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THE ORGANIZATION AND FORMS OF INTERNATIONAL INTELLECTUAL COOPERATION WITHIN THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS (1922-1939)

The idea of coordinating intellectual cooperation within the League of Nations (LN) originated among intellectual and political groups during the Paris Peace Conference in 1919.¹ The authors of the Covenant of the League of Nations (primarily American and British delegates) were of the opinion that the new organization was faced with so many tasks that it should not be burdened with yet another enormous obligation, which was international intellectual cooperation. The Covenant of the LN, the organization which was established in January 1920, and was a novelty in international relations, did not contain any provision regarding this issue. However, a wide range of national and international intellectual and social organizations as well as eminent representatives of the science world and politicians continued their efforts to include the coordination of intellectual cooperation among the organization's tasks with a view to bringing the nations together. There were attempts to persuade the LN authorities to accept this point of view and establish a body that would coordinate international intellectual cooperation. Its followers pointed to the precedent of establishing several LN organizations and special committees that dealt with social and economic issues.²

By 1919 numerous attempts to include "intellectual and moral issues" among the LN's responsibilities were made by the Union of International Associations (*Union des Associations Internationales* – UAI), which was composed of 230 non-

¹ Paul Hymans, the Belgian delegate to the Paris conference, on 24 March 1919 proposed including an article concerning international intellectual cooperation in the LN Pact. However, this idea was not approved. See J. T. Shotwell, E.E. Ware, *Intellectual Cooperation*, "International Conciliation". April 1941, No 369, pp. 339-340; Pham-Thi-Tu, *La Coopération Intellectuelle sous la Société des Nations*, Genève 1962, p. 14ff.

² J. Kolasa, *International Intellectual Cooperation (The League Experience and the Beginnings of UNESCO)*, Wrocław 1962, pp. 18-19; S. Sierpowski, *Narodziny Ligi Narodów. Powstanie, organizacja i zasady działania*, Poznań 1984; idem, *Liga Narodów w latach 1919-1926*, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 2005.

-governmental organizations (1914).³ These efforts were mainly promoted by Henri La Fontaine, the co-founder and leader of the UAI, an eminent Belgian politician and intellectual, a passionate internationalist, and the 1913 Nobel Peace Prize laureate.⁴ During the first meeting of the League of Nations in 1920 La Fontaine, as a member of the Belgian delegation, advocated the idea of establishing “a technical organization” to coordinate intellectual cooperation with the goal of reviving and developing international intellectual life in order to bring the nations together. Following his speech, on 18 December 1920 the LN Assembly adopted a resolution calling on the LN Council to address this issue. On 18 August 1921, the Council released a statement which, however, did not formalize the issue. The statement said that it would be ‘premature’ to establish such a body, and that the LN budget should be allocated for tasks that were more urgent than the coordination of intellectual cooperation on a worldwide scale.⁵

The issue drew interest from Leon Bourgeois, France’s delegate to the LN Council, a politician with a wealth of experience, the former Prime Minister and multiple minister, the founder of the *Association Française pour la Société des Nations* and the 1920 Nobel Peace Prize laureate. Bourgeois was in favor of including intellectual cooperation in the LN action program. However, he believed that the first thing to do was examine the then state of international intellectual cooperation in various areas so as to avoid potential duplication of efforts that had already been taken.⁶ According to his draft resolution, for the LN “there is no more urgent task than investigating the principal factors shaping international opinion: the educational systems and methods as well as scientific and philosophical studies”. Bourgeois’s resolution was adopted by the LN Council on 2 September 1921. Then Gilbert Murray, South Africa’s delegate, a classical philologist, a professor at Oxford University and a member of the British *League of Nations Union*, was asked to prepare a relevant report on this issue

³ The UAI was established in 1910 at its founding congress in Brussels, where it was later based. Its activity embraced international meetings, conferences and publications. See *International Organisation and Dissemination of Knowledge. Selected Essays of Paul Otlet*, (ed.) W. Boyd Rayward, Amsterdam-New York-Oxford-Tokyo 1990, pp. 112-130.

⁴ I. Abrams, *Henri La Fontaine*, in: *The Nobel Peace Prize and the Laureates: An illustrated Biographical History, 1901-1987*, Boston: 1989, pp. 76-78; N. Bernard, *Henri La Fontaine (1854-1943) ou la paix par le droit*, “Revue belge de droit international”, No 1, 1995, Brussels, pp. 343-356.

⁵ J. Kolasa, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

⁶ In 1919, two international organizations for scientific cooperation were set up: the International Union of Academies (*L’Union académique internationale – UAI*), which aimed to promote joint research projects and publications in philosophy, archeology, history, sociology, and political science, and the International Research Council (*Conseil International de Recherches – CIR*), which grouped specialists in mathematical and natural sciences (astronomy, mathematics, chemistry, physics, biology, geography, geodesy, and geophysics). In both organizations, Polish science was represented by the Polish Academy of Learning (Polska Akademia Umiejętności). See D. Reederowa, *Formy współpracy Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności z zagranicą (1873-1952)*, „Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Nauki Polskiej”, ser. A. z.10, 1966, pp. 110-115; J. Piskurewicz, *Prima inter Pares. Polska Akademia Umiejętności w latach II Rzeczypospolitej*, Kraków 1998, pp. 50-51.

and present it at the LN Assembly. Murray did his work quickly, stressing the need for the 'technical' investigation of the problem. He held out the view that the cooperation of "researchers, thinkers and writers" from all countries could prove central to shaping a universal spirit of peace and understanding among peoples. Bourgeois's resolution and Murray's report became a basis for establishing a committee for investigating the issue of international intellectual cooperation.⁷

The motion by the LN Council to establish the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (ICIC, French: *Commission Internationale de la Coopération Intellectuelle*) was unanimously approved by the Second Assembly of the League of Nations on 21 September 1921. It was emphasized that the Committee would also include female members (!) and that it would be an advisory body for the LN Council. The Committee's activities, projects, and cooperation with the interested governments were subject to control and approval by the LN's political bodies. The ICIC was assigned to deal first with such issues as: the initiation and development of international exchange among universities, the growth of international scientific relations, and the enhancement of work in the field of research bibliography. The Committee members were expected to perform their duties on a voluntary and honorary basis and hold their meetings once a year in a session lasting several days.⁸

