East, and especially of Japan²⁴⁹.

In this way, manipulating the logics of conformation and differentiation in the use of regional concepts such as 'Asia' or 'the East', he justifies the contribution of Japanese culture to the world.

It is needless to say that this kind of the discourse on Japanese culture is a Japan-centric dogma to the extent that it arbitrarily premises Japan's cultural representativeness in the region. As mentioned above, however, regionalist discourses on the idea of intellectual co-operation were predominant at the Second General Conference of National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation. Therefore, more importantly, the conference functioned as an international platform that provided an opportunity for the Japanese national committee to present this dogmatic statement about Japanese culture in the region. In other words, it was through the general conference that the Japan-centric cultural ideology was presented in juxtaposition with other regionalist discourses.

Characteristics of Japanese Civilization", *Intellectual Cooperation and the Mutual Knowledge of National Cultural Genius*, pp. 33-48.

²⁴⁹ Ibid, p.13.

Compared with Hiraizumi who expressed no doubts about the substantiality of the essence of Japanese culture, it is notable that the essay by the historian Shinji Nishimura focuses attention exclusively on how intellectual co-operation should be implemented and thus avoids falling into the pitfall of the discussion on the essence of Japanese culture²⁵⁰. This may have been his strategy to avoid cultural essentialism through regarding intellectual co-operation as a mere method²⁵¹. Whatever his actual intentions, in his essay Nishimura theoretically examines and generalizes the method of intellectual co-operation from the point of view of anthropology. According to Nishimura, anthropology focuses its attention on the commonality of mankind. In contrast, folk history clings to different aspects of human life, the particularity of national cultures. In view of this, he classifies the method of intellectual co-operation into two forms, universal and particular²⁵². Nishimura places priority on the universal way, stating that ‘[t]he recognition of particularities... is preceded by the recognition of similarity, so that the anthropological notion is a pre-requisite to the study of folk history²⁵³’. In this way, Nishimura conceptualizes mutual understanding as the interactions between the particularities of the human race (national cultures) based on its commonality (world culture)²⁵⁴. This is a highlight of his argument, ‘Intellectual Co-operation and the Mutual Knowledge of National Cultural Genius’:

²⁵⁰ Nishimura Shinji (1879-1943) was a historian and a professor of anthropology at Waseda University.

²⁵¹ This is an analogy from an argument by Takeuchi Yoshimi, ‘Asia as Method’ (*Houhou toshiteno Ajia*). Takeuchi, avoiding the argument on the substantiality of “Asia” and the view of cultural essentialism, identifies it as a process of forming the subject (Takeuchi Yoshimi, “Houhou toshiteno Ajia” *Nihon to Ajia* (Japan and Asia), Chikuma Shobo, 1994, pp. 442-470).

²⁵² Shinji Nishimura, “Intellectual Cooperation and the Mutual Knowledge between National Cultures”, *Intellectual Cooperation and the Mutual Knowledge of National Cultural Genius*, pp. 15-16.

²⁵³ *Ibid*, p. 16.

²⁵⁴ In this regard, he suggests four concrete actions for intellectual co-operation: 1) mutual presentation and exchange of books and magazines, 2) mutual exchange of specimens, 3) exchange of students for study abroad, 4) exchange of lectures (*ibid*, pp. 26-30).

At a glance, this seems to be outside the proper scope of national enterprise. But if, in reality, intellectual co-operation and the mutual exchange of characteristics between the national cultures are carried out effectively, the vices of suspicion, jealousy, terror and anxiety which at the present day pervade the world will be swept away and all the folks of the world will enjoy peace and stability based on mutual understanding, and will discover that the notions regarded as the dreams of devotees or philosophers that “the world form one family” and “all men in the world are brothers” are never an unrealizable fantasy, but an ideal which can be carried out in practice²⁵⁵.