It took several months for the LN Council to appoint 12 members of the Committee. The major selection criteria were the candidates' academic stature and the rule which said that "each civilization can have only one representative in the Committee". Candidates were appointed by the governments of particular states, research organizations and the LN Secretariat. The final selection was made following behind-the-scenes diplomatic bargaining,⁹ and reflected the political power structure of the LN Council, as a result of which the Commission came to include scientists and scholars mainly from European countries. On 15 May 1922, the ICIC composition was announced. In accordance with the French diplomatic plan, the Committee was presided by Henri Bergson, a world-renowned philosopher, who had earned scholarly and moral acclaim, and was a professor at the *Collège de France*, and a member of the *Académie Française*. His deputy was the above-mentioned Gilbert Murray while the ICIC permanent rapporteur was Gonzague de Reynold, a Swiss intellectual, a professor of French literature at the University of Bern, a writer, a poet and a playwright. Until March 1924, the ICIC secretary was Oskar Halecki, a professor of history at the University of Warsaw.¹⁰

⁷ SDN „Journal Officiel” 1921, pp. 1104 ff.

⁸ L. Bourgeois, *L'oeuvre de la Société des Nations (1920-1923)*, Paris 1923, p. 407 - 408.

⁹ O. Halecki, *Komisja Współpracy Umysłowej*, „Przegląd Współczesny”, 1923, No. 9-10, p. 47.

¹⁰ The remaining ICIC members were: Kristine Bonnevie, professor of zoology (University of Oslo), Jules Destrée, a Belgian professor of archeology, writer and the former minister of science and art, Albert Einstein, a physicist (University of Berlin and Leiden University), Francesco Ruffini, a professor of canon law (University of Turin), Maria Skłodowska-Curie, (a professor at the University of Paris and an honorary professor of the University of Warsaw), who represented Polish science, Leonar-

The establishment of the ICIC was the first step in the creation of an organizational structure of international intellectual cooperation under the LN auspices. During their first session, held between 1 and 5 August 1922 in Geneva, the ICIC members agreed that they would not be able to fulfill their tasks during an annual meeting that lasted only a few days. They decided to set up specialist subcommittees composed of the ICIC members and experts selected by them. The first such groups included the bibliographic subcommittee, the subcommittee for inter-university relations, and the subcommittee for the protection of authors' rights. In 1925, the subcommittee for literature and art was established. The subcommittees were designed to carry out their work and hold meetings between the ICIC annual sessions. Another initiative was the project to establish 'national committees' for international cooperation in the respective countries, which were designed to serve as 'liaisons' between the research organizations from a particular country and the ICIC.¹¹

In accordance with the formal requirements, ICIC proposals were discussed and approved during the sessions of the LN Council and the LN Assembly. This paved the way for the ICIC subcommittees to carry out their work and for the creation of 'national committees' of intellectual cooperation. The first such commissions were set up in eleven countries of Central and Eastern Europe: in Austria, Bulgaria, Greece, Hungary, Lithuania, Romania, Yugoslavia (SHS), Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Finland, and Poland. These countries were most affected by the First World War and hoped that the League of Nations would help them revive and develop intellectual life.¹² In the following years, 'the national committees' on intellectual cooperation

do Torres y Quevedo, a professor of technical sciences and head of the Laboratory of Applied Mechanics in Madrid. South America was represented by Aloysio de Castro, a professor of medicine (University of Rio de Janeiro). The US, which was not an LN member, was represented by George Ellory Hale, a professor of astronomy (University of Chicago), director of Mount Wilson Observatory and the honorary chairman of the National Research Council. Hale requested the LN authorities to appoint a deputy who would substitute for him in case he could not travel to Europe due to health reasons. The nomination went to Robert A. Millikan, director of the *Norman Bridge Laboratory of Physics* in California. India's representative was Dilip N. Bannerjee, a professor of political economics (University of Calcutta). The Far East had its delegate in the person of Inanzo Nitobe, who joined the Committee as one of the Under-Secretaries General of the LN. William Martin, a Swiss journalist, represented the International Labor Organization. In the following years, the ICIC composition was changed and extended (in 1939 up to 18 members). Bergson chaired the ICIC until the end of 1925 (he resigned due to health problems). The next chairman was Hendrik A. Lorentz, a Dutch physicist and the 1902 Nobel prize laureate, who chaired the Committee until his death in 1928. He was succeeded by G. Murray, who served as chairman until the outbreak of World War II. For information on changes in the ICIC composition, see J. Kolasa, *op. cit.*, pp.168-169.

¹¹ Archives UNESCO, Paris, SDN.CCI, Procés-verbaux de la première session, Genève 1-5 Août 1922, Genève le 11 octobre 1922.

¹² The Polish 'national committee' was the Committee for the League of Nations Issues, which was established in January 1923 by the science support foundation called Kasa im. Mianowskiego. In 1924 the committee for international intellectual cooperation was established (A. M. Brzeziński, *Polska Komisja Międzynarodowej Współpracy Intelktualnej (1924-1939)*, Łódź 2001, p. 11 ff).

were established in nearly all of the other European states as well as in the United States (1926) and the countries of Central and South America, Asia, and Africa.¹³

For the ICIC 'the national committees' and their activity were the fundamental form of intellectual cooperation on a global scale. Representatives of the existing committees were invited to the third ICIC meeting in Paris (5-8 December 1923) to discuss the principles of cooperation. It was suggested that 'the national committees' became intermediaries between the domestic research organizations and the ICIC. It was also recommended that the committees became involved in the surveys of the state of intellectual life in and outside Europe.¹⁴ The committees were authorized to inform the ICIC Secretariat or 'the national committees' of various countries about such issues as: institutions' or researchers' requests about the exchange of literature and equipment assistance, easier business trip arrangements for researchers, and exchange programs for professors. The committees were obliged "to do their utmost" to fulfill such requests. They were also supposed to promote the LN's aspirations "to conciliate any international cultural disputes"¹⁵ in their respective countries.

In the summer months of 1923, acting at the initiative of the subcommittee for inter-university relations, the ICIC submitted a proposal to the LN authorities to establish the International University Office (*Office International de Renseignements Univeristaires – OIRU*) in Geneva. It was tasked with exploring and facilitating, as far as possible, any contacts between universities from different countries, primarily through the cooperation with the already existing domestic university offices and international student organizations.¹⁶ On 27 September 1923, the LN Assembly approved the motion to establish another institution designed to promote international intellectual cooperation. The OIRU was managed by the committee whose members were: Gonzgue de Reynold (chairman), Julien Luchaire, the former director of the French Institute in Florence (1908-1918), and a ICIC expert collaborating with H. Bergson, Algernon Coleman, Professor of Romance Studies at the University of

¹³ In 1929 there were 25 of them. By 1937, that number had risen to 41 (*League of Nations. Intellectual Co-Operation Organization. National Committees on Intellectual Co-Operation*, Geneva 1937, p. 6.ff.).

¹⁴ The ICIC carried out such surveys in 1923 in 40 countries. The results were published in special brochures (League of Nations. Archives United Nations, Geneva (henceforth LNA), SDN.CCI, Procés-verbaux de la quatrième session, Genève 25 – 29 Juillet 1924, Genève, le 25 Août 1924)

¹⁵ It was deemed desirable that every 'national committee' should cooperate with representatives of: 1/ institutions or associations designed to promote intellectual cooperation; 2/ major academies and scientific societies; 3/ universities; 4/ national libraries, bibliographic institutions and publication exchange offices; and 5/ the national federation of intellectual workers (Archives UNESCO, SDN. CCI, Procés-verbaux de la troisième session, Genève 5-8 Décembre 1923, Genève le 1^{er} Janvier 1924).

¹⁶ LNA, SDN.ICIC. Procés-verbal de la Sous-Commission des Relations interuniversitaires. 1-ère Session, Paris, 22-23 Décembre 1922. University offices were already in operation in several countries, including the United Kingdom, France, Switzerland, Germany, and the United States; however, in most member states this institution was non-existent.

Chicago and director of the Paris-based American University Union from 1923, and Oskar Halecki as ICIC secretary.¹⁷

The ICIC members realized that the Committee's effectiveness would be restricted by a shortage of funding from the LN budget and a lack of executive apparatus. Accordingly, it was difficult to broaden the organizational framework and forms of intellectual cooperation. The members agreed that the Committee should have the right to accept donations from various sources. Thus, the ICIC president made a call for this during the fourth session of the LN Assembly on 23 September 1923, and won approval for it.¹⁸

Bergson's call was answered by Édouard Herriot's government which was formed following the victory of the Lefts Cartel (an alliance of radicals and socialists) in France in May of 1924. A note to Secretary General of the LN Eric Drummond, dated 18 August 1924, said that acting in "the best interest of France as well as the interest of all people", the French government decided to offer "money and headquarters" for the institute of intellectual cooperation as the ICIC's executive body.¹⁹ Paris wanted not only to solve the ICIC's financial and organizational difficulties, but also to raise France's prestige as a patron of international intellectual cooperation. Even Prime Minister Herriot's predecessors had thought that France should play the key organizational role in this type of cooperation and ensure its "intellectual interests" on the international arena.²⁰

It took more than ten months to prepare the final version of the statute, structure and immediate tasks of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC, French: *Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle*) before they were approved by the ICIC and the LN authorities. Criticism was voiced by delegates from the United Kingdom and its dominions. They argued that the development of international intellectual cooperation carried a risk that the LN would move away from its primary statutory responsibilities. In actuality, British diplomacy feared that Paris might want to exploit the Institute's potential to demonstrate its superpower ambitions in international intellectual relations. Despite the British reservations, the LN Assembly approved the French proposal on 23 September 1924.²¹ Of key impor-

¹⁷ The OIRU was allocated a special budget of 14 thousand francs by the LN Assembly. From the early 1924, the OIRU started publishing a quarterly, later on a bimonthly, titled *Bulletin de l'Office International de Renseignements Universitaires* (Pham-Thi-Tu, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-85).

¹⁸ In 1922, the ICIC had a fund of 150 thousand francs in gold, but the following year it was decreased to 88 thousand francs. In 1924, the ICIC was allocated 0.4% of the LN budget (*L'Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle, 1925-1946*, Paris 1946, pp. 21-22).

¹⁹ See J. J. Renoliet, *L'UNESCO oubliée. La Société des Nations et la coopération intellectuelle (1919-1946)*, Paris 1999, p. 44 ff.

²⁰ In 1923 Prime Minister Raymond Poincaré, who was also head of *Quai d'Orsay*, held out the view that in the ICIC "the French interests are ignored". He was also in favor of greater involvement on the part of French diplomacy in the ICIC activity (Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Paris, SDN, vol.1844, a letter by R. Poincaré to L. Bérard dated 23 November 1923, k.17).

²¹ B. Schroeder-Gudehus, *Les scientifiques et la paix. La communauté scientifique internationale aux cours des années 20*, Montreal 1978, pp. 182-184; J.J. Renoliet, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

tance was the fact that the proposal was approved by both chambers of the French Parliament in July 1925. The Parliament agreed to allocate two million francs for the establishment and financial support of the IIIC in its first year of operation. Julien Luchaire, the initiator of the project, was appointed Director General of the new institution. The Institute was officially inaugurated on 16 January 1926 and was headquartered in a section of the Palais Royal in Paris (2, rue Montpensier).²²

The Institute was divided into seven specialist sections. According to O. Halecki, "all nations struggled hard to secure one of those divisions."²³ The sections were headed by: Alfred Zimmern, an English professor of political science (the section of general issues);²⁴ Giuseppe Prezzolini, an Italian writer, publicist and editor (the information and press section); Gerhard Schultze-Gävemitz, a German professor of political economics (the bibliographic section); Oskar Halecki (the university section); José de Villalonga, a Spanish lawyer, the former head of the legal section of the International Labor Organization (legal section); Richard Dupierreux, a Belgian writer and a lecturer at the Institute of Fine Arts in Anvers (the arts section) and Gabriela Mistral (born Lucila Godoy Alcayaga), a Chilean poet (the literature section). The activity of the IIIC sections was based on the close cooperation with 'national committees'.²⁵

In 1927, the Italian government, like the French government three years earlier, driven by prestige and propaganda reasons, submitted a proposal to establish the International Educational Cinematograph Institute (IECI, French: *Institut International du Cinématographe Educatif*) in Rome. Italy's intention of taking filmmaking issues out of the 'French' IIIC's control was an element of competition between Fascist Italy and France in and outside the League of Nations. That idea was pursued by Alfredo Rocco, an ICIC member from 1926 (in place of F. Ruffini), Professor of Law at the University of Rome, Minister of Justice and Public Worship in Benito Mussolini's government (1925-1932), and one of the architects of the Fascist regime in Italy. Il Duce, who personally viewed film as an excellent propaganda tool, endorsed the project in the hope that the Fascist regime would win international recognition for that decision. Under Art. 24 of the LN Pact, the Institute would remain part of the Geneva institution. The Italian government committed funds to establish and maintain the Institute.²⁶

²² In addition to the post of Director General, the Committee of Directors was established. It consisted of the following five ICIC members: G. Murray, H. Lorentz, J. Destrée, Gonzague de Reynold, and F. Ruffini (SDN, „Journal Officiel” 1925, p. 1460).