Nishimura thus believes that the universality of intellectual co-operation, world peace, is compatible with its particularity, the mutual understanding of national cultures. It is also clear that his idea of intellectual co-operation never refers to the concept of region as a mediator between them. In this regard, it is interesting that Hiraizumi and Hasegawa, who enthusiastically underline the particularity of national culture, often refer to regional concepts. Both Hiraizumi and Hasegawa, however, attach importance to such ideas as ‘the East’ or ‘Asia’, to the extent that these regional concepts can contribute to accentuate the significance of Japanese culture to the world. On the other hand, through his methodological examination that contains no reference to conceptions of region, Nishimura came to the theoretical understanding of intellectual co-operation as mutual understanding of national cultures. It must be noted, however, that a tension between the universality and the particularity of culture remains unsolved in his understanding of intellectual co-operation.

Compared to Japan’s active presence, the Chinese national committee’s engagement with

²⁵⁵ Ibid, p. 31.

the conference was less remarkable. The Chinese national committee sent Li Yu-ying and Ny Tsi-ze to the conference²⁵⁶, where Li submitted a report titled ‘Part played by the National Committees in making known in their own countries the Activities of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation’. Nevertheless, Li’s report is noteworthy because it shares many points with Nishimura’s essay. In fact, as with Nishimura, Li mentions the importance of national cultures in the work of international intellectual co-operation:

Each country has its traditions, its genius and its individual culture. The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation has on many occasions recognised the diversity of civilisation, a diversity which as a matter of fact enriches the common heritage of mankind. It is this uniformity of civilisation that renders intellectual co-operation necessary. Between the International Organisation and each nation, the agency of the national committees is of primary importance, particularly for making known the Organisation’s activities in each country. To study the role of the national committees in this respect is, in our opinion, to approach a complex and varied problem, which depends very much on the circumstances, the events and the peculiar situation of each country²⁵⁷.

It is clear again that China’s intellectual co-operation was based on the idea of the particularity of national cultures. This Chinese view of intellectual co-operation not only overlaps with Nishimura’s understanding but also coincides with the general direction of the conference. On the basis of this perception, Li’s report lays special emphasis on the prominent role of national committees:

²⁵⁶ As discussed, Li Yu-ying was a virtual leader in the work of intellectual co-operation in China. Ny Tsi-ze or Yan Ji-ci (1901-1996) was a physicist and educationist with an international reputation.

²⁵⁷ Li Yu Ying, “Part played by the National Committees in making known in their own countries the Activities of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation”, *Proceedings of the Second General Conference of National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation, Paris, July 5th-9th, 1937*, pp. 28-29.

The best way to give publicity to the activities of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation would be, first of all, to further its work in the direction of constructive co-operation, and then to carry out this work on the national plane through the intermediary of the national intellectual co-operation committees. In this way, the existence of the national committees would be justified by real and practical work that would convince skeptically minded intellectuals of its value. Once the intellectuals of a country have been convinced, there will be no difficulty in gaining the support of the general public²⁵⁸.

Though Li shares the same perception of intellectual co-operation with Nishimura in their emphasis on national committees, there is also a great divergence between them. While Nishimura focuses on the move of intellectual co-operation from national committees to the ICIC, Li takes notice of intellectual co-operation that flows from the ICIC to national committees. In other words, whereas Nishimura regards the work of intellectual co-operation on an international level, Li places it on the domestic level. This also clearly highlights the difference between their respective country's projects for intellectual co-operation. Since the main purpose of Japan's intellectual co-operation was to introduce Japanese culture to the West, it was supposed to be carried out in Europe and America. On the other hand, most of the programs of China's intellectual co-operation, including the Mission of Educational Experts to China and the appointment of European professors at the Central University in Nanjing, were implemented in China as part of the technical cooperation with the League for the reconstruction and modernization of China. As discussed in Chapter II, with the exception of the *Bibliothèque Sino-internationale*, the Chinese national committee devoted itself to implementing the programs of intellectual co-operation in China.

²⁵⁸ Ibid, p.30.