²³ O. Halecki, *Międzynarodowy Instytut Współpracy Umysłowej*, „Kurier Warszawski”, 23 August 1925 (No. 235), p. 8; G. Murray, *Intellectual Co-operation*, „The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science”, vol. 235, Sept. 1944, pp. 1-9.

²⁴ The IIIC issued the periodical „La Coopération Intellectuelle” (from 1929) and publications presenting all of its activities. However, they were written in 'officialese' and were rather concise in nature. They were addressed to a narrow range of recipients: experts in particular fields of science, culture and art.

²⁵ J. J. Renoliet, *op. cit.*, p. 65 ff.

²⁶ SDN. „Journal Officiel” 1927, Supplément Spécial, No. 54, pp. 34-35. The Italian government committed itself to an annual donation of 600 thousand liras for IECI activity. It soon turned out, how-

IECI was designed to be the center of information, film screenings, and exchange of various educational films from such fields as: hygiene, history, archeology and art. Its main tasks were to be implemented by: 1) developing production and promoting the distribution and international exchange of educational films; 2) taking action to strengthen the bonds between the peoples of various nations; 3) promoting the best methods of using films for educational purposes; 4) establishing an information center to promote film as 'an educational medium'. The Institute was meant to be open to all states on equal terms.²⁷

The Italian initiative was supported by the ICIC, the IIIC director and the LN Council, which on 30 August 1928 approved the Institute's statute. It was also accepted that Italy would hold major administrative positions in this institution. A. Rocco became chair of the board composed of representatives from 16 countries appointed by the LN Council. Rocco also headed the five-member Permanent Executive Committee nominated by the board.²⁸ Luciano de Feo, who was head of the *LUCE (L'Unione Cinematografica Educativa)* film agency, and Mussolini's advisor for state radio and film policy.²⁹ The IECI was officially inaugurated with great publicity in the *Villa Falconieri* in Frascati, which along with the *Villa Torlonia* (the board headquarters), was the official seat of the Institute.³⁰

Towards the late 1920s, the IIIC-based organization and forms of international intellectual cooperation were increasingly raising doubts and criticisms, even on the part of the French authorities. Director J. Luchaire was blamed, quite rightly, for the lack of financial discipline in running the Institute. The maintenance and operating costs, covered by French government donations and contributions from the member states, turned out to be considerably higher than originally calculated. The IIIC was unable to coordinate numerous issues and initiatives from various countries. The Institute had to struggle with the problem of 'excessive organization' of coopera-

ever, that the funding was insufficient. In the following years, the IECI budget was slightly supplemented by funding from some of the member states (Pham-Thi-Tu, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-101).

²⁷ Z. Druick, *The International Educational Cinematograph Institute, Reactionary Modernism and the Formation of Film Studies*, "Canadian Journal of Film Studies. Revue Canadienne d'Études Cinématographiques", vol. 16, No. 1, 2007, pp. 80 - 91.

²⁸ The first Executive Committee of the IECI was composed of representatives of French (Louis Lumière), German (Hans Cürllis) and American (Carl E. Milliken) cinematographies and a representative of the British Ministry of Education (G. T. Hankin) (Z. Druick, *op. cit.*, p. 84).

²⁹ SDN. „Journal Officiel” 1928, pp. 1432-1426, 1509-1513. It was established in 1924 at the instruction of B. Mussolini. The LUCE was controlled by the government and was financed by the state budget. Its activity contributed to the demise of Italian independent film. See T. Miczka, *Dziesięć tysięcy kilometrów od Hollywood. Historia kina włoskiego od 1896 roku do połowy lat pięćdziesiątych XX wieku*, Kraków 1992, pp. 69-120.

³⁰ The ceremony was attended by King Victor Emmanuel III, B. Mussolini, A. Rocco, and other representatives of the fascist ruling elite. For insight into the role of IECI in Italy's foreign policy see Ch. Taillibert, *L'Institut International du Cinématographe Éducatif. Regards sur le rôle du cinema éducatif dans la politique internationale du fascisme italien*, Paris 2000.

tion, which was approached in an 'overly bureaucratic and administrative' manner. As a result, many issues got stuck in various specialist bodies. The IIIC's activity and staff policy were not free from political pressure since many of the Institute-accredited delegates from the LN member states tried to pursue directives from their governments. Criticism of the IIIC also came from the LN Secretariat, which was disapproving of the way the Institute demonstrated its independence from other LN bodies. Harsh views were voiced by the British delegates to the LN, who perceived the IIIC's activity as a demonstration of "French cultural imperialism". The Institute was rightly accused of wasting too much energy on drafting resolutions and sticking to time-consuming and formalized procedures. The experts' projects were considered first by the IIIC directors and then by the ICIC, which gathered only once a year. The ICIC resolutions, in turn, were sent to the LN Council, whose decisions needed to be approved by the LN Assembly. Only then were they introduced to the LN member states; however, they were by no means binding.³¹

The ICIC saw the need to discuss how to reform the organization and form of intellectual cooperation. To this aim, a special conference was convened in Geneva on 18-20 July 1929. The conference was attended by delegates representing 25 'national committees', who agreed on simplifying procedures and improving coordination between the ICIC and the IIIC and the 'national committees'. Major proposed changes included: 1) the proposal that the ICIC should operate on a "more rational and intellectual" basis to ensure that all science disciplines are represented proportionally to their significance; 2) the introduction of 'expert committees' in place of the subcommittee system; 3) the establishment of more permanent and closer contacts between the ICIC and the IIIC and the 'national committees'; and 4) the establishment of the permanent 'executive committee' for intellectual cooperation.³²

The conclusions of that conference prompted the LN Council to reorganize the ICIC and the IIIC. Pursuant to the LN Council and Assembly decision of 24 September 1931, the Organization of International Intellectual Cooperation (*Organisation de Coopération Intellectuelle Internationale* - OCII) was established. Gilbert Murray, who was in charge of the ICIC, became its president. The OCII was comprised of all institutions devoted to intellectual cooperation that had previously been affiliated with the LN. The ICIC, which was extended to 17 members with 5-year terms, remained the executive branch of the LN Council. The ICIC was to hold regular annual meetings. From among its members, it also elected the permanent Executive Committee, which was designed to ensure smooth cooperation with the IIIC. The OCII's executive institutions included 1) The Section of Intellectual Cooperation in the LN Secretariat, which was a secretariat of the whole organization; 2) The IIIC in Paris; 3) The IECI in Rome; 4) the 'national committees' for intellectual cooperation; 5) 'expert committees' nominated by the IIIC. From 1 January 1931, the IIIC

³¹ J. Renoliet, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-117.

³² J. Kolasa, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

director was Henri Bonnet, the former head of the LN Deputy Secretary-General Joseph Avenol's Cabinet.³³

Under the new organizational set-up, the IIIC initiated or developed a wide range of forms of intellectual cooperation. The new projects included international conferences for researchers, writers, poets and composers, which were called 'discussions', and open letters (called 'correspondence'), written by eminent intellectuals, which discussed LN-related issues. The 'discussions' and 'correspondence' were organized under the auspices of the Permanent Committee of Letters and Arts (*Comité Permanent des Lettres et de Arts – CPLA*). The Committee was established at the initiative of Paul Valéry, a French symbolist poet and writer, and Henry Focillon, a classical philologist and art historian, who was a professor at the University of Lyon. They were both involved in the previous initiatives in that field (an ICIC subcommittee and an IIIC section). The 'discussions' included culture and arts related topics, such as: the future of culture (*L'Avenir de la Culture*), the future of the European spirit (*L'Avenir de l'Esprit Européen*), the formation of the modern human being (*Formation de l'Homme Moderne*), and the development of new humanism (*Vers un Nouvel Humanisme*). Between 1931 and 1939, nine conferences were held in Paris, Madrid, Venice, Budapest, and Buenos Aires. They were attended by distinguished personalities from the world of culture and art including Paul Valéry, Karel Čapek, Thomas Mann, Béla Bartok, Aldous Huxley, Salvador de Madariaga, Maria Skłodowska-Curie, Karol Szymanowski, and Stanisław Wędkiewicz.³⁴ Open letters by intellectuals from various countries were published by the IIIC in both English and French in four volumes: *A League of Minds* (1933), *Why War?* (1933), *L'Esprit, L'Ethique et la Guerre* (1934), and *East and West* (1935). They were written by Henri Focillon, Gilbert Murray, Alfonso Reyes, Albert Einstein, Sigmund Freud, Johan Huizinga, André Maurois, Rabindranath Tagore and others.³⁵

The International Museums Office (IMO), which was established in 1926 as part of the IIIC continued its operations. The IMO was set up at the initiative of H. Focillon, who persuaded the LN authorities that museums played a key role in getting to know and understanding other cultures, thus bringing nations together. The Office's tasks were to protect, categorize, maintain and restore works of art. The IMO initiated and organized an international conference on the protection of historical monuments and works of art which took place in Athens on 21-30 October 1931. Similar events were held in the following years. The Office published the journal *Museion* and monographs on museums in various countries. In 1936, the IMO initiated work on the draft convention for the protection of historical monuments and works of art during military conflicts. The draft convention was

³³ H. Bonnet, *Intellectual Co-operation, w: World Organization. A Balance Sheet of the First Great Experiment*, Washington 1942, pp. 189-192.

³⁴ J. Muszkowski, *Międzynarodowa współpraca intelektualna wczoraj i dziś*, „Życie Nauki”, 1947, No. 2, pp. 19-20.

³⁵ J. Kolasa, *op. cit.*, p.53.

submitted to the LN Assembly in 1938, but, due to the outbreak of WWII, the convention itself was never adopted.³⁶

Another institution that deserves mention is the International Commission on Folk Arts (*Commission Internationale des Arts Populaires – CIAP*), which became part of the IIIC structure on 1 April 1932. The Commission was established pursuant to the International Congress of Folk Arts convened in Prague on 7-13 October 1928 at the initiative of the art section of the IIIC, and attended by delegates from 31 countries. The *CIAP* aspired to solely be a research institution that would coordinate ethnographic projects. However, the LN authorities disapproved of the idea, and argued that the *CIAP* should comply with the LN's objectives. The underlying assumption was that the Commission's primary task was to promote the folk art of various countries with a view to bringing peoples together. Due to those disagreements and insufficient funding, the *CIAP* was unable to fulfill all of its plans. In 1932, an international conference in Oslo was cancelled. So was the exhibition of folk art scheduled to take place in Berlin in 1934.³⁷

Much more successful was the 1927 IIIC initiative to coordinate research in political science. On 22-24 March 1928, Berlin hosted the first meeting of political science research institutions and organizations represented by delegates from France, Germany, Italy, Austria, the United Kingdom, Switzerland, and the United States. The meeting gave rise to the Conference of International Studies (*Conférence des Études Internationales – CEI*), which became a series of annual international symposiums held in various countries. During the meeting in Copenhagen on 8-10 June 1931, the delegates adopted a resolution on the program of joint research projects that addressed "special international problems". The idea was to organize conferences or "special research meetings" and establish institutions conducting research in international relations. As a result of the Copenhagen meeting, the CEI turned from a 'purely technical agency' into a permanent institution designed to coordinate joint research projects concerning international problems. This way, intellectual cooperation under the LN auspices came to include the field of international relations. In 1934, the CEI was transformed into the Permanent Conference of International Studies (*Conférence Permanente des Hautes Études Internationales*). It still had links with the IIIC, which provided funding, organized conferences, published papers and books, etc. By the time WWII broke out, a total of twelve conferences had been organized. They were devoted to a wide range of topical issues in economics and politics with an international appeal.³⁸

³⁶ *Międzynarodowa współpraca intelektualna w roku 1931/1932. Sprawozdanie Sekretarza Polskiej Komisji Międzynarodowej Współpracy Intelektualnej*, Warszawa 1933, pp. 18-19; H. Daifuku, *Museums and monuments: UNESCO's pioneering role*, in: "Museum International". *Museum International: fiftieth anniversary issue*, Paris 1998, pp. 9-10.