Meanwhile, Li makes no mention of regional concepts like Asia and the East in his report. It is arguable that he avoided the words purposefully and rejected to stand on the same stage on which the Japanese national committee propagated the dogmatic idea of Japanese culture through the use of such regional concepts. For Li, it was uncomfortable that the Japanese argument contains some appreciation of the significance of Chinese culture and its cultural influence on Japan. This is because, if Li also pursued a cultural self-assertion of Chinese culture in the conference, he would run a risk of reinforcing the Japan-centric and dogmatic argument of Japanese culture. Nonetheless, apart from this conference, the Chinese national committee also frequently referred to concepts of region like 'the East', placing China in the dichotomy between the East and the West²⁵⁹. Moreover, from the point of view of the harmony between the East and the West, the Chinese committee identified China as a representative of the Eastern culture, underlining its importance in the work of international intellectual co-operation. The regional concepts of this kind were used in the context of the bilateral relations between China and the ICIC, in no consideration of the relationships with other Eastern countries. In fact, there was no deep discussion between China and Japan about what Asia or the East was at the general conference.

In sum, in the Second General Conference of National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation in 1937, the idea of international intellectual co-operation was regarded as exchange and mutual understanding of particular national cultures, in which the positive role of national committees was expected. In other words, the conference threw into stark relief the

²⁵⁹ For example, Tzeshiung Kuo, *China and International Intellectual Co-operation*, Nanking: Council of International Affairs, 1936, p. 16.

way that the emphasis of the idea of intellectual co-operation in the ICIC had shifted from the universality to the particularity of culture. At the same time, however, the idea of 'region' was conceptualized as a mediator for a tension between these two ideas of culture, as well as between the ICIC and the national committees. As the Japanese national committee showed, however, it should be noted that such a regional concept was also based on a strong sense of national identity. Therefore, regional intellectual co-operation functioned not as a mediator between the international and the national, but merely as a subsidiary form of national intellectual co-operation.

As a result of the outcome of the general conference, the ICIC again embarked on a reexamination of the idea of intellectual co-operation. Particularly, at the Twentieth Plenary Session of the ICIC in 1938, Gonzague de Reynold reflected on the history of the ICIC from 1922 and summarized its fundamental principles for the future:

1. Our organisation has been established to serve intellectual life.
2. Establishment of our Organisation on solid national bases.
3. To respect the diversity and originality of all forms of culture and all aspect of civilisation.
4. Universality²⁶⁰.

It is clear by these statements that the ICIC now placed a high priority on the particularity of national cultures in its idea of intellectual co-operation. Compared with the statement by Nitobe in 1922, it can be argued that the ICIC had moved away from the universality of culture that

²⁶⁰ League of Nations, International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, "Report by Professor G. de Reynold (Rapporteur) on the Work of the Twentieth Plenary Session of the Committee", Geneva, 10 Aug. 1938, pp. 3-7.

emphasized roles of individual intellectuals and had finally settled into the particularity of culture based on national cultures. Even though Reynold still insisted on its universalistic nature, the ICIC was no longer a universal intellectual community but a ‘League of Cultures’, an organization among national cultures²⁶¹. In this way, the main purpose of intellectual co-operation came to be understood as international understanding among national cultures. Still named intellectual co-operation, it is significant that intellectual co-operation was transformed in essence into international cultural exchange in its modern sense.

This ideological shift and the organizational transformation of the ICIC were demonstrated by its final project, the International Act concerning Intellectual Co-operation in 1938. It was prepared by the ICIC and the IIC with the help of the French government and finally ratified by 45 governments²⁶². Article 2 of the International Act stipulates that ‘National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation, established in each of the States Parties to the present Act, shall act as centres for the development of this work on both the national and international planes, due account being taken of the conditions peculiar to each country’, while Article 3 only prescribes that ‘[t]he International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation shall by its effective collaboration assist National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation²⁶³’. This clearly signals how the ICIC

²⁶¹ Reynold explains that ‘...universality means a superior mental quality, a supreme form of culture. It is this culture and this spirit which must inspire the *élite* that has devoted itself to the service of intellectual co-operation and made that its life’s work’ (Ibid, p. 6). This belief was also shared by Paul Valéry, Gilbert Murray and other Western intellectuals. In the international intellectual context in the interwar period where Western civilization was no longer able to defend its universality, however, this universalistic idea was particularized into one of many national cultures.

²⁶² The signatory states include: Albania, the Argentine Republic, Belgium, Brazil, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa-Rica, Cuba, Denmark, the Dominican Republic, Egypt, Ecuador, Spain, Estonia, Finland, the French Republic, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Irak, Iran, Ireland, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxemburg, Mexico, Monaco, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Netherlands, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Siam, Sweden, Switzerland, Czecho-Slovakia, Turkey, the Union of South Africa, Uruguay, Venezuela and Yugoslavia. “International Act from the French government”, 26 Dec. 1938, UENSCO: A.I.57.

²⁶³ “International Act concerning Intellectual Co-operation”, p. 17, UNESCO: A.I.57.

and the IIC had eventually declared that national committees should take the initiative in the work of intellectual co-operation. Furthermore, it is noteworthy not only that this international act was ratified by governments but also that Article 6 specifies that the IIC should be governed by the delegates of the contracting parties²⁶⁴. In this regard, the ICIC and the IIC also admitted that the work of intellectual co-operation that it had undertaken since 1922 should be assumed by governments. Intellectual co-operation thus came to be redefined as a cultural enterprise not only based on the particularity of national cultures but also implemented by governments. In short, there was no longer any important role that the ICIC was expected to play. The ICIC thus had already lost its *raison d'être* at the time of the total breakdown of its functions caused by the outbreak of the war in Europe in 1939.

²⁶⁴ Ibid, p. 19.

Conclusion

As discussed in the preceding chapters, the ICIC gradually shifted its emphasis regarding the idea of intellectual co-operation from the universality to the particularity of culture during the period of its activity from 1922 to 1939. At first, inheriting the universalistic idea of intellectual co-operation from the UAI, the ICIC started as a small committee composed of prominent scholars appointed from all fields of 'science' who shared the definite aim of constructing a universal community of intellectuals sharing the knowledge of Western civilization. As Nitobe anticipated soon after its establishment, however, the ICIC received strong backlashes against its West-centric view of intellectual co-operation from non-Western countries, particularly from Japan and China. These critiques were driven by a combination of national strategies and individual initiatives on the part of Japanese and Chinese participants, and they contributed to the internal transformation of the ICIC itself.

For Japan, intellectual co-operation was interpreted as a way to introduce Japanese culture in Western countries. For this very purpose, the Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation was founded in 1926 on the initiative of the Japanese government. It became a basis for and was eventually integrated into the KBS, which played a leading role in Japan's cultural diplomacy in the interwar period. In this regard, tracing the birth of the Japanese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation in the context of the ICIC and its later synthesis with the KBS highlights the concrete ways in which intellectual co-operation was transformed into cultural diplomacy in Japan.

For China, on the other hand, intellectual co-operation was understood as a governmental policy for China's national reconstruction. For this reason, the Chinese National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation was mainly engaged in the mission of creating and preserving cultural unity in China, while propagating the significance of Chinese culture in the West through the ICIC. This was accomplished by a simultaneous push for the ICIC to recognize the "spiritual" dimension of intellectual co-operation, and thereby to gain recognition by Western powers for China's long historical contribution to spiritual civilization, Intellectual co-operation on an international scale was therefore implemented by the Chinese government with a view to the construction of its national culture in China.

In these circumstances, the ICIC began shifting its emphasis in the idea of intellectual co-operation from Western civilization to national cultures as well as from individual intellectuals to governments, and in the 1930s it launched new projects for international understanding among nations in collaboration with governments. The project of 'the Mission of Educational Experts to China' in 1931 was the ICIC's first experience to assist a particular government, and in cooperation with the Chinese government it facilitated the reorganization of the Chinese educational system with considerable emphasis on the construction and preservation of Chinese national culture. In the project of the Japanese Collection, on the other hand, the ICIC introduced Japanese culture in the West with the assistance of the Japanese government and the national committee. Through these projects, the ICIC in the 1930s identified itself no longer as a universal community of intellectuals but rather as a kind of 'League of National Cultures' for international understanding. In this way the changes in the

ICIC's organization and projects reveal how the ICIC's idea of intellectual co-operation was transformed into the idea of international cultural exchange. At the same time, the ICIC also served as a battleground for the domestic intellectual struggles in each country over the contours and contents of the particular national culture which was to become the object of this exchange. Thus, while the end targets of their policies for intellectual co-operation took opposite directions—Japan's directed outward toward cultural diplomacy and China's directed inward toward national reconstruction—both took advantage the ICIC and the growing atmosphere of global intellectual exchange as an international vector for national goals.