³⁷ For details see B. Rogan, *Folk Art. And Politics in Inter-War Europe: An Early Debate on Applied Ethnology*, "Folk Life. Journal of Ethnological Studies", vol. 45, Issue 1, January 2006, pp. 7-23.

³⁸ *La Conférence Permanente des Hautes Études Internationales. Ses Origines – Ses Fonctions – Son Organisation*, IICI, Paris 1933; E. Taylor, *Stan i perspektywy polskich nauk ekonomicznych po*

It proved very difficult to coordinate the research activities undertaken by the LN's institutions with two other international organizations: the CIR and the UAI,³⁹ both of which were founded in 1919. Despite the ICIC's efforts starting in the 1920s, there was no cooperation in the field of humanities. The UAI-affiliated institutions did not want to link their activity in any way with the LN's policy. They focused exclusively on conducting research, publishing its results, and organizing conferences.⁴⁰ There were slight prospects of cooperation with the CIR, which in 1931 changed its name to the *Conseil International des Unions Scientifiques (CIUS)*.⁴¹ Various talks and meetings between OCII and CIUS representatives in the 1930s resulted in a cooperation agreement concluded in Paris on 9 July 1937. The CIUS agreed to serve as an advisory body to the OCII, providing expertise in all issues regarding the international organization of research. The IIIC was supposed to provide assistance to committees composed of CIUS members and OCII experts involved in international projects. Under the agreement, a schedule of conferences in mathematical and natural sciences was designed. By 1939, ten such conferences were held, including one in Warsaw (30 May-4 June 1938) on new theories in contemporary physics.⁴²

Two projects launched in the first half of the 1920s by the ICIC subcommittees were continued without success. These were the international bibliography project and the international convention for the protection of scientific property (*droit du savant*). The efforts to convince research organizations and publishers to agree on a standard format of abstracts had little effect. Doubts also arose as to which language should be used in publications and their abstracts in specific fields of science. A major obstacle was lack of funding for collecting and translating materials as well as publishing the bibliography. An attempt to introduce the international convention for the protection of scientific property in the 1930s also proved unsuccessful. This issue could not be resolved through the 1883 Paris Convention (the protection of industrial property) or the 1886 Berne Convention (the protection of literary and artistic works). The governments of many countries took a critical stand on the proposal for an international convention for the protection of scientific property.⁴³

drugiej wojnie światowej, „Nauka Polska. Jej potrzeby, organizacja i rozwój”, vol. XXV, Warszawa 1947, p. 179.

³⁹ See footnote 6.

⁴⁰ D. Rederowa, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

⁴¹ Most commonly, the abbreviation for the English name, ICSU (*the International Council Scientific Unions*), was used. In 1931, the organization had 41 members, including China, India, Argentina, Mexico, Cuba, and Uruguay. Despite the financial problems, within its specific unions, the ICSU carried out a wide range of projects in mathematical and natural sciences. In 1937, a committee was set up to investigate the influence of the hard sciences on social phenomena (*Commission pour la Science et ses Relations Sociales*). „Rocznik Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności”, 1938/1939, Kraków 1939, p. 62.

⁴² A. M. Brzeziński, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-58.

⁴³ M. Skłodowska-Curie was strongly involved in the discussions on both projects. See J. Piskurczak, *Między nauką a polityką. Maria Skłodowska-Curie w laboratorium i w Lidze Narodów*, Lublin 2007, p. 166 ff.

In the first half of the 1930s, international intellectual cooperation took on a new form. There were several accomplishments in this area in comparison with the totality of the LN's activity. The political bodies of the League were especially inept at resolving the growing conflicts in various corners of the world.⁴⁴ The OCII's Executive Committee and the ICIC were involved in promoting and developing international intellectual cooperation despite the systematically decreased funding from the LN.⁴⁵ Their programs said that the main goal of the cooperation was to ensure "the progress of civilization and the development of human knowledge", especially through the promotion of science, literature and art. International cooperation within the LN was promoted as a means of building world peace and security and creating an atmosphere for peaceful solutions to international problems.⁴⁶ Some of the initiatives resulted from the discussion of 'moral disarmament' which was part of the OCII work program. It covered such issues as: 1) teaching young people about the LN's work;⁴⁷ 2) revising the school textbooks to correct the controversy-ridden extracts that hampered the mutual understanding between peoples and were in conflict with the 'good spirit' of international relations; 3) 'educational radio broadcasting'; 4) promoting ideas pursued by the LN; 5) travel and international exchange programs for school students; and 6) international conferences on international relations. The discussion was inspired by the Polish government, which during the first stage of the international Disarmament Conference in Geneva on 14 March 1932 proposed a draft international convention on 'moral disarmament'.⁴⁸

Even though the convention was never officially approved, the IIIC tried to implement some of its provisions in the following years. At the initiative of the Institute, on 16 March 1936, Joseph Avenol, the LN Secretary-General (from 3 July 1933), sent the draft Declaration on the Revision of History Textbooks to the governments of all countries. Under its provisions, the Declaration was intended to remove "biased explanations of some historical events" from school textbooks. The competent authorities in each country and school textbook authors were obliged to ensure that

⁴⁴ See B.J.C. McKercher, *The League of Nations and the Problem of Collective Security 1919-1939*, in: *The League of Nations 1920-1946. Organization and Accomplishments. A Retrospective of the First International Organization for the Establishment of World Peace*, New York – Geneva 1996, pp. 66-73.

⁴⁵ In view of the world economic crisis, the LN authorities imposed budget restrictions in the 1930s. G. Murray argued against financial cuts involving the OCII's activity and demanded that the LN Council showed greater concern about the Institute. In his view, as he critically put it in a private letter, international intellectual cooperation was and would remain a Cinderella among the various fields of the LN's activity. (Bodleian Library, Oxford. Correspondence and Papers of Gilbert Murray, mf.291, k.97, a letter by G. Murray to S. Baldwin dated 16 March 1932). My thanks go to Prof. Jan Piskurewicz for providing me copies of G. Murray's papers.

⁴⁶ *L'Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle...*, p. 45.