The argument in this thesis leads to new historical perspectives on the global structure of international cultural exchange in the interwar period as well as on the entangled situation that carried into the postwar period, when UNESCO began working to establish an international cultural order. Firstly, as argued in the main chapters, the ICIC functioned as an international stage where individual intellectuals, private organizations, governments and the ICIC itself came into conflict over the idea of intellectual co-operation. Furthermore, the ICIC had as many as 40 national committees all over the world¹. At the same time, from a historical point of view, national organizations for cultural exchange were established simultaneously in different countries in the interwar period². In these circumstances, as the case of Japan demonstrates, the relationship with the ICIC can be seen as having a key role in contributing to the formation of a national organization for cultural exchange and the development of cultural diplomacy in each

¹ Compared with the League's political system, it is significant that the ICIC maintained the membership of the United States as one of its national committees. Additionally, like Japan, it was possible to maintain cooperative ties with the ICIC and the IIC even after withdrawal from the League of Nations.

² Some of them still exist today: the predecessor of the present *Goethe Institut*, the *Deutsche Akademie* was founded in 1925, the British Council in 1934 and the predecessor of the present Japan Foundation, the KBS in 1934.

country³. In other words, it can be assumed that the ICIC, as the ‘League of National Cultures’, served as an international basis for the organization of cultural exchange in each country in the interwar period. Needless to say, this argument needs further empirical research, and this is one of the future tasks emerging from this thesis. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the historical perspective presented in this thesis has the potential to overcome solipsistic narratives of national histories through its particular emphasis on the international and global structure of international cultural exchange in the interwar period.

Secondly, this thesis also provides a new historical perspective on the successor of the ICIC, UNESCO. From the viewpoint of ‘Transcultural History’, this thesis demonstrates that the ICIC included different tensions in its fundamental principles, particularly between the universality and the particularity of culture as well as between individual intellectuals and governments. From a theoretical point of view, these tensions result from the fundamental questions of which actors should have a key role in an international organization and what idea should an international organization be based on. Such tensions were inherent not only in the ICIC but they are also integral to the establishment and operation of any international organizations engaged in international cultural exchange. Therefore, it can be said that UNESCO inherited not only the organizational legacies of the ICIC but also these theoretical tensions. In fact, while employing an inter-governmental system represented by delegates of each government,

³ The Chinese case is more complicated. This is partly because the Nationalist Government of China eventually failed to establish a national organization for cultural exchange as a consequence of the Sino-Japanese war. Even after the end of the war, in the aftermath of the Chinese Civil War and the subsequent retreat of the Nationalist Party to Taiwan, there had not been a Chinese national organization for cultural exchange equivalent to the Japanese KBS for a long time.

UNESCO has encouraged the participation of intellectuals in its work⁴. At the same time, UNESCO has struggled with the fragile balance between dimensions of universal human rights and cultural diversity⁵. However, it seems that recent historical studies on UNESCO have paid little attention to the continuity of these tensions within the ICIC and UNESCO, and tend to regard the former merely as a ‘prelude’ of the latter⁶. Therefore, it is clear that more historical research is needed to focus on the continuities and changes between the ICIC and UNESCO from the perspective of ‘Transcultural History’.

⁴ Among the intellectuals associated with UNESCO, Claude Lévi-Strauss in particular exerted a significant degree of influence on the fundamental principles of UNESCO, especially its idea of Anti-racism. See Anthony Q. Hazard Jr., *Postwar Anti-Racism: The United States, UNESCO, and “Race”, 1945-1968*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

⁵ For example, see ‘UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity’ adopted by its General Conference in 2001.

⁶ Chloé Maurel, *Histoire de l’UNESCO: Les trente premières années. 1945-1974*, Paris: L’Harmattan, 2010; Fernando Valderrama, *A History of UNESCO*, Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1995; James P. Sewell, *UNESCO and World Politics: Engaging in International Relations*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975.

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