⁴⁷ In 1926 the Subcommittee of Experts for the Instruction of Children and Youth in the Existence and Aims of The League of Nations was established (J. Kolasa, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-46).

⁴⁸ See W. Michowicz, *Genewska Konferencja Rozbrojeniowa (1932-1937) a dyplomacja polska*, Łódź 1989, p. 103 ff.

young people acquired “a vast historical knowledge of other nations”. They were also supposed to abstain from interpreting events in a way that would arouse “prejudices against other nations” among students. The Declaration was open for signature by the LN member states and non-member states alike. Thirteen countries had signed it by 1938.⁴⁹

The problem of ‘moral disarmament’ also involved work on the universal convention on the use of radio broadcasting. The convention imposed obligations on state signatories to refrain from broadcasting radio programs that would exacerbate international relations. At the same time, it required broadcasters to air programs encouraging “better mutual understanding between peoples”. The convention was adopted on 23 September 1936 at an international conference in Geneva by delegates from 37 countries, and came into force two years later. However, it played a negligible role in the era of aggressive policies pursued by the totalitarian states and their propaganda machines, including radio broadcasting.⁵⁰

In the first half of the 1930s, the IECI in Rome was involved in numerous activities. The Institute carried out surveys of various aspects of film in the education and formation of young people. It featured a film archive and a library with magazines and publications devoted to educational films. The IECI maintained contact with the emerging national committees for educational films in Germany, France, Czechoslovakia, Romania, the Netherlands, China, and Chile. In 1932, those committees became associate members of the IECI. From 1929 to 1934, the Institute published its monthly journal, *The International Review of Educational Cinematography*, which featured editions in several languages. It was later replaced by a bimonthly journal entitled first *Interciné*, and from 1936, *Cinema*. One of IECI’s major accomplishments was an international congress on the role of educational and instructional films, which was organized in Rome on 19-25 April 1934. The congress was a huge undertaking, and was attended by 700 participants from 45 countries. It featured 240 papers, which were published as proceedings in two volumes in the same year.⁵¹

In 1933, the IECI initiated work on the convention facilitating the international circulation of educational films by exempting them from customs duties. The preamble to the convention, which was comprised of 20 articles, read that the facilitation of the international circulation of every kind would “contribute towards the mutual understanding of peoples”, encourage their ‘moral disarmament’, and ensure physical, intellectual and moral development. Under Article 4 of the convention, the IECI was empowered to decide whether specific films were intended for international educational use, and were thus exempt from customs duties. Films produced in a parti-

⁴⁹ J. Kolasa, *op. cit.* pp. 75 - 78.

⁵⁰ Text: SDN. „Coopération Intellectuelle”, Octobre-Novembre 1936, No. 70, pp. 23-26. A. M. Brzeziński, *Geneza międzynarodowej Konwencji o wykorzystaniu radiofonii w interesie pokoju z 23 września 1936 r.*, in: *Pokój i sprawiedliwość przez prawo międzynarodowe. Zbiór studiów z okazji sześćdziesiątej rocznicy urodzin Profesora Janusza Gilasa pod redakcją* (ed.) C. Mik, Toruń 1997, pp. 39-50.

⁵¹ Z. Druick, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-97.

cular country could be reviewed on site by an IECI representative. The convention was signed in Geneva on 11 October 1933 by delegates from 38 countries. It was designed to come into force after being ratified by at least five LN member or non-member states, which actually occurred on 11 January 1935. In practice, however, the convention did not have much significance due to the slow pace of ratification and the process of new countries joining it.⁵²

From the fall of 1935, the Italian government utilized the IECI for its own propaganda purposes to “justify” its invasion of Ethiopia. The Institute was losing its international status and its board meetings ceased. Italy, which was in conflict with the LN about the Ethiopia issue, left the League on 11 December 1937 and shut down the Institute by the end of the year. Its tasks were taken over by the ICIC and the IIIC in Paris.⁵³

In the second half of the 1930s, due to the increasingly weakening credibility of the LN in international relations (its inability to oppose Italy’s invasion of Ethiopia or Japan’s invasion of China as well as lack of response to the Spanish Civil War), the position of the member states vis-à-vis intellectual cooperation within the League was becoming more restrained. While the idea itself was not undermined, greater importance was attached to direct (either bilateral or regional) activities between the ‘national committees’. This kind of cooperation was regarded as “extremely effective” and worth promoting and implementing by the OCII. Within the LN, such views were voiced by delegates from many European countries, including Poland, as well as Central and South American states. Many countries stressed the need for bilateral international agreements on intellectual cooperation, regardless of the system within the LN itself.⁵⁴

Those issues were discussed during the conference of ‘national committees’ for intellectual cooperation from 37 countries, which had been convened at the ICIC’s initiative in Paris on 5-9 July 1937. The adopted resolution stressed the right of ‘national committees’ to free and varied activity. Their organization and functioning could not be subjected to any rigorous rules. The resolution also stated that regardless of whether or not the ‘national committee’ had official status, it needed to maintain close contact with the ‘public authorities’ and receive moral and financial

⁵² The Convention distinguished five categories of educational films: 1/ films designed to provide information about the work and objectives of the LN and other international organizations recognized by the Convention’s state signatories; 2/ films utilized at all levels of school instruction; 3/ films describing a particular occupation, including films about industrial technology and the scientific management of work; 4/ films about scientific and technical research, including popular science films; 5/ films about hygiene, physical education as well as social care and social insurance (*Convention pour faciliter la circulation internationale des films ayant un caractère éducatif*. SDN. *Recueil des Traités*, Genève 1935, No. 3585, pp. 332-348) By 1937, the number of countries that had ratified or joined the Convention had risen to 23. The Polish text is available in: *Dz. U. RP 1937, nr 83, poz. 601*. The President of Poland ratified the Convention pursuant to the Act of 18 March 1937 (*Dz. U. RP 1937, nr 25, poz. 163*).

⁵³ *League of Nations. Report on the Work of the League 1938/1939*, Geneva 1939, pp. 138-139.

⁵⁴ A. M. Brzeziński, *Polska Komisja...*, p. 44 ff.

governmental support. The conference participants deemed it necessary to draft and conclude a general treaty that would define the role of 'national committees' in international intellectual cooperation and the funding arrangements for the IIIC by the states signatories to the treaty.⁵⁵

As requested by the Paris conference, the ICIC along with the Administrative Council of the IIIC submitted the draft treaty regulating the principles of international intellectual cooperation based on the 'national committees'. It was also stipulated that obligatory funding of the IIIC should be the responsibility of the states signatories. In the fall of 1937, the LN Council and Assembly approved the draft. In May 1938, the LN Council decided to convene an international conference to conclude the agreement, which was to be organized by the French government.⁵⁶

The Conference took place in Paris on 30 November - 3 December 1938, and was attended by delegates from 45 countries. On the last day, the Final Act was signed. The contracting parties agreed that international intellectual cooperation primarily served the purpose of securing the spiritual heritage of humanity and promoted the development of science, literature and art. Under the Act, this cooperation was meant to be free from political influence and was based solely on the "principle of universality". The signatories accepted the system of international intellectual cooperation within the LN. The IIIC was to remain in 'close contact' with the 'national committees' and support their activities. The delegates from the contracting states had the right to hold annual meetings to audit and assess the financial and administrative activities of the IIIC. The states signatories agreed to provide obligatory funding of the IIIC. To come into force, the Act was to be ratified by at least eight states. Eventually, by 10 January 1940, it had been ratified by 11 countries, but warfare, and in particular the Nazi invasion of France in the summer of that year, made it irrelevant. In June 1940, the Nazi occupation authorities shut down the IIIC.⁵⁷

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Intellectual cooperation under the LN auspices in the years 1922-1939 was an unprecedented undertaking. However, the cooperation did not have a truly worldwide reach even though the system was open to non-member states. This state of affairs resulted from the complexity of international relations, which were becoming increasingly strained in the 1930s. With the exception of France, the LN superpowers were reluctant to provide organizational and financial support. The United Kingdom,

⁵⁵ LNA, SDN, 1933-1947, IICI, 5B, R. 4036. Proceedings of the Second General Conference of National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation, Paris, July 5th - 9th, 1937, pp. 45-48.

⁵⁶ „Coopération Intellectuelle”, Octobre-Novembre 1937, No. 82-83, pp. 541-542. From the mid-1930s, the IICI suffered increasing financial difficulties as many governments suspended or ceased the payment of their dues (J. J. Renoliet, *op. cit.*, p. 132 ff.).

⁵⁷ *League of Nations. Report on the Work of the League During the War*, Geneva, October 1945, p. 125.

despite having the ICIC chairman in the person of Gilbert Murray, who was an advocate and one of the creators of intellectual cooperation, took a distanced approach to the ICIC, especially to the IIIC, whose policy was viewed in London as a tool of French "intellectual expansion". Italy, in its rivalry with France, established the competitive IEIC, which was formally linked with the LN until Italy's exit from the Geneva institution. Germany became involved in the cooperation after its admission to the LN in 1926, but seven years later, after a decision by Hitler, it left the organization. So did some other countries, including Japan (1932) and several Central and South American states, which were disappointed with the LN's ineffectiveness in solving international conflicts.⁵⁸ The Soviet Union, after it joined the LN in 1934 and nominated its representative to the ICIC⁵⁹, did not become involved in the OCII due to ideological reasons. The United Kingdom, Germany and the Soviet Union never offered any financial support for the IIIC. Turkey, which joined the LN in 1932, was not engaged in international intellectual cooperation. By contrast, the United States, officially outside the League, seemed to appreciate its role in promoting international intellectual cooperation, which, from the very beginning, drew interest from representatives of US scientific institutions and associations. Short-term financial support was offered by the Rockefeller and Carnegie Foundations.

What distinguished the ICIC and the OCII from other organizations was their non-political approach and willingness to cooperate with all states, regardless of the regimes in power. This approach was sustained even after Hitler came to power in Germany in 1933. The OCII Executive Committee agreed in December 1933 that it should continue its cooperation with the totalitarian states without interference into their internal affairs. The assumption was that the non-political approach was a means of sustaining international intellectual cooperation. It should be stressed, though, that in private, the ICIC and OCII members expressed or even demonstrated critical views of the political developments in the totalitarian states and their aggressive policies. However, officially, as members of the LN structures, they refused to take a definite stand on the issue. Gilbert Murray broke with that principle at the beginning of 1939 when he published an article entitled *In Defense of Civilisation*. In it, he postulated a preventive war against the Third Reich for the sake of 'saving' the European civilization.⁶⁰

After the end of World War II, the LN's tasks in organizing international intellectual cooperation were taken over by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), which was established under a convention

⁵⁸ These were: Paraguay (1935), Guatemala (1936), Honduras (1936), Nicaragua (1936), El Salvador (1937), Chile (1938), Venezuela (1938), and Peru (1939). Two other countries left the LN earlier: Costa Rica (1924) and Brazil (1926).

⁵⁹ This was Valerian Obolensky (party pseudonym Ossinsky), who became a ICIC member in 1935. He was an economist, and a member of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR from 1932. (SDN. „Journal Officiel” 1935, pp. 601).

⁶⁰ J. Piskurewicz, *Między nauką a polityką...*, pp. 151-156.

adopted at its founding conference in London on 16 November 1945 (it came into force on 4 November 1946).⁶¹ The new institution drew largely on the experience of the international intellectual cooperation of the interwar period and it remained based in Paris. UNESCO's first Director-General was Julian S. Huxley, a British biologist, philosopher and writer.

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ABSTRACT

The International Commission on Intellectual Cooperation (ICIC) was created as an advisory body for the Council of the League of Nations in 1922. The main purpose of this new institution was to promote and organize general intellectual cooperation as a means of securing international peace. The ICIC initiated the worldwide system of 'national committees' for intellectual cooperation, which operated in 41 countries (1937). These committees constituted the lowest formal link in the entire organizational system founded by the League of Nations with a view to promoting intellectual cooperation. The International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, as the executive body of the ICIC, initiated by the French Government and inaugurated in Paris in 1926, promoted new forms of intellectual cooperation such as the International Museums Office, the Permanent International Studies Conference, an action called Moral Disarmament, cooperation between the most distinguished intellectuals (Entretiens), and others. In 1928, the Italian Government founded the International Educational Cinematograph Institute in Rome, which operated in the framework of the League of Nations until December 1937. It was a center of the international information, promotion, distribution and exchange of educational films.

⁶¹ J. Kolasa, op. cit., p. 128 ff.; J.J. Renoliet, op. cit., p. 161 ff